

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
NC 22/1

LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XIX

PORTRAITS

II • ANTWERP ~ IDENTIFIED SITTERS

BY HANS VLIEGHE

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

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH
BY P. S. FALLA

SPONSORED BY THE CITY OF ANTWERP

AND EDITED BY THE 'NATIONAAL CENTRUM VOOR DE PLASTISCHE KUNSTEN
VAN DE XVI^{de} EN DE XVII^{de} EEUW'

R.-A. D'HULST, *President* · F. BAUDOIN, *Secretary* · R. PANDELAERS, *Treasurer*
N. DE POORTER · A. STUBBE · H. LIEBAERS · J. K. STEPPE · C. VAN DE VELDE · H. Vlieghe

RESEARCH ASSISTANTS: A. BALIS · H. DEVISSCHER · P. HUVENNE · M. VANDENVEN

RUBENS PORTRAITS

OF IDENTIFIED SITTERS PAINTED
IN ANTWERP

BY HANS VLIEGHE



HARVEY MILLER PUBLISHERS

Originating Publisher HARVEY MILLER LTD · 20 Marryat Road · London SW 19 5BD

Published in the United States
by OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS · New York

© 1987 Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} Eeuw

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Vlieghe, Hans

Rubens portraits of identified sitters
painted at Antwerp.—(Corpus Rubenianum
Ludwig Burchard; part 19, v. 2).

I. Rubens, Peter Paul —Catalogs

I. Title II. Rubens, Peter Paul

III. De schilder Rubens. *English*

759.9493 ND673.R9

ISBN 0-905203-57-7

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

Printed and bound by
Offizin Andersen Nexö · Leipzig · DDR

CONTENTS

Author's Preface	page 7
Abbreviations	9
Introduction	21
Catalogue Raisonné	33
Illustrations	207
Sources of Photographs	370
Indexes:	371
I·Collections	371
II·Subjects	378
III·Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text	388
IV·Names and Places	390

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

AS EXPLAINED in the Editors' Foreword to the first volume of Portraits in the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, it was decided in consultation with the author, Professor Frances Huemer, to divide the material into three sections. Portraits Volume I dealt with those executed by Rubens outside the Southern Netherlands, generally for foreign princes. A second volume was to list portraits painted in Antwerp, which is by far the largest part of the total. A third volume was intended to cover portraits which Rubens did not paint from life but which were free variations on existing, mostly earlier prototypes, though they could not be described as copies pure and simple.

The task of cataloguing the portraits in the second category was assigned to me. However, as the work proceeded it became clear that the material was so voluminous that a further subdivision would be necessary. Consequently the present volume deals only with portraits, painted in Antwerp, of sitters whose identity is known. Other portraits painted in Antwerp will be dealt with either in a separate volume or together with portraits executed after prototypes by other artists. The latter will naturally comprise for the most part portraits of sitters whom Rubens did not know in the flesh, such as *Charles the Bold* or *Philip II on Horseback*; however, there are also some portraits of contemporaries which, it is known, Rubens had to execute after models by other artists. Thus the famous emblematic portrait of Olivares *ex archetypo Velázquez* is not discussed in this volume but will be included in the catalogue of portraits after prototypes by other hands. The same volume will also contain those portraits of deceased and contemporary sitters which form the so-called 'studiolo' of Balthasar Moretus. This will be discussed as a single group.

According to the rules of the *Corpus Rubenianum* any known record of portraits by or after Rubens, representing one of the sitters described in this book, is listed or discussed in some way in the present volume. An exception, however, had to be made in the case of the innumerable sales references of supposed representations of the Archducal couple, Rubens himself, and his two wives. Here I have deliberately confined myself to those references which can clearly be linked to the known—and here discussed—versions of those portraits. A word may also be said about the many portraits which, not always for obvious reasons, are supposed to represent Rubens's children. In the present book I

have listed those portraits where the sitters can clearly be recognized as the painter's children. More dubious cases however, like the so-called Nicolaas in the Albertina in Vienna (Inv. No. 17650) and the so-called Clara-Serena in the Liechtenstein Collection in Vaduz, will be discussed in the third volume of *Portraits*.

Frances Huemer's account in *Portraits I* was prefaced by a series of fairly full essays on, *inter alia*, Rubens as a court painter. These naturally apply to other works as well as those catalogued in the first volume. Professor Huemer touched on aspects of court portraits executed by Rubens in the Southern Netherlands, but did not deal so fully with the artistic evolution reflected in his portraits and the preliminary processes that applied more specifically to them.

In my introduction, I will therefore examine how in portraits (as in religious, mythological, allegorical and historical scenes) Rubens began by applying the monumental sense of form that he had learnt in Italy but, after his return to the Southern Netherlands, adapted it to traditions of style and iconography that were current in his native country. I have also tried to make it clear to how great an extent, in the spirit of the time, Rubens's portraits were the result of intense study from life as well as reflecting an artistic practice which had firm humanist roots.

I am happy to express my thanks to all who have helped, directly or indirectly, in the preparation of this volume, either with information of various kinds or with photographs. In this respect I want especially to mention the names of Rudiger an der Heiden, Arnout Balis, Françoise Baligand, Frans Baudouin, Reinhold Baumstark, Beatrijs Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij, Marco Chiarini, Julius Chrosicki, Klaus Demus, Nora De Poorter, Roger-A. d'Hulst, Jacques Foucart, David Freedberg, Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, David Jaffé, Ulla Krempel (†), Walter Liedtke, Gregory Martin, Anneliese Mayer-Meintschel, Hans Mielke, Sir Oliver Millar, Konrad Renger, Margareta Salinger, Jaromir Šíp, Lubomir Slaviček, Julian Stock, Jerzi Szablonski, Katlijne Van der Stighelen, Carl Van de Velde and Marc Vandeven. I am also very grateful to P.S. Falla, who took care of the translation, as well as to Elly Miller and Clare Rendell, for their expert help in making this manuscript ready for print. Last, not least, I should like to thank Nelly De Vleeschouwer-Verreydt, for her patience and efficiency in typing my often nearly illegible manuscript.

Antwerp, 1987

ABBREVIATIONS

Literature:

- Adler, *Landscapes* W. Adler, *Landscapes (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVIII, 1)*, London–Oxford–New York, 1982.
- Alpers, *Torre* S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, IX)*, Brussels–London–New York, 1971.
- an der Heiden, *Bildnisse* R. an der Heiden, *Peter Paul Rubens und die Bildnisse seiner Familie in der Alten Pinakothek*, Munich, 1982.
- Baetjer, *Cat. New York* K. Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists born in or before 1865; a summary catalogue, I–III*, New York, 1980.
- Basan F. Basan, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens, avec une méthode pour blanchir les estampes les plus rousses, & en ôter les tâches d'huile. Nouvelle édition, corrigée, considérablement augmentée, & précédée de la vie de Rubens. Troisième partie faisant suite au dictionnaire des graveurs anciens & modernes*, Paris, 1767.
- Bellori, *Vite* G. P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni*, Rome, 1672.
- Berbie, *Description, 1757* [G. Berbie], *Description des principaux ouvrages de peinture et sculpture, actuellement existans dans les églises, couvens & lieux publics de la ville d'Anvers*, 3rd edn., Antwerp, 1757.
- Bernard-Maitre H. Bernard-Maitre, 'Un portrait de Nicolas Trigault, dessiné par Rubens?', *Archivium historicum Societatis Iesu*, XXII, 1953, pp. 308–313.
- Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke* Marianne Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke der Malerei. In Deutschland in der Zeit von 1939 bis 1945 zerstörte und verschollene Gemälde aus Museen und Galerien*, Munich, 1965.
- Bock–Rosenberg E. Bock and J. Rosenberg, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Die niederländischen Meister. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis sämtlicher Zeichnungen (Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Kupferstichkabinett, ed. by M. J. Friedländer)*, I–II, Berlin, 1930.
- Bode, *Kritik und Chronologie* W. Bode, 'Kritik und Chronologie der Gemälde von Peter Paul Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XVI, 1905, pp. 200–203.
- Braham, *Princes Gate* [H. Braham], *The Princes Gate Collection*, London, [1981].
- Bréjon–Foucart–Reynaud A. Bréjon de Lavergnée, J. Foucart and M. Reynaud, *Catalogue sommaire illustré des peintures du Musée du Louvre. I. École flamande et hollandaise*, Paris, 1979.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Burchard, *Anmerkungen* L. Burchard, 'Anmerkungen zu den Rubens-Bildern der Alten Pinakothek in München', *Kunstchronik*, N.F., XXIII, 1912, pp.257-264.
- Burchard, *Nachträge* [L. Burchard], *Nachträge*, in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.371-419.
- Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings* L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings (Monographs of the 'Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en de XVIIde Eeuw', II)*, I-II, Brussels, 1963.
- Cat. Düsseldorf, 1770 *Catalogue des tableaux qui se trouvent dans les galeries du Palais de S. A. S. E. Palatine à Dusseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1770.
- Cat. Munich, 1936 *Amtlicher Katalog. Aeltere Pinakothek*, Munich, 1936.
- Cat. Munich, 1983 *Alte Pinakothek München. Erläuterungen zu den ausgestellten Gemälden*. Munich, 1983.
- Cat. Vienna, 1928 *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1928.
- Cat. Vienna, 1938 *Katalog der Gemäldegalerie*, Vienna, 1938.
- Cat. Vienna, 1973 [K. Demus], *Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien. Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Vienna, 1973.
- Chrościcki, *Rubens* J. A. Chrościcki, 'Rubens w Polsce', *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, XII, 1981, pp.133-219.
- Conway, *Memorial Volume* [M. Conway ed.], *Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, Burlington House London 1927*, London, 1927.
- Cruzada Villaamil, *Rubens* G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Rubens, diplomático español, sus viajes a España y noticia de sus cuadros, según los inventarios de las casas reales de Austria y de Borbon*, Madrid [1872].
- Daugherty, *Self-Portraits* F. P. Daugherty, *The Self-Portraits of Peter Paul Rubens: Some Problems in Iconography*, Ann Arbor, 1976.
- de Blainville, *Travels* de Blainville, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland, but especially Italy*, I-III, London, 1757.
- de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden* E. de Jongh, *Zinne- en minnebeelden in de schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw*, s.l., 1967.
- De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella* M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVII^e-eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Schone Kunsten, IX)*, Brussels, 1955.
- Denucé, *Konstkamers* J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, II)*, Antwerp, 1932.
- Denucé, *Na Rubens* J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens. Documenten uit den kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVIIe eeuw van Matthijs Musson (Bronnen voor de geschiedenis van de Vlaamsche kunst, V)*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1949.

- De Poorter, Eucharist N. De Poorter, *The Eucharist Series (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, II)*, I-II, Brussels-London-New York, 1978.
- Descamps, Vie J.B. Descamps, *La vie des peintres flamands, allemands et hollandais*, I, Paris, 1753.
- Descamps, Voyage J.B. Descamps, *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant, Avec des Réflexions relativement aux Arts & quelques Gravures*, Paris, 1769.
- De Wit, Kerken J. de Wit, *De kerken van Antwerpen, met aanteekeningen door J. de Bosschere en grondplannen*, Antwerp-The Hague, 1910.
- Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado M. Díaz Padrón, *Museo del Prado, Catálogo de pinturas, I, Escuela flamenca siglo XVII*, I-II, Madrid, 1975.
- Dillis, Cat. Munich G. von Dillis, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in der königlichen Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1838.
- Dillon, Rubens E. Dillon, *Rubens*, London [1909].
- Dutuit, Manuel E. Dutuit, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, VI, Paris, 1885.
- Duverger, Van Hecke E. Duverger, 'De verzameling schilderijen van de Antwerpse zijde-en tapijthandelaar Peter van Hecke de Jonge, schoonbroer van P.P. Rubens, naar een inventaris van 1646', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, pp.143-173.
- Eastlake, Notes C. Eastlake, *Notes on the principal pictures in the Old Pinakothek at Munich*, London, 1884.
- Engerth, Cat. Vienna E.R. von Engerth, *Gemälde. Beschreibendes Verzeichniss, II, niederländische Schulen*, Vienna, 1884.
- Ertz, Brueghel K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Aeltere (1568-1625), die Gemälde mit kritischem Œuvrekatalog*, Cologne, [1979].
- Evers, Neue Forschungen H.G. Evers, *Rubens und sein Werk, neue Forschungen*, Brussels, 1943.
- Evers, Rubens H.G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1942.
- Fierens-Gevaert H. Fierens-Gevaert, in *Trésor de l'art belge au XVIIe siècle. Mémorial de l'exposition d'art ancien à Bruxelles en 1910*, I-II, Brussels, 1912.
- Friedländer M. J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I-XIV, Brussels, 1967-1976.
- Fry, Flemish Art R. Fry, 'Flemish Art at Burlington House. II. The Later Schools', *The Burlington Magazine*, L, 1927, pp.132-133, 136-139.
- Génard, Rubens P. Génard, *P.P. Rubens. Aanteekeningen over den grooten meester en zijn bloedverwanten*, Antwerpen, 1877.
- Gerson-ter Kuile H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800 (The Pelican History of Art)*, Harmondsworth, 1960.
- Glück-Haberditzl G. Glück and F.M. Haberditzl, *Die Handzeichnungen von Peter Paul Rubens*, Berlin, 1928.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Glück, *Liebesgarten* G. Glück, 'Rubens' Liebesgarten', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXV, 1920, pp.49–98.
- Glück, *Portrait* G. Glück, 'Rubens as Portrait Painter', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXVI, 1940, pp.173–183.
- Glück, *Review* G. Glück [Review of K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg], *Kunstgeschichtliche Anzeigen*, 1905, pp.51–64.
- Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck* G. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis* (Gustav Glück, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, ed. by L.Burchard and R.Eigenberger, I), Vienna, 1933.
- Goris–Held J.A.Goris and J.S.Held, *Rubens in America*, New York, 1947.
- Graf- en Gedenkschriften P.Génard et al., *Verzameling der graf- en gedenkschriften van de Provincie Antwerpen—Inscriptions funéraires et monumentales de la Province d'Anvers*, I–IX, Antwerp, 1856–1931.
- Haverkamp Begemann, *Achilles* E.Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, X), Brussels–London–New York, 1975.
- Haverkamp Begemann, *Olieverfschetsen* [E.Haverkamp Begemann], [Cat. Exh.] *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens* (Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1953–1954), Rotterdam, 1953.
- Hecquet, *Rubens* R.Hecquet, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après Rubens, auquel on a joint l'œuvre de Jordaens, & celle de Visscher, avec un secret pour blanchir des estampes & en ôter les taches d'huile*, Paris, 1751.
- Held, *Drawings* J.S.Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings, With an Introduction and a Critical Catalogue*, I–II, London, 1959.
- Held, *Oil Sketches* J.S.Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens, A Critical Catalogue*, I–II, Princeton, NJ, 1980.
- Held, *Rubens* J.S.Held, *Rubens and his Circle*, Princeton, 1982.
- Henkel–Schöne A.Henkel and A.Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, I–II, Stuttgart [1967–76].
- Hervey, *Arundel* M.F.R.Hervey, *The Life, Correspondence and Collection of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel*, Cambridge, 1921.
- Hind, *Rubens* A.M.Hind, *Catalogue of Drawings by Dutch and Flemish Artists preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, II, *Drawings by Rubens, Van Dyck and other Artists of the Flemish School of the XVII Century*, London, 1923.
- Hollstein F.W.H.Hollstein et al., *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, I–XXIX, Amsterdam, 1949–1984 (in progress).
- Huemer, *Portraits* F.Huemer, *Portraits* (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, XIX, 1), Brussels–London–New York, 1977.
- Hymans, *Gravure* H.Hymans, *Histoire de la gravure dans l'école de Rubens*, Brussels, 1879.

- Hymans, Vorsterman H. Hymans, *Lucas Vorsterman. Catalogue raisonné de son œuvre, précédé d'une notice sur la vie et les ouvrages du maître*, Brussels, 1893.
- Jaffé, Exhibitions M. Jaffé, 'Exhibitions for the Rubens Year', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXCIX, 1977, pp.620-631; CXX, 1978, pp.131-145, 346, 349.
- Jaffé, Rubens and Italy M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977.
- Jaffé, Warsaw M. Jaffé, 'Rubens Drawings in the Warsaw University Library', *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, XVII, 1976, pp.83-96.
- Judson-Van de Velde J. R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Book Illustrations and Title-Pages (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XXI)*, I-II, Brussels-London-Philadelphia, 1978.
- Karsch, Cat. Düsseldorf G. J. Karsch, *Désignation exacte des peintures dans la Galerie de la Résidence à Düsseldorf*, Düsseldorf, 1719.
- K.d.K. P. P. Rubens, *Des Meisters Gemälde in 538 Abbildungen*, ed. by R. Oldenbourg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, V), 4th edn., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1921.
- K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg P. P. Rubens, *Des Meisters Gemälde in 551 Abbildungen*, ed. by A. Rosenberg (*Klassiker der Kunst*, V), 1st edn., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1906.
- K.d.K., Van Dyck, Van Dyck, *Des Meisters Gemälde in 571 Abbildungen*, ed. by G. Glück (*Klassiker der Kunst*, XIII), 2nd edn., Stuttgart-Berlin-London, 1931.
- K.d.K., Van Dyck, ed. Schäffer E. Schäffer, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde (Klassiker der Kunst, XIII)*, Stuttgart, 1909.
- Köhler-Lutterbeck U. R. Köhler-Lutterbeck, *P. P. Rubens und das Familienportrait. Kommentare zum Thema der Familie im Werk des Malers*, Kiel, 1975.
- Krempel, Max Emanuel Ulla Krempel, 'Max Emanuel als Gemäldesammler', in *Cat. Exh. Schleissheim, 1976*, I, pp.221-238.
- Kuznetsov, Risunki J. I. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1974.
- L. F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes. Marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques. Marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs. Cachets de vente d'artistes décédés. Marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches. Timbres d'édition. Etc. Avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1921.
- L., Suppl. F. Lugt, *Les marques de collections de dessins & d'estampes. Marques estampillées et écrites de collections particulières et publiques. Marques de marchands, de monteurs et d'imprimeurs. Cachets de vente d'artistes décédés. Marques de graveurs apposées après le tirage des planches. Timbres d'édition. Etc. Avec des notices historiques sur les collectionneurs, les collections, les ventes, les marchands et éditeurs, etc.*, *Supplément*, The Hague, 1956.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Larsen, Rubens E. Larsen, *P. P. Rubens. With a Complete Catalogue of his Works in America*, Antwerp, 1952.
- Liedtke, *Cat. New York* W. A. Liedtke, *Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, I-II, New York, 1984.
- López Navió J. López Navió, 'La gran colección de pinturas del Marqués de Leganés', *Analecta Calasanciana*, 1962, pp.259-330.
- Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande* F. Lugt, *École flamande (Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord)*, I-II, Paris, 1949.
- Madrazo, *Cat. Prado* P. de Madrazo, *Catalogo de los cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura*, Madrid, 1845.
- Marggraff, *Cat. Munich* R. Marggraff, *Die ältere K. Pinakothek zu München. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, Munich, 1865.
- Martin, *Cat. National Gallery* G. Martin, *The Flemish School, circa 1600-circa 1900 (National Gallery Catalogues)*, London, 1970.
- Martin, *Pompa* J. R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XVI)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1972.
- Mauquoy-Hendrickx M. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine Van Dyck. Catalogue raisonné*, I-II, Brussels, 1956.
- Mechel, *Verzeichnis* C. von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der Kaiserlich Königl. Bildergalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1783.
- Mensaert, *Peintre* G. P. Mensaert, *Le Peintre Amateur et Curieux, Ou Description Générale des Tableaux des plus habiles Maîtres, qui font l'ornement des Eglises, Couvents, Abbayes, Prieurés & Cabinets particuliers dans l'étendue des Pays-Bas Autrichiens*, I-II, Brussels, 1763.
- Michel, *Histoire* J. F. M. Michel, *Histoire de la vie de P. P. Rubens, Chevalier, & Seigneur de Steen, Illustrée d'Anecdotes, qui n'ont jamais paru au Public, & de ses tableaux étalés dans les Palais, Eglises & Places publiques de l'Europe: & par la Démonstration des Estampes existantes & relatives à ses Ouvrages*, Brussels, 1771.
- Michel, *Rubens* E. Michel, *Rubens, sa vie, son œuvre et son temps*, Paris, 1900.
- Mielke-Winner H. Mielke and M. Winner, *Peter Paul Rubens. Kritischer Katalog der Zeichnungen. Originale-Umkreis-Kopien (Die Zeichnungen alter Meister im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz)*, Berlin, 1977.
- Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts* J. Müller Hofstede, 'Höfische und bürgerliche Damenporträts: Anmerkungen zu Rubens' Antwerpener Bildnis-malerei, 1609-1620', *Pantheon*, XLI, 1983, pp.308-321.
- Parker-Mathey K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau. Catalogue complet de son œuvre dessiné*, I-II, Paris [1957].
- Parthey, *Bildersaal* G. Parthey, *Deutscher Bildersaal. Verzeichnis der in Deutschland vorhandenen Oelbilder verstorbener Maler aller Schulen in alphabetischer Folge zusammengestellt*, I-II, Berlin, 1863-1864.

- Pigage, *Cat. Düsseldorf*
 N. de Pigage, *La Galerie Electorale de Dusseldorf ou Catalogue raisonné de ses tableaux*, Brussels, 1781.
- Reber, *Cat. Munich*
 F. von Reber, *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der K. Älteren Pinakothek zu München*, Munich, 1884.
- Renger, *Rubens Dedit*
 K. Renger, 'Rubens Dedit Dedicavitque. Rubens' Beschäftigung mit der Reproduktionsgrafik, I. Teil: Der Kupferstich', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XVI, 1974, pp.122-175; 'II. Teil: Radierungen und Holzschnitt - Die Widmungen', *ibid.*, XVII, 1975, pp.166-213.
- Reynolds, *Journey*
 [J. Reynolds], *A Journey to Flanders and Holland in the year MDCCLXXXI*, printed in *The Literary Works of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, ed. by H.W. Beechey, II, London, 1852, pp.139-236.
- Rietstap, *Armorial*
 J.B. Rietstap, *Armorial général précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blason*, I-II, Gouda, 1884-87.
- Rietstap, *Armorial Illustré*
 J.B. Rietstap, *Armorial général illustré*, I-VI, The Hague, 1903-26.
- Rombouts-Van Lerijs
 P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerijs, *De liggeren en andere historische archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde—Les liggeren et autres archives de la gilde anversoise de Saint Luc*, I-II, Antwerp-The Hague [1872-?].
- Roses
 M. Roses, *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens. Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, I-V, Antwerp, 1886-1892.
- Roses-Ruelens
Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses œuvres, publiés, traduits, annotés par Ch. Ruelens (I), par Max Roses et feu Ch. Ruelens (II-VI), I-VI, Antwerp, 1887-1909.
- Roses, *Vlaamsche Kunst*
 M. Roses, 'De Vlaamsche kunst in de 17e eeuw tentoongesteld in het Jubelpaleis te Brussel in 1910. De schilderijen', *Onze Kunst*, X, 1911, pp.1-12.
- Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*
 J. Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings and Sketches. Catalogue of an Exhibition at the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, 1977, London, 1977.
- Rubens-Bulletijn
Rubens-Bulletijn, Jaarboeken der ambtelijke commissie ingesteld door den gemeenteraad der Stad Antwerpen voor het uitgeven der bescheiden betrekkelijk het leven en de werken van Rubens—Bulletin-Rubens. Annales de la commission officielle instituée par le conseil communal de la Ville d'Anvers pour la publication des documents relatifs à la vie et aux œuvres de Rubens, I-V, 1882-1910.
- Scharf, *Cat. Blenheim*
 G. Scharf, *Catalogue Raisonné or a List of the Pictures in Blenheim Palace*, London, 1862.
- Schönbrunner-Meder
 J. Schönbrunner and J. Meder, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus der Albertina und anderen Sammlungen*, I-XIII, Vienna, 1896-1908.
- Seilern, *Addenda*
 [A. Seilern], *Flemish Paintings and Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7, Addenda*, IV, London, 1969.
- Seilern, *Corrigenda and Addenda*
 [A. Seilern], *Corrigenda & Addenda to the Catalogue of Paintings & Drawings at 56 Princes Gate, London SW7*, London, 1971.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Seilern, *Flemish Paintings* [A.Seilern], *Flemish Paintings & Drawings at 56 Princes Gate London SW7, I*, London, 1955.
- Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné* J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, In which is included a short Biographical Notice of the Artists with a Copious Description of their principal Pictures...*, I-IX, London, 1829-1842.
- Sonnenburg, *Bildaufbau* H. von Sonnenburg, 'Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik', *Maltechnik-Restaur*, 1979, pp.77-100, 181-203.
- Speth-Holterhoff, *Cabinets* S. Speth-Holterhoff, *Les peintres flamands de cabinets d'amateurs au XVIIe siècle (Les peintres flamands du XVIIe siècle, ed. by L. Van Puyvelde, VII)*, Brussels, 1957.
- Stampart-Prenner F. Stampart and A. Prenner, *Prodromus oder Vor-Licht des eröffneten Schau- und Wunder-Prachtes aller deren an dem Kaiserl. Hof... Carl des Sechsten ... sich befindlichen Kunst-Schätzen und Kostbarkeiten...*, Vienna, 1735.
- Stuart Wortley C. Stuart Wortley, 'Rubens's Drawings of Chinese Costume', *Old Master Drawings*, IX, 1934, pp.40-47.
- Uffizi, *Cat. 1980* Gli Uffizi. *Catalogo Generale*, Florence, 1980.
- Valentiner, *Rubens in America* W.R.Valentiner, 'Rubens' Paintings in America', *The Art Quarterly*, IX, 1946, pp.153-168.
- Van den Wijngaert, *Prentkunst* F. Van den Wijngaert, *Inventaris der Rubeniaansche prentkunst*, Antwerp, 1940.
- van Gelder, *Rubens Marginalia* J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens Marginalia', I-IV, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, pp.450, 455-457, 839-844; CXXII, 1980, pp.164-168; CXXIII, 1981, pp.542-546.
- Van Gool, *Nieuwe Schouburg* J. Van Gool, *De nieuwe schouburg der nederlantsche kunstschilders en schilderessen*, I-II, The Hague, 1750-51.
- Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses* L. Van Puyvelde, *Les esquisses de Rubens*, Basle, 1940.
- Van Puyvelde, *Portraits* L. Van Puyvelde, 'Les Portraits de femmes de Rubens', *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne*, April, 1937, pp.1-24.
- Van Puyvelde, *Rubens* L. Van Puyvelde, *Rubens (Les peintres flamands du XVIIe siècle, ed. by L. Van Puyvelde, II)*, Paris-Brussels, 1952.
- Varshavskaya, *Rubens* M.Varshavskaya, *Rubens' Paintings in the Hermitage Museum [Russ.]*, Leningrad, 1975.
- Vlieghe, *Lunden* H.Vlieghe, 'Une grande collection anversoise du dix-septième siècle: le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIX, 1977, pp.172-204.
- Vlieghe, *Remarks* H.Vlieghe, 'Some remarks on the identification of sitters in Rubens' portraits', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, I, 1983, pp.106-115.
- Vlieghe, *Saints* H.Vlieghe, *Saints (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VIII)*, I-II, Brussels-London-New York, 1972-1973.

V.S.	C.G.Voorhelm Schneevoogt, <i>Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens, avec l'indication des collections où se trouvent les tableaux et les gravures</i> , Haarlem, 1873.
Waagen, Galleries	G.F.Waagen, <i>Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain. Being an account of more than forty collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Mss., visited in 1854 and 1856, and now for the first time described. Forming a Supplemental Volume to the Treasures of Art in Great Britain, three Volumes</i> , London, 1857.
Waagen, Kunstwerke	G.F.Waagen, <i>Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris, I-III</i> , Berlin, 1837-1839.
Waagen, Treasures	G.F.Waagen, <i>Treasures of Art in Great Britain. Being an Account of the Chief Collections of Paintings, Drawings, Sculptures, Illustrated Mss., etc, etc.</i> , I-III, London, 1854.
Warnke, Kommentare	M.Warnke, <i>Kommentare zu Rubens</i> , Berlin, 1965.
Warnke, Rubens	M.Warnke, <i>Peter Paul Rubens. Leben und Werk</i> , Cologne [1977].
Wethey, Titian	H.Wethey, <i>The Paintings of Titian, I-III</i> , London [1969-75].

Exhibitions:

Amsterdam, 1933	<i>Rubens-tentoonstelling</i> , Gallery J.Goudstikker, Amsterdam, August-September 1933.
Antwerp, 1927	<i>Petrus Paulus Rubens herdacht, 1577-1927</i> , Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1927.
Antwerp, 1930	<i>Wereldtentoonstelling voor koloniën, zeevaart en Oud-Vlaamse kunst</i> , Antwerp, June-September 1930.
Antwerp, 1956	<i>Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens</i> , Rubenshuis, Antwerp, June-September 1956.
Antwerp, 1977	<i>P.P. Rubens. Schilderijen, olieverfschetsen, tekeningen. Tentoonstelling</i> , Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, June-September 1977.
Berlin, 1977	<i>Peter Paul Rubens</i> , Staatliche Museen preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, 1977.
Berne, 1949-50	<i>Kunstwerke der Münchner Museen</i> , Kunstmuseum, Berne, September 1949-February 1950.
Brussels, 1886	<i>Tableaux de maitres anciens</i> , Académie Royale de Belgique, Brussels, 1886.
Brussels, 1910	<i>L'art belge au XVIIe siècle</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1910.
Brussels, 1937	<i>Esquisses de Rubens</i> , Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1937.
Brussels, 1938-39	<i>Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens</i> , Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1938-1939.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Brussels, 1948 *De meesterwerken van de Pinacothek van München*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, April–July 1948.
- Brussels, 1949 *De Van Eyck à Rubens, Dessins de maîtres flamands*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, March–April 1949.
- Brussels, 1953 *Rubens, esquisses-dessins*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1953.
- Brussels, 1965 *Le siècle de Rubens*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1965.
- Cambridge–New York, 1956 *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P.P. Rubens from American Collections*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., January–February 1956; The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, March–April 1956.
- Cincinnati, 1948 Nicolas Poussin. *Peter Paul Rubens*, Art Museum Cincinnati, February–March 1948.
- Detroit, 1936 *Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, February–March 1936.
- Detroit, 1978 *Homage to Rubens*, The Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, January–April 1978.
- Elewijt, 1962 *Rubens Diplomaat*, Rubenskasteel, Elewijt, July–September 1962.
- Florence, 1977 *Rubens e la pittura fiamminga del Seicento—Rubens et la peinture flamande du XVIIème siècle*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, July–October 1977.
- Graz, 1954 *Rubens und sein Kreis*, Künstlerhaus, Graz, 1954.
- Helsinki, 1952–53 *P.P. Rubens, esquisses, dessins, gravures*, Ateneum, Helsinki, December 1952–January 1953.
- Leningrad, 1978 *Rubens i flamandskoe barokko*, Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978.
- London, 1835 *One Hundred Original Drawings by Sir P.P. Rubens*, Collected by Sir Thomas Lawrence, Royal Academy, London, 1835.
- London, 1927 *Flemish and Belgian Art*, Royal Academy, London, 1927.
- London, 1938 *17th Century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy, London, 1938.
- London, 1949 *Masterpieces from the Alte Pinakothek at Munich*, National Gallery, London, 1949.
- London, 1950 *A Loan Exhibition of Works by Peter Paul Rubens*, Kt., Wildenstein and Co., London, October–November 1950.
- London, 1953–54 *Flemish Art 1300–1700*, Royal Academy, London, 1953–54.
- London, 1961 *Oil Sketches and Smaller Pictures by Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, T. Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London, February–March 1961.
- London, 1972 *The Age of Charles I. Painting in England 1620–1649*, Tate Gallery, London, 1972.
- London, 1974 *Portrait Drawings XV–XX Centuries*, British Museum, London, August–December 1974.

- London, 1977 *Rubens Drawings and Sketches*, British Museum, London, 1977.
- Los Angeles, 1946 *Loan Exhibition of Paintings by Rubens and Van Dyck*, Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, November–December 1946.
- Madrid, 1977–78 *Pedro Pablo Rubens (1577–1640). Exposición Homenaje*, Palacio de Velázquez, Madrid, December 1977–March 1978.
- New York, 1927 *Exhibition Commemorating the 350th Anniversary of P.P. Rubens*, The Gallery of P. Jackson Higge, New York, 1927.
- New York, 1942 *Peter Paul Rubens*, Schaeffer & Brandt, Inc., New York, November–December 1942.
- New York, 1951 *A Loan Exhibition of Rubens*, Wildenstein, New York, February–March 1951.
- Paris, 1936 *Rubens et son temps*, Musée de l'Orangerie, Paris, 1936.
- Paris, 1949 *De Van Eyck à Rubens. Les maîtres flamands du dessin*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1949.
- Paris, 1954 *Anvers, ville de Plantin et de Rubens*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, March–April 1954.
- Paris, 1959 *Dessins de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, February–March 1959.
- Paris, 1977–78 *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Grand Palais, Paris, November 1977–March 1978.
- Paris, 1978 *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves; dessins du Musée du Louvre*, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Paris, February–May 1978.
- Paris–Antwerp–London–New York, 1979–80 *Le siècle de Rubens et de Rembrandt; dessins flamands et hollandais du XVIIe siècle de la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp; British Museum, London; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1979–80.
- Rotterdam, 1939 *Petrus Paulus Rubens, teekeningen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, February–March 1939.
- Rotterdam, 1948–49 *Tekeningen van Jan van Eyck tot Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, December 1948–February 1949.
- Rotterdam, 1952 *Choix de dessins*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1952.
- Rotterdam, 1953–54 *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, December 1953–March 1954.
- Schleissheim, 1976 *Kurfürst Max Emanuel, Bayern und Europa um 1700, Altes und neues Schloss, Schleissheim*, July–October 1976.
- Siegen, 1967 *Rubens als Bürger*, Museum des Siegerlandes, Oberes Schloss, Siegen, June–July 1967.
- Stockholm, 1953 *Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Nationalmuseum and other Swedish Collections*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1953.
- Stockholm, 1977–78 *Rubens i Sverige*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, October 1977–January 1978.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Tokyo, 1985* *Pierre Paul Rubens, Galerie d'Art, Tokyo Takashimaya, Tokyo, August-September 1985*
- Vienna, 1930* *Drei Jahrhunderte Vlämische Kunst, 1400-1700, Secession, Vienna, January-February 1930.*
- Vienna, 1977* *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640. Ausstellung zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, April-June 1977.*
- Vienna, Albertina, 1977* *Die Rubenszeichnungen der Albertina zum 400. Geburtstag, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, March-June 1977.*
- Zürich, 1946-47* *Meisterwerke aus Oesterreich, Kunsthaus, Zürich, October 1946-March 1947.*

INTRODUCTION

IT CAN BE SAID that after his return to Antwerp in October 1608 Rubens not only created a new, Baroque style of history painting but also liberated the art of portraiture from a certain schematism which had beset it since the middle of the sixteenth century. His own early painting was subject to the limitations imposed by the Mannerist style in which he had been trained. This is seen in the only portrait that certainly belongs to his pre-Italian years, the *Architect or Geographer*, dated 1597, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.¹ The somewhat stiff, formalized pose and the rather pale, lifeless colouring are in line with Van Veen's style. At the same time, the play of the hands and, above all, the expressive way in which they are painted reveals the innate talent which enabled Rubens to feel the character of his sitters and depict them as creatures of flesh and blood, just as he did with biblical and mythological figures.

Rubens's style did not mature until his stay in Italy. The Mannerism of his youth gave way to the new Baroque style introduced there, a few years before his arrival, by Annibale Carracci and Caravaggio. Carracci's eclecticism encouraged Rubens to combine Titianesque colouring with a compositional structure typical of Raphael and an expressivity of physical form reminiscent of Michelangelo. From the direct naturalism of Caravaggio and his dramatic light effects, he learnt to intensify the dramatic character of his own representations. Rubens's Baroque style of portraiture was also basically formed in these Italian years, as is shown both by his monumental equestrian portraits and by his paintings of distinguished Genoese ladies. Despite Manneristic effects of foreshortening, the *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*² and that of *Doria*³ give an impression of directness and truth to life that immediately captivates the beholder. In the same way the portraits of Genoese ladies dating from the same period show none of the courtly schematism that was so characteristic of ceremonial portraits from the mid sixteenth century onwards. They are enlivened by the picturesque entourage—children, for instance, or a court dwarf—and the typically Baroque interpenetration of different spatial spheres.⁴ As in the equestrian portraits, here too the onlooker is at once attracted by the natural ex-

1. Cf. Liedtke, *Cat. New York*, pp.187–191, pls.XVI, 73.

2. Cf. Huemer, *Portraits*, No.20, fig.67.

3. *Ibid.*, No.10, fig.68.

pression and unaffected pose and is, so to speak, invited to make the sitter's acquaintance. The sense of physical reality and truth to life is enhanced by the opening-up of the background, with a vista appearing between pillars or across a balcony. This is a Venetian style of portraiture, created by Titian and Veronese. The refined sense of colour, the feeling for shades and materials which help to make these early portraits by Rubens so lively, are also due to Venetian influence. What is new is, above all, Rubens's stronger sense of space and drama and his power to transform an essentially formal genre such as the ceremonial portrait into a glimpse of human action.

It is rather curious that after returning to Antwerp in October 1608 Rubens did not at once continue working in this lively style of portraiture. In the same way, as is known, his monumental altarpieces did not in every way conform to the Baroque style which he had developed in Italy and which had made him famous in the North. At the outset he reverted to the old fashion of hinged triptychs, which had long been obsolete in Italy, and used old Netherlandish iconographic motifs which must have seemed out of date to him while in Italy.⁴ This can only be explained by the fact that he had to take account of the cultural climate of Antwerp and his clients' taste, which was simply not the same as in Italy. The same difference of milieu and tradition no doubt explains why he reverted to a kind of schematism in his portraits painted in Antwerp after October 1608. Naturally this is most in evidence in the typical court portraits such as those of Albert and Isabella dating from 1615-17 (Nos. 59-70; Figs. 5-21) and the portrait of the Princess of Condé of c.1610 (No. 86; Fig. 63) should also be mentioned here. This work is composed in accordance with the old Mannerist schema: Rubens found models for it in the work of Van Veen and Frans Pourbus II. There is no longer a sense of space as in the Genoese portraits: the personages stand or sit in somewhat ill-defined attitudes in front of a rather neutral background. But Rubens here departs from the strict linearity of his late sixteenth-century models: despite the rigid schema, these portraits show a strongly expressive quality and a sense of corporal reality that were new in Antwerp. One of the most brilliant features of Rubens's art is indeed his exceptional power of enlivening old, traditional schematic forms. This is exemplified in his many retouched or worked-up copies and imitations of other masters. Also Rubens's reinterpretation of the classical past is enlightening in this respect: in accordance with his own treatise on the imitation of antique sculpture, he

4. *Ibid.*, Nos. 19, 41, 45, figs. 118-121, 123.

5. Cf. H. Vlieghe, 'Rubens en Van Scorel', *Oud Holland*, XCIV, 1980, pp. 32-36, with further bibliographical references on this subject.

transforms his prototypes into living beings.⁶ Besides portraits of rulers standing or sitting there is another type, the equestrian portrait, which was to be an even more expressive symbol of the absolutism that culminated in this period. Here again we find that Rubens forgets the precedents of his Italian years, such as the portraits of Lerma and Doria, and conforms to a more rigid schema based on sixteenth-century prototypes by Stradanus. An example of this is the painting, executed c.1615, of the Archduke Albert as the victor of Ostend (No.58; Fig.2).

Several portraits of 1610–20, whose subjects did not belong to court circles, are noteworthy for a similar return to tradition. Thus the fine portrait of *Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family* of c.1612–13 (No.79; Fig.46) shows its debt to Haarlem Mannerism in the style of Goltzius in the artificial, diagonal pose of the principal figure. Here again the figures appear to be crowded together in the foreground and are posed against a neutral background that is spatially undetermined. In general the family portrait belongs to an old Netherlands tradition. As with Van Heemskerck, Floris and others, the basic conception is that of harmony: the group portrait is conceived as an organic composition, showing the members of the family in loving contact or making music together. Rubens and Isabella Brant are thus conjoined in the *Honeysuckle Bower* of c.1610 at Munich (No.138; Fig.184). The two figures are, as it were, enclosed within a decorative contour, and it is no surprise that this schema too is Mannerist in origin. The portrait is also, as far as we know, the first by Rubens in which married love and fertility are symbolized in emblematic fashion. This emblematic symbolism was to be used above all in Rubens's more intimate portraits, which were clearly intended to express particular affection for the sitter. Such was the case, at this period, with *Justus Lipsius and his Pupils* (No.117; Fig.140), where the floral symbolism expresses Rubens's love for his brother Philip, who had recently died. This painting is an exception among those painted shortly after 1610 in that there is again a break in the background: it is more similar to the Genoese vistas which gave the portrait such an effect of space.

At this period, however, Rubens chiefly used other means to achieve an effect of space and liveliness, by modelling his figures in a highly expressive manner and by the use of illusionistic foreshortening. (Marked plasticity was indeed characteristic of the whole of Rubens's work from about 1612 and throughout the earlier 1620s.) He also endeavoured to express depth and a certain dyna-

6. I cannot agree with Justus Müller Hofstede who, in a recent study of Rubens's portraits of female sitters (*Müller Hofstede, Damenporträts*, especially pp.309–312), insists on Rubens's so-called dislike for late 16th-century Mannerist formulas. Rather than refraining from these formulas, Rubens in his Antwerp portraits tries to recast them in a new spirit of realism.

mism by placing his sitters at an angle, as in the portraits of *Rogier Clarisse* (No.84; Fig. 59) and *Petrus Pecquius* (No.128; Fig.160); or again he would give them animation by eschewing stereotyped poses and showing them at a moment of extreme tension or emotion. In so doing he naturally sought inspiration from his great predecessor Titian, the first to have conceived of a portrait as a live, instantaneous scene. Portraits of this period in Titianesque style, especially striking and attractive in their spontaneity, are the speaking *Ophovius* (No.126; Fig.155) and the meditating *Van Thulden* (No.152; Fig.220). The bravura portrait of *Nicolaas de Respaigne* (No.129; Fig.161) is also inspired by Titian. However, despite all the resemblances it is not easy to point to a direct model in Titian's work. This shows how well Rubens understood its essence and was able to re-create Titian's style in a manner all his own. Some of the portraits from the second half of the first decade of the century have a degree of vivacity and of dramatic tension that recalls Rubens's contemporary history painting. In this respect his *Respaigne* (No.129; Fig.161), *Van Thulden* (No.152; Fig.220) and *Vermoele* (No.156; Fig.232) match such paintings as the *Battle of the Amazons* or the *Dresden Boar Hunt*.

Thus Rubens's portraits provide a good illustration of the general development of his style. Soon after 1620 he evolved his own dynamic form of High Baroque, first of all in an ambitious historical cycle such as the Medici series. Here the events of history take on an almost mythological dimension thanks to the appearance of allegorical personifications and classical deities symbolizing the deeper moral or political significance of the various scenes. From the same time onwards Rubens also used the allegorical system in his portraits. Thus the politico-military importance of the Duke of Buckingham is clearly emphasized in the equestrian portrait of c.1625-27 by the personified figures doing honour to him as a victorious naval hero. A similar technique is shown in the iconography of some portrait engravings designed by Rubens at this period, such as the *Count of Bucquoy* (No.82; Fig.55). There the portrait proper is framed by mythological-allegorical figures emphasizing Bucquoy's politico-military importance and his service to the cause of the Counter-Reformation. In the portrait of *Archduchess Isabella as a Poor Clare*, engraved somewhat later, the subject's moral qualities are symbolized in a similar manner and with equal skill (No.112; Fig.131). The devising of such ingenious allegorical settings, in which personifications and symbols are used to 'reveal' the theme or deeper moral significance of the main representation, is naturally connected with Rubens's activity as a designer of title-pages for the Officina Plantiniana. In the 1620s we also find him adapting this iconographic system to the borders of tapestries of

his own design: the famous *Eucharist* series is the first example, and a very influential one. Rubens did not, however, confine himself to this new pictorial language as a means of symbolizing the importance of his sitters. In depicting men and women with whom he was on close terms he used more veiled emblematic motifs, such as those expressing his love for Isabella Brant in the Florentine portrait painted shortly after her death, c.1626 (No.76; Fig.41). In the same subtle way he alluded to the differences of temperament between his two sons in the double portrait at Vaduz, painted around the same time, and furnished the work with a moral message (No.142; Fig.200).

But the allegorical personifications that are typical of High Baroque remained part of Rubens's work to the end. They make an important contribution to the more dashing and dynamic style that characterizes most of Rubens's work from about 1620. This increasing liveliness is also due to such features as greater flexibility of pose, more flowing draperies and the delicate play of shadows. The stylistic evolution is also seen in Rubens's portraits: it is especially clear in those of *Isabella Brant* at Cleveland (No.75; Fig.36) and Florence (No.76; Fig.41), *Susanna Fourment* in London (No.102; Fig.110) and the double portrait of *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* at Vaduz (No.142; Fig.200). Here too the hard illumination of the period before c.1620, with its sharp modelling effects, gives place to a more subtle technique. The assertive, self-confident poses seen in portraits before 1620 are likewise replaced by more relaxed attitudes, and the sharp outlines are gradually mellowed. There is also a more sensitive treatment of the physical details of skin, hair, muscle and bone structure of the sitters' faces. We feel that the painter is not only recording their features but is endeavouring in a more subtle way to suggest something of their emotions.

Although his style was becoming livelier in this way, Rubens at this period was still faithful to traditional modes of portraying princes and courtiers. Thus, for instance, the portraits of Spinola dating from the later twenties (Nos.148-151; Figs.215-219) are masterpieces of sharp psychological observation, but the general's martial attitude belongs to a tradition that is already becoming old-fashioned. The pose ultimately goes back to that of late sixteenth-century court portraits by followers of Moro; Rubens's direct model was no doubt a portrait by Mierevelt. The pose of the seated Lady Arundel in the group portrait of 1620 in Munich (No.72; Fig.24) is also more or less conventional, the model in this case being a portrait by Daniël Mytens that belongs to the same formalist tradition. However, in this group portrait, which is unique in Rubens's work, the stiffness of the pose is offset by the countess's picturesque entourage and the landscape background. The stylistic elements in which Rubens revived the con-

ceptions of his own Italian period harmonize well enough with the increasing liveliness of his work from the 1620s onwards.

Rubens, it is true, chose a more dynamic pose for his portrait of the future Polish King Ladislas Sigismund, executed in 1624 (No. 113; Figs. 132, 133): this was based on Titian's *Charles V with Upraised Sword*, which Rubens himself copied and had engraved by Vorsterman. But it was not till a few years later, from c. 1628–30 onwards, that Titian once again became a source of inspiration for Rubens, to an even greater extent than before. This re-orientation was in fact closely connected with the stylistic evolution which changed the whole appearance of Rubens's work from that time onwards.

Rubens spent a large part of the years 1628–30 in Madrid and London. His journeys, as is known, were for political and diplomatic purposes, but they were also of great importance to the development of his style as a painter. In particular they gave him a fresh opportunity to make an intense and thorough study of the style of his beloved Titian, the choicest examples of whose work could then be seen in the collections of Philip IV and Charles I. There is no doubt that, both in quality and in quantity, the works by Titian in the collections of those two monarchs surpassed all that Rubens had previously seen at Mantua or in the master's own Venice. It is generally accepted that a strong affinity with Titian's later work can be seen in the pronounced softening of Rubens's style from this time onwards, marked as it is by less sharp outlines, a subdued tonality, the glow of warm colours, delicate, diffused lighting and freer brushwork. In most of these portraits the sitter also occupies a larger part of the picture surface. Altogether the change of style greatly increased the spontaneity and liveliness of Rubens's portraits. Typically Titianesque portraits of these years are *Jan van Montfort* (No. 123; Fig. 147) and the *Marquis of Leganés* (No. 115; Fig. 135): they are indeed based very directly on models by Titian, the first on *Fabrizio Salvaresio* and the second on *Francesco della Rovere*. Other portraits, however, such as *Jan Brant* of 1635 (No. 78; Fig. 42) and the somewhat earlier *Gevartius* (No. 106; Fig. 122) are still based on more traditional schemata: these are typical portraits of scholars, accompanied more or less by attributes of their profession. The *Gevartius* is actually in the style of early sixteenth-century Netherlands portraits of humanists. Another scholar, *Ludovicus Nonnius*, whose portrait dates from c. 1635 (No. 124; Fig. 152), is shown in a more relaxed pose. The iconography is also original, as Rubens in a veiled way pays tribute to the Antwerp-Portuguese physician as a 'new Hippocrates'. Still more subtle is the emblematic allusion to the activity of the other famous physician, Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, whom Rubens compares to a beacon of light. We know from the

painter's correspondence that this iconography reflected his special friendship for Mayerne, who had treated him during his stay in London.⁷ The portraits of the European nobility made in these years are still characterized by the rhetorical apparatus of allegorical personifications. In this respect the *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand on Horseback* (No.93; Fig.76) is a variant of the similar portrait of *Buckingham* (No.81; Fig.53); however, the light touch and the soft, atmospheric play of light and colour strongly emphasize the momentary aspect and thus go far to neutralize the effect of the traditional pose. The portrait of Ferdinand also has a vibrant quality that is not present in the much more massive representation of Buckingham. The most outstanding of Rubens's later portraits are unquestionably those of his second wife H el ene Fourment, alone or together with Rubens or their children. These are the finest examples of the more subtle symbolism which, as I have mentioned, Rubens used especially in portraying people of whom he was particularly fond. In all cases this included a tribute to love: the bond of marriage uniting Rubens and his wife, or the love of H el ene Fourment for her children. In *H el ene Fourment with Frans Rubens* in the Louvre (No.100; Fig.103) the carriage in the background, drawn by two horses, may be an emblem of conjugal harmony. The picture of *Rubens and H el ene Fourment in a Garden* at Munich (No.139; Fig.192) and the more monumental variant in New York (No.141; Fig.195) have been convincingly interpreted as personal versions of the late medieval 'Garden of Love' theme: this appears not only from the iconography but also from the fact that Rubens depicted himself and his wife with the aid of an amorous theme from D urer's graphic art. The Munich version is probably based on Ovid's story of Vertumnus and Pomona, which must have struck Rubens as appropriate to his own marriage, late in life, to a woman thirty-seven years younger; and in the same way the famous '*Pelsken*' (No.97; Fig.88) is to be regarded as a *portrait histori e* of H el ene Fourment as Venus Pudica. Again, the two portraits which show H el ene seated, with one or more children on her lap or beside her, are strongly associated with the theme of Charity as interpreted by Titian and Raphael. The portrait in the Louvre (No.99; Fig.97) is directly related, as regards composition, to the somewhat earlier portrait of the *Gerbier Family*;⁸ in both cases the inspiring model is Titian's *Allegory of Love*, now in the Louvre. But the portrait of *H el ene with her Son Frans* (No.98; Fig.92) is a more intimate expression of mother-love, being a secular interpretation of Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia*.

Rubens's late full-length portraits of his wife and family (Nos.96-100; Figs.85,

7. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, p.180, under No.47, fig.128.

8. *Ibid.*, No.14, figs.63-64.

88, 92, 97, 103) are outstanding for their liveliness and lack of constraint, not least owing to the presence of the children. Here Rubens reverted completely to the style of the monumental yet captivating portraits of ladies from his Genoese period. As we have seen, this type of portrait is Venetian in origin, having been created by Titian and, still more, Veronese. These late family portraits accordingly reflect Rubens's intensified interest in the Venetian school in the last decade of his life, and they are among the finest and most appealing that he ever painted. The type is comparatively rare in Rubens's work as a whole, in which more conventional half-length portraits are most frequent. However, the reversion to full-length portraits in the Italian style, and hence to the great models of the Venetian cinquecento, had previously been accomplished by Rubens's most gifted pupil, Van Dyck. The latter, during his Italian years from 1621 to 1627, adopted the type of portrait created by Rubens at Genoa and interpreted it in his own more refined and courtly style. Returning to Antwerp, he introduced the new style of portraits of gentlemen and ladies in poses of studied informality, often accompanied by children, pages or servants, and depicted in front of a majestic drapery hanging in broad folds or a balcony with a distant view beyond. This type of portrait soon made Van Dyck internationally famous, so that he ended his career as court painter to Charles I and creator of the Baroque style of ceremonial portraiture. It seems to me quite possible that Rubens in his late years was spurred to emulation by Van Dyck's return to Antwerp with the new style of portrait-painting that he had brought to maturity in Italy. We may speculate as to how far Rubens's late return to the Genoese type of portrait dating from the beginning of the century was influenced by the new direction that Van Dyck had given to the art of portraiture, and that was to characterize it throughout Europe until late in the eighteenth century.

Some contemporary sources refer to the commissioning of portraits from Rubens by famous persons and to their posing for him. For instance, Alethea Talbot (Lady Arundel) found time to pose in Rubens's studio, together with her attendants, during her very short stay in Antwerp in 1620 on the way to Venice.⁹ On this occasion Rubens also made portrait studies of the members of her suite. Again, Bellori in his biography of 1672 relates how the Infanta Isabella and Spinola, returning in 1625 from the successful siege of Breda, stopped at Antwerp to have their portraits painted by Rubens.¹⁰ The written sources do not indicate what form the sittings took, but we can form an idea from the preli-

9. See further, under No.72.

10. See further, under Nos.110 and 147.

minary studies that have survived. Above all, life-size studies of the sitter's face must have been done from life: a comparatively large number of such studies have survived from one period or another of Rubens's career. They are generally drawn in black and red chalk: the sitter's complexion, and modelling shadows, are rendered in these elementary colours. Sometimes they are worked up to some extent with white highlights suggesting particular effects. In some cases Rubens must have made three studies of the sitter's head, in front view and from either side: this can be deduced from the fact that some drawings which are clearly studies for a particular painting differ from it as far as the face is concerned. The studies for portraits of *Isabella Brant* (No. 75a; Fig. 38) and *Suzanna Fourment* (No. 102a; Fig. 113) are characteristic examples; mention should also be made here of the studies from different viewpoints which were perhaps made for the portrait of the Jesuit *Nicolas Trigault* (Nos. 154a-d; Figs. 231, 227, 229, 230). The practice was not uncommon, especially for sculpted portraits. The best-known example is Van Dyck's famous painting in the British Royal Collection showing the head of Charles I from three angles, intended as a *modello* for Bernini.¹¹ A similar portrait study of Richelieu was made by Philippe de Champaigne for the sculptor Mocchi.¹² On the one hand this practice enabled Rubens to choose whichever pose he, and of course the sitter, thought most becoming, and secondly it must have helped him to paint the latter's head as an organic whole. Special drawings were made of the costume, for instance *Hélène Fourment's* dress (No. 100c; Fig. 107); in some cases detailed indications of colour were added, especially for unusual or eccentric figures. This may be seen in the study for the dwarf Robin in the Munich portrait of *The Countess of Arundel with her Train* (No. 72a; Fig. 28) and in one of the drawings probably made for the portrait of the Jesuit *Nicolas Trigault* in Chinese robes. (No. 154b; Fig. 227). Sometimes servants or others posed in the attitude desired by the commissioner of the portrait, or in the latter's clothes: for example, the studies for the portraits of the Duke of Lerma¹³ and Brigida Spinola-Doria.¹⁴ Mention may also be made here of a document of 1628 concerning the equestrian portrait of Philip IV, now lost, painted by Rubens during his stay in Madrid in 1628-29. This refers to articles that Rubens needed from the royal stables and armoury: evidently the King's armour and the harness that was to appear in the portrait,¹⁵ and that the painter wished to sketch beforehand. In the case of the group portrait with the

11. Cf. C. Brown, *Van Dyck*, London, 1982, pp. 174-177 (repr.).

12. Cf. B. Dorival, *Philippe de Champaigne*, II, Paris, 1976, No. 213 (repr.).

13. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, No. 20a, fig. 69.

14. *Ibid.*, No. 41a, fig. 121.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 151-152, under No. 30.

Countess of Arundel Rubens also had to make special studies of the dogs that this somewhat eccentric lady had with her.

The final portrait was designed in the same way as a more complex composition such as an altarpiece or a mythological scene. Thus, in addition to several elaborate studies of detail, the artist and sitter between them decided on the most suitable pose for the picture as a whole. As we have seen, there was an element of stereotype in this. Whether the choice fell on the lively style of Titian or something more old-fashioned, courtly and artificial, it was expected that the pose should do full justice to the sitter's social position and personality. For this purpose, the preliminary sketches done from life were sometimes modified, as for instance in the case of the *Hendrik Van Thulden*. In the drawing (No.152a; Fig.221) the priest is sunk in his chair, but in the final painting he appears much more alert and the portrait has a more monumental character (No.152; Fig.220). In the drawing for the portrait of the *Marquis of Leganés* (No.115a; Fig.137) the sitter's head appears shorter, and his build stockier, than in the final portrait (No.115; Fig.135): here too some modification was required by the desired Titianesque pose. The portrait study for Nicolaas Rubens in the double portrait at Vaduz shows the boy with his mouth closed (No.142b; Fig.204), but in the final painting it is slightly open (No.142; Fig.200). This makes the face more expressive and is no doubt intended to emphasize the boy's lively, playful disposition. As has been pointed out, Rubens depicted his sons as examples of two opposite types of character. In *Hélène Fourment and her Children* in the Louvre, little Frans Rubens was originally drawn by his father in a standing position (No.99c; Fig.102); but in the painting (No.99; Fig.97) he is sitting on his mother's lap, in accordance with a compositional scheme which again goes back to Titian.

Stereotyped poses are, as we have seen, especially characteristic of portraits of princes and nobles, and this is true of equestrian portraits *par excellence*. Here the variation was confined to three recurrent poses: a frontal one and two showing different attitudes in profile. Of interest in this connection is a painting of three horsemen, from Rubens's studio, that was in Berlin before 1945 (Fig.4). It has always wrongly been described as a 'Riding School', but in my opinion it is to be taken as a representation of the three basic equestrian attitudes; it seems to me quite possible that it was used by Rubens and his assistants as a studio 'prop' whenever an equestrian portrait was called for. Such portraits are the most complex of all: they are larger than others, generally more dramatic and, from about 1620 at least, embellished with allegorical figures. It is not surprising, therefore, that for such portraits Rubens also painted an oil *modello*

in which the whole composition was clearly displayed. Such *modelli* are known for the equestrian portraits of *Buckingham* (No.81a; Fig.54) and the *Cardinal Infante* (No.93a; Fig.77). Earlier and simpler equestrian portraits such as that of the *Duke of Lerma* seem to have been prepared by means of a drawing only.¹⁶ Rubens also used oil *modelli* for other portraits of a more complex kind: an example is the *grisaille modello* at Philadelphia for a group portrait of Rubens and his family, which was never executed (No.140; Fig.194).

Finally, a particular kind of painted preliminary study should be mentioned. Among the works left by Rubens at his death are listed a remarkably large number of portraits of royalty, nobles and other dignitaries painted by himself. They include the Earl of Arundel, the Marquis of Spinola, Théodore Turquet de Mayerne, the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, the Empress Maria, Philip IV, Isabella (Elizabeth) of Bourbon, Wolfgang-Wilhelm of the Palatinate, Anne of Austria, the Duke of Buckingham, Maximilian of Austria, Albert and Isabella, and Maria de' Medici.¹⁷ Some of these works are found, some years later, in the possession of Rubens's brother-in-law Arnold Lunden, and are explicitly called 'sketches' in the inventory of his collection. For this reason I have suggested elsewhere that they may be the *editio princeps* of a number of official portraits, which Rubens kept and which were used as prototypes by him and his studio.¹⁸ Portraits of this kind were especially designed to be repeated, and it was therefore necessary for the studio to hold a well-painted original. We may suppose them to have been shoulder-length paintings, which could then be adapted, when replicas were called for, in accordance with the desired pose or setting. Some very spontaneous head-and-shoulder versions exist for portraits of, for example, the Archducal couple (Nos.68 and 69; Figs.20, 21), the Infanta in the habit of a Poor Clare (No.109; Fig.128), and the Earl of Arundel:¹⁹ it is quite possible that these were prototypes of the kind described.

16. *Ibid.*, No.20a, fig.69.

17. See Denucé, *Konstkamers*, pp.60-63, Nos.97, 98, 100, 101, 113-117, 120, 123, 127, 146, 151, 152 and 166.

18. See Vlieghe, *Lunden*, pp.195, 198.

19. Cf. Huemer, *Portraits*, No.5b, fig.53.



CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

58. Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback

c.125 × c.100 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Fragment of *The Allegory of Sight*, painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder (Fig.3), 1617, Madrid, Prado, No.1394; canvas, 65 × 109 cm. LIT. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.114, pl.I; *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, pp.29, 54, pl.3; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.340–342, figs.399, 408; *Müller Hofstede, Damenporträts*, p.320, n.15; (2) Painting, Ghent, Private Collection; canvas, 122 × 98 cm. PROV. A former castle in the Ghent area. EXH. *Het Gulden Vlies*, Groningemuseum, Bruges, 1962, No.179 (repr.); *Het Belgisch portret van de XVIe tot de XVIIIe eeuw, behorend tot Belgische privéverzamelingen*, Castle, Laarne, 1970, No.16 (repr.). LIT. M. Díaz Padrón, 'Algunos retratos mas de Gaspar de Crayer', *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXVIII, 1965, pp.295–296, pl.II, fig.5 (as G. de Crayer); *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.340–341, fig.409 (as G. de Crayer); *Müller Hofstede, Damenporträts*, p.320, n.15; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 124.5 × 98.5 cm. PROV. Vienna and Prague, Counts Sternberg, until c.1949; temporarily exhibited in the former 'Museum patriotischer Kunstfreunde' at Prague, during the earlier 19th century. LIT. *Gemäldegalerie patriotischer Kunstfreunde. Verzeichnis*, Prague, 1835, p.59, No.3; *Rooses*, IV, p.118, under No.881; *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.378; (4) Painting (Fig.2) whereabouts unknown; canvas, 124 × 96 cm. PROV. Warwick Castle; Mr Jeffrey, sale, Salisbury, 1806; purchased there by Jacob Bouverie, second Earl of Radnor

(1750–1828); Longford Castle, Earls of Radnor; Radnor sale, London (Christie's), 27 July, 1945, lot 46; Stockholm, Ohlsen. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.313, No.1168; *Waagen, Galleries*, p.362; *Rooses*, IV, p.118, under No.881; Helen Mathilda, Countess of Radnor and W.B. Squire, *Catalogue of the paintings in the collection of the Earl of Radnor*, London, 1909, No.62; Helen Mathilda, Countess of Radnor, *Catalogue of the Earl of Radnor's Collection of Pictures*, Longford Castle, 1928, No.62; *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.378; (5) Painting, (Fig.1) Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein, Inv.No.402; canvas, 109 × 75 cm. EXH. *La Toison d'Or*, Bruges, 1907, No.402. LIT. K. Höss, *Fürst Johann II. von Liechtenstein und die bildende Kunst*, Vienna, 1908, pp.65–66; G. Glück, 'Jugendwerke von Rubens', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXIII, 1916, p.28 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.38–40 (repr.); *Müller Hofstede, Damenporträts*, p.320, n.15; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 129 × 99 cm. PROV. Sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 14–17 March, 1978, lot 19 (repr., as G. de Crayer); (7) Drawing, Copenhagen, Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, 'Rubens Cantoor', No.I, 2; black chalk, heightened in white, 320 × 193 mm.; (8) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; red chalk. PROV. London, J.C. Robinson. LIT. M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p.197; (9) Lithograph after (3) by J.A. Hellich (1810–1880; *Rooses*, IV, pl.280).

The Archduke Albert was born in 1559, the youngest son of Emperor Maximilian

lian II. In 1596 Philip II of Spain sent him as governor to the Netherlands; he married the Infanta Isabella in 1598 and they ruled there as sovereign princes; Isabella carried on the government after Albert's death in 1621. Especially during their joint rule the Southern Netherlands enjoyed a period of economic prosperity and cultural expansion after the unhappy and turbulent last decades of the sixteenth century.¹

The Archduke and his brown charger are seen in three-quarter view. Albert wears a black cuirass and trunk-hose over brown riding-boots, also a white starched fluted ruff and cuffs to match. He wears the chain of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and a red officer's scarf on his left arm; in his right hand he holds a baton. The background represents Albert's celebrated military exploit of 1604, the capture of Ostend from the States forces.

The pose of the horse and rider corresponds to a type established by Rubens in, for example, a studio painting of three equestrian attitudes, dating from about 1615, which was formerly in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Fig.4).² In any case 1617 is a *terminus ante quem* for the present portrait, as a version of it can be seen in Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight*, painted in that year (Fig.3).³

Rubens had previously introduced the type of equestrian portrait in three-quarter face, notably in the portraits of the Duke of Lerma and Giancarlo Doria, both from his Italian period. The very expressive and impetuous style of the earlier portraits is here 'translated' into the quieter and cooler style of the years around 1615. As has been pointed out, this type of equestrian portrait originated in the sixteenth century and goes back, more specifically, to Tintoretto and Tempesta among others.⁴ However, the formalized version that Rubens introduced around

1615 seems to have been directly inspired by Stradanus's series of engravings of Roman emperors on horseback. More particularly, the *Julius Caesar* from that series was the immediate model for the type of portrait created by Rubens for his painting of the Archduke. Warnke mentioned it as a model for the portrait of the Duke of Lerma,⁵ but Díaz Padrón rightly drew attention to the much closer connection with the present portrait, though he wrongly ascribed the latter to Gaspar de Crayer. Rubens's frontal style of portraiture set a fashion in its turn: many Flemish and Dutch seventeenth-century painters chose it as a prototype for equestrian portraits.⁶

The various painted copies of the present portrait are all about half life-size, as was the supposed original. According to Jan Brueghel's *Allegory of Sight* (Fig.3), this may have been in the possession of the archducal couple in 1617: Brueghel's painting is part of a set representing *The Five Senses*, which was also conceived as a series of views of the archducal collection. Apparently there never was a life-size version, and in this respect the portrait is unique among Rubens's works. However, such small equestrian portraits were not uncommon in seventeenth-century Flemish painting: a good many, for instance, were executed by Gaspar de Crayer.⁷ It therefore seems unlikely that, as Müller Hofstede recently suggested,⁸ the supposed original reproduced in Brueghel's painting was in fact an oil sketch.

Apart from the archducal collection there was also an example of this type in Erasmus Quellinus's estate at his death in 1678: 'Hertogh Albertus te peert, van Rubbens'.⁹

1. Cf. J. Lefèvre, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, I, Brussels, 1964, cols.14-22, with further bibliographical references.

2. Cf. Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.33, fig.21 (as Rubens). This painting appears to be a copy rather than an authentic work; for instance, the skyline of Antwerp in the background shows mistakes which could not be imagined if it were painted by Rubens himself.
3. See above, Copy (1).
4. For the provenance of Rubens's equestrian portrait types, see: Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.28–45; Warnke, *Kommentare*, pp.13–15, 79–81; Huemer, *Portraits*, p.23; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Die frühen Reiterbildnisse', in *Cat. Exh. Peter Paul Rubens*, Cologne, 1977, pp.84–94.
5. Warnke, *Kommentare*, p.14, pl.IV.
6. There are typical examples by e.g. Gaspar de Crayer (H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, II, Brussels, 1972, pl.233), Anthony van Dyck (*K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.200), Cornelis de Vos (*Katalog över Statens Porträtssamling på Gripsholm*, I, Stockholm, 1951, p.257 [repr.]), Thomas Willeboirts Bosschaert (J.G. van Gelder, 'De schilders van de Oranjezaal', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, II, 1948–49, p.127, fig.5), Isaac Isaacz (Cat. Exh. *In het Zadel, Leeuwarden's-Hertogenbosch-Assen*, 1979–80, p.110, No.151 [repr.]).
7. See H. Vlieghe, *op cit.*, pls. 256–257; id., 'Gaspar de Crayer: Addenda et Corrigenda', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXV, 1979–80, pp.199–203 (repr.).
8. Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, loc. cit.
9. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.276.

59. Albert, Archduke of Austria (Fig. 5)

Oil on canvas; 190.5 × 127 cm.
Norfolk, Virginia, *The Chrysler Museum*.
Inv. No. L80.126

PROVENANCE: Bethell Walrond (1878); Captain Bertram Currie, sale, London (Christie's), 27 March 1953, lot 67; Leonard F. Koetser, London (1954).

LITERATURE: *National Art Collections Fund. Annual Report*, under No.1876; Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, p.319 (as a copy).

A full-length portrait of the Archduke represented in armour, as a military com-

mander. He is seen in three-quarter view, looking towards the spectator. He holds a baton in his right hand, and his left hand rests on the hilt of his sword. On his breast is the chain of the Golden Fleece. In the left background is a brocaded curtain, and on the right a double pilaster. The portrait is a repetition, with a different background, of the full-length ceremonial portrait of Albert, based on Van Veen, in the Brussels Museum,¹ the prototype of which was also the model for Rubens's half-length portraits of the Archduke (No.60; cf. Fig.7).

Burchard regarded the present version as a fully authentic work by Rubens, but I cannot share this opinion. The modelling of Albert's head is in accordance with Rubens's style, but the features are much too hard and stereotyped to be attributed to him. The execution seems to me more similar to that of the full-length portrait of Albert in São Paulo (Fig.6), which I have ascribed to De Crayer.² The present painting may well be his work also, but I state this with reserve as I have not seen it and can only judge from a rather old photograph. Müller Hofstede remarked on the close affinity to the São Paulo version and therefore he too felt inclined to see the same hand in both works. Müller Hofstede also showed that the curtain and pilaster in the background were borrowed literally from Van Dyck's *Archduchess Isabella in the Habit of a Poor Clare*, a painting from 1628 in the Galleria Sabauda at Turin.³ Thus the painting discussed here can be dated c.1630, which is almost the very moment when the São Paulo version was painted.

1. Cf. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, pl.XII.

2. H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer. Sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, No.A262 (repr.).

3. *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.299.

**60-61. TWO PENDANTS:
ALBERT, ARCHDUKE
OF AUSTRIA,
AND HIS CONSORT, ISABELLA,
INFANTA OF SPAIN**

60. Albert, Archduke of Austria

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by Jan Muller, 1615 (Fig.7; V.S., p.175, No.190).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.315, No.1176; *Rooses*, IV, pp.115-116, No.875; *Burchard*, *Nachträge*, p.380; *Glück*, *Portrait*, p.177; *De Maeyer*, *Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.111-113; *Müller Hofstede*, *Damenporträts*, p.319, n.9b.

Albert is here painted to knee-length, in three-quarter view and with his eyes fixed on the spectator. He wears a doublet and trunk-hose embroidered with crossed bands, and a short cape over his shoulders; also a starched lace cartwheel ruff and cuffs to match. On his breast is the chain of the Golden Fleece, of which order he became a member in 1599. His left hand rests on the hilt of his sword. On a table to the left is his plumed hat. The background consists of a velvety curtain which reflects the light in broad stripes.

The composition is in the traditional international style of formalized court portraits of the late sixteenth century. An immediate model may have been the type created by Otto Venius in c.1596-97, an example of which is in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.¹

No original of this portrait or its pendant (No.61) is known. The *terminus ante quem* for the unknown *editio princeps* is 1615, when Jan Muller executed his en-

graving of this portrait and its pendant (Figs.7, 8). On 13 October of that year Rubens received 300 guilders from Albert for a set of portraits of the archducal couple, intended for the Marquis of Siete Yglesias.²

The dry and linear style of the greater part of the still extant copies seems to me to prove that they were made from the Muller engraving and not from a painted original.³

1. Cf. *De Maeyer*, *Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.71-75, pl.X; [G. Heinz and K. Schütz], *Porträtgalerie zur Geschichte Österreichs von 1400 bis 1800*, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Vienna, 1976, No.83, fig.128.
2. 'El Archiduque ... que por mi mandado haveis dado a Pietro Paulo Rubens, pintor, los 300 fl. por 2 retratos que a hecho, uno de la Infanta, mi Señora, y otro mio, los quales mande ynbiar a España al marques de Siete Yglesias...' (*De Maeyer*, *Albrecht en Isabella*, p.322, doc. No.109).
3. The best known set is the one, now in the National Gallery (Figs.9, 10; Inv. Nos.3818 and 3819; oil on canvas, 120.5 x 89 cm). Both Gregory Martin (*Martin*, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.227-228) and Justus Müller Hofstede (*Müller Hofstede*, *Damenporträts*, p.319) consider these two portraits studio replicas made before the Muller engravings. I do not agree. Another better known portrait of Albert, the full-length representation of the Archduke in the São Paulo Museum (Fig.6; oil on canvas, 200 x 118.5 cm.), which I attributed to Gaspar de Crayer (H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer. Sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, No.A262 [repr.]) is also a copy from the corresponding engraving, and was executed c.1628-30.

61. Isabella, Infanta of Spain

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by Jan Muller, 1615 (Fig.8; V.S., p.176, No.191).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.315, No.1177; *Rooses*, IV, pp.193-194, No.967; *Burchard*, *Nachträge*, p.380; *Glück*, *Portrait*, p.177; *De Maeyer*, *Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.111-113; *Müller Hofstede*, *Damenporträts*, p.319, n.9b.

The Infanta Isabella is here shown to kneel-length, as is her consort in the companion portrait (No.60; Fig.7). She is seen in three-quarter view to the left and, like the Archduke, looks towards the spectator. She wears a richly embroidered dress and, like Albert, a lace cartwheel ruff and lace cuffs. She holds a fan in both hands. On her lap is a white handkerchief. Her hair is combed back and adorned with a diadem of floral design. Here again the background consists of a velvety curtain reflecting the light in stripes.

The composition of this portrait, like its companion piece, is that of the formalized court portrait of the late sixteenth century.¹

1. E.g. the portrait of the Infanta in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, signed by Juan Pantoja de la Cruz and dated 1599 (see L. Roblot-Delondre, *Portraits d'Infantes, XVIIe siècle*, Paris-Brussels, 1913, pl.72).

62. Albert, Archduke of Austria (Fig. 11)

Oil on canvas; 63 × 48.5 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Von Goldammer, Plausdorf Castle, Hessen, Germany; seen by Burchard at Karl Haberstock's Gallery, Berlin, 1924.

Head and shoulders version of the portrait of 1615 (No.60; Fig.7).

Burchard believed this version to have been completed by Rubens. In particular the highlights on the forehead and sleeve, the painting of the ear and the bluish shadow around the nose appeared to him to be retouches by Rubens's hand.

I do not consider it possible to verify this opinion on the basis of the old photo-

graph of 1924, in which year Burchard saw the portrait at Haberstock's in Berlin.

63. Albert, Archduke of Austria (Fig. 12)

Oil on canvas; 120.5 × 89 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Sir Charles Orde, Bt., of Nunnykirk, Morpeth, Northumberland; Appleby Bros., London (1948); Dudley Wallis, sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 April 1951, lot 123; purchased by H. S. de Slowak.

A version of the 1615 portrait type (No.60; Fig.7). Burchard believed that the face and 'certain other parts of the picture' were entirely by Rubens.

Having seen the finely detailed photographs that were in Burchard's possession, I do not believe Rubens can have had any part in this painting: the features appear too linear and stereotyped.

64-65. TWO PENDANTS: ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, AND HIS CONSORT, ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN

64. Albert, Archduke of Austria

c.120 × c.90 cm.
Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Left half of a double portrait, fragment of *The Allegory of Sight*, painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder (Fig.3), Madrid, Prado, No.1394; canvas, 65 × 109 cm. LIT. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.112-114, pl.1; *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, p.54, pl.3;

Ertz, *Brueghel*, pp.332-339 (repr.); (2) Painting by G. de Crayer (Fig.13), Althorp House, Earl Spencer, Inv. No.559; canvas, 119.5 × 92 cm. PROV. Blenheim Palace, Collection of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough; the Earls of Sunderland. EXH. British Institution, London, 1821, No.79 (as *Rubens*); Royal Academy, London, 1870, No.150 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.307, No.1125 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, IV, p.116, under No.875; B.Suida Manning, in *Cat. Exh. Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*, Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, 1956, p.17, under No.7; K.J.Garlick, 'A Catalogue of Pictures at Althorp', *The Walpole Society*, XLV, 1974-76, p.74, No.573 (as *Rubens*); Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, pp.316, 319 (repr., as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, Antwerp, Mrs Boudry; canvas, 123 × 91 cm. PROV.? Antwerp, Cogels family; sale, Antwerp (Campo), 13 December 1960, lot 118b. LIT. A.-C.Hosten, 'Les portraits des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle par Pierre-Paul Rubens', *Brabant*, September, 1978, pp.5-6 (repr., as ? *C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens*); (4) Painting, Brussels, Baron Carton de Wiart; canvas, 116 × 90 cm. PROV. Marquis de la Boëssière-Thiennes, sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 14 March 1932, part of lot 116 (repr., as *M. de Vos*). EXH. *Brussels, 1910*, No.511 (as *M. de Vos*); (5) Painting, Brussels, private collection; canvas, 119 × 86 cm. PROV. Brussels, G. Moeremans d'Emaus (1944); sale, Brussels (Giroux), 29-31 May 1958, part of lot 401 (repr., as *Workshop of Rubens*); Brussels, de Robiano family (1977); (6) Painting, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 815-1-15; canvas, 100 × 93 cm. PROV. Descamps collection; purchased for the Museum in 1818. LIT. *Catalogue des peintures du Musée des Beaux-Arts*, Rouen, 1967, p.109; Olga Popovitch, *Catalogue des peintures du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen*,

Rouen, 1978, p.130 (as *Workshop of Rubens*); (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 132.5 × 95 cm. PROV. Brussels, Count de Mérode; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15-18 March 1977, lot 110 (as *Workshop of Rubens*). LIT. *Rooses*, p.117, No.879; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 126 × 100 cm. PROV. Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, baronet of Maryland; sale, London (Sotheby's), 26 July 1933, lot 20 (as *School of Rubens*); sale, Zürich (Koller), 17 November 1972, as part of lot 3229 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Glück, Portrait*, p.177, n.9 (as *Rubens*); (9) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 × 90 cm. PROV. Sale, Cologne (Heberle), 9-10 December 1892, lot 200 (repr., as *S. de Vos*); (10) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Brussels, Vicomte Ruffo de Bonneval (1955); (11) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas 120 × 94 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 18 February 1959, lot 71; sale, London (Christie's), 26 October 1956, lot 52; London, Terry Engell Galleries (1956); (12) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 × 90 cm. PROV. Cologne, B.Schmidt (1970); (13) Painting (head and shoulders only), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No.988; panel, 67 × 52.5 cm. PROV. Prague, Wrzowecz collection; purchased for the collections of the Elector of Saxony, in 1723. LIT. K.Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden*, Dresden, 1908, No.988; (14) Painting (head and shoulders only), whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Paris, F.Kleinberger (1935); (15) Engraving (head and shoulders only) by J.Suyderhoef (V.S., p.175, No.188); (16) Engraving (head and shoulders only) after (15) by P. de Jode II (V.S., p.177, No.200).

As in the 1615 portrait type known from Jan Muller's engraving (No.60; Fig.7), the

Archduke is shown to just above the knees. The pose is very similar; however, instead of his right arm hanging by his side, the hand rests on the corner of a table at the extreme left. As in the older type, his hat stands on the table. His costume is more sober than in the portrait of 1615; it is of dark silk and adorned with small gold buttons. He wears a white lace cartwheel ruff and cuffs to match. On his breast is the chain of the Golden Fleece. In the best preserved copy, that at Althorp (Copy [2]; Fig. 13) the background consists partly of embroidered drapery and partly of green velvet with stripes reflecting the light as in the portraits of 1615. In other versions the entire background is a neutral green. The year 1617 is a *terminus ante quem* for this and the following portrait (No. 65; Fig. 14), as the two of them, combined into a single painting, appear in the *Allegory of Sight* painted in that year by Jan 'Velvet' Brueghel (Fig. 3). Brueghel's work belongs to a series entitled *The Five Senses*, which is now in the Prado in Madrid and was also intended as a set of views of the archducal collection. On 9 December 1616 Brueghel wrote to Ercole Bianchi that 'Rubens e partito per Brussella, per finire i ritratti di sua altezza ser.ma'.¹ This document is generally thought to refer to the two portraits discussed here: since they already appear in Brueghel's painting of 1617, it is indeed quite possible that Rubens had created them as new types in 1616. However, it should be remembered that in about 1620 he reverted to the older types of 1615 (cf. Nos. 60–61), and it is possible that he repeated these types in 1616 also.

65. Isabella, Infanta of Spain

c. 120 × c. 90 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Right half of a double portrait, fragment of *The Allegory of Sight*, painting by Jan Brueghel the Elder (Fig. 3), Madrid, Prado, No. 1394; canvas, 65 × 109 cm. LIT. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp. 112–114, pl. 1; *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, p. 54, pl. 3; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp. 332–339 (repr.); (2) Painting by G. de Crayer (Fig. 14), Norfolk, Virg., The Chrysler Museum; canvas, 118 × 91.5 cm. PROV. Blenheim, Dukes of Marlborough; Duke of Marlborough sale, London (Christie's), 31 July 1886 et seq., lot 244 (as *G. Honthorst*); Philadelphia, J. Wanamaker; New York, J. Weitzner; purchased from the latter by Walter Chrysler Jr., in 1949. EXH. *Los Angeles, 1946*, No. 7 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Portrait Panorama*, Richmond, Virg., 1947, No. 8 (as *Rubens*); *Dutch Old Masters from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler Jr.*, University of Miami Art Gallery, Coral Gables, Fl., 1950, No. 5 (as *Rubens*); *Dutch and Flemish Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*, The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Virg., 1954 (as *Rubens*); *Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*, Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, 1956, No. 7 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Scharf, Blenheim*, p. 98 (as *G. Honthorst*); *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p. 155 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p. 27, No. 7 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Larsen, Rubens*, p. 215, No. 14 (as *Rubens*); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp. 112–113 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-Hulst, Drawings*, I, p. 162, under No. 97 (as *Rubens*); H. Vlieghe, 'Caspar de Crayer als Bildnismaler', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LXIII, 1967, pp. 104–105 (as *G. de Crayer*); H. Vlieghe, *Gaspar de Crayer, sa vie et ses œuvres*, Brussels, 1972, I, pp. 262–263, No. A264; II, pl. 240 (as *G. de Crayer*); Müller Hofstede,

1. *Rooes – Ruelens*, II, p. 92.

Damenporträts, pp.316–317, 319 (repr., as *Rubens*); (3) Painting, Antwerp, Mrs Boudry; canvas, 123 × 91 cm. PROV.? Antwerp, Cogels family; sale, Antwerp (Campo), 13 December 1960, lot 118a. LIT. A.-C. Hosten, 'Les portraits des Archiducs Albert et Isabelle par Pierre-Paul Rubens', *Brabant*, September, 1978, pp.5–7 (repr., as ?*C. de Vos, retouched by Rubens*); (4) Painting, Brussels, Baron Carton de Wiart; canvas, 116 × 90 cm. PROV. Marquis de la Boëssière-Thiennes, sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 14 March 1932, part of lot 116 (repr., as *M. de Vos*). EXH. *Brussels, 1910*, No.512 (as *M. de Vos*); (5) Painting, Brussels, private collection; canvas, 119 × 86 cm. PROV. Brussels, G. Moeremans d'Emaus (1944); sale, Brussels (Giroux), 29–31 May 1958, part of lot 401 (repr., as *Workshop of Rubens*); Brussels, de Robiano family (1977); (6) Painting, Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No.815-1-14; canvas, 100 × 93 cm. PROV. Descamps collection; purchased for the Museum in 1818. LIT. *Catalogue des Peintures du Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rouen, 1967*, p.109; Olga Popovitch, *Catalogue des peintures du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Rouen, Rouen, 1978*, p.130 (as *Workshop of Rubens*); (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 132.5 × 95 cm. PROV. Brussels, Comte de Mérode; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 15–18 March 1977, lot 111 (repr., as *Workshop of Rubens*). LIT. *Rooses, IV*, p.195, No.969; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 126 × 100 cm. PROV. Sir Timothy Calvert Eden, baronet of Maryland, sale, London (Sotheby's), 26 July 1933, lot 19 (as *School of Rubens*); sale, Zürich (Koller), 17 November 1972, as part of lot 3229 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Glück, Portrait*, p.177, n.9 (as *Rubens*); (9) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 × 90 cm. PROV. Sale, Cologne (Heberle), 9–10 December 1892, lot 201 (repr. as *S. de Vos*); (10) Painting, whereabouts

unknown; canvas, 115 × 81 cm. PROV. Count János Pálffy, sale, Bad Pistyan, 30 June–1 July 1924, lot 88 (repr.); Prague, Otto Kretschmer; (11) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Antwerp, private collection (1927); (12) Painting (head and shoulders only), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No.989; panel, 67 × 52.5 cm. PROV. Wrzowecz collection; purchased for the collections of the Elector of Saxony, in 1723. LIT. K. Woermann, *Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Dresden, Dresden, 1908*, No.989; (13) Painting (head and shoulders only), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 70 × 51 cm. PROV. ?London, E. Speelman (1954); sale, London (Christie's), 29 January 1960, lot 149 (as *Portrait of a Woman*); St Albans, Walter Goldsmith (1960); (14) Drawing (Fig.16), Collections of H.M. the Queen; for references, see under No.65a; (15) Engraving (head and shoulders only) after (14) by J. Suyderhoef (Fig.15; *V.S.*, p.175, No.189); (16) Engraving (head and shoulders only) after (15) by P. de Jode II (*V.S.*, p.177, No.201).

The Infanta stands in the same attitude as Albert in the companion portrait (No.64; Fig.13). Like him, she is shown to just above the knees. She too is more soberly dressed than in the portrait of 1615, in a dark costume with a white lace cartwheel ruff and cuffs to match. Her hair is combed upwards as in the portrait of 1615 and is crowned by a pearl diadem. Ropes of pearls hang on her breast, also a cross set with jewels and a large oval medallion with a picture of the Virgin.

Isabella's right hand rests on the back of a chair; in her left she holds a white handkerchief with a lace border. Here again the background of the best-preserved copy, that by De Crayer in Norfolk, Virginia (Copy [2]; Fig.14), consists partly

of brocaded hangings and partly of green velvet that reflects the light. In other versions the background consists entirely of neutral green velvet.

Rubens here again followed a late sixteenth-century prototype, the portrait of the Infanta by Frans Pourbus II, known *inter alia* from a copy or imitation in the Royal Museum, Brussels.¹

1. Cf. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pl.XIII. The original prototype by Pourbus is not known. That the portrait in Brussels is based on a Pourbus original is shown by a drawing after this type in the 17th-century *Recueil de Gaignières* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with the inscription AVTOGRAP. APVD PICTOREM CELEBREM, / F. POVRBVS, AD VIVVM DEPICT: (cf. L. Roblot-Delondre, *Portraits d'Infantes*, Paris-Brussels, 1913, fig.73).

65a. Isabella, Infanta of Spain:
Drawing (Fig. 16)

Black and red chalk, partially reinforced with black ink; 247 × 170 mm.; indented for transfer; arched at the top, corners replaced; below, on the right, the mark of George III, King of Great Britain (L.1200 or 1201), applied however in the beginning of this century by Sir John Fortescue. *Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen.* Inv. No. I2.978.

PROVENANCE: ?Purchased by George III, King of Great Britain (1760-1820).

COPIES: (1) Engraving by J. Suyderhoef (Fig. 15; V.S., p.175, No.189); (2) Engraving after (1) by P. de Jode II (V.S., p.177, No.201).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1938, No.607.

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.35, No. 58 (repr.); *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.95, under No.662; L. Van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, p.287 (as P. Soutman); *De Maeyer*,

Albrecht en Isabella, p.113 (as not by Rubens); *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.161-162, No.97 (repr.); *Müller Hofstede, Damenporträts*, p.319.

Isabella's head and hair-style are exactly as in the portrait type of c.1616-17 (No.65; Fig.14).

Burchard and d'Hulst regarded this sheet as a copy made by Rubens himself as a *modello* for the portrait engraving by Pieter de Jode II. However, the execution of the sheet cannot possibly be ascribed to Rubens: the drawing is too dry and linear to be compatible with his sense of plasticity. There is no doubt that the drawing was made with a view to an engraving; but this cannot have been, as Burchard and d'Hulst supposed, the rather crudely executed portrait engraving by Pieter de Jode II which appears among Jan Meysens's *Pourtraicts de tous les souverains princes et ducs de Brabant*. That engraving, in the same direction as the drawing, is in fact a copy of an earlier one by Jonas Suyderhoef after a design by Soutman (Fig.15). The present drawing agrees so precisely with Suyderhoef's engraving that in my opinion there is no reason to doubt its attribution to Soutman, as previously proposed by Van Puyvelde.

66-67. TWO PENDANTS:
ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF
AUSTRIA, AND HIS CONSORT,
ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN

66. Albert, Archduke of Austria
(Fig. 17)

Oil on canvas; 112 × 173 cm.; below on the left, inscribed: 436 and 1199. *Madrid, Prado.* No.1683.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the Spanish Royal Collections, in the Alcázar at Madrid, in 1636; transported to the Prado after its foundation in 1819.

EXHIBITED: *Maîtres flamands du dix-septième siècle*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1974, No.29 (repr.); *Splendeurs d'Espagne et les villes belges 1500-1700*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1985, No. B20 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, pp.364-365, No.28; *Rooses*, IV, pp.114-115, No.874; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.112; Y. Bottineau, 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686. Aspects de la Cour d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LX, 1958, pp.312-313; *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*, I, pp.314-316, No.1683; II, p.200 (repr.); H. Vlieghe, [Review of *Díaz Padrón, Cat. Prado*], *Art Bulletin*, 1979, p.653; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.338-340 (repr.).

This and the next portrait (No.67; Fig.18) are a mixture of the two types of 1615 (Nos.60 and 61) and c.1616-17 (Nos.64 and 65); the point of departure was clearly the latter type. The archducal couple are dressed in the same black costumes and wear the same ornaments as in that type, but they are here seated in armchairs; Isabella's pose is entirely based on the portrait type of 1615.

The landscape background is by Jan Brueghel. In the portrait of Albert we see the castle of Tervuren, and in Isabella's the castle of Mariemont. This traditional attribution was recently confirmed by K. Ertz in his comprehensive monograph on Jan Brueghel, and I accept it readily. However, Jan Brueghel's name is not mentioned in the earliest known document concerning this pair of portraits, the inventory of the Alcázar at Madrid, dated

1636, where Rubens appears as the sole author.¹

Ertz proposed a date of 1617 for the landscape portions, partly on the ground of comparison with the *Allegories of the Senses* in Madrid,² which date from that year. The actual portraits, whose authenticity he did not question, he assigned to 1616, identifying them with Rubens's portraits of the archducal couple referred to in a letter by Jan Brueghel of 9 December of that year. This is the letter which we have connected above with the second portrait type of c.1616-17. I do not find Ertz's interpretation acceptable. The two portraits do not seem to me to be by Rubens's own hand: both are dry, uninspired studio copies, eclectic combinations of two portrait types invented by Rubens. They may, however, have been made under his direct supervision, and are therefore catalogued here as designed by Rubens but executed by the studio.

1. 'Dos lienzos al óleo, de 7 piés de largo poco más ó ménos; en el uno el retrato del señor archiduque Alberto, de medio cuerpo arriba vestido de negro, la mano izquierda sobre los guantes y en léjos una casa de campo. El otro de la señora Infanta doña Isabel, su mujer, del mismo tamaño, vestida de negro, asentada en una silla, abriendo un abanico con ambas manos, y en léjos otra casa de campo. Son de mano de Rubens'. (*Cruzada Villaamil, Rubens*, p.364).

2. *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.328 ff.

67. Isabella, Infanta of Spain (Fig. 18)

Oil on canvas; 112 × 173 cm.; below, on the left, inscribed: 1206.

Madrid, Prado. No.1684.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the Spanish Royal Collections, in the Alcázar at Madrid, in 1636; transported to the Prado after its foundation in 1819.

EXHIBITED: *Maîtres flamands du dix-septième siècle*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1974, No.30 (repr.); *Splendeurs d'Espagne et les villes belges 1500-1700*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1985, No. B 21 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Cruzada Villaamil*, Rubens, pp.364-365, No.29; *Rooses*, IV, pp.194-195, No.968; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.112; Y. Bottineau, 'L'Alcázar de Madrid et l'inventaire de 1686. Aspects de la Cour d'Espagne au XVIIe siècle', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LX, 1958, pp.312-313; *Díaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*, I, pp.316-317, No.1684; II, p.200 (repr.); H. Vlieghe, [Review of *Díaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*], *Art Bulletin*, 1979, p.653; Ertz, *Brueghel*, pp.338-340 (repr.).

For a description and comments, see under No.66.

**68-69. TWO PENDANTS:
ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF
AUSTRIA, AND HIS CONSORT,
ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN**

68. Albert, Archduke of Austria
(Fig. 20)

Oil on panel; 105 × 74 cm.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
Inv. No.6344.

PROVENANCE: ?Rubens's estate, 1640; purchased for the Kunsthistorisches Museum in 1921.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Thorönsborg, Sweden, Count Gösta Mörner; panel, 103 × 73 cm. PROV. Said to have been taken by the Swedes when pillaging the Hradschin at Prague, in 1648; Björksund, Count Axel Mörner (1911). LIT. O. Granberg, *Inventaire général des trésors d'art ... en Suède*, I,

Stockholm, 1911, pp.122-123, No.526; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 122 × 83 cm. PROV. Sale, Los Angeles (Sotheby-Parke Bernet), 8 March 1976, lot 187.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1953-54, No.168; *Vienna*, 1977, No.13 (repr.).

LITERATURE: G. Glück, 'Rubens' Bildnisse des Erzherzogs Albert und der Infantin Isabella', *Bildende Kunst*, IV, 1921, pp.49-54 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.46-55, figs.31, 33; *K.d.K.*, p.27, left; A.L. Mayer, 'Zum malerischen Werk von Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, 1922, pp.53-54; R. Eigenberger, 'Ergänzungen zum Lebenswerk des Rubens und Van Dyck in der akademischen Gemäldegalerie in Wien', *Belvedere*, V, 1924, p.25; G. Glück, 'Rubens' Jugendstil und die Porträts Alberts und Isabellas im Kunsthistorischen Museum *Neue freie Presse*, 30 May 1924; *Cat. Vienna 1928*, No.834a; *Burchard, Nachträge*, pp.379-381; *Cat. Vienna*, 1938, No.834a; Glück, *Portrait*, pp.174, 177; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.78-80, fig.32; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.110-111, pl.XXII; *Cat. Vienna*, 1973, p.146; K. Schütz, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp.63-66, No.13 (repr.); Müller *Hofstede, Damenporträts*, pp.318-319.

This work and its companion piece (No.69; Fig.21) were first published by Gustav Glück, in 1921. These knee-length portraits are a very faithful repetition of the type known from Jan Muller's engravings of 1615 (Nos.60 and 61; Figs.7, 8). However, the Archduke and his consort appear somewhat stouter, and Albert's right hand hangs straight down instead of being shown at an angle as in the older type. The background is bright red. Glück believed that both portraits were painted in 1609, immediately after Rubens's return

and his appointment as court painter to the archducal couple. They were supposedly specimen portraits or prototypes, identical with the 'deux portraits des Archiducs Albert et Isabel' that were in Rubens's possession at his death:¹ works of a somewhat sketchy character, on which the ceremonial portraits were based. This attractive hypothesis was generally accepted until, in 1977, it was invalidated by the dendrochronological examination, carried out by Bauch, Eckstein and Brauner, of the panels on which the portraits are painted. From this it appeared that the latter must be dated c.1620. One of the three planks composing the panel with Albert's portrait is from an oak-tree which cannot have been cut down before 1618, and, according to the same investigators, two of the planks composing the Isabella panel are also from a tree which cannot have been felled before that date. It was found too that some panels from this tree were used for the oil sketches for the Medici series, dating from c.1621–22.

While this evidence is indisputable, it remains the case that the two portraits at Vienna are notably sketch-like and show the couple in a less flattering but more lifelike pose. This striking difference between them and the portrait type known from Jan Muller's engravings may perhaps be explained by the fact that while Rubens wished to adhere to what was already an older type, he felt obliged to modify the sitters' features so as to produce a better likeness of them in c.1620. Compared to the portraits engraved by Jan Muller or to the type of c.1616–17, they certainly look older in the present portrait—in particular, they have a flabbier and stouter appearance.

The rather free execution of the portraits and the fact that they are clearly not altogether finished may, on the other

hand, mean that they were not intended for a particular client but were kept in the studio as a prototype. Hence, while rejecting Glück's too early dating, we can perhaps still accept his supposition that these portraits are identical with those in Rubens's possession at his death.

1. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.63, Nos.151–152.

69. Isabella, Infanta of Spain (Fig. 21)

Oil on panel; 105 × 74 cm.

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*.

Inv. No.6345.

PROVENANCE: ?Rubens's estate, 1640; purchased for the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* in 1921.

EXHIBITED: Vienna, 1977, No.14 (repr.).

LITERATURE: G. Glück, 'Rubens' Bildnisse des Erzherzogs Albert und der Infantin Isabella', *Bildende Kunst*, IV, 1921, pp.49–54 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.46–55, figs.32, 34; *K.d.K.*, p.27, right; A.L. Mayer, 'Zum malerischen Werk von Rubens', *Der Cicerone*, 1922, pp.53–54; G. Glück, 'Rubens' Jugendstil und die Porträts Alberts und Isabelas im kunsthistorischen Museum', *Neue freie Presse*, 30 May 1924; *Cat. Vienna, 1928*, No.834b; Burchard, *Nachträge*, pp.379–381; *Cat. Vienna, 1938*, No.834b; Glück, *Portrait*, pp.174, 177; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.78–80, fig.33; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.110–111, pl. XXIII; *Cat. Vienna, 1973*, p.146; K. Schütz, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, 1977*, pp.63–66, No.14 (repr.); Müller *Hofstede, Damenporträts*, pp.318–319.

For a description and comments, see under No.68.

70. Albert, Archduke of Austria
(Fig. 19)

Oil on panel; 103 × 76 cm.

Castagnola near Lugano, Villa Favorita, Collection Bentinck-Thyssen. Inv. No.358.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Upper Ossory (1830); Earl of Strathmore, London; Earl of Harewood, London; Spink, London; Bottenwieser, Berlin; purchased from the latter by Heinrich, Baron Thyssen-Bornemisza, in 1930, for his collection at Schloss Rohoncz; Baroness Gabriele Bentinck-Thyssen, Paris; on loan to the Düsseldorf Kunstmuseum, 1975-1984.

COPIES: See under No.68.

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1815, No.110; *Sammlung Schloß Rohoncz*, Neue Pinakothek, Munich, 1930, No.279; Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 1931; *Aus dem Besitz der Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Castagnola (Lugano)*, 1949, No.214.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.272, No.917; Burchard, *Nachträge*, p.380; R.Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano*, Lugano, 1937, No.358; Glück, *Portrait*, p.177; De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, p.111; R.J.Heinemann, *Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Castagnola (Lugano)*, 1958, p.90, No.358; Ulrike Peter, 'Zur Restaurierung des Rubensgemäldes Erzherzog Albrecht von Österreich', *Maltechnik-Restaur.*, LXXXIV, 1978, pp.178-181 (repr.); H.Althöfer, 'Restaurierungszentrum', *Düsseldorfer Museen*, 1979, pp.426-427 (repr.).

This is in every respect a faithful replica of the portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (No.68; Fig.20), with a brown instead of a red background. The pictorial quality seems equal to that of

the Vienna example, though the present painting has suffered much damage, especially to the sitter's hands. Hence I readily accept Burchard's view, which is also the general one, that this is an original work by Rubens.

The portrait was injured by vandalism in 1977, when sulphuric acid was poured over a considerable part of the surface. Fortunately the damage was very superficial, and the original structure was easily restored, apart from a slight loss of paint.

71. Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel (Fig. 22)

Oil on canvas; 98 × 77 cm.

Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña.
Inv. No.65001

PROVENANCE: Edward Solly, London, c.1842; Leo Nardus, Suresnes, c.1910; Eric Lyndhurst, Brussels; Kurt Erasmus, Berlin; purchased from the latter by Julius Böhler, Munich, in 1928; Francisco Cambó, Barcelona, afterwards (since 1936) Switzerland and Buenos Aires; bequeathed to the city of Barcelona in 1947, and exhibited there in the Museum since 1955.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No.359; *Madrid*, 1977-78, No.101 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, pp.340-341, No.362 (as *Portrait of a Lady*); Fierens-Gevaert, pp.75-76, pl.28; Rooses, *Vlaamsche Kunst*, p.12; F.J.Sanchez Cantón, *La Colección Cambó*, Barcelona, 1955, pp.94-96, No.38 (repr.); 'Cambo Bequest for Barcelona', *Connoisseur*, CXXXII, 1956, p.52; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.199, under No.127; Duverger, *Van Hecke*, pp.152-153, fig.3; [R.-A. d'Hulst], in *Cat.*

Exh. *Antwerp, 1977*, p.117, under No.47; *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, pp.623–624.

Alethea Talbot (c.1585–1654), third daughter and heiress of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, married on 30 April 1606 Thomas Howard, second Earl of Arundel, a noted diplomat, collector and patron of the arts.¹

In 1646 Rubens's brother-in-law Peter van Hecke owned 'Twee contrefeytsels van Rubbens wesende den Grave ende Gravinne van Arondel'.² He may have bought these pieces, together with others, at the public sale of Rubens's estate. The inventory of the latter refers to a 'Pourtrait du Comte d'Arondel sur toile'³ but does not mention a companion portrait of the countess. This, however, might be due to a mistake in the inventory or possibly in translation, as the original document is no longer known to exist. As I have pointed out above, these portraits of prominent persons in Rubens's estate are to be regarded as prototypes after which replicas were made, by Rubens's own hand or otherwise.

The Cambó collection, exhibited in the Museum at Barcelona, contains a portrait of Alethea Talbot which is a detailed repetition of that in the group portrait in Munich (No.72; Fig.24), and is perhaps to be regarded as a studio replica after the prototype of the 'Gravinne van Arondel' which belonged to Van Hecke. In any case the arrangement of the portrait—the slightly sideways attitude, the sitter's pose in the chair and the fact that she is depicted on the (heraldic) left side, as was usual in the female pendants of double portraits—suggests that it was the counterpart of a portrait of the earl, imagined as being on the dexter side. Rubens may have painted these two portraits in imitation of Daniël

Mytens's models of c.1618 (Fig.23) and with the group portrait at Munich (No.72; Fig.24) directly in view.⁴

1. For the biographical data about Thomas Howard and Alethea Talbot, see especially *Hervey, Arundel, passim*. For Rubens's portraits of the Earl of Arundel, see *Huemer, Portraits*, pp.105–110, Nos.5–6, figs.47–56.
2. *Duverger, Van Hecke*, p.169.
3. *Demucé, Konstkamers*, p.60.
4. Erik Duverger (*op. cit.*, pp.152–153) and Frances Huemer (*op. cit.*, pp.106–107, under No.4) proposed a connection between the portrait of Arundel in Rubens's and Van Hecke's collection and the painting in the National Gallery, London.

72. Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, and her Train

(Figs. 24, 25–27, 29)

Oil on canvas; 261 × 265 cm.

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. No.352.

PROVENANCE: Bequest of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, and his wife Alethea Talbot, Lady Arundel, London (until 1642), Antwerp and Amersfoort; seized on behalf of William Howard, Viscount of Stafford, 1655; first mentioned in the collection of Johann-Wilhelm, Prince-Elector of the Palatinate, Düsseldorf, in 1719 by Karsch; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPY: Drawing, Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen, Inv.No.13775; brown ink over black chalk, washed in brown and grey, 305 × 365 mm. LIT. *Bock-Rosenberg, I*, p.256, No.13775; *Mielke-Winner*, p.130, No.59 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Karsch, Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.290 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Van Gool, Nieuwe Schouburg, II*, p.535 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Cat. Düsseldorf, 1770*, p.3, No.20 (as *A. Van*

Dyck); *Pigage, Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.243; J.Dallaway, in H.Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, I, London, 1828, pp.175-176; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.70, No.210; Dillis, *Cat. Munich*, No.250; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.432, No.324; Marggraff, *Cat. Munich*, No.244; Reber, *Cat. Munich*, No.784; Eastlake, *Notes*, p.189, No.784; Rooses, IV, pp.125-127, No.888; Rooses-Ruelens, II, p.251; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.209; Dillon, *Rubens*, p.201, pl.CCVIII; *K.d.K.*, p.200; Hervey, *Arundel*, pp.174-181; *Cat. Munich, 1936*, p.226, No.352; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.87-91, 258, figs.38, 40; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.339; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.199, under No.127; F.H.C.Weijens, *De Arundel-Collectie. Commencement de la fin Amersfoort 1657*, Utrecht, 1971, pp.22, 38 (n.41), 46 (n.135), 49 (n.184), pl.IV; Huemer, *Portraits*, pp.85-87, fig.35; K.Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, pp.42, 44; A. S[omers] C[ocks], in *Cat. Exh. Princely Magnificence. Court Jewels of the Renaissance, 1500-1630*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1980-81, p.65, under No.55. J.Douglas Stewart, [Review of Huemer, *Portraits*], *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p.366; U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich, 1983*, pp.438-439, No.352 (repr.); D.Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his Circle*, New Haven-London, 1985, p.152, pl.6.

The origin of this canvas and the portrait composition are described in a letter addressed to Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, on 17 July 1620 by one of his servants, perhaps Francesco Vercellini, who acted as Lady Arundel's secretary on her travels. The letter stated that Rubens had gladly acceded to the earl's wish to have a portrait painted, and had arranged for the countess to pose for him on the very next day. At the time of writing he had com-

pleted her portrait and also those of her dwarf Robin, her jester and the latter's dog. A lap-dog that was also to be in the picture would be brought to Rubens on the following day. As the painter did not yet have a canvas of the required size, he had drawn and painted the heads of the various figures, life-size, and had made studies of the poses and costumes on paper. The dog too had already been painted life-size. The canvas for the finished work had been ordered; Rubens would himself transfer the figures to it and would send it to the earl together with the portrait studies. The writer added that Rubens had promised the countess not to paint any other portraits than those commissioned by the earl.¹ There is not the least doubt that this letter refers to the group portrait now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

Lady Arundel had come from England to The Hague, whence she set out in June 1620 for Venice and Padua. Her route lay through the Southern Netherlands, and she took advantage of her short stay there to pose for this portrait by Rubens.² She appears seated, full length, facing slightly to the left. She wears a black gown with a white lace back-collar and cuffs, and pearl earrings. On her breast, suspended from a chain of precious stones, is a jewel with the monogram IHS. Formerly this jewel had been the breast-ornament of her mother-in-law, Lady Dacre.³ Her left hand rests on the arm of her chair; with her right she strokes the head of the large white dog with black spots, mentioned in the letter. Two other figures there referred to are also seen in the picture. In the right foreground is a little man in a red doublet and breeches and a red cloak trimmed with gold: evidently the dwarf Robin. On the left the jester, standing beside the dog, draws aside a black curtain that flutters over the countess's head like

a baldachin. Only the lap-dog, to which the letter also refers, was not painted. The curtain is adorned with the Arundel arms and motto: [SOL]A – VIRTUS INVICTA,⁴ surrounded by the insignia of the Garter.

The unflattering representation of the countess's features indicates that she was indeed painted from life. None the less, there is an unmistakable resemblance between her pose in this portrait and in that painted by Daniël Mytens in or before 1618 (Fig.23). It seems to me that Rubens must have followed that schema for the present portrait, and must have been acquainted with a copy of it.⁵ The letter makes no mention of the man in a dark jerkin, with the Garter below his knee, standing beside the countess and resting his right hand on the back of her chair. The oldest known description of the painting, in the posthumous inventory of Arundel's estate dating from 1655, speaks only of Rubens's 'Ritratto di Madonna la Contessa d'Arondell' and 't Conterfeysel van de gravin van Arondel';⁶ not until the eighteenth century, first of all in Karsch's description, is there a reference to this man, who was always identified as the countess's husband. This identification was first called in question by Mary Hervey in her monograph on the earl, dated 1921. Pointing out that the man bears little resemblance to Rubens's known portraits of the earl, and that in her opinion the man in the group portrait is less expertly painted than the rest, she concluded that he was painted in later and does not represent the countess's husband (but she did not suggest who else it might be). Burchard attempted to solve the problem on two occasions. He rightly assumed that the man must have been in the picture from the beginning, as no hiatus can be perceived in the execution. He therefore thought of contemporaries, in the first

place the secretary Vercellini.⁷ Later he rightly supposed it to be Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at The Hague, who was a friend of both Rubens and the Arundels and was, in a sense, the countess's special protector at the outset of her Continental travels. In support of this suggestion Burchard pointed to a portrait of Carleton engraved by Willem Delff after Michiel Mierevelt (Fig.30), which indeed shows a striking resemblance to the figure in the present painting as regards the style of the hair and beard. The figure's undoubted stiffness, which appeared to Mary Hervey a possible reason for denying Rubens's authorship, could be explained by the fact that the painter was unable to work from life but had to rely on another portrait.

The liveliness and genre-like quality of this composition are unmistakably of Venetian inspiration. Kerry Downes recently, and rightly, connected the 'symphonic' use of colours with Rubens's early interest in Titian. I find less convincing Downes's suggestion that Rubens was also influenced here by the young Van Dyck. A simpler explanation of the remarkably lively schema is that Rubens was recalling the portraits of Genoese ladies of his Italian period: these works, which are themselves thoroughly Venetian in inspiration, are the sole basis for the group portrait at Munich.⁸ It also seems to me quite possible that the strongly Venetian character of the work was specially desired by the earl himself, who, like other English connoisseurs who set the fashion in the Stuart period, was especially fascinated by the Venetian Renaissance. Moreover, the countess is here depicted en route for Venice, and her destination may also have played a part in determining the character of the painting.

The group is posed on a terrace, the

floor of which is decorated with an Oriental carpet bearing flower motifs of variegated colour. On the left, over a balustrade, can be seen a distant, hilly landscape with a castle that may represent one of the Arundel country houses.⁹ In the centre and to the right behind the group are four twisted Solomonic columns adorned with putti and vine-tendrils. This architectural feature may be a veiled allusion to the countess's Roman Catholicism. In the iconography of the Counter-Reformation the Temple of Solomon was a well-known symbol of the Church and the Eucharist, and the sacrament was also symbolized by angels with vine tendrils.¹⁰

1. 'Ho al mio arrivo in questa citta, subito presentata la lett^a di v^{ra} ecc^{lla} al s^e Ribins Pitore, la quale e stata da lui con alegra fronte ricevuta, ma con piu piacere doppo l'haverla letta si e dimostrato, et mi rese questa risposta: con tutto che io abbia rifiutato a molti Principi et sg^{ri} (particular^{te} qui nel statto d'sua altezza) de far li sua [sic] ritratti; al s^e Conte non posso rifiutar l'honore che mi fa di comandarmi, tenendolo per uno delli quatro evangelisti e soportator del n^{ro} arte; seguitando con molte parole cortesi.

Messi ordene che sua ecc^{lla} di Madama venisse il giorno seguente per sedere, come fece, et egli, pieno d'cortesia, ha compito il suo ritratto, Robin nano, il Pazzo, et Canne, mancho altra picciol cossolina che fornira dimani, e sua ecc^{lla} partira possidimani per dormir a Bruselles. Perche d^o s^e Ribins non veniva tella di quadro grande abastanza, ha ritratto le teste come devono essere; la postura et abiti in Carta disegnati; il Canne ritratto tutto intiero; sara in questo mentre metere une tella all'ordine, et lui di propria mano copiera quel che ha fatto. Sara il quadro perfeto, et il quadro con li primi ritratti insieme li inviera a v^{ra} ecc^{lla}. Ha d^o Ribins promesso a Madama de non voler ritragier qual si voglia persona, sollo quelli che da v^{ra} ecc^{lla} li sara comandatto' (first published by Hervey, *Arundel*, p.175; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.250, only published a French traduction of the autograph letter, preserved at Arundel Castle).

2. Alethea's trip from The Hague to Italy is discussed in full detail by Hervey, *Arundel*, pp.173-184.

3. It has been generally assumed (particularly by Hervey, *Arundel*, p.50, under n.1, 203, and by Huemer, *Portraits*, loc. cit.) that this jewel is an allusion to the countess's Catholicism. Recently, however, Douglas Stewart pointed out that, while she

undoubtedly professed the Roman faith, the monogram IHS may also be displayed by Anglicans. Ever since the 15th century there has been a strong fashion for the IHS pendants like the jewel worn by Alethea Talbot. But an even more plausible reason for the Countess of Arundel's wearing of this old-fashioned jewel consisting of the Jesus monogram in black lettering may be the prophylactic powers attributed to the Holy Name (cf. A.Somers Cocks, loc. cit.).

4. The first half of the motto (SOLA VIRTUS) is clearly legible in the 16th-century portrait by Hans Eworth of the Earl of Arundel's grandfather, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk (private collection; repr. in R.Strong, *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits*, II, London, 1969, p.459).

5. Mytens's portraits of the Arundel couple are discussed in full detail in O. ter Kuile's monograph: 'Daniël Mytens, "His Majesty's Picture-Drawer"', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XX, 1969, pp. 43-47.

6. The collection left by the countess at her death in 1654 was the object of a dispute between the Arundels' son William Howard, Viscount Stafford, and the children of his deceased brother Henry Frederick. In consequence, two inventories were drawn up. The first, a long one in Italian dated 1655, was published in 1911 by Mary L.Cox ('Inventory of Pictures etc. in the possession of Alethea, Countess of Arundel, at the time of her Death at Amsterdam in 1654', *The Burlington Magazine*, XIX, 1911, pp.282-286, 323 [referring to the portrait of the countess]). A second inventory, in Dutch, was published in 1971 by F.H.C.Weijten (op. cit.). This covers only part of the collection, but includes the present portrait with a marginal note saying that it was 'om de grootheyd niet verbodent'—i.e. it was too large to be removed, along with other paintings, from the residence at Amersfoort. This interesting remark, which does not appear in the Italian document, refutes the doubt occasionally expressed as to whether the piece mentioned in 1655 is in fact the group portrait in Munich. Burchard, in particular, thought that the painting mentioned in the inventory was identical not with the Munich portrait but with the small bust-length portrait in Barcelona, which is of dubious quality (cf. also No.71).

7. Burchard's opinion was published in the 1936 edition of the catalogue of the Alte Pinakothek at Munich (loc. cit.).

8. See, for the portraits of Genoese ladies, L.Burchard, 'Genuessische Frauenbildnisse von Rubens', *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, L, 1929, pp.319-349, and Huemer, *Portraits*, pp.33-43, Nos. 19, 39-45, figs.117-125.

9. It does not seem likely that this is intended as an accurate representation of any of the Arundel residences. At any rate the complex of buildings does not resemble either the surviving depictions of

Arundel House in London (see Hollar's engraving reproduced e.g. in Cat. Exh. *Wenzel Hollar*, Paris, Institut Néerlandais, 1979, Nos.106-107, fig.20) or that of Albury House in Surrey (engraving by M. van der Gucht, reproduced in *Hervey, Arundel*, pl.XVII, facing p.346).

10. The iconology of the Solomonic column is extensively explained in *De Poorter, Eucharist*, pp.171-176; see also *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, p.59, under No.110. Frances Huemer in her extensive account of the portrait states firmly that the Solomonic columns are an allusion to the countess's Catholic faith. This interpretation was recently questioned, however, by Douglas Stewart, who—while offering no alternative—wondered how it was to be reconciled with the fact that the earl, who had commissioned the portrait, was an Anglican.

72a. Robin the Dwarf: Drawing (Fig. 28)

Pen and brown ink over red, black and white chalk on light grey paper; 403 × 258 mm.; several inscriptions in Rubens's hand, referring to colours and materials of the costume: *Het Wambuys vermach wesen root sattijn ende de broeck root flouweel* (above on the left), *Tannayt flouweel* (waist-coat), *Tannayt flouweel* (breeches), *root* (knee), *Geel* (stockings), *root* (bootlaces), *Swart* (boot), *Geel Voyeringe* (border of mantle); in the right corner below, the mark of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (L.1980) and, inscribed with the pen, *P.P. Rubens* (? by Crozat) and *1722* (mark of the Royal Library inventory, Stockholm, 1790). Fully mounted.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.

Inv. No.1913/1863.

PROVENANCE: P. Crozat (Paris, 1665-1740), sale, 10 April 1741 et seq., lot 841; Count C.G. Tessin (Stockholm, 1695-1770); Royal Library, Stockholm (Inv. 1790, No.1722); Royal Museum, Stockholm.

EXHIBITED: *Choix de dessins du quinzième au dix-huitième siècle, à l'occasion du XVIIIème Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1933, No.36;

Brussels, 1938-39, No.26 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No.42 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1948-49, No.120; *Brussels*, 1949, No.90; *Paris*, 1949, No.94; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No.40 (repr.); *Stockholm*, 1953, No.100 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No.89 (repr.); *Old Master Drawings*, Nationalmuseum Stockholm, 1967, No.20; *Drawings from Stockholm*, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1969, No.54; *London*, 1972, No.7 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1977, No.153 (repr.); *Stockholm*, 1977-78, No.33 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.260, No.1498; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.46, No.133 (repr.); L. Van Puyvelde, 'Die Handzeichnungen des P.P. Rubens in der Ausstellung in Brüssel', *Pantheon*, XXIII, 1939, pp.75, 78 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, p.89 (repr.); *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.339-340; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Tekeningen*, pp.80-81, No.89 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, pp.10, 32, 44, 55, 136, No. 101, pl.113; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, I, pp.198-199, No.127 (repr.); B. Magnusson, 'Rubens som tecknare', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.105-106 (repr.).

A detailed preliminary study, with colour indications, for the dwarf Robin in the right foreground of the group portrait of *The Countess of Arundel and her Train* at Munich (No.72; Fig.24). This is the surviving example of the drawn costume studies mentioned in the letter of 17 July 1620 to the Earl of Arundel.

73-74. TWO PENDANTS: HELIODORUS AND MARCELLIANUS DE BAREA

73. Heliodorus de Barea (Fig. 31)

Oil on panel; 62 × 49.5 cm.
Barcelona, Private Collection.

PROVENANCE: J.B. van Scherpenbergh, sale, Antwerp, 19 August 1801, lot 4; purchased by Thilemans; sale, London (Christie's), 10 April 1802, lot 118; F.T. Fleitmann, New York, (1921); sale, London (Christie's), 26 November 1976, lot 18 (repr.).

COPY: Engraving by N. Lauwers (Fig. 34; V.S., p. 181, No. 237).

EXHIBITED: *Madrid*, 1977-78, No. 103 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 311, No. 1155; *Rooses*, IV, p. 130, No. 894; *K.d.K.*, p. 307, left; L. Burchard, in *Cat. Exh. London, 1950*, p. 47, under No. 37.

The sitter's identity is clarified by the inscription on Nicolaas Lauwers's engraving after this portrait (Fig. 34). Heliodorus de Barea, like his better-known brother Marcellianus, was a Spanish Capuchin active in the Netherlands. He moved in Court circles and, together with his brother (No. 74; Fig. 32), was involved in public affairs in the early 1630s; for example, he played a part in the discovery of the conspiracy planned by the South Netherlands nobility led by Prince d'Arenberg and Count Hendrik van den Bergh. Heliodorus de Barea died in Madrid on 1 April 1660.¹

He is here shown bust-length in the greyish-brown habit of his Order, in three-quarter view and looking directly towards the spectator. The rather loose brushwork of this portrait and its pendant (No. 74; Fig. 32) representing Marcellianus de Barea argues for a late dating of both, c. 1630 or later. The two paintings were regarded from the outset as belonging together, witness Nicolaas Lauwers's two prints of identical size and with similar frames and inscriptions. On account of the

brothers' Spanish surname, Oldenbourg wrongly supposed that the portraits were painted during Rubens's stay at the Spanish court in 1628-29. I do not, however, agree with Burchard's statement in the London exhibition catalogue of 1950 that February 1632 should be regarded as a *terminus ante quem*—his view being that Rubens would not have painted the two Capuchins after that date, when the famous betrayal of Count Hendrik van den Bergh and his associates took place. In my opinion the *terminus ante quem* should be 1635, as the two brothers were in Burgundy in or from that year and Rubens is unlikely to have painted them there.²

1. There is much biographical evidence about the Barea brothers in P. Frédégand d'Anvers, *Etude sur le Père Charles d'Arenberg, frère-mineur capucin (1593-1669)*, Paris-Rome, 1919, *passim*; for their role in the discovery of the conspiracy: *ibid.*, pp. 207, 216.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

74. Marcellianus de Barea (Fig. 32)

Oil on panel; 63 × 47 cm.

Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts.

PROVENANCE: J.B. van Scherpenbergh, sale, Antwerp, 19 August 1801, lot 3; purchased by Thilemans; entered the Museum of Nîmes at some date after 1895.

COPY: Engraving by N. Lauwers (Fig. 33; V.S., p. 181, No. 236).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1950, No. 37; *Paris*, 1977-78, No. 136 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 311, No. 1155; *Rooses*, IV, p. 130, No. 893; L. Burchard, in *Cat. Exh. London, 1950*, pp. 47-48, No. 37; D. Freedberg, 'L'Année Rubens, manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIX, 1978, p. 86; J. Foucart, 'Postface à l'exposi-

tion "Le Siècle de Rubens" dans les collections publiques françaises', *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, XXIX, 1979, p.157, n.14.

As with the companion portrait (No.73; Fig.31), the sitter's identity appears from an inscription on the engraving made of it by Nicolaas Lauwers (Fig.33). Unlike his brother Heliodorus, Marcellianus de Barea is seen almost frontally, his head turned very slightly to the left and his eyes looking directly at the spectator. Like his brother, he wears the greyish-brown habit of the Capuchin Order.

More details are known of Marcellianus's life than of his brother's. He was born c.1601 and is said to have joined the Order in 1617. Before this he had contracted heavy debts, but was able to pay them off thanks to generous help from his influential fellow-Capuchin Charles d'Arenberg.¹

1. Cf. under No.73, n.1.

75. **Isabella Brant** (Fig. 36)

Oil on panel; 55.5 × 46.5 cm.
Cleveland, Ohio, *The Cleveland Museum of Art*. Inv. No.47.207.

PROVENANCE: Lord Glanusk, sale, London (Sotheby's), 29 April 1914, lot 88; Hugh Blaker, Old Isleworth, Middlesex; purchased from the latter by Marcus Kappel, Berlin, in 1914; Marcus Kappel sale, Berlin (Cassirer), 25 November 1930, lot 16 (repr.), withdrawn; in possession of the Kappel heirs until November 1945, when purchased by Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York; donated to the Cleveland Museum of Art by Mr and Mrs William H. Marlatt, in 1947.

EXHIBITED: *Fifty Paintings by Old Masters*, Art Gallery, Toronto, 1950, No.40; *Style, Truth and the Portrait*, The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, 1963, No.21 (repr.); *Antwerp, 1977*, No.58 (repr.).

LITERATURE: W. von Bode, 'Ein neu aufgefundenes Bildnis von Rubens' erster Gattin Isabella Brant', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXV, 1914, pp.221-223 (repr.); id., *Die Meister der holländischen und vlämischen Malerschulen*, Leipzig, 1917, pp.346 (repr.), 352; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, p.61, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.96; Burchard, *Nachträge*, p.385; Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.160, No.67; Goris-Held, p.26, No.1, pl.11; H.S. Francis, 'Portrait of Isabella Brant by Peter Paul Rubens', *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XXXIV, 1947, pp.247-249 (repr.); *Art News*, XLVI, December, 1947, p.24 (repr.); Larsen, *Rubens*, pp.216-217, No.51; *The Cleveland Museum. Selected Works*, Cleveland, 1966, p.161 (repr.); W. Sauerländer, [Review of Cat. Exh. *Antwerp, 1977*], *Pantheon*, XXXV, 1977, p.340; Jaffé, *Exhibitions*, p.623; K. Renger, [Review of Cat. Exh. *Antwerp, 1977*], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p.2; Vlieghe, *Remarks*, pp.106-107, 111 (repr.); Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, pp.317-318, 321, n.61 (repr.); N. C[oe]W[ixom], in *European Paintings of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1982, pp.24-28, No.10 (repr.).

The sitter is shown bust-length, looking directly at the spectator but with her head turned three-quarters to the left. She wears a black gown with white lace collar and cuffs. Her hair is plaited at the back and adorned with a diadem. Her right hand is pressed against her bosom, on which hangs a gold chain. The back-

ground is lightly indicated in greyish-blue tones, with the undercoat showing through.

There cannot be the least doubt that the sitter is Isabella Brant, Rubens's first wife. The same head, with almost the same quizzical expression and the same hair-style, but facing three-quarters to the right, can be seen in the portrait now in Washington (Fig. 37) that Van Dyck painted of her immediately before his departure for Italy in 1621. In that painting the identification of the sitter as Isabella Brant rests above all on the depiction of the celebrated portico in the garden of Rubens's house. The resemblance between the portrait at Cleveland and that in Washington is so striking that one is inclined to suppose they were based on studies made at one and the same time, of Isabella's head in different poses. We may also note the drawing in the British Museum, which shows the same head almost frontally and can well be regarded as one of the set of studies (No. 75a; Fig. 38).¹ Since Van Dyck's portrait was painted in 1621 at the latest, the present one, in view of its resemblance, must likewise date from the very early 1620s. Bode and Held took this view, but Burchard, for unclear reasons, dated it c. 1625. Müller Hofstede, in a recent article, proposed on the contrary to date it somewhat earlier, c. 1618–20.

Doubts have been expressed at various times as to the authenticity of important parts of the painting. Glück in 1920 already suggested that only the face was authentic. Recently Konrad Renger took a similar view, regarding it as quite possible that Rubens painted only Isabella's face and part of her costume, leaving the rest unfinished. Jaffé came to a less severe conclusion, doubting only the authenticity of the sitter's hand.

This reservation as to the authenticity

of part of the portrait was confirmed, partially at least, by the technical examination carried out in 1977.² This showed that the panel consisted of four planks glued together. At a height of c. 16 cm. from the bottom, i.e. just above Isabella's hand, three vertical planks are completed by a fourth laid horizontally across them. X-rays (See Fig. 35) and examination of the paint structure showed that all this undermost horizontal section was extensively overpainted, in all probability by the restorer William Suhr, who had treated the portrait in c. 1946. Beneath this overpainting are traces of another hand. It is, however, impossible to make out whether the painting of the horizontal panel was originally by Rubens: the whole of it may have been a later addition.

1. A drawing (ink and wash on paper, 114 × 92 mm.), possibly dating from the 18th century and belonging to the Museum at Worcester, Mass. (Inv. No. 1917.78), may be a copy of such a preliminary study, showing Isabella's head turned to the right. There is no reason to consider that drawing a copy after a lost painting or oil sketch, as has been proposed by N[ancy] C[oe] W[ixom], *op. cit.*, p. 28 (the Worcester drawing is reproduced there, on p. 27, as fig. 10f).
2. Report of a Technical Examination by Delbert Spurlock and Ross Mervill, dated 25 April, 1977, on the occasion of the Rubens exhibition in Antwerp the same year.

75a. Isabella Brant: Drawing (Fig. 38)

Black and red chalk, partially heightened with white body-colour, touches of pen and ink in the irises and eyelashes, of brown wash in the nostrils; 381 × 292 mm.; below, on the right, the marks of the collections of P. H. Lankrink (L. 2090), J. Richardson Senior (L. 2184) and Earl Spencer (L. 1532). Fully mounted.—*Verso*: inscribed with the pen, on an attached strip of paper: *No 27 Given me by Sr Ia: Thornhil. Oct. 1724. JC* [= Clive].

London, British Museum.

Inv. No.1893. F.31.21.

PROVENANCE: P.H.Lankrink (London, 1628–1692); J.Richardson Senior (London, 1665–1745); J.Thornhill; ?Lord Clive; Earl Spencer (Althorp, 18th century); L.R.S.Holford (London, 1808–Westonbirt, Glos., 1892), sale, London (Christie's), 14 July 1893, lot 668; purchased for the British Museum on 31 July 1893.

EXHIBITED: *Flemish Drawings of three Centuries*, British Museum, London, 1954; London, 1974, No.88; London, 1977, No.154 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M.Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp.294–295, No.1500¹; id., 'The Portrait of Isabella Brant in the Hermitage', *The Burlington Magazine*, VI, 1905, p.497; C.Ricketts, 'The Portrait of Isabella Brant in the Hermitage', *The Burlington Magazine*, VII, 1905, p.84; M.Rooses, 'Van Dyck's Leer- en Reisjaren', *Onze Kunst*, XII, 1907, p.42 (repr.); *Hind, Rubens*, p.29, No.92; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, p.61, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.97; Glück-Haberditzl, p.51, No.160 (repr.); Held, *Drawings*, pp.33, 77, 136–137, No.103, pl.115; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.212–213, No.135 (repr.); Kuznetsov, *Risunki*, No.103 (repr.); Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, pp.114–115, No.154 (repr.); K.Renger [Review of Cat. Exh. London, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p.136.

Isabella's head is slightly turned to the left; she looks directly at the spectator. Her hair and features are depicted with the utmost care; her costume is only sketchily indicated.

Held, followed by Rowlands in Cat. Exh. London, 1977, rightly connected this drawing with the Cleveland portrait (No.75; Fig.36). The smooth cheeks, the mocking

smile and the hair combed straight back are very similar in the two cases. The pose, however, is different: in the Cleveland portrait the sitter is turned much more to the left. On the other hand, the pose in the present drawing is exactly like that in the portrait of Isabella of c.1626 in the Uffizi in Florence (No.76; Fig.41). This resemblance led many art historians, notably Glück and Haberditzl, Burchard and d'Hulst, to regard this drawing as a study for the Uffizi portrait and to give it approximately the same date. For the same reason Renger did not believe this drawing to be connected with the Cleveland portrait, though he also did not regard it as a study for the one in Florence. My own opinion is rather that Rubens, with a view to the Cleveland portrait, made several studies of his wife in various poses, including the present drawing, on which the portrait in Florence was later based. The latter, however, shows Isabella with clearly older and above all thicker features and with her hair in a fuller style.

76. Isabella Brant (Figs.40, 41)

Oil on panel; 86 × 62 cm.

Florence, Uffizi. Inv. No.779.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in the Netherlands by Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1667 or 1669;¹ Castle of Poggio a Cajano, 1713; Palazzo Pitti, Florence; in the Uffizi since 1773.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Hamburg, Margret Köser; for references, see under No.77; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 72 × 53.5 cm. PROV. London, Dukes of Norfolk, sale, London (Christie's), 11 February 1938, lot 138 (as *Rubens*); Vermeer Galleries, London and New York, c.1940. EXH. New Gallery, London, 1897–98, No.127 (as *Rubens, Portrait of Katherine*

Brandt [sic]; West Ham, 1899 (as *Rubens*, *Portrait of Helena Fourment*). LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.160–161, under No.559; IX, p.297, No.194 (as *Rubens*); *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p.86; *Rooses*, IV, p.135, No.899; (3) Painting, Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No.434; canvas, 62.5 × 47.5 cm. PROV. Cacaault Bequest, 1810. LIT. M. Nicolle, *Ville de Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Catalogue*, Nantes, 1913, No. 434; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Paris, Jadwiga Vuyk, where seen by Burchard in 1936; (5) Painting, Pistoia, Private Collection; canvas; (6) Painting, with only the left hand, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 61 × 48 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 24 February 1978, lot 108; (7) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 55.5 × 46.5 cm.; (8) Painting of the head and the right shoulder, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 48.5 × 40 cm. PROV. Paris, Birtschansky, 1947; (9) Painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence, whereabouts unknown. EXH. *Künstlerkopien*, Kunsthalle, Basle, 1937, No.222; (10) Drawing by Antoine Watteau, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. No.2267; red, black and white chalk, 188 × 128 mm. PROV. W. Mayer; Lord Ronald Sutherland Gower; given by the latter to J. E. Millais, 1876; Ricketts and Shannon. EXH. *European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam*, New York–Fort Worth–Baltimore–Minneapolis–Philadelphia, 1976–77, No.118 (repr.); *All for Art. The Ricketts and Shannon Collection*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1979, No.206 (repr.). LIT. J. H., *A Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by the late W. Mayer*, 1875, p.87, No.409 (as *Rubens*); S. Colvin, *The Vasari Society*, 1st Series, V, 1909–10, No.37 (repr.); *Parker–Mathey*, I, p.44, No.299 (repr.); (11) Engraving after (2) by J. G. Facius, 1782 (*V.S.*, p.159, No.30).

EXHIBITED: London, 1953–54, No.184; Florence, 1977, No.85 (repr.).

LITERATURE: F. Zacchiroli, *Description de la Galerie royale de Florence*, II, Florence, 1783, p.78, No.77 (as *Hélène Fourment*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.146–147, No.514; J. Burckhardt, *Der Cicerone*, Basle, 1855, p.1020 (as *eine Dame in mittlern Jahren, von nichtsnutzigem Ausdruck* [sic], mit dem Gebetbuch; *Rooses*, IV, p.133, No.896; G. Lafenestre and E. Richtenberger, *La peinture en Europe... Florence*, Paris, 1893, p.39; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.261; Dillon, *Rubens*, p.216, pl.CCXLIV; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.91; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, p.61, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.96–97; Burchard, *Nachträge*, p.385; *K.d.K.*, p.282; Warnke, *Kommentare*, pp.27, 87–88; Warnke, *Rubens*, p.26, fig.11; D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Florence, 1977*, pp.204–206, No.85, pl.17, fig.205; M. C[hiarini], in *Uffizi, Cat.* 1980, p.461, No. P.1379; *Vlieghe, Remarks*, pp.106–107, 109, 111 (repr.); Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, pp.318–319, 321, fig.21.

Isabella Brant is shown half-length in a black satin gown with a wide *décolleté*, and over it a dark sleeveless cloak. Two or three necklaces of precious stones hang on her breast. Under the gown is a white garment with a lace collar; her cuffs are also of white lace. Her left hand is on her breast; in her right she holds a book, with the forefinger between two pages. The plain red background is varied only on the left, by a column with vine-tendrils curling around it.

As pointed out under No.75a, Isabella's face in this portrait is based on the drawing in the British Museum (Fig.38), which however, is some five years earlier. Her hair is done differently, in the fuller style

that was the fashion of the time. As also noted under No.75a, her features are clearly those of an older woman: they are somewhat flabbier and no longer smooth.

The portrait is almost universally dated c.1625-26; Isabella died of plague on 20 June of the latter year. Only Warnke proposed a date of c.1623. The freer, more vibrant technique is characteristic of Rubens's style from the mid 1620s onwards and is therefore not in conflict with the later date. I wonder, however, whether Isabella's death should not be regarded as a *terminus post quem*: the portrait may have been painted shortly afterwards, in memory of its subject. As explained elsewhere, I am led to this hypothesis by the motif in the left background of a column with vine-tendrils round it. This motif can also be seen behind the head of Philip Rubens in the famous group portrait with Justus Lipsius in the Pitti Palace in Florence (No.117; Fig.140), where it was interpreted by Wolfram Prinz as symbolizing Rubens's affection for his dead brother. The overgrown column is a variant of the similarly overgrown dead tree, a clear symbol of the love that outlives death—'AMICITIA ETIAM POST MORTEM DVRA NS' (Ill., p. 206).² Warnke already pointed out the significance of the column in the present portrait, but he related it to Rubens's affection for Clara Serena, the little daughter of the artist and Isabella, who died in 1623; this was also his reason for proposing an earlier date for the painting.³ However, apart from the arguments, already cited, for a later date, it seems to me very unlikely that the emblematic significance of the column should relate to someone other than the person depicted.⁴

A posthumous dating of this portrait of Rubens's first wife would also explain why he based it on a drawing of some five

years earlier rather than conceiving a new type. As to the costume, he may also have followed Van Dyck's portrait (Fig.36).

1. See further, under No.135, Copy (2).
2. See *Henkel-Schöne*, I, col.259.
3. Warnke, *Rubens*, loc. cit.
4. Müller Hofstede, in his article cited above, independently reached the same conclusion as myself regarding the interpretation of the emblem and the dating of the portrait.

77. Isabella Brant (Fig. 39)

Oil on canvas; 62 × 54 cm.

Hamburg, Collection of Margret Köser.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in Paris by an unknown American collector, in 1898; in the latter's property until 1930; purchased then by August Neuerburg, Hamburg; Gottfried Neuerburg, Hamburg.

LITERATURE: *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.385; N.C[oe] W[ixom], in *European Paintings of the 16th, 17th and 18th Centuries*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1982, p.28, under No.10.

This is a repetition, cut down on all four sides, of the portrait in the Uffizi in Florence (No.76; Fig.41). Burchard regarded it as an original work by Rubens, in fact as the first version of that portrait, but I cannot detect Rubens's hand in its workmanship.

78. Jan Brant the Younger (Figs.42-44)

Oil on panel; 109 × 94 cm.; dated above, to the left: A. SAL. XVI. XXXV./AETAT. LXXV.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. No.354.

PROVENANCE: Jan Brant the Younger, who in 1637 bequeathed this portrait to

his grandson Albert Rubens; ? bequest of Albert Rubens, 1657; first mentioned in the collections of the Electors of Bavaria at Schleissheim, in 1748; removed to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1781; exhibited in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1948, No.94; *London*, 1949, No.100.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.75, No.227; IX, p.265, No.85; *Dillis, Cat. Munich*, No.275; *Parthey, Bildersaal*, II, p.435, No.377; *Marggraff, Cat. Munich*, No.268; *Reber, Cat. Munich*, No.799; *Rooses*, IV, p.301, No.1109 (as *Un Savant*); M. Rooses, 'Het portret van Jan Brant in de Pinakothek van München', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp.115-120; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.373; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.174, 202, pl. CCCXCII; *K.d.K.*, p.360; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, No.354; *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, p.66, under No.37, fig.38; *Sonnenburg, Bildaufbau*, p.81; *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp.18-19 (repr.); U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, pp.432-433, No.354 (repr.).

Jan Brant the Younger (1559-1639), Rubens's first father-in-law, was a classical scholar, lawyer, alderman and town clerk of Antwerp. He is here shown at the age of 75, knee-length, in a seated position. He wears a black costume with a white ruff, and holds a book in his left hand. Behind him, on the wall to the right, is a shelf with four other books. The titles of two can be seen: COMENTARIA / C. IVLII / CAESARIS and M. T. CICERO / = NIS OPERA / OMNIA. These relate to the humanist's sphere of activity: Brant was celebrated *inter alia* for editions of Caesar and Cicero.¹

For a long time it was not known whom this portrait represented. The 1761 inventory of the collection of the Elector of

Bavaria at Schleissheim, describes it as 'Portrait eines gelehrten Niederländers, der in seinem 75. Jährigen Alter gemahlen worden'.² The identification with Brant was first made by Max Rooses in 1900 on the strength of the inscription and the book-titles.

In the same article Rooses, also for the first time, suggested the identification of this work with a portrait of Jan Brant painted by Rubens and bequeathed by Brant in 1637 to his grandson Albert Rubens. In making this bequest Jan Brant was no doubt influenced by the fact that Albert Rubens had begun to study the law and was, in a sense, following in his grandfather's footsteps. Brant accordingly wished him to have not only the portrait but also all his scholarly books and manuscripts.³ Finally, Rooses pointed out in his article of 1900 that the same painting may well have figured in the inventory, drawn up between 3 and 6 December 1657, of the estate of Albert Rubens, who had died two months earlier.⁴ It is not known what happened to the portrait between that date and its acquisition for the Bavarian Electoral Collection.

1. Jan Brant's importance as a humanist was described in detail by Rooses in 'Het portret van Jan Brant', *loc. cit.* He edited a *C. Julii Caesaris opera* (Frankfurt, 1606) and an *Elogia Ciceroniana* (Antwerp, 1612). Philip Rubens, in his *Electorum Libri II* (Antwerp, 1608, p.10), praises Brant's textual criticism of Caesar's *Commentaries*.
2. *Schleissheim Mahlerey Beschreibung de Anno 1761*, No.74 (Mss., Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; this information was kindly given to me by Dr. R. an der Heiden, Munich).
3. Brant's will of 27 July 1637 provided as follows: 'Begeirende voorts dat de voorse. Albertus naer myns testateurs aflyvicheydt voor vuyt hebben zal alle myne boecken, soo geschreven als gedruckt, pampieren, geschriften, ende andere stucken ende munimenten myne studien eenichsints aengaende oft rakende, ende daerenboven myn contrefeytsel by zynen heer vader geschildert tot mynder gedencnisse...' (P. Génard, 'Het testament van Jan Brant en Clara de Moy', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.227).

4. More particularly, Rooses identified the portrait with the inventory item 'contrefeytsel van den grootvader van Mynheer' (P.Génard, 'Clara del Monte en Deodatus van der Mont', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p.30); it should be pointed out, however, that the inventory says nothing about the authorship of the portrait.

79. Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family (Figs.46-50)

Oil on panel; 124.5 × 94.5 cm.
London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection. Inv. No.18.

PROVENANCE: Jan Brueghel the Elder; Ambrosius Brueghel; Jan-Baptist Borrekens and his wife Catharina Brueghel; David Teniers II and his wife Anna Brueghel (first mentioned in 1657); Jan Erasmus Quellinus, in community of property with Teniers's other descendants (mentioned in 1690 and 1693); sold by the latter before 14 July 1703; ? Duchess of Cumberland, 1789; W. A. Coats, Skelmorlie Castle, Scotland, sale, London (Christie's), 10 June 1927, lot 132; J. A. Coats, sale, London (Christie's), 12 April 1935, lot 82 (repr., as *A Family Group*); Frank Sabin, London; purchased from the latter by Count Seilern, 1949.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. No.2789; canvas, 130 × 97 cm. PROV. ?Marquis de Blaisel, sale, Paris (Drouot), 16-17 March 1870, lot 113 (as ?*Rubens, Sneyders et sa famille*); purchased by Sedelmeyer; Miss Elizabeth Howard Bartol; purchased by the Boston Museum from the latter's estate, in 1927. LIT. *Goris-Held*, p.47, No. A24; *Seilern, Ad-denda*, p.24; (2) Painting, Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos; panel, 126 × 94.5 cm. LIT. M. Díaz Padrón, 'Precisiones y adiciones a la pintura flamenca del siglo XVII en el Museo de San Carlos en Méjico', *Archivo Español de Arte*, LIV, 1981, pp.69,

72, fig.11; (3) Painting, without the figure of Jan Brueghel, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 22 December 1916, lot 132 (as *Jordaens*). LIT. *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, p.30, under No.18; (4) Gouache by Sarah Malden, 1789, whereabouts unknown; vellum. PROV. Earl of Essex; Donough O'Brien. LIT. D. O'Brien, *Miniatures in the XVIIIth and XIXth Centuries*, London, [1951], p.98, pl.20, fig.1 (as *Rubens and his Family*); (5) Gouache, probably 18th century, Waalre, Tinus van Bakel; vellum, 130 × 98 mm. PROV. Sale, Amsterdam (Sotheby's-Mak van Waay), 3 May 1976, lot 183 (repr., as *C. de Vos*). EXH. On loan to the Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1977.

EXHIBITED: Paterson Gallery, London, 1927, No.288; *International Art Trade Exhibition*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1936, No.136; Sabin Gallery, London, 1937; *Exhibition of Works by Holbein and other Masters of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Royal Academy, London, 1950-51, No.230.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures ... belonging to W. A. Coats*, Glasgow, 1904, No.X (repr.); A. Scharf, in [S. F. Sabin, ed.] *Gems of Painting*, London, [1935?], not paginated (repr.); E. Greindl, *Corneille de Vos*, Brussels, 1944, p.56; *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, pp.30-31, No.18, pl.XL-XLIV; C. Norris, 'Count Seilern's Flemish Paintings and Drawings', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, p.397; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.193, n.2 (as *C. de Vos*); J. Müller Hofstede, [Review of *Gerson-ter Kuile*], *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXVII, 1964, p.90; H. Vlieghe, 'Het portret van Jan Breughel en zijn gezin door P. P. Rubens', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, pp.177-188 (repr.); G. Winkelmann-Rhein, *Blumen-Brueghel*, Cologne, 1968, p.26, fig.1; J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Jan Brueghel:

Diana und ihre Nymphen', *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, X, 1968, p.224; *Seilern, Addenda*, pp.24-25; *Köhler-Lutterbeck*, pp.126-129; *Ertz, Brueghel*, pp.442-443, fig.530; *Braham, Princes Gate*, p.44, No.66, pl. XI; C. Brown, 'The Princes Gate Collections at Courtauld', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p.562.

The painter Jan Brueghel, second son of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, was born in Brussels in 1568. He married his second wife, Catharina van Mariënberghe,¹ in 1605. His features as we know them from a portrait by Van Dyck (Fig.45) can be clearly recognized here in the bearded man on the left dressed in black, with a white goffered collar and a tall black hat. His wife is seated and is turned slightly to the left but looks directly towards the spectator, as does her husband. The severity of her black bodice is relieved by a stomacher embroidered with gold brocade. She wears a large cartwheel ruff and her hair is held at the back by a headband. On each wrist she wears a gold bracelet set with jewels: according to Walter Melion, these also appear in several still lifes and allegorical scenes by Jan Brueghel.² The two children in the foreground must be the eldest surviving issue of the marriage. On the left, in profile facing right, is Elisabeth, born c.1608-9. She wears a silk dress with a flat upturned lace collar; her hair is bound with a white lace diadem. On the right is Pieter, born c.1607-8, in a scarlet costume with a flat white collar and a greyish-brown cape. He is in three-quarter view, looking directly at the spectator.³ Some *pentimenti* show that Rubens originally dressed his sitters somewhat differently. Catharina was to have had a lace diadem on the back of her head, like her daughter's, and the crown of Jan

Brueghel's hat was originally broader than in the final version. It is striking how the family bond between the sitters is suggested: Jan Brueghel's left arm rests protectively on his wife's shoulder; she in turn rests her left hand on the little boy's shoulder, and holds the girl's left hand in her right.

The children's ages can be estimated at six and about five respectively, which suggests a date of c.1612-13 for the family group. The strongly plastic modelling and smooth impasto are characteristic of Rubens's style at that time. Burchard, Hulin de Loo⁴ and, originally, Gerson⁵ were not convinced that the painting was by Rubens, and saw in it the hand of Cornelis de Vos. However, these authors were not acquainted with the documents published by me, indicating that a portrait by Rubens of 'Velvet' Brueghel with his wife and two children was successively owned by Jan Brueghel's youngest son Ambrosius, by Jan's son-in-law Jan-Baptist Borekens, and finally by Anna Brueghel, daughter of Jan and wife of David Teniers II, whose descendants owned it until the early eighteenth century.⁶ Moreover it is well known that Rubens was a close friend of Jan Brueghel, with whom he collaborated even before 1600.⁷

The painting may have found its way to England as early as the eighteenth century. The miniaturist Sarah Malden, later Countess of Essex, made a copy of the composition in 1789 and wrote under it that she had seen the original in the collection of the Duchess of Cumberland. She may, however, have worked from the copy now in the Boston Museum: see above, Copies (1) and (4).

The typical arrangement of the family group, with the artificial, diagonal pose of the *paterfamilias* enclosing his wife and offspring in a broad embrace, could be of

Dutch origin. It is already found in a *Family Portrait* dated 1608, formerly in the Thyssen collection at Lugano, which is probably the work of a Mannerist master of Haarlem.⁸ On the other hand, Rubens's portrait may have started a fashion. This is suggested by the very similar pose of the figures in the *Family Portrait* painted by A. Van Dyck before 1620, now with the London art firm Somerville and Simpson.⁹

1. See J. Denucé, *Brieven en documenten betreffende Jan Bruegel I en II*, Antwerp, 1934, supplement: *Genealogische schets van de familie Bruegel*.
2. Cf. Braham, *Princes Gate*, *loc. cit.*, though specific examples are not mentioned. The female personification of *Hearing*, executed by Rubens, in the painting of that name in the Prado (Ertz, *Brueghel*, p. 351, fig. 420) has a similar jewel on her left upper arm.
3. From a letter by Jan Brueghel's eldest son of his first marriage, Jan the Younger, it appears that when their father died in 1625 Pieter was aged 17 and Elisabeth 16: see G. Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel, pittore fiammingo*, Milan, 1868, p. 340.
4. Cf. Seilern, *Flemish Paintings*, p. 30.
5. *Loc. cit.*; however, according to Seilern, *Addenda* (*loc. cit.*), Gerson later changed his mind and decided that the painting was by Rubens.
6. In his will dated 10 September 1639 Ambrosius Brueghel bequeathed to his brother-in-law Jan Baptist Borrekens a portrait by Rubens of 'zijn testateurs vader ende moeder op paneel' (published in Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p. 128). As the result of an exchange – perhaps in 1654, after the death of Borrekens's wife Catharina Brueghel – it became the property of the Teniers-Brueghel couple. This appears from the inventory drawn up on Anna Brueghel's death, on 24 December 1657, which stipulated that the children of David and Anna were entitled to 'het conterfeytsel van heuren grootvaeder ende grootmoeder met twee kinderen op een paneel geschildert bij heer Peeter Paulo Rubens... Dit conterfeytsel is aen de kinderen gegeven in recompense van seker teekeningen ende een stuccken van Jan Bruegel bij hunne moeder ten houwelijk gebrocht...' (H. Vlieghe, *loc. cit.*, with information on the later history of the painting).
7. For the relationship between Brueghel and Rubens see J. Müller Hofstede, 'Rubens und Jan Brueghel...', *op. cit.*, pp. 222–232, and especially the recent monograph by Klaus Ertz (*op. cit.*, *passim*).
8. With the art firm P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1958 (see their *Cat. Exh. Collection 1958*, not paged or numbered, repr.). Edith Greindl (*op. cit.*, p. 146, fig. 55) attributed this panel to Cornelis de Vos on account

of a doubtful signature. Burchard also believed it to be De Vos's work.

9. *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 112; for more recent information see A. McNairn, *The Young Van Dyck*, *Cat. Exh.*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1980, pp. 158–160, no. 73 (repr.).

80. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham

Oil on panel; c.63 × c.48 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 51), Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Inv. Palatina No. 324; panel, 63 × 48 cm. PROV. First mentioned in the collection of Cardinal Leopoldo de' Medici, in 1675. EXH. *Le portrait dans l'art flamand de Memling à Van Dyck*, Orangerie, Paris, 1952–1953, No. 75 (repr.); *Elewijt*, 1962, No. 38 (repr.); *Firenze e l'Inghilterra*, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1971, No. 30 (repr.); *Florence*, 1977, No. 99 (repr.). LIT. L. Bardi, *L'Imperiale e Reale Galleria Illustrata*, I, Florence, 1837, not paginated (repr.); *Roses*, IV, pp. 140–141, No. 906; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 257 (as *Rubens*); *Glück, Review*, p. 59, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 163; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp. 145, 215, pl. CCLXX (as *Rubens*); *Burchard, Nachträge*, p. 394; D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Florence*, 1977, p. 232, under No. 99 (repr.).

George Villiers (1592–1628), first Duke of Buckingham, was a favourite of James I and Charles I of England and was Lord High Admiral from 1623.¹ In this head and shoulders portrait he faces slightly left but looks directly at the spectator. He wears a dark doublet with white slashes and a flat, starched lace collar.

The original prototype of this portrait, mentioned in the inventory of Rubens's estate,² is not known. In all probability the studio replica in the Pitti

Palace in Florence (Fig.51)—the only known example of this portrait type—is a faithful copy of it. This was executed from the preliminary study made in 1625, now in the Albertina in Vienna (No.80a; Fig.52).³

1. For Buckingham's biography, see especially C.R. Cammell, *The Great Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1939.
2. '127. Le pourtrait du Duc de Boucquingam' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.62). This may well be identical with 'Le Duc de Bucquingam', one of '2 Esquisses' in the possession of Arnold Lunden, some time after 1640 (see *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p.198, No.134).
3. We can only guess as to the genuineness of some examples mentioned in sales of the late 17th and the 18th century. A 'Portrait du Duc de Bukinkam jusqu'à la ceinture, par P.P. Rubens' was in the Comte de Fraula sale, Brussels, 21 July 1738, lot 16. Its dimensions (63.9 × 50.1 cm.) are very similar to those of the Florence example. It may also be identical with the panel of the same title from the collection of Charles Godefroy, sold in Paris on 22 April 1748 (lot 1). Probably it is also identical with the portrait of Buckingham sold in Paris on 18 November 1812 (lot 31), the property of Claude-Joseph Clos. Godefroy's son also possessed an example nearly four times as large (121.3 × 89.3 cm.). In the sale of his possessions on 15 November 1785 was a panel ascribed to Rubens, 'Portrait en buste du Duc de Buckingham, vêtu avec une cuirasse traversée d'une écharpe rouge'; the duke must here have been depicted in armour as in the painting formerly at Osterley Park (No.81; Fig.53). A 'Duke of Buckingham, by P. Ruben' was sold in London on 23 November 1691 (Cardinal Antonio Barberini, Sir James Palmer and others, lot 53); however, the description is too scanty to indicate whether or not it is a half-length portrait of the duke.

80a. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham: Drawing (Fig. 52)

Black and red chalk, heightened in white; 383 × 266 mm.; inscribed above in red chalk and by a foreign hand: *hertoch van bockengem. P.P. Rubbens. f.*

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.8256.

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

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No.37 (repr.); *London*, 1972, No.11 (repr.); *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.39 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.262, No.1501, pl.419; *Michel, Rubens*, pl. facing p.340; *Schönbrunner-Meder*, II, pl.176; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.50, No.156 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, p.288, fig.168; *Held, Drawings*, pp.4, 77, 138, No.107, pl.119; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, No.106 (repr.); E. Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina. 1977*, pp.94–95, No.39 (repr.).

The face is depicted in a plastic and lively manner, in red chalk with subtle white highlights. Undoubtedly this drawing represents the duke's features as Rubens saw them on the only occasion when he met Buckingham, in Paris between 14 May and 2 June 1625.

Despite the unquestionably spontaneous impression recorded in this sketch, a degree of formalism must also be recognized. A certain stiffness in the pose and contours is noticeable in comparison with other portrait studies of the same kind, such as the sketch, also in the Albertina, for the *Portrait of the Marquis of Leganés* (No.115a; Fig.137). This may be because Rubens, having sketched the duke's features from life, then forced them into a traditional, ready-made portrait pattern. There is indeed a striking resemblance between this study and the portrait of Buckingham (known from W.J. Delff's engraving) painted by Michiel Jansz. Mierevelt when the duke visited The Hague in 1625.¹ I agree with Burchard that Mierevelt's portrait must have been of considerable help to Rubens in finally deciding on the sitter's pose.

The inscription over the drawing is in the same hand as that over several others in the Albertina.²

1. For this portrait, see especially C.R. Cammell, *The Great Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1939, pl. facing p.288.
2. See Glück-Haberdtz, nos. 152, 156, 157, 162, 164, 165; this was first pointed out in Held, *Drawings*, loc. cit.

81. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback (Fig. 53)

Oil on canvas; 307 × 337 cm.

Formerly Osterley Park, Collection of the Earl of Jersey. Destroyed by fire, 1949.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in York House, the residence of the Dukes of Buckingham at London, in 1635; as it was not among the items listed in the 1649 inventory of paintings, which George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham and the First Duke's Son, intended to sell in Antwerp,¹ it may be presumed that this portrait was no more in the Buckingham collection by then; purchased in Holland by Sir Francis Child (1642-1713), during his travels there between 1697 and 1699; listed in the inventory of his collection, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, London; c.1711 moved by him to his newly acquired country seat Osterley Park; by descendency into the property of the Earls of Jersey and Westmoreland.

COPY: Painting, with altered face, Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. S6; canvas, 103 × 85 cm. PROV. Gift of Louis Jacobs van Merlen, 1938. LIT. A.J.J. Delen, 'De Antwerpsche Mecenen en het Museum Rubens', *Het Huis van P.P. Rubens, Periodisch Bulletin*, 1938, pp.87, 89 (repr., as T. van Thulden, *Maurice of Orange on Horseback*).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1815, No.106; British Institution, London, 1856, No.1; Royal Academy, London, 1888, No.148; *London*, 1938, No.58.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.272, No.918; Waagen, *Galleries*, p.272

(attributing the sea-gods to Jordaens and the landscape to 'some inferior painter of his [i.e. Rubens's] school'); 'Manuscripts of the Right Honourable the Earl of Jersey, at Osterley Park, in the County of Middlesex', *8th Report on the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, I, London, 1881, pp.92, 100; Rooses, IV, p.142, No.907; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.145, 234; G. Glück, 'Jugendwerke von Rubens', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXIII, 1915, p.30, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.44; K.d.K., p.267; C.R. Cammell, *The Great Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1939, pp.374-376; S.H.S[teinberg], [Review of C.R. Cammell, *op.cit.*], *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXV, 1939, p.218; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.287, 310; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.267; G. Martin, 'Rubens and Buckingham's Fayrie Ile', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, pp.613-618 (repr.); Huemer, *Portraits*, pp.57-61, fig.32; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.393-395, under No.292; J. Douglas Stewart, [Review of Huemer, *Portraits*], *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXIII, 1981, p.366.

The duke is here depicted as Lord High Admiral, to which post he was appointed in 1623.

He is mounted on a bay horse in the *levade* position, facing left; his black armour is decorated with gilt ornament and with the insignia of the Garter. He looks directly at the spectator and holds a baton in his right hand, the reins in his left. He is attended by two female allegorical figures on clouds, each accompanied by a Wind God. On the left is Victoria with a laurel wreath and cornucopia;² on the right, seen from behind, is Caritas with a flaming heart, triumphing over Envy.³ Frances Huemer sought to interpret this portrait as an allegory of Fortitudo (em-

bodied in the duke) and Caritas (the two female figures), but I see no ground for this. The intention is clearly to glorify the duke as Commander of the Royal Navy, and this is still more evident from further details of the composition. The duke is seen riding on a beach strewn with shelled creatures, starfish and so on. Below on the left, Neptune and a naiad look up at him. In the background is seen the British fleet in vigorous action, while the Wind Gods promise it a favourable course.

This portrait may have been commissioned during Buckingham's stay in Paris from 14 May to 2 June 1625: Rubens was also there at the time, delivering the paintings of the Medici cycle.⁴ In any case he was working hard on the portrait in the autumn of that year, as can be inferred from a letter of October or November to Balthasar Gerbier, in which he wrote that his work on the portrait had been interrupted by a journey on the Infanta's behalf.⁵ We also know that in the same year he received £500 for the design of an equestrian portrait of Buckingham.⁶ The painting may have been completed by 18 September 1627, as on that day Rubens mentioned that several pictures painted by him for the duke were ready to be sent off.⁷ The earliest known record of the finished painting is in the inventory of York House, Buckingham's London residence, drawn up in 1635 (the duke had been murdered in 1628).⁸

Rubens had previously recorded the duke's features in a drawing that must have been done from life in Paris between 14 May and 2 June 1625. That drawing, now in the Albertina in Vienna (No.80a; Fig.52) was, as already mentioned, a study for a head and shoulders portrait of the duke (No.80). The equestrian *levade* pose derives from an earlier portrait type established by Rubens in about 1615 in the

so-called *Riding School* formerly in Berlin (see above, under No.58; Fig.4). In fact, as Held pointed out, we have here the earliest known instance of the use by Rubens of that type, which later served in a modified form for the equestrian portraits of *Philip IV*⁹ and the *Cardinal Infante Ferdinand* (No.93; Fig.76).

The depiction of the duke on horseback with a fleet at sea in the background follows an English tradition. In 1625, shortly before Rubens set to work, Willem de Passe had fengrared an equestrian portrait of the duke in a similar setting,¹⁰ and a former Lord High Admiral, the Earl of Nottingham, had also been depicted in this way.¹¹

Burchard and Held both pointed out that the finished painting could not be entirely by Rubens. More particularly, Burchard believed that the rather dry and precise handling of the ornamentation on the armour was the work of Paul de Vos. As far as can be judged from a photograph, this seems quite possible: a comparison with the armour in *Amor vincit omnia*, signed by Paul de Vos, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna seems to me convincing.¹²

1. See B.Fairfax, *A Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, London, 1758.

2. Cesare Ripa describes Victoria as a woman with a palm-branch in one hand and a cornucopia in the other, one symbolizing honour and the other wealth and prosperity (see C.Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghe des Verstants ... uyt het Italiaens vertaelt door D.Pietersz*, Pers. Amsterdam, 1644, p.403). Rubens's personification is close to this; the palm-branch is replaced by a laurel wreath, with the same meaning. Gregory Martin sought to interpret the figure as Concord; the horn of plenty is appropriate to this, but not the laurel wreath. Held rightly saw the figure as a 'victory goddess'.

3. For the flaming heart as a symbol of Caritas see e.g. C.Ripa, *op.cit.*, p.293. Martin (*op.cit.*) interpreted these figures as in the text; Held (*Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.394) seems to have some reservations on this point.

4. Cf. *Rooses*, III, pp.262–263.
5. The contents of this letter are known only from a summary in the sale catalogue of Thomas Thorpe, London, 1833; see *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, transl. and ed. by Ruth S. Magurn, Cambridge, Mass., p.119, No.69.
6. 'Given to Mr. Rubens for drawing his L^{ps} picture on horseback, 500 £' (W. N. Sainsbury, *Original unpublished papers illustrative of the life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*..., London, 1859, p.68, n.107a).
7. 'De schilderyen van mynheere de Hertoch syn alle gaeder ghereet...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.126). The editors (op. cit., p.24) mistakenly took this to refer to certain pictures that Rubens had sold to Buckingham from his own collection. On the basis of data in *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.23, Burchard pointed out in a note that these pictures had already reached Calais in December 1626. He therefore concluded, that in all probability the equestrian portrait was one of the pictures mentioned on 18 September 1627. Gregory Martin (op. cit., p.614) came to the same conclusion as Burchard.
8. 'In the Great Chamber... Reuben. — My Lord Duke on Horseback' (R. Davies, 'An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635', *The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1907, p.379).
9. See *Huemer, Portraits*, No.30.
10. *Ibid.*, pp.57–58, fig.33.
11. *Ibid.*, p.58, fig.34.
12. See *Cat. Vienna*, 1973, p.200, Inv. No.3554, fig.94.

81a. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback: Oil Sketch (Fig. 54)

Oil on panel; 44.3 × 49.2 cm.
 Fort Worth, Texas, *The Kimbell Art Museum*. Inv. No. AP76. 8.

PROVENANCE: ?Longford Castle, The Earl of Radnor; Roxard de la Salle, sale, Paris (Drouot), 28 March 1881, lot 29; Mme Louis Stern, Paris; Mme Sylvie de Langlade, Paris; purchased for the museum in 1976.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Schwerin, Gemäldegalerie, No.905; canvas, mounted on panel, 46 × 51.3 cm. PROV. Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. LIT. F. Schlie, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Werke älterer Meister in der Grossherzoglichen Gemälde-*

galerie zu Schwerin, Schwerin, 1882, No.905 (as *Archduke Albert of Austria*); J. S. Held, 'Rubens's Sketch of Buckingham Rediscovered', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp.548–549, fig.4; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.394, under No.292; (2) Painting, Zanesville, Ohio, Zanesville Art Institute; panel, 46.5 × 44.5 cm. PROV. H. M. Clark, 1929; Dr. Hans Bermann; Detroit, Mrs. Constance Haas McMath. EXH. *Detroit*, 1936, No.27 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Brussels*, 1937, No.50 (repr., as *Rubens*); *New York*, 1942, No.18 (as *Rubens*); *Los Angeles*, 1946, No.28 (as *Rubens*); *Cincinnati*, 1948, No.6 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp.80–81, under No.52 (as *Rubens*); *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.163, No.84 (as *Rubens*); *Larsen, Rubens*, p.217, No.66 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p.45, No. A3; J. S. Held, 'Rubens's Sketch of Buckingham Rediscovered', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp.548–549, fig.3; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.394, under No.292; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 47.5 × 58.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 27 April 1934, lot 23. LIT. Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.395, under No.292; (4) Drawing, Karlovy Vary, Městské Muzeum; 445 × 570 mm. PROV. Vienna-Prague, Count Thun. LIT. Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.395; (5) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; 240 × 300 mm. PROV. Brussels, sale (G. Giroux), 11 May 1925, lot 106 (repr., as *A. van Diepenbeeck*); Brussels, J. De Coen.

EXHIBITED: *Bilder vom Menschen in der Kunst des Abendlandes*, Neue Nationalgalerie, West Berlin, 1980, No.8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Les Arts*, X, November, 1911, p.17 (repr., as *Don Juan d'Autriche*); J. S. Held, 'Rubens's Sketch of Buckingham Rediscovered', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp.547–551, fig.1; J. T. Butler, 'Acquisition of Major Rubens Painting by Kimbell Art Museum', *The Connoisseur*,

CXCIII, 1976, p.147 (repr.); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.393–395, No.292, pl.294; *Kimbell Art Museum. Handbook of the Collection*, Fort Worth, Texas, 1981, p.76 (repr.).

The chief difference between the oil *modello* and the finished canvas is that the Victoria figure to the left of the duke does not yet appear in the composition. Thus in the original design the equestrian figure could be placed more centrally and not to the right as in the final version. The Caritas figure on the right does not appear in the sketch either: in its place is a Wind God with wings and puffed-out cheeks. This Wind God is also the 'genius' of Buckingham's fame: in his right hand he holds a trumpet, and with his left he holds a crown above the hero's head. The head of this deity strongly resembles that of the Wind God in the final canvas, who is represented only by a head and wings. The twist of the body and the posture of the legs of this 'genius' were, broadly speaking, taken over by Rubens for the Caritas figure in the finished canvas. Another difference from the finished work is that the figures of Neptune and the naiad, below left, are intersected further up by the edge of the panel. The naiad is also more foreshortened in the sketch than in the final version.

82. Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy (Fig. 55)

Engraving; 635 × 585 mm.; inscribed, below on the left: *P.P. Rubens invent.*; below in the middle: *Cum privilegijis*; below on the right: *Lucas Vorsterman sculp. et excud.*; on the cartouche: *CAROLVS DE LONGVEVAL / EQUES VELLERIS AVREI / COMES DE BVSQVOY, CAESAREI / EXER-*

CITVS ARCHISTRATEGVS, / TORMENTORVM BELLICORVM / IN BELGIO PRAEFECTVS, COMIT. / HANNONIAE GVBERNATOR ETC.

LITERATURE: *Hecquet, Rubens*, pp.78–79, No.5; *Basan*, p.147, No.61; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.312, No.1163; *V.S.*, p.184, No.257; *Dutuit, Manuel*, p.194, No.61; *Hymans, Gravure*, p.220; *Rooses*, IV, pp.206–207, under No.979, pl.301; *Rooses–Ruelens*, II, pp.204–205; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, pp.178–179, No.184; *Van den Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.103, No.733; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.178, 181; *J. Müller Hofstede, 'Neue Oelskizzen von Rubens'*, *Städel Jahrbuch*, II, 1969, pp.237–238; *J.S.Held, 'Rubens and Vorsterman'*, *The Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, pp.116–125 (repr.), reprinted in *Held, Rubens*, pp.120–125 (repr.); *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, pp.160–161; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.143–144, under No.21 (repr.); *K.R[enger]*, in *Cat. Exh. Rubens in der Grafik, Göttingen–Hannover–Nürnberg*, 1977, pp.108, 110, No.75; *D.Bodart*, in *Cat. Exh. Rubens e l'Incisione*, Rome, 1977, p.77, No.140 (repr.); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.396–398.

Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy and Grand Bailiff of Hainault, was born at Arras in 1561. As Commanding General of the Netherlands troops in the service of Emperor Ferdinand II he played an important part in the initial phase of the Thirty Years' War. He won many victories for the Hapsburg cause until his death in battle on 3 July 1621 at Érsekújvár (Neuhäusel, Nové Zámky) in Hungary (now Western Slovakia).¹

He is here depicted in an oval laurel wreath, dressed as a commander in full armour, with baton and officer's scarf. He wears the chain of the Order of the

Golden Fleece, given to him by Philip III of Spain. He is seen in the traditional martial pose that goes back to Titian:² one hand holding the baton, the other on his hip, the body in three-quarter view, fixing the spectator with a resolute gaze.

Around the medallion are several allegorical figures. On the left is a melancholy-looking Hercules with his club, striking down the Medusa and the many-headed Hydra, symbols of rebellion and discord. Behind him, Concordia holds up a standard crowned by a laurel wreath encircling her emblem of clasped hands.³ She holds out the terrestrial globe to an eagle which dominates the whole scheme from above. A wreath is held over the eagle's head by two putti with a chalice and a cross respectively. The eagle is evidently a symbol of the imperial Hapsburg power, more especially as protector of the Catholic faith represented by the cross and chalice. On the right a mourning female figure with a trophaeum leans against the edge of the medallion: Rooses identified her as Securitas, Hymans as Victoria. Held in his *Oil Sketches* also inclined to this identification. It seems to me correct, in view of the attribute⁴ and the link between her and the helmeted female warrior behind, who holds out a palm of victory to the eagle. Rooses identified this figure as Bellona, Goddess of War. Held thought this unlikely, as Bellona—who is really another manifestation of Minerva—does not generally have wings; he thought the figure might represent the concept of Valor Militaris.

All these figures are represented on a plinth in front of a background resembling a triumphal arch. At the base of the plinth, on the right, are two mourning River Gods, one of them shackled, beside an urn; on the left, also shackled, is the tutelary Goddess of a city with mourning

female attendants. Like the figures in the upper part of the composition, these symbolize Bucquoy's conquest of cities and whole regions. The figures on the plinth glorify the hero's virtue and courage, while those below illustrate the fate of his enemies. In the centre, between the River Gods and the City Goddess, is a funeral altar with an inscription citing Bucquoy's titles and surmounted by his coat of arms. The altar is supported by two lions with a festoon of fruit in their jaws. Two overturned torches are an additional symbol of mourning.⁵

Held in his *Oil Sketches* made the interesting remark that Rubens has here depicted three separate levels of glorification. The lowest zone illustrates Bucquoy's conquests and also his mortality; the central zone displays his moral qualities as a leader; while the upper zone symbolizes his supreme merit of contributing to the triumph of the Roman faith.⁶

Who commissioned the work is not known. Müller Hofstede thought it might have been the Archduke Albert, but no proof of this can be found. Albert himself died a few days after Bucquoy, on 13 July 1621, which makes the supposition rather improbable. Varshavskaya suggests Bucquoy's own son, Charles Albert de Longueval (died 1663), to whom a later state of the engraving is dedicated. In any case Bucquoy's death was the direct occasion of the work, as appears from the mourning symbolism that is so prominent in the allegory. The work must also have been commissioned immediately after his death: on 19 August 1621 Robert Schilters, canon of Cambrai, wrote to Peiresc that 'M. Rubens a charge de faire un dessein d'emblème qui doit estre imprimé en taille-douce avec le pourtraict et éloge du défunt [i.e. the Count of Bucquoy]'.⁷ Moreover the oil sketch bears the date

1621 (see No.82a; Fig.56). On 2 September 1627 Rubens wrote to Dupuy that he would send him a portrait of Bucquoy at the first opportunity; Hymans wrongly inferred from this that Vorsterman was still at work on the engraving in that year.⁸

Müller Hofstede is right in saying that Rubens's design is based on the portrait engraving of the count by Egidius Sadeler (Fig.57), also executed in 1621. In fact, the iconography of that engraving makes no allusion to Bucquoy's death in battle or to the mourning observed for him. The inscription states that the portrait was done from life, which implies a date shortly before the general's death. Rubens also drew inspiration from Sadeler's print for the allegorical framework. The main lines of the composition, especially the oval medallion, the angels above and the defeated enemies below, as well as the architectural background, are all clearly borrowed from Sadeler. However, in one important respect Rubens differs from his model: while Sadeler depicted the count with curly hair, Rubens shows him with grizzled hair, straight and combed backwards. An explanation might be that Sadeler showed the general with a curly wig, as fashion was beginning to require, while Rubens or his client may have thought this too frivolous for a portrait intended to express sorrow and to honour the dead.⁹ Compared to Sadeler's engraving, the face of the general looks so vivid and realistic that it is difficult to suppose that Rubens had simply painted this portrait from an older prototype. He must certainly have had the opportunity to meet Bucquoy, during the latter's prolonged stay in Brussels between 1616 and 1618.¹⁰

The surrounding elements of the portrait were later used again for that of the Emperor Ferdinand II on his death in

1637.¹¹ Hymans has pointed out in his monograph on Vorsterman that two other states of the present engraving exist, though they are rare. The first bears no inscription and is to be regarded as a proof; Hymans cites examples of it in the Print Room at Dresden and the Dutuit collection in Rouen. There is also one in the Stedelijk Prentenkabinet in Antwerp, where the inscription was added in pen by Vorsterman himself. The last state bears, besides the inscription in honour of Bucquoy, a dedication to his son, Charles Albert de Longueval.

1. See for his biography: Ch. Rahlenbeck, 'Longueval', in *Biographie nationale de Belgique*, XII, Brussels, 1892-93, cols. 359-368.
2. Cf. also Nos.114 and 115.
3. Cf. *Henkel-Schöne*, I, cols.1013-1015.
4. See e.g. the description in Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia of uytbeeldinghe des Verstants*... ed. D.P. Pers, Amsterdam, 1644, pp.403-404. Held pointed out in his *Oil Sketches* that this same figure appears, unclothed, in the *Apotheosis of Henri IV* in the Medici cycle, and that the earliest known documents describe her as a Victoria.
5. A similar funerary altar with inverted torches figured in the *Temple of Janus*, one of the decorations carried out to Rubens's design for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi in 1635*: see *Martin, Pompa*, p.165, fig.82.
6. This graduated representation of various stages of moral perfection is rooted in Renaissance funerary symbolism. The most famous example is offered by Michelangelo's initial ideas for Pope Julius II's tomb (see E. Panofsky's well-known interpretation of this funerary monument in a neo-platonic sense, in his *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp.171ff.).
7. *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.280.
8. '... ne mancaro di mandar a V.S. colla prima occasione una imagine del conte de Bucquoy' (E. Gachet, *Lettres inédites de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1840, p.139). See also Hymans, *Gravure*, loc. cit.
9. Curly wigs must have come into fashion, perhaps first in France, in the first half of the 17th century: see J.H. der Kinderen-Besier, *Spelevaart der Mode*, Amsterdam, 1950, pp.136-137. Another typical example of the use of the peruke can be seen in the portraits of Erycius Puteanus. In that of 1614 by Pieter de Jode (V.S., p.186, No.270) he is shown as bald, but in Van Dyck's portrait of c. 1627-32 in the North Carolina Museum of Art at Raleigh he has a luxuriant head of hair which must be a wig: see *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.270, left.

10. See Ch. Rahlenbeck, *op. cit.*, cols. 363-364.

11. V.S., p.170, No.147; see also D. Bodart, *op. cit.*, No.466 (repr.).

82a. Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy: Oil Sketch (Fig. 56)

Oil on panel; 62.1 × 49.5 cm.; inscribed inside the garland, at the right of the portrait, presumably with a fine pen: *P.P. Rubens / fecit Et / Pinxit / A° 1621*; at the left, in the same manner: *Dit cost / my door 't / quaet vonnis / sor[gh?] en noot / veel / nachten / Waken en / ongerust / heyt / groot*, followed by Lucas Vorsterman's monogram N.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No.508.

PROVENANCE: Count Karl Cobenzl (Ljubljana, 1712-Brussels, 1770); acquired by Empress Catherine II, the Great, in 1768.

EXHIBITED: Leningrad, 1978, No.34.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p.206, No.979; *Hymans, Vorsterman*, p.179; A. Somof, *Ermitage Impérial. Catalogue de la galerie des tableaux*, II, St Petersburg, 1901, p.365, No.574; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.129; *Dillon, Rubens*, p.206, No.10, pl. CXL; *K.d.K.*, p.152; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.73, No.27; *Evers, Rubens*, p.254; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, I, p.293, under No.188; *J.S.Held, 'Rubens and Vorsterman', The Art Quarterly*, XXXII, 1969, pp.111-129, 460 (repr.), reprinted in *Held, Rubens*, pp.86, 118-121, fig. X, 1; *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, p.161; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.136-144, No.21 (repr.); *Huemer, Portraits*, pp.44-45, fig.10; *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, p.626; *Judson-Van de Velde*, pp.191-192; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.395-398, No.294, pl.291; *Musée de l'Ermitage. Peinture de l'Europe Occidentale. Catalogue*, II, Leningrad, 1981, pp.62, 64, No.508, fig.120.

This *modello* agrees in detail with Vorsterman's engraving. It is mainly in grisaille but with some touches of colour, especially pink in the face and scarf. This is undoubtedly the 'dessein d'emblème' on which Rubens was engaged in August 1621 (see above, under No.82).

Held was the first to draw attention to the note scribbled by Vorsterman in 1621, during the process of preparation, on the background of Rubens's grisaille sketch. It may be translated: 'This cost me, because of the bad verdict, worry and vexation, many nights of waking and great aggravation'. Held convincingly related this to the personal conflict between Rubens and Vorsterman that had dragged on for some time and reached an explosive point in 1621. Held also suggests, and I agree, that the note refers particularly to the short time within which Vorsterman was required to complete the allegorical portrait. In addition, as Held observes, Vorsterman was being asked for the first time in his career to make a burin engraving after an oil *modello* which, carefully executed though it was, of necessity had something free and sketch-like about it. In his *Oil Sketches* Held enlarges on this difficulty confronting Vorsterman, and also suggests that he may have had trouble transposing colours into grey tones. Perhaps it was for these reasons that Vorsterman made the separate drawing of Bucquoy's head, now in the British Museum in London (Fig.58).¹

1. *Hind, Rubens*, p.146, No.6; see also for this drawing *Renger, Rubens Dedit*, I, *loc. cit.*, and *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.396.

83. Jacomo de Cachiopin

The inventory of Jan-Baptista Cachiopin de la Redo, Lord of Kalloo, dated 2 May

1662, included a 'contrefeytsel van Joncker Jacomo de Cachiopin, van Rubens' as well as a pair of portraits of Cachiopin and his wife by Van Dyck.¹ This Jacomo de Cachiopin (1578-1642) was Jan-Baptista's father. He was a merchant and art collector of Spanish descent and was for a time Captain of the Antwerp Civic Guard, as was his son after him.²

Rubens's portrait has not survived. A portrait engraved by Vorsterman after Van Dyck is included in the latter's *Iconography* and is inscribed AMATOR ARTIS PICTORIAE ANTVERPIAE.³ In the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna is the portrait of a man, also by Van Dyck, resembling Cachiopin in Vorsterman's print. For these reasons Glück, though with some reservation (rightly, in my opinion), believed it to represent the features of the Antwerp-Spanish merchant.⁴

1. Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.231.

2. See I. von Szwykowski, 'Anton van Dycks Bildnisse bekannter Personen', *Naumann's Archiv für die Zeichnenden Künste*, IV-V, 1858, p.127. That he was a merchant and art collector is proved, *inter alia*, by Adriaan Brouwer's certificate of 4 March 1632 to the effect that a small picture shown to him by De Cachiopin was an early work by his own hand (see F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p.848).

3. See *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, No.75.

4. *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp.340 (repr.) and 556 (for Glück's comment).

84-85. TWO PENDANTS: ROGIER CLARISSE AND HIS CONSORT, SARA BREYLL

84. Rogier Clarisse (Figs. 59, 61, 62)

Oil on panel; 118 × 90.8 cm.
San Francisco, California, The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. Inv. No.53.12.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; purchased for the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum in 1953.

LITERATURE: W.Heil, 'Portrait of a Gentleman, by Rubens', *The Art Quarterly*, XVI, 1953, pp.368-369, 371 (repr.); M.Jaffé, 'Rubens's "Portrait of Rogier Clarisse"', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, pp.387-390 (repr.); 'Editorial Note', *ibid.*, p.390; M.Jaffé, 'The Companion to Rubens's "Portrait of Rogier Clarisse"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIII, 1961, pp.4-6 (repr.); H.Vlieghe, 'Het portret van Jan Breughel en zijn gezin door P.P.Rubens', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, p.184 (repr.); Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, p.321, n.57 (repr.).

The sitter is identified by his coat of arms, which could be seen in the right upper corner before the picture was cleaned in about 1953. Rubens did not himself paint in the arms; however, the fact that the companion portrait (No.85; Fig.60) shows what are believed to be the arms of the family of Sara Breyll, Rogier Clarisse's wife, makes it improbable that the two paintings represent anyone but this couple.¹ Rogier Clarisse and his brother Louijs owned a silk business which had made them the richest and most influential merchants in Antwerp in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The family's connections with Rubens are well known. In about 1617 Louijs Clarisse paid for the *Scourging of Christ*, one of the fifteen *Mysteries of the Rosary* painted for St Paul's Church in Antwerp, where it still is. Marie Clarisse, the sister of Louijs and Rogier, married Johannes Woverius, the well-known pupil of Lipsius and friend of Rubens. Rubens dedicated to the two brothers Vorsterman's engraving after his *St Francis receiving the Stigmata*, a work painted for the Capuchin Church in Antwerp. Rogier Clarisse's date of birth is not known; he died in 1622.² This portrait is

to be dated 1611, a date that appears on its counterpart (No.85; Fig.60).

Rogier Clarisse is shown to knee-length in three-quarter view, seated in an armchair and looking towards the spectator. His arms rest on the arms of the chair. He wears a black costume and a cloak edged with brown fur, a large cartwheel ruff and fluted cuffs.

The sitter's oblique position, with its strong effect of space and plasticity, derives from Italian High Renaissance ceremonial portraiture. Jaffé rightly pointed out the similarity to Raphael's portrait of *Pope Julius II*, the best example of which is in the National Gallery in London.³ Unlike Clarisse, the Pope in that portrait does not look straight towards the spectator, but he does so in Titian's well-known paraphrase of it, *Pope Paul III*, the best example of which is in the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples.⁴ It thus appears to me that the portrait of Clarisse is most closely connected with Titian's work.

When this portrait came to notice in 1952 in the possession of the art dealer Lebel in Paris, Burchard regarded it as an autograph work by Rubens and was able to identify the coat of arms. However, after it was published a year later by Jaffé, Burchard changed his mind and was inclined to attribute it to Van Dyck. For my part I cannot see any hand but that of Rubens in this brilliant portrait. The strongly modelled light on the face and hands is very similar to that in such works as the *Portrait of Jan Brueghel and his Family of 1612-13* in the Princes Gate collection in London (No.79; Fig.46); the portrait of Nicolaas Rockox on the left panel of the Rockox epitaph in the Royal Museum, Antwerp,⁵ dating from 1613-15; or the portrait of a man at Aix-en-Provence, which also dates from very soon after 1610.⁶

1. The arms consist of four quarters: the 1st and 4th 'd'argent à la fasce d'azur', the 2nd and 3rd 'd'azur à la croix de sable bordée d'argent'. They are reproduced in *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V, p.328.
2. For biographical data about the Clarisses and their firm see J.Denucé, *De Insolvente Boedelkamer als kern voor een Antwerpsch economisch archief met inventaris*, Antwerp, [1927], pp.232ff. For their connection with Rubens, see especially M.Rooses, *Rubens' leven en werk*, Antwerp, 1903, pp.99, 216; *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, pp.14, 56; II, pp.205-206; V, pp.239-242.
3. See C.Gould, *Raphael's Portrait of Pope Julius II. The Re-Emergence of the Original*, London, s.d., pp.1-14, fig.3.
4. See *Wethey, Titian*, III, pp.122-124, Nos.72 and 73, pls. 115-118.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.85.
6. See J.F[oucart], in *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1977-78*, pp.153-155, Nos.111 and 112 (repr.).

85. Sara Breyll (Fig. 60)

Oil on panel; 118 × 92 cm.; above, in the left corner, under the coat of arms, the date 1611.

San Francisco, California, The M. H. de Young Memorial Museum. Inv. No. 60.27.

PROVENANCE: Viscount Ridley, Blyden (1910); Davenport Bromley, sale, London (Christie's), 28-29 July 1926, lot 165; purchased by A.L. Nicholson, London; Arthur U. Newton Galleries, New York, February-March, 1936; again in the possession of A.L. Nicholson, London, and offered for sale, October 1936; O.Klein, New York (1952); B.N.Maltz, Beverly Hills, California; purchased for the M.H. de Young Memorial Museum, in 1964.

EXHIBITED: *Detroit*, 1936, No.20.

LITERATURE: C.Hofstede de Groot, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.275; *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.156, No.24; *Goris-Held*, p.30, No.28; *Larsen, Rubens*, pp.154, 215, No.18; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.105; M.Jaffé, 'The Companion to Rubens's

"Portrait of Rogier Clarisse", *The Burlington Magazine*, CIII, 1961, pp.4-6 (repr.); 'Accessions of American and Canadian Museums', *The Art Quarterly*, XXVII, 1964, pp.205, 209 (repr.); H. Vlieghe, 'Het portret van Jan Breughel en zijn gezin door P.P. Rubens', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XV, 1966, p.184; Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, pp.316, 321, n.57 (repr.).

The sitter is shown to just below the knees and is seated obliquely to the picture surface, in the same pose as her husband in the companion piece (No.84; Fig.59). Like him, she looks directly at the spectator. She wears a high-necked black gown, relieved only by a row of gold buttons, and a white cartwheel ruff with cuffs to match. She wears no jewellery except for two gold bracelets on each wrist and a ring on her left hand, in which she holds a white handkerchief. She has on a black cap with a tongue-shaped projection in front.

The picture agrees with its counterpart as regards dimensions, the sitter's pose and her relation to the picture surface. A restoration in 1959 made visible a coat of arms, upper left, in the colours of the arms of the Breyll family.¹ Jaffé concluded from this, rightly in my opinion, that the portrait was the pendant to that of Rogier Clarisse.

Burchard did not agree with the attribution to Rubens, accepted by all other critics. I consider it justified, however, by comparison with other portraits dating from sometime between 1610 and 1615: cf. those mentioned under the previous entry.

1. Described in *Rietstap, Armorial*, I, as follows: 'd'argent à trois pois d'azur', which corresponds to the coat of arms in the painting discussed here.

86. Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess of Condé (Fig.63)

Oil on canvas; 108.5 × 86.5 cm.; below, on the left, in yellow, the old Leganés inventory number 326.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, *The Frick Art Museum*. Inv. No.1970.49.

PROVENANCE: Don Diego de Guzmán, Marquess of Leganés, Madrid, mentioned in 1642 and 1655; Marquess of Salamanca, sale, Paris, 3-6 June 1867, lot 203 (as *School of Rubens*); the Morrisson Family, Font-hill; Lord Marydale of Islay, sale, London (Christie's), 2 July 1965, lot 69 (repr.); purchased for the Frick Art Museum in 1970.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, c.110 × c.95 cm. PROV. Madrid, Dukes of Infantado; Madrid, Don Enrique Gómez; still in a private collection at Madrid, in 1934. EXH. *Exposición Historico-Europea*, Madrid, 1892. No.215 (repr., as *School of Rubens*). LIT. H. Hymans, 'Notes sur quelques œuvres d'art conservées en Espagne', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1894, pp.157-167, reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, pp.434-436 (as *Rubens*); Michel, *Rubens*, pp.86, 89 (repr., as *Rubens*); H. Hymans, 'Un Rubens méconnu', *Chronique des Beaux-Arts*, 1906, pp.168-169 (repr.), reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, pp.823-826 (as *Rubens*, confusing it with the original, now at Pittsburgh); C. Phillips, 'Notes on two Portraits', *The Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1915, p.158, n.1; L. Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, p.30 (repr., as *Rubens*); (2) Painting, with variations, especially in the pose of the right arm, whereabouts unknown; 104 × 94 cm., oval. PROV. Grittleton House, near Chippenham, Wiltshire, L.W. Neeld, sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1945, lot 86.

EXHIBITED: Guildhall, London, 1906, No.99 (as *F. Pourbus the Younger*); Brussels, 1910, No.282 (as *F. Pourbus the Younger*); *Pictures from Basildon Park and Fonthill*, Grosvenor Gallery, London, 1914–15, No.13 (as *F. Pourbus the Younger*); London, 1927, No.141; *Vlaamse Kunst uit Brits bezit*, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 1956, No.63; London, 1961, No.5.

LITERATURE: H. Hymans, 'Un Rubens méconnu', *Chronique des Beaux-Arts*, 1906, pp.168–169 (repr.), reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, pp.823–826; id., 'L'Exposition de l'art belge du XVII^e siècle à Bruxelles en 1910', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1910, pp.333–334, reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, p.898; *Fierens-Gevaert*, I, p.12; Ch.-L. Cardon, *ibid.*, p.136, under No. LVIII (repr., as *F. Pourbus the Younger, Maria de' Medici* [?]); C. Phillips, 'Notes on two Portraits', *The Burlington Magazine*, XXVI, 1915, pp.157–163 (repr.); *K.d.K.*, p.18, left; [T. Borenius], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.62, No.141; H. Schneider, 'Die Ausstellung flämischer und belgischer Kunst in London', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LXI, 1927–28, p.43; P. G. Konody, 'Flemish and Belgian Art: A Precious Souvenir of the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1927', *Apollo*, 1928, p.88; F. Grossmann, 'Flemish Paintings at Bruges', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCIX, 1957, pp.5–6, fig.3; W. R. Hovey, *Treasures of the Frick Art Museum*, Pittsburgh, 1975, pp.82–83 (repr., as *Éléonore de Condé*); Müller Hofstede, *Damenporträts*, pp.312–314, 321, n.45 (repr., as *Éléonore de Condé*).

The young lady is shown to below the waist, in three-quarter view, looking directly towards the spectator. She is richly dressed in the French fashion of the early

seventeenth century,¹ in a low-cut red satin gown with gold embroidery. The split sleeves open to show white undersleeves with a red flame motif. Behind her head is a broad stand-up lace collar, and her cuffs are also of lace. Ropes of pearls encircle her neck and lie on her breast, and she has a pearl hanging from each ear. Her hair is crimped, combed back and decorated with red bows. She holds a fan in her right hand, and the left rests on a console. The flat background is decorated with pomegranate motifs in Cordoban leather.

Originally thought to be Maria de' Medici, the sitter was first identified by Henri Hymans in 1906 as Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess of Condé. Hymans pointed out the striking resemblance to an anonymous eighteenth-century portrait of the princess (Fig.64) in the Château de Chantilly.² Charlotte-Marguerite, who died in 1650, married Henri II de Bourbon, Prince of Condé, on 30 March 1609, and the couple stayed at the archducal court in Brussels in 1609–10. She was the mother of Louis II, 'le grand Condé', the famous General of Louis XIV.³ Hymans also pointed out the likeness between this portrait and one of the ladies in the *Ball at the Court of Albert and Isabella*, now in the Mauritshuis at The Hague (Fig.65),⁴ which was painted by Frans Francken II and Frans Pourbus II. Burchard accepted this identification and found further documentary evidence for it. He pointed out that the portrait was in the sale, in 1867, of the collection of the Marquis of Salamanca. This was important, as the catalogue of the sale expressly stated that the portrait—listed vaguely as 'school of Rubens' and with no indication of the sitter's identity—had been in the collection of the Marquis of Leganés. This led Burchard to suggest that it might be identical with 'un retrato

de poco mas de medio cuerpo de la Princesa de Condé, de mano de Rubens', listed in 1655 in the inventory of the Leganés collection.⁵ Burchard's supposition can now be confirmed: a recent cleaning revealed the figure 326 in the lower left corner, this being the inventory number of the portrait of the Princess of Condé in the Leganés collection.⁶ A more recent investigation by Mary Crawford Volk has shown that the painting was in that collection as early as 1642, when it was listed under the above number.⁷

Initially the portrait was believed, by Hymans and Oldenbourg in particular, to be an early work of Rubens's Italian period, but the princess's dates make this very unlikely. Burchard rightly dated it c.1610. The warm, glowing coloration is characteristic of the first years after Rubens's return from Italy: more especially, the red gown has the same intensity as the reds in, for example, *Samson and Delilah* in the National Gallery in London⁸ or the *Raising of the Cross* triptych in Antwerp Cathedral,⁹ both dating from the same period.

Burchard also thought that Rubens painted this portrait after a prototype by Frans Pourbus II.¹⁰ He was no doubt influenced by the severe, formal pose, which indeed conforms to the international style of court portraiture of which Pourbus was a principal exponent around 1600. This would also explain why, in the past, the portrait was attributed to Pourbus himself.

Hovey, relying no doubt on the catalogues of the Bruges exhibition of 1956 and the London sale of 1965, describes the portrait as that of Eléonore de Condé (1587–1619), who was Charlotte-Marguerite's sister-in-law. Müller Hofstede also recently adopted this suggestion. However, the reasons for it are not clear and

it is easy to disprove. Eléonore de Condé became Princess of Orange in 1606 by her marriage to Philip-William of Nassau, and she would undoubtedly have been referred to by that title in the Marquis of Leganés's inventory.

1. For the French fashion of this era see e.g. A. Blum, *Costume of the Western World. Early Bourbon, 1590–1643*, London, 1951.
2. Described in F.A. Gruyer, *Notice des Peintures. Chantilly, Musée Condé*, Paris, 1899, p.388, No.397–27.
3. For the Prince and Princess of Condé see P. Henrard, *Henri IV et la princesse de Condé*, Brussels, 1885, and E. Gossart, *L'auberge des princes en exil*, Brussels, 1943 (first ed. 1905), pp.13ff.
4. Cf. [H.R. Hoetink], *Maurushuis, Illustrated General Catalogue*, The Hague, 1977, pp.92–93, No.244 (repr.).
5. As published by M. Rooses, 'La Galerie du Marquis de Léganès', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p.170. In the more recent edition of the Leganés inventory by López Navió, based on a different manuscript from that published by Rooses, more general reference is made to 'un retrato de medio cuerpo de la Princesa de Condé, de mano de Rubens' (López Navió, p.284).
6. Hovey (*loc. cit.*) says that 'An inventory of the Marquis de Leganés collection in Madrid of 1655 mentions this painting as being in that collection and "de mano de Rubens"'. However, he does not mention any connection with the inventory number 326 on the canvas.
7. See Mary Crawford Volk, 'New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', *The Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, p.268.
8. See C. Brown, *Rubens. Samson and Delilah*, London, 1983 (repr.).
9. *K.d.K.*, p.36.
10. Burchard referred to a copy of the present work showing the hands in a different position (see above, Copy [2]), which, however, for not very clear reasons he regarded as a version of a lost portrait by Pourbus (photograph: Cooper 133342, in the Rubenianum).

87. Jean de la Court (Fig.66)

Oil on canvas; 80 × 64 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Eugene Bolton, London; Goudstikker, Amsterdam, c.1924–c.1933;

private collection, Holland, c.1933; sale, Copenhagen (A. Bruun Rasmussen), 5 December 1973, lot 22.

COPY: Drawing in reverse (Fig.67), in the *Chronographia Sacra Carmeli*, c. 1746, Antwerp, Stadsarchief, Ms. No.576. LIT. J. de la Croix, 'La Glorification de l'Eucharistie de Rubens et les Carmes', *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, II, 1969, p.184, fig.5.

EXHIBITED: *Collection Goudstikker*, The Hague, 1924, not numbered (as *Rubens*); *Collection Goudstikker*, Amsterdam, 1928, No.30 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Vienna*, 1930, No.167 (as *Rubens*); *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.48 (repr., as *Rubens*).

Head and shoulders portrait, in three-quarter view facing right, of a monk wearing the brown habit, white scapular and mantle of the Carmelite Order. He holds a book in his right hand and is standing in front of a table on which lies another book. Hofstede de Groot and Bode, as well as Burchard, issued certificates attributing the work to Rubens, but this cannot be justified. It is a feebly painted seventeenth-century portrait which seems to me to have no connection with Rubens or his studio. As to the sitter, it has not hitherto been observed that he is to be identified as Jean de la Court, who from 1610 to 1622 was the twentieth prior of the Antwerp monastery of Calced Carmelites.¹ His successor was Gaspar Rinckens, a possible portrait of whom is discussed below (cf. No.130; Fig.162). The identification with De la Court is proved by the drawing in an eighteenth-century collection of portraits of priors of the Antwerp Carmelites, the *Chronographia Sacra Carmeli* of c. 1746. This is preserved in the Antwerp City Archives, and the portrait of Jean de la Court (Fig.67), among others, was reproduced in

1969 by the Revd Father Jean de la Croix: it is clearly a reverse image of the present portrait, wrongly attributed to Rubens.

Burchard, who had not seen the drawing in the Antwerp City Archives, thought he recognized De la Court's features in another portrait, a genuine Rubens, in the British Plunket collection.² His argument was largely based on the fact that that portrait can be dated, on stylistic grounds, to the period of De la Court's priorship. Jean de la Croix also accepted this identification, despite the clear differences of physiognomy between the Plunket portrait and the drawing in the Antwerp City Archives.³ Indeed the identification is ruled out by the fact that the monk in the Plunket portrait is not bald, unlike the man in the drawing. Moreover the former has a much sharper face with a hawk nose, quite different from the round face with a short straight nose depicted in the drawing and in the present painting.

1. Cf. *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, V, p.342.

2. Oil on panel, 81 × 66.5 cm.; exhibited, on the strength of Burchard's interpretation, in *London*, 1953-54, No.165, as De la Court's portrait.

3. Jean de la Croix, *op. cit.*, p.184, fig.6.

88. The Duchess of Croy

The inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's collection, drawn up in 1635, refers to a portrait of 'the Dutchess of Crin' by Rubens.¹ As Burchard supposed, this work and others including the *Duke of Buckingham on Horseback* (No.81; Fig.53) must have been among a number of paintings that Rubens had ready to send to the duke on 18 September 1627.

Burchard connected the reference in the inventory with a portrait in the Baltimore Museum, traditionally known as 'Portrait of the Duchess of Cruye',² which he re-

garded as an authentic Rubens of 1626–27. I cannot recognize Rubens's hand in that work, however, nor do I see in it the features of Geneviève d'Urfé, Duchess of Croy.³ It will be further discussed in Part XIX Volume 3, on unidentified portraits.

1. See R. Davies, 'An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635', *The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1907, p.379.
2. See Goris-Held, pp.47–48, No.A.26.
3. See Van Dyck's engraved portrait of her, in *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, I, pp.203–204, No.39; for a painted version, see *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.283 (repr.).

89. Anthony van Dyck (Fig.69)

Oil on panel; 36.5 × 25.8 cm.
Fort Worth, Texas, *The Kimbell Art Museum*.
Inv. No. ACF 55.1.

PROVENANCE: ?Private Collection, Madrid; Frederick W. Mont (Newhouse Galleries), New York, c.1954; selected by Mr and Mrs Kay and Velma Kimbell and acquired by the Kimbell Art Foundation in 1955.

COPY: Drawing (Fig.70), 17th century, Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No.8655; 137 × 119 mm. LIT. J. Guiffrey, *Van Dyck*, Paris, 1882, p.157 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*); M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, I, pp.48, 106, n.90 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*).

EXHIBITED: *The Young Van Dyck*, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1980, No.2 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*).

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, London, 1966, I, pp.47–48, 105, n.89, 115, fig.1 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Martin*, *Cat. National Gallery*, p.33, n.22 (as *A. van Dyck*); G. Eckhardt, *Selbstbildnisse niederländischer Maler des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1971, pp.70, 180, pl.62 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Kimbell Art Museum. Catalogue of the Collec-*

tion, Fort Worth, Texas, 1972, pp.64–65 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*); E. Larsen, 'New Suggestions concerning George Jamesone', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1979, p.16, n.32 (as *G. Jamesone*); A. McNairn, in *Cat. Exh. The Young Van Dyck*, Ottawa, 1980, pp.36–37, No.2 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*); *Kimbell Art Museum. Handbook of the Collection*, Fort Worth, Texas, 1981, p.78 (repr., as *A. van Dyck*).

Shoulder-length portrait; the youthful sitter, in three-quarter view, looks directly at the spectator. He wears a tall, broad-brimmed hat, a broad flat white collar and a grey cloak.

The identification with Van Dyck is originally based on a drawn copy of this portrait in the Albertina in Vienna, with the inscription *Anthony V Dyck* in an eighteenth-century hand (Fig.70). First proposed by Burchard and subsequently endorsed by Jaffé, it is acceptable on iconographic and stylistic grounds. Comparison with later portraits and self-portraits of Van Dyck confirms the inscription on the drawing: the long, straight nose, wavy blond hair and full lips are seen there also.¹ Van Dyck appears here to be a lad of sixteen or so, which would date the portrait c.1615–16: this is consistent with the plastic style and opaque impasto of the painting.

Critics other than Burchard have generally attributed this portrait to Van Dyck himself. However, the spontaneous design, the style and the somewhat unfinished effect, in particular the rapidly sketched clothing, are very similar to Rubens's equally informal portrait of his other collaborator Jan Wildens (No.157; Fig.234), painted at about the same time. There is also a remarkable similarity of style with Jan Brueghel's little son in the somewhat earlier family portrait in the Princes Gate Collection (No.79; Fig.46).

A technical examination in 1971 led to the conclusion that the young man's hat was not part of the original painting, though he must have had a hat of some sort, to judge from the shadow on his forehead. It cannot be ascertained whether the drawing in Vienna (Fig.70) was made from the unrestored painting. According to the 1971 examination the 'second' hat was painted out and replaced by a third one.

This work may be identical with the 'Contrefeytsel van myn broeder dat Rubbens gemaect heeft' which in 1660-65 was in the collection of Anthony's brother Theodoor Van Dyck, parish priest of Minderhout.²

1. See, besides No.90 (Fig.71), the other self-portraits reproduced by Glück in his *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp.119, 121, 122, 496 and title-page; cf. also G. Glück, 'Self-Portraits by Van Dyck and Jordaens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXV, 1934, pp.195-201.
2. Published by H. Vey, 'Die Kunstsammlung Pastor Theodoor Van Dycks', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, X, 1961, p.21. Vey, who only knew of the portrait at Windsor (No.90; Fig.71), rightly supposed that this referred to another portrait unknown to him.

90. Anthony van Dyck (Fig. 71)

Oil on panel; 64 × 48 cm.

Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the possession of the British Crown, in the 1687-88 inventory of King James II's collection at Whitehall; Queen Anne's Gallery, Kensington Palace; Carleton House, 1817.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 73 × 60 cm. **PROV.** Antwerp, F. Oppenheimer, 1929; (2) Mezzotint engraving by W. Dickinson, 1780 (*V.S.*, p.182, No.246).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1820, No.72; British Institution, London, 1827, No.1.

LITERATURE: W. Bathoe, *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to the King James the Second*, London, 1758, p.11, No.116; G. Vertue, *Note Books* [ed. Walpole Society, XXIV, 1936, p.92]; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.312, No.1160; Waagen, *Treasures*, II, p.429, No.17 (as *A. van Dyck*); J. Guiffrey, *Antoine van Dyck*, Paris, 1882, p.174, No.904 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Rooses*, IV, pp.277-278, No.1071; E. Law, *Vandyck's Pictures at Windsor Castle*, London-Munich, 1899, I, pp.1-4 (repr.); *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. XXII; G. Glück, 'Self-Portraits by Van Dyck and Jordaens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXV, 1934, p.196, pl. IIIa; C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Principal Pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*, London, 1937, p.99 (as after *A. van Dyck*); A. Blunt and M. Whinney, *The Nation's Pictures*, London, 1950, p.20; H. Vey, 'Die Kunstsammlung Pastor Theodor van Dycks', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, X, 1961, pp.23-24 (repr.); O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, London, 1977, p.158; *Huemer, Portraits*, p.93, fig.40.

The painter is seen in three-quarter view, looking to the left. He wears a black costume with a dark cape under which his right arm is hidden, leaving only the hand visible. A similar feature, despite the difference of pose, can also be seen in Rubens's portrait of his fellow-painter Frans Francken the Elder (No.105; Fig.116). The motif goes back to classical portrait sculpture and was revived from the sixteenth century onwards in ceremonial Renaissance and Baroque portraits. It seems to have been especially popular in portraits of poets and art lovers, which may have

prompted Rubens to use it for portraits of painters also.¹ The background consists of an arched recess.

This portrait has been in the British Royal Collection at least since the time of James II. It is first described in the inventory drawn up on the King's death in 1701: 'In Whitehall, No. 116. By Rubens, Van Dyck's Picture in a Dutch Habit'. The inventory of Queen Anne's collection, who died in 1714, describes it as 'Vandyke's Head by Rubens'. The sitter's identity has never been questioned, and there is no reason to do so in view of the striking resemblance to Van Dyck's features in other comparable portraits, in particular the self-portrait of c. 1630, engraved by Vorsterman: the wavy hair, high forehead and straight nose, the curled moustache and the full fleshy lips are all features that make the sitter easy to identify.²

However, critics have not always agreed as to the authorship of the painting. The seventeenth-century tradition ascribing it to Rubens was maintained in the eighteenth century: the caption to the print made after it by William Dickinson before 1780 expressly mentions Rubens as the author of the prototype. None the less, in nineteenth-century literature the portrait was generally ascribed to Van Dyck himself. As far as I can discover, this was first done in John Smith's catalogue raisonné of 1830. Thereafter it was generally accepted on his authority, until Max Rooses in 1890 again defended Rubens's authorship. Subsequent critics have generally followed Rooses's revival of the old attribution, with the exception of Collins Baker, who in his catalogue of the Windsor Castle Collection of 1937 referred to it as a work 'after Van Dyck'.

There is in fact no reason to contest the attribution to Rubens. The restoration of 1950, which cleared the work of several

disturbing additions,³ showed that the firm characterization and smooth brushwork were altogether in Rubens's style—especially in the late 1620s, when his original sculptural manner gradually evolved into a softer and more purely pictorial technique. Thus Rubens's portrait of his most talented pupil can be dated c. 1627–28. It cannot be earlier than November 1627, when Van Dyck returned to Antwerp after years in Italy; and, as Burchard pointed out, it cannot be later than 1628, since in that year it was used by Willem van Haecht to represent Van Dyck in the former's *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, now in the Rubens House in Antwerp (Fig. 68).

The original purpose of the painting is not known, but Van Dyck may have taken it with him to England in 1632. It may have been acquired directly from Van Dyck by Charles I, either during the former's life or at his death.

1. The antique prototype is perhaps to be found in the famous statues of Sophocles and Aeschines, both of the 4th century B.C., but known from Roman copies of the 2nd century A.D.: cf. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basle, [1943], pp. 92, 102 (repr.). A very early Renaissance example is Hans Holbein's portrait of the poet Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, dating from 1542–43, formerly at Wildenstein's, New York; cf. P. Ganz, *The Paintings of Hans Holbein*, London, 1950, No. 122, pl. 161. From Rubens's own time there is, e.g., Bernini's marble bust of the English connoisseur Thomas Baker (London, Victoria and Albert Museum; cf. R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini. The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque*, Oxford, 1981, pp. 208–209, No. 40, pls. 64, 66). Rubens may also have been aware of Pliny the Elder's well-known description of the painter Famulus who used to wear a toga, because this seemed to him to be more in keeping with the high rank of his profession (see in this connection J. Muyllé, 'Pieter Bruegel en de kunsttheorie...', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1984, pp. 189–202). Anyway, in his typical humanist approach, Rubens can be seen as a forerunner of Van Dyck who, in his *Iconographie*, gave the 'rhetorical pose' of the artist and the virtuoso its more definite form, which in its turn was to be of lasting influence on northern art of later genera-

- tions (cf. H.-J. Raupp, *Untersuchungen zu Künstlerbildnis und Künstlerdarstellungen in den Niederlanden im 17. Jahrhundert*, Hildesheim, 1984, pp.45 ff.).
2. Cf. *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, No.79 (repr.).
3. The portrait originally measured 84.5 × 62 cm.; a vertical strip, about 14 cm. wide, was added on the left, and a horizontal one at the bottom, about 20 cm. in width.

91. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain (Fig.72)

Oil on canvas; 114 × 90 cm.

Hamburg, Collection of Margret Köser.

PROVENANCE: Smirnoff Collection, St. Petersburg, c.1864; Semeonoff Tian-Sharskiy, St Petersburg; August Neuerburg, Hamburg.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, No.720; canvas, 111 × 96.5 cm. PROV. Prince Nicholas Esterházy (d.1833). LIT. A. Pigler, *Katalog der Galerie Alter Meister*, Budapest, 1967, p.596, No. 720; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 121 × 101 cm. PROV. Vienna, Princes of Liechtenstein; sold to the Viennese dealer Glückselig, in 1922. LIT. *Description des tableaux et des pièces de sculpture ... Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1780, p.223, No.676 (as A. van Dyck, *Archduke Albert of Austria*); *Katalog der fürstlich Liechtensteinischen Bildergalerie ... zu Wien*, Vienna, 1873, p.19, No.147 (as A. van Dyck, *Archduke Albert of Austria*); K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, ed. Schäffer, p.452 (as A. van Dyck); (3) Painting, Hunstanton Hall, Norfolk; panel. LIT. Prince Singh, *Portraits in Norfolk Houses*, I, s.l., s.d., p.315, No.11; (4) Engraving of the bust of the Cardinal Infante (V.S., p.179, Nos.219-220).

LITERATURE: G.F. Waagen, *Die Gemälde-sammlung in der kaiserlichen Ermitage zu St. Petersburg nebst Bemerkungen über andere dortige Kunstsammlungen*, Munich,

1864, p.434; *Roozes*, IV, p.236, No.127 (as *Philip IV, King of Spain*).

The Cardinal Infante is painted to knee-length; he stands facing left, but looks directly at the spectator. He is attired as an officer, in full armour and with a red sash across his breast. He wears leather gloves; his right hand rests on his baton, and the left on his hip. The warlike note is somewhat softened by the fact that he wears a broad-brimmed hat instead of the helmet which rests on a small table to the left. The background is formed by a column on the left and an ornamental curtain on the right. As with Rubens's other ceremonial portraits of rulers, the pose seems to be based on Titian's *Charles V with Drawn Sword*, a picture of which Rubens himself made a copy and which was afterwards engraved by Vorsterman.¹

Although I did not have the opportunity of studying the Köser version in the original, it seems to be of higher pictorial quality than the other known versions, including the partially autograph painting at Sarasota (No.92; Fig.73). The lively, rapid brushwork, the sharp and expressive highlights on the armour, and the dark, glowing tonality that pervades the whole are unmistakable signs of Rubens's *ultima maniera*. A good stylistic point of comparison may be found in the *Portrait of the Earl of Arundel* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston.² The latter, however, is a somewhat earlier work, dating from c.1629-30. It is quite possible, as Burchard suggested, that we have here the official portrait of the new governor, painted by Rubens at or shortly after the time of his appointment as Ferdinand's court painter, on 15 April 1636. Its superior quality compared to the other versions of the same portrait type may suggest that

this copy was destined for the Cardinal Infante himself. It may, however, have also been the *editio princeps* which was kept in Rubens's studio.³

A half-length portrait of the Cardinal Infante, which may be identical with this or with the next example, was in Cardinal Mazarin's collection in Paris in 1653 and 1661.⁴

1. Cf. *Wethey, Titian*, II, figs.48, 49.
2. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, No.5, fig.52.
3. 'Un pourtrait du Prince Cardinal Infant, sur toile' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61, No.101).
4. From the *Inventaire Mazarin, dressé par J.B. Colbert, commencé le 12 septembre 1653* (ed. by Henri d'Orléans, Duc d'Aumale), London, 1861, p.314: '180. Le portrait du feu Cardinal Infant en demye figure avec sa bordure noire et or, Rubens'; from the *Inventaire Mazarin*, 31 March-22 July, 1661, ed. by Comte de Cosnac, in *Les Richesses du Palais Mazarin*, Paris, 1884, pp.304, 307: '1014. — Un autre fait par Rubens, sur toile, représentant le feu Cardinal Infant en demy figure, hault de trois piedz unce poulces, large de trois piedz, garny de sa bordure de bois doré, prisé la somme de soixante-quinze livres'. Burchard rightly remarked that the measurements in the 1661 inventory can only be related to the type of portrait discussed here: the portrait in cardinal's robes is smaller and the equestrian portrait is much larger.

92. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain (Fig. 73)

Oil on canvas; 116 × 94 cm.

Sarasota, Florida, *The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*. No.34.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1771; The Earl of Upper Ossory; Robert Vernon, First Baron Lyveden; Greville Richard Vernon; purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1898, and exhibited in¹ his residence Dover House, London; Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1901; New York, Knoedler; purchased for the Ringling Museum in 1948.

COPIES: See under No.91.

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1815, No.110; *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1902, No.103; *Brussels*, 1910, No.324; *A Loan Exhibition of Mr Morgan's Paintings*, Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1913-14; *Collection of J.P. Morgan*, Knoedler, New York, 1943, No.12; *Paintings by the Masters*, Fine Arts Center, Colorado Springs, 1946; *Los Angeles*, 1946, No.37 (repr.); *New York*, 1951, No.31 (repr.); *Austin Memorial Exhibition*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1958, No.69; *The Pierpont Morgan Treasures*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1960, No.94; *Masterpieces of Art*, World's Fair, Seattle, 1962, No.31; *Arts of Man*, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts, Dallas, 1962; *From El Greco to Pollock: Early and Late Works by European and American Artists*, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, 1968; *Antwerp, 1977*, No.94 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.272, No.917; *The Seventh Hundred of Paintings by Old Masters belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1901, p.42, No.35; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.359; T.H. Ward and W. Roberts, *Pictures in the Collection of J. Pierpont Morgan, Prince's Gate and Dover House*, London, 1907 (repr.); Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.173, 234, pl.CCCXC; H. Hymans, 'L'Exposition de l'art belge au XVIIe siècle', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1910, p.334; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, pp.279, 330; L. Dumont-Wilden, 'Exposition de l'art belge au XVIIe siècle à Bruxelles', *Les Arts*, October, 1910, p.16; Rooses, *Vlaamse Kunst*, pp.11-12; Fierens-Gevaert, I, p.98 (repr.); Bryson Burroughs, 'A Loan Exhibition of Mr Morgan's Paintings', *The Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, January, 1913, p.5; K.d.K., p.376; Valentin, *Rubens in America*, p.167, No.134; Goris-Held, p.26, No.3; J.S. Held, 'A Rubens Portrait for Sarasota', *Ringling Mu-*

seum Annual, 1951, not paginated; Larsen, *Rubens*, p.219, No.104; Martin, *Pompa*, pp.152-153, under No.39; Jaffé, *Exhibitions*, p.624; F.W. Robinson and W.H. Wilson, *Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings 1400-1900. The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art*, Sarasota, Florida, 1980, No.34 (repr.).

This faithful replica of the preceding portrait (No.91; Fig.72) was certainly re-touched by Rubens in parts: the painting of the sash and highlights, for instance, is clearly by the same hand as in that work. Nevertheless, the execution of the present portrait must be largely ascribed to Rubens's studio. The contours do not have the flowing, atmospheric quality of the painting in the Köser collection, and the subject's features are too drily and precisely drawn to be Rubens's own work. Jaffé has already pointed out the inferior quality of this painting.

93. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback (Figs.74,76)

Oil on canvas; 335 × 258 cm.; inscribed below, in the centre, on a *cartello*: FERDINANDVS / DEI GRATIA HISPANIARVM INFANS / PHILIPPI FILIVS PII PHILIPPI PRVDENTIS. NEPOS INVICTI CAROLI PRONEPOS, / PHILIPPI MAGNI FRATRIS AVSPICHS, AQUILA CESAREA COMITE, VLTIONIS DIVINAE FVL MEN / DVM VIAM SIBI FERRO AD BELGAS APERIT SVECIS ET PER DVELIBVS ROMANI IMPERII DELETIS / CAMPIS NEROLINGAE AD ARAS FLAVIAS VIII IDVS SEPTEMBRIS / XXVI ANNO AETATIS SVAE NATVS MDCIX AERAE CHRISTI XII KAL. IVN. HORA 2,30 POST M. - IN REGIA S. LAVRETII AD SCORIALE DONO PV-

BLICO; in the right corner below, the old inventory number 1350. Madrid, Prado. No.1687.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens's estate in 1641, by Miguel de Olivares, probably on behalf of Philip IV, King of Spain; mentioned in the Alcázar at Madrid, in 1666, 1686 (Inv. No.442) and 1700; in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Madrid in 1734 (Inv. No.101); mentioned in the Palacio Nuevo at Madrid, in 1772 and 1794; transferred to the Prado after 1819.

COPIES: (1) Painting, without the genius above, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No.7518; canvas, 269 × 220 cm. PROV. Düsseldorf, Collections of the Elector Palatine. LIT. Van Gool, *Nieuwe Schouburg*, II, p.544 (as Rubens); Michel, *Histoire*, p.298 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.76, No.233 (as Rubens); Rooses, IV, p.157, under No.93 (as partially re-touched by Rubens); (2) Painting, without the genius above, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Marquis de Montglat; private collection, Southern Germany, 1927; (3) Painting (Fig.78), Saarbrücken, private collection; for references, see under No.93b; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, c.80 × c.50 cm. PROV. Paris, André de Hevesy, 1930; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 74 × 56 cm. PROV. Eugène Kraemer, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 2-5 June 1913, lot 61 (as Rubens); (6) Painting of the bust of the Cardinal Infante, by Theodoor van Thulden, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No.476; panel, 70 × 52 cm. PROV. Dr Fraikin and L. de T..., sale, Brussels, 28-29 December 1858. LIT. Fierens-Gevaert and A. Laes, *Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Catalogue de la peinture ancienne*, Brussels, 1922, p.216, No.467; (7) Painting of the bust of the Cardinal Infante (Fig.82), New York, Metropolitan

Museum of Art, Inv. No.56.172; for references, see under No.93c; (8) Painting of the bust of the Cardinal Infante, San Francisco, The California Palace of the Legion of Honor; canvas, 72.5 × 53.5 cm. PROV. George Lindsay Holford; London, A.L. Nicholson. LIT. *Goris-Held*, p.45, No. A4; (9) Painting of the bust of the Cardinal Infante, in an oval medallion, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 68 × 58 cm. PROV. Counts of Schönborn, until 1804; sale, Paris (Drouot), 23 May 1906, lot 18 (repr.); Munich, Julius Böhrer, 1915; (10) Painting of the head and shoulders of the Cardinal Infante, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 44 × 34.5 cm. PROV. C.-L. Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27–30 June 1921, lot 113 (as *Rubens*); sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 10 December 1928, lot 65 (as *Rubens*); sale, Brussels (Giroux), 4 February 1930, lot 75 (repr.); (11) Engraving by Paulus Pontius (V.S., p.179, No.218); (12) Copper dish, probably after (11), ?1635, Averbode, Norbertine Abbey; diameter 95 cm. PROV. Antwerp, St. Michael's Abbey. E.H. *Kerkelijke Kunst*, Stedelijke Feestzaal, Antwerp, 1948, No.473 (repr.); *Scaldis*, Antwerp, 1956, No.1069.

LITERATURE: N. de la Cruz y Bahamonde, Conde de Maule, *Viaje Artístico de España, Francia y Portugal*, IX, Cadiz, 1806–1813, p.21; *Madrazo*, *Cat. Prado*, No.1350; *Cruzada Villaamil*, *Rubens*, pp.367–368, No.32; C. Justi, 'Rubens und der Kardinal Infant Ferdinand', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1880, p.228, reprinted in C. Justi, *Miscellaneen aus drei Jahrhunderten spanischen Kunstlebens*, II, Berlin, 1908, pp.280–281 (repr.); *Rooses*, IV, pp.156–158, No.930; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.406; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, pp.173, 198, pl.CCCXCI; G. Glück, 'Jugendwerke von Rubens', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXXIII, 1916, p.30,

reprinted in *Glück*, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.44; *K.d.K.*, p.377; *Evers*, *Neue Forschungen*, p.310; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.105; *Martin*, *Pompa*, p.222; *Díaz Padrón*, *Cat. Prado*, pp.276–277, No.1687 (repr.); *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, I, p.647.

The Cardinal Infante, in armour and with a broad-brimmed hat, is mounted on a rearing bay horse, facing left. As the inscription (see above) makes clear, the picture glorifies his greatest feat of arms, the victory at Nördlingen over the Swedish and German Protestant armies under Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar. This took place on 6 September 1634; Ferdinand was then on his way to the Netherlands, where he was due to hold his 'Joyous Entry' into the different provinces. He arrived there in November of that year. The inscription declares that Ferdinand is here seen as the thunderbolt of divine vengeance and is aided in this task by the imperial eagle—clearly a reference to the union between the armies of the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs which made the victory possible. Held suggested that the text might have been composed by Gevartius; this is quite possible, though it cannot be proved. The imperial eagle and the female figure of Ultio Divina can be seen at the top of the picture; the battle is symbolized by a cavalry fight in the background.¹ As Held pointed out, Rubens here repeated a motif from his *Victims of War* (c.1628), perhaps a design for an unexecuted tapestry completing the Henri IV cycle for the Palais du Luxembourg in Paris.²

The composition of this portrait is broadly similar to that of the now lost *Equestrian Portrait of Philip IV*, painted in 1628,³ but there are some fundamental differences in the pose of both horse and rider. In the present work there is less

variation in the position of the horse's feet: the two forefeet are neatly parallel to each other, as are the two hind feet, giving a schematic effect. The horse is more nearly parallel to the picture surface than in the portrait of Philip IV, where it seems to spring out diagonally towards the spectator and gives a greater impression of space and movement to the whole composition. From this point of view the portrait of Ferdinand is closer to that of Buckingham on horseback and consequently to the prototype which, as I pointed out, is to be found in the so-called *Riding School* of c.1615 (Fig.4). Another difference from the portrait of Philip IV is that Ferdinand rests his right hand on his baton instead of pointing with it as the King does. In short, compared to the royal portrait on which it is clearly based, that of Ferdinand is tamer, quieter and more schematic in construction. The portrait of Philip IV is much more dynamic and spatially elaborate: this was no doubt due to the similar composition of Titian's *Equestrian Portrait of Charles V*, to which that of Philip IV was intended to form a pendant.⁴

The painting of Ferdinand is generally dated c.1635, after the battle of Nördlingen and around the time of his 'Joyous Entry' as Governor of the Netherlands. However, at the time of Rubens's death in 1640 it was still in the studio (where it was bought for 1200 guilders by Miguel de Olivares), and it therefore seems to me more likely that it was commissioned shortly before that date, presumably by Philip IV.⁵ Madrazo states, without quoting any source, that the canvas reached the King through the intermediary of the Marquis of Leganés. I have not been able to check this statement, but it may rest on the fact that Miguel de Olivares was related to the Marquis—as was his famous

kinsman Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares and Duke of Sanlúcar.

1. For the Cardinal Infante's journey and his part in the battle of Nördlingen see A. Van der Essen, *Le Cardinal-Infant et la politique européenne de l'Espagne 1609-1641*, Brussels, 1944, pp.373ff.
2. See *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, II, pl.263.
3. See *Huemer*, *Portraits*, pp.150-154, No.30, figs.90-92.
4. See for Titian's portrait: *Wethey*, *Titian*, II, pp.87-90, No.21, pls.141-144; as to the 'inner connection' between this portrait and Rubens's *Philip IV on Horseback*, see *Huemer*, *Portraits*, p.153, with reference to older similar statements, especially Lope de Vega's allusion to the correspondence between the two equestrian portraits.
5. 'Van St Michiel Dolivares, oock tweelf hondert guldenen ontfangen voor een contrefeytsel van Syne Hoocheyt te peerde, hem vercocht, comt - gl. 1200' (*Denucé*, *Konstkamers*, p.72). This Miguel de Olivares, who was undoubtedly related to the famous statesman, was also concerned with the purchase of the other paintings acquired by Philip IV from Rubens's estate: see *Denucé*, *Konstkamers*, p.83. *Held* seems to confuse him with the celebrated Count-Duke.

93a. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback: Oil Sketch
(Figs.75,77,79,80)

Oil on panel; 120.5 × 91.5 cm.
Detroit, *The Detroit Institute of Arts*.
Inv. No.47.58.

PROVENANCE: Marquess of Bristol; Sir Audley Neeld; L.W.Neeld, Grittleton House, Wiltshire, sale, London (Christie's), 13 July 1945, lot 84; purchased by Koetser's, London and New York; acquired in 1947 for the Detroit Museum as a gift of the Ralph H. Booth Fund.

EXHIBITED: *Los Angeles*, 1946, No.38; *New York*, 1951, No.30 (repr.); *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No.47 (repr.); *Style, Truth and the Portrait*, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, 1963, No.22 (repr.); *Gods and Heroes*, Wildenstein and Co., New York, 1968, No.48; *Detroit*, 1978, No.7.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.309, No.1139; *Rooses*, IV, p.157, under No.930; *Valentiner*, *Rubens in America*, p.168, No.136; *Goris-Held*, p.26, No.4 (repr.); E.P. Richardson, 'Rubens' Portrait of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XXVII, 1947, pp.1-4; id., 'A Rediscovered Sketch by Rubens of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand', in *Miscellanea L. van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp.135-138; J.S.Held, 'A Rubens Portrait for Sarasota', *The Ringling Museum Annual*, 1951, not paginated; *Larsen*, *Rubens*, p.219, No.105; *Treasures from the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1960, p.120; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, pp.105, 189, n.4; J.S.Held, 'Other Works by Rubens in the Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XLIII, 1964, pp.54, 57 (repr.); *Held*, *Oil Sketches*, p.395, No.293, pl.295; J.S.Held, *The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century*, Detroit, 1982, pp.91-94 (repr.).

This *modello* for the great equestrian portrait in the Prado (No.93; Fig.76) agrees in detail with the final version.

It appears from Burchard's notes that when he first saw the work at a sale in London in 1945, he had reservations about its attribution to Rubens. However, he changed his mind completely after the canvas, which had been very dirty, was thoroughly cleaned in 1946: in a letter of 15 February 1947 to the then owner, the art dealer David M. Koetsier, he described it as a 'most marvellous and spirited sketch, painted entirely by Rubens himself'. This view has since been shared by all critics except Larsen, who did not regard the painting as a study for that in the Prado, and thought it partly the work of studio assistants.

In my opinion there can be no doubt of its authenticity. The visible *pentimenti*, especially around the horse's hoofs (Fig.80), are themselves revealing in this respect. Held, in his recent catalogue of the Flemish and German seventeenth-century paintings in Detroit, pointed out that there is also an important *pentimento* in the neighbourhood of the prince's torso, though it is only visible in X-rays (Fig.79): this shows that Ferdinand was originally placed about 5 cm. further to the left and that he looked straight towards the spectator. The official nature of the commission may no doubt explain why the figure of the Cardinal Infante, and especially his features, are executed in more detail than the rest of the sketch. The pictorial treatment of the group of horsemen in the background (Fig.80) compares well with the execution of similar figures in other late compositions by Rubens: for example, those in the foreground of the fragment of a *Battle for the Henri IV cycle*, now in the Rubens House in Antwerp (Fig.81). There is also some resemblance to the horsemen in the *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre, Paris.¹

1. See Adler, *Landscapes*, No.65, fig.148.

93b. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback (Fig.78)

Oil on canvas; 129.5 × 113.5 cm.
Saarbrücken, Private Collection.

PROVENANCE: Joseph Strutt, Esq., 1889; Major Howard Galton, Hazdor House; P. de Boer, Amsterdam, c.1930; Mortimer Brandt, New York, c.1945; C.L. Morley, sale, London (Christie's), 16 March 1956, lot 39 (repr.); Heinz Kisters, Kreuzlingen.

EXHIBITED: Worcestershire, 1882; P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1931, No.91 (repr.); John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis, 1942; New York, 1942, No.13; *Men in Arms*, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1943 (repr.); *Meisterwerke der Malerei aus Privatsammlungen im Bodenseegebiet*, Palais Thurn und Taxis, Bregenz, 1965, No.87 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.221 (as *Velázquez*); *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, p.395, under No.293 (as a copy).

Assessments by Burchard, Valentiner and Glück have treated this as a second preliminary study for the equestrian portrait in the Prado (No.93; Fig.76). However, the execution shows no sign of Rubens's quality. This must be a copy, made after the final version in the Prado and not after the Detroit sketch (No.93a; Fig.77) or any other, lost preliminary study. Only the two allegorical figures at the top are missing; it can be seen with the naked eye that they were originally there but have been overpainted. The execution is for the most part detailed and elaborate, not as in a sketch. The hand of the copyist is most clearly seen in the essentially linear treatment: the horse and rider are evidently conceived as outline figures. The various details show no sign of Rubens's characteristic feeling for organic nature: the foliage is uncertainly painted, the anatomy of the horse and rider is not correct. The naked body of a dead soldier appears on the left of this painting, as in the canvas in the Prado; this detail is not visible in the oil sketch at Detroit. Held is also of the opinion that this work is a copy after the portrait in the Prado.

93c. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain (Fig.82)

Oil on panel; 59 × 50 cm. – *Verso*: two brands, respectively the city mark of Antwerp and a six-pointed star.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Inv. No.56.172.

PROVENANCE: James Hope Wallace, Featherstone Castle, Northumberland, sale, London (Christie's), 31 October 1952, lot 30; Leonard Koetser, London; bequeathed to the Metropolitan Museum by Mrs Ralph J. Hines in 1956.

LITERATURE: *Baetjer, Cat. New York*, I, p.161; III, p.374 (repr.); *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, pp.229–230, pl.87 (as a *Studio Copy after Rubens*).

This half-length bust shows the Cardinal Infante in the same pose as the equestrian portrait, and Burchard regarded it as a study for the large canvas in the Prado (No.93; Fig.76). The two are clearly connected, but, to judge from the photograph, I do not believe the present painting is Rubens's own work: it seems extremely flat and dull, with no trace of Rubens's plastic style. I therefore agree with Liedtke that it is a copy—not, however, of a lost original study, but executed after the final version of the equestrian portrait. This seems to me to be indicated by the fact that in this work the Cardinal Infante's collar, especially on the left, appears to be stirred by the wind, as it is in the final version. A detail of this kind is natural in the full composition, which shows the prince in a dynamic pose, but not in a separate study of detail. The forward movement of the sitter's arms suggests that he is holding the reins of a horse. It is unthinkable that in a sketch of the

head only Rubens would have included features thus determined by the composition as a whole.

94. Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain (Fig. 83)

Oil on canvas; 100.5 × 84 cm.

Berlin (DDR), Bode Museum. Inv. No.B.132.

PROVENANCE: Galerie Rothmann, Berlin, 1930; Mrs Caspari, Munich; Dresdener Bank, Berlin; deposited at the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum at Berlin by the German Government in 1936; temporarily removed to the Soviet Union, 1946-58.

LITERATURE: [Irène Geismeyer], *Holländische und flämische Gemälde des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts im Bode-Museum*, East-Berlin, 1976, pp.71, 132 (repr., as Rubens).

Ferdinand, wearing the red cassock and biretta of a cardinal, is shown to knee-length, seated in a chair and facing somewhat to the left. In the left background is the base of a pilaster, and on the right a coffered niche.

As Irène Geismeyer pointed out, there is a close resemblance between this portrait and those of 1628-29 showing Ferdinand in cardinal's robes, now at Althorp and Munich.¹ The treatment of the cassock and biretta, and the pilaster and niche, indeed derive from that earlier type, but the Cardinal Infante is here shown as considerably older. His facial appearance, with moustache and goatee, is that of his time as Governor of the Netherlands from 1635 onwards.

In an assessment of 1930, Burchard regarded this as an entire autograph work by Rubens, and Geismeyer recently accepted this attribution. However, the sty-

listic quality is very poor, the painting of the hands is weak and the cardinal's sitting posture is awkward. I can see nothing in this work but a pastiche, by an unidentifiable Flemish master, of Rubens's portrait type of 1628-29.

1. Cf. Huemer, *Portraits*, Nos.12, 13, figs.60-62.

95. Hélène Fourment (Fig. 84)

Oil on panel; 96.5 × 69.5 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Inv. No.349.

PROVENANCE: Gisbert van Colen (Antwerp, d.1703); purchased from the former by Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, for his Castle at Schleissheim, 1698; transferred to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, in 1781; transferred to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

EXHIBITED: *Schleissheim*, 1976, No.783 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1977, No.84 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.68, No.97; Dillis, *Cat. Munich*, No.281; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.360; Marggraff, *Cat. Munich*, No.275; Reber, *Cat. Munich*, No.795; *Eastlake. Notes*, pp.191-192, No.795; *Roses*, IV, p.162, No.937; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.319, right; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.163, 202, pl.CCCXLVIII; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, pp.73, 77 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.122, fig.71; *K.d.K.*, p.331; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, No.344; *Van Puyvelde, Portraits*, p.16 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, pp.450-451, 508, fig.252; L. Burchard, 'Rubens' "Feast of Herod" at Port Sunlight', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p.387; J. Held, 'Rubens' "Feast of Herod"', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVI, 1954, p.122; *Krempel, Max Emanuel*, pp.222-223; U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Exh. Schleissheim*, 1976, II, p.340, under No.783; *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp.23-24 (repr.);

R. a[n]d[er]H[eiden], in *Cat. Munich, 1983*, pp.434-435, No.349 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment is seated, almost facing the spectator. Her dark, low-cut dress is adorned in front with four rows of jewels, with a large red bow beneath. Her neck and shoulders are partly covered by a transparent white scarf. She wears a dark cap with white feathers and a red bow. She holds a fur glove in her right hand, and seems about to put it on her left.

This painting is generally dated, by Burchard and others, around 1630-32. Only Held proposed a later date, c.1636-38, on the grounds that a similar head-dress appears in Jordaens's *As the Old Sang...* in the Royal Museum, Antwerp, a painting, signed and dated 1638.¹ This, however, does not seem to me a solid enough argument for the later date. On the other hand, a date around 1630, the year of Hélène's marriage to Rubens, may find some corroboration in the fact that Hélène's glove can possibly be interpreted as a marriage symbol.²

1. See R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens, Antwerp-London, 1982*, p.167, fig.137.

2. See D.R. Smith, *Masks of Wedlock. Seventeenth-Century Dutch Marriage Portraiture*, Ann Arbor, 1982, pp.72-81.

96. Hélène Fourment (Fig. 85)

Oil on panel; 163.5 × 137 cm.
Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Inv. No.340.

PROVENANCE: Gisbert van Colen (Antwerp, d.1703); purchased from the former by Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, for his Castle at Schleissheim, 1698; transferred to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, in 1781; transferred to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPIES: (1) Painting of the upper part of the body (Fig.87), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; panel, 75 × 56 cm.; for references, see under No.96b; (2) Painting of the upper part of the body, Mora (Sweden), Collection Zorn; panel, 70.5 × 55 cm. PROV. Lund, Harry Karlsson; presented by the former in 1976. LIT. H. Karlsson, *Den långa vägen*, Lund, 1973, p.134 (repr.); H.H. Brummer, 'Ett porträtt av Rubens' hustru i Zornsamlingarna', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.141-145 (repr.); (3) Painting of the upper part of the body, whereabouts unknown; panel, 63 × 48 cm. PROV. London, S. Woodburn, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1854 et seq., lot 829; Hickman, sale, London (Christie's), 5 April 1856, lot 83; Henry Harvey (1868); Antwerp, Roland Baudouin, sale, Antwerp (Cercle Artistique), 23 November 1925, lot 6 (repr., as *Rubens*). EXH. *National Exhibition of Works of Art, Leeds, 1868*, No.647; (4) Painting of the head and shoulders, Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini. LIT. L. Van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande à Rome*, Brussels, 1950, p.158 (as possibly by Rubens); C. Norris, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p.108; H.H. Brummer, *op. cit.*, pp.141, 143 (repr.); (5) Drawing of the head and shoulders, London, British Museum, Inv. No.1895.9.15.1082; black chalk and ink, 162 × 146 mm. PROV. Hoofman; Leembruggen; Malcolm; purchased in 1895. LIT. *Hind, Rubens*, pp.135-136, No.1 (repr., as *attributed to Pieter Soutman*); (6) Drawing of the head, Danzig, Muzeum Narodowe, Inv. No. MNG/SD/723/R.; black and red chalk, 193 × 175 mm. PROV. Collection Kabrun; presented to the City of Danzig in 1814; in the Danzig museum since 1872. EXH. *Zeichnungen alter Meister aus polnischen Sammlungen*, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, and Kunstsammlungen, Veste Coburg, 1981-82, No.88 (repr., as

Rubens). LIT. J. C. Block and Dr. von Duisburg, *Katalog einer Sammlung von Kupferstichen, Holzschnitten, Lithographien und Handzeichnungen, welche von dem Anno 1814 hier verstorbenen Herren Jakob Kabrun der Kaufmannschaft hieselbst hinterlassen worden sind*, Danzig, 1861, p.167; H. Sieveking, 'Zeichnungen alter Meister aus polnischen Sammlungen', *Die Weltkunst*, LI, 1981, p.3813 (repr.); (7) Engraving after (1) by P. Fontana (1762–1837) (*Choix de gravures à l'eau forte d'après les peintures originales et les marbres, de la galerie de Lucien Bonaparte*, London, 1812, No.72).

EXHIBITED: Brussels, 1948, No.89; London, 1949, No.99.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.73, No.219; Dillis, *Cat. Munich*, No.265; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.355; Marggraff, *Cat. Munich*, No.260; Reber, *Cat. Munich*, No.794; Eastlake, *Notes*, pp.190–191, No.794; Rooses, IV, p.163, No.940; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.321; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, pp.72, 77 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.120–121, fig.70; *K.d.K.*, p.328; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, No.340; Van Puyvelde, *Portraits*, pp.8, 10, 12 (repr.); Evers, *Rubens*, pp.443–446, 448–449, 507, figs.247–249; Held, *Drawings*, I, p.141, under No.115; L. Dittmann, 'Versuch über die Farbe bei Rubens', in [E. Hubala, ed.], *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, Konstanz, 1979, pp.57–58; Krempel, *Max Emanuel*, pp.222–223; *Sonnenburg, Bildaufbau*, pp.78, 80–83 (repr.); K. Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, pp.46, 48 (repr.); *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp.21–24 (repr.); U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, pp.433–434, No.340 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment is shown full-length in a wide armchair, turned slightly away from the spectator. She seems to be lean-

ing slightly forward, an effect enhanced by the fact that, as von Sonnenburg has chown, the portrait was originally knee-length and afterwards enlarged. Rubens began with a nucleus which, as the work proceeded, was extended on either side and especially at the bottom: the composition of the panel is very revealing in this respect.¹ In the original more intimate portrait, Hélène's pose appears more natural. She wears a white dress with gold-coloured embroidery, and over it a black sleeveless cloak. Her wide, puffed sleeves are of white material. Her dress is cut low and she wears a semicircular, standing lace collar. Her hair is adorned with a diadem, a spray of orange-blossom and fruit. She wears a string of pearls round her neck, and a large necklace of jewels hangs on her breast. In her left hand she holds an ostrich-feather. The carpet under her chair is of oriental design. Above her a scarlet canopy is suspended from two columns. Between these columns is a balustrade, with a distant landscape beyond.

Oldenbourg was the first to interpret this work as a portrait of Hélène Fourment in bridal dress, and accordingly dated it c.1630–1. He based his opinion on the orange blossom, which he rightly took as a symbol of marriage. Most critics, including Burchard, have since accepted this interpretation, but Julius Held and Kerry Downes did not agree that the picture showed Rubens's second wife on her wedding day. Personally I share their doubts: Hélène is not wearing a typical wedding dress, merely a luxurious gown in the fashion of the time. I would rather suggest that she is here shown during her first pregnancy. The blossom in her headdress may express either chastity, love or fertility;² and in any case her figure seems to me indicative of her condition. That it is not a subsequent pregnancy may perhaps be

argued from the fact that no children are present, as they are in all later portraits of her, except of course, the *Pelsken*. Since Clara-Johanna, the first child of the marriage, was born on 18 January 1632, it seems to me likely that the picture was painted in the second half of 1631.

1. See *Sonnenburg, Bildaufbau*, p.83 (repr.).
2. See e.g. M. Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance. Botanical symbolism in Italian painting*, Florence, pp. 272-275.

96a. Hélène Fourment: Drawing
(Fig. 86)

Black, white and red chalk; 488 × 320 mm.
Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*. Inv. No. V.45.

PROVENANCE: G. Huquier, Paris (1695-1772); Count Moriz von Fries, Vienna (1777-1826); Sir Thomas Lawrence, London (1769-1830); J.P. Heseltine, London (1843-1929); F. Koenigs, Haarlem (1881-1941); D.G. van Beuningen, Rotterdam and Vierhouten (1877-1955).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1835, No. 38; *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1879-80, No. 443; *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 3; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 121 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1938-39, No. 17 (repr.); *Meesterwerken uit viereeuwen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No. 348 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No. 20 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1948-49, No. 131; *Brussels*, 1949, No. 100; *Paris*, 1949, No. 104; *Rotterdam*, 1952, No. 69; *Musée Boymans de Rotterdam. Dessins du XVe au XIXe siècle*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1952, No. 33; *Tri Století Nizožemské Kresby, 1400-1700*, Kinsky Palace, Prague, 1966, No. 47; *Dessins flamands et hollandais du dix-septième siècle*, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, 1974, No. 100 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900-10, pp. 196, 329, No. 1505; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p. 56, No. 193 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, p. 507, n. 460; *Held, Drawings*, pp. 140-141, No. 115, pl. 129; E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Rubens in Rotterdam', *Apollo*, LXXXVI, 1967, pp. 42-43 (repr.).

In this study for the elaborate portrait in Munich (No. 96; Fig. 85) Hélène Fourment is still in a relaxed pose. Differently from the finished work, she gazes to the left in a dreamy fashion and allows her left arm to hang at her side. She is not dressed in the fine clothes seen in the painting: no jewels or embroidery, no décolleté and only a simple flat collar over her shoulders.

96b. Hélène Fourment (Fig. 87)

Oil on panel; 75 × 56 cm.
Amsterdam, *Rijksmuseum*. Inv. No. C.295.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the du Tartre collection, Paris, in 1787; Du Tartre sale, Paris, 19 March 1804, lot 18; Lucien Bonaparte (1812); Fossard; John Smith, London, 1830; purchased from the latter by A. van der Hoop in 1833, and bequeathed by him to the city of Amsterdam in 1854; on loan to the Rijksmuseum since 1885.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 52 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Thiéry, *Guide des amateurs et des étrangers voyageurs à Paris*, I, Paris, 1787, pp. 584-585; *Choix de gravures à l'eau forte, d'après les peintures originales et les marbres de la galerie de Lucien Bonaparte*, London, 1812, No. 72 (repr.); H.W. Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian*

Islands, II, Edinburgh, 1820, p.60; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.225, No.800; IX, pp.317–318, No.269; *Rooses*, IV, p.164, No.941; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.322; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.162, 210, pl. CCCXLVIII; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, p.77, n.3, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.120 (as a copy); *Van Puyvelde, Portraits*, p.14 (repr.); *Alle schilderijen van het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam*, Amsterdam–Haarlem, 1976, p.484, No. C.295 (repr.).

This is a partial repetition of the upper part of the full-length *Portrait of Hélène Fourment* in Munich (No.96; Fig.85). Burchard thought that the central portion—the face, the *décolleté* and the upper part of the white undergarment with the jewels—were by Rubens's own hand but that the rest was not. Glück for his part regarded the whole painting as a partial copy, albeit a good one, of the Munich portrait. I share this opinion. Not only are the parts rejected by Burchard, such as the arms and shoulders, painted in a summary fashion, but even the actual features seem to me the work of a copyist. The round, full face of Rubens's young bride, as we see it in the other authentic portraits of her, here looks much older and is much more oval in shape. The hair-style also lacks the vibrant brush-work of the Munich portrait.

97. Hélène Fourment in a Fur Coat ('Het Pelsken') (Fig. 88, 89)

Oil on panel; 176 × 83 cm.
Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*.
Inv. No.688.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by Rubens to Hélène Fourment; first mentioned in the

Imperial Collections at Vienna, in Storffer's painted inventory of 1730.¹

COPIES: (1) Painting by Adam Braun (1748–1827), Warsaw, *Museum Narodowe*, Inv.No.131312; panel, 50 × 35.5 cm. PROV. King Stanislas-August Poniatowski (1732–1798). LIT. *National Museum in Warsaw. Catalogue of Paintings. Foreign Schools*, Warsaw, 1969, No.150 (repr.); (2) Etching by F. van Stampart (1675–1750) (V.S., p.165, No.102); (3) Etching by A.J.Prenner, 1735 (V.S., p.165, No.103).

EXHIBITED: Vienna, 1977, No.57 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Stampart–Prenner*, p.7; *Michel, Histoire*, p.306; *Mechel, Verzeichnis*, p.118, No.6; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.94, No.300; *Engerth, Cat. Vienna*, No.1181; *Rooses*, IV, pp.166–168, No.944; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.323; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.165, 209, pl.CCCXLV; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.80–83 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.125–132, fig.77; *K.d.K.*, p.424; *G. Glück, Die Gemäldegalerie ... in Wien*, Leipzig, 1923, pp.165, 176 (repr.); *Cat. Vienna*, 1928, No.829; *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.387; *Cat. Vienna*, 1938, No.829; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.451, 454–458, 508, fig.256; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.287–288, 330; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.106; J.S.Held, 'Rubens' "Het Pelsken"', in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, pp.188–192 (repr.), reprinted in *Held, Rubens*, pp.106–113 (repr.); C.Pedretti, 'The "Pointing Lady"', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXI, 1969, pp.345–346; *Du-verger, Van Hecke*, pp.153–156; *Cat. Vienna*, 1973, p.148; *Warnke, Rubens*, pp.142, 144 (repr.); A.-M.Schwarzenberg, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp.133–135, No.57 (repr.); E.K.J.Reznicek, 'Opmerkingen bij Rembrandt', *Oud Holland*, XCI, 1977, pp.97–99 (repr.); *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p.174, n.10; J.Muller, [Review of *Held, Rubens*] in *Simiolus*, XIV, 1984, pp.229–230.

Hélène Fourment stands naked, with a fur coat loosely wrapped around her. She is in three-quarter view but looks directly towards the spectator. Her hair is bound with white ribbons. She stands on a red carpet on which a red cushion is lying. In the right background is a fountain with a lion mask: this can hardly be seen with the naked eye, but is clear in the X-ray (Fig. 89). It has rightly always been assumed that this work is identical with 'de schilderije genaemt het pelsken' which Rubens bequeathed to Hélène, specifying that she owed nothing to the other heirs by way of compensation.² Duverger, it is true, recently suggested that the present work, or another version of it, was identical with 'een contrefijtsel wesende een vrouw van Rubens geschildert naer Titiaen' which in 1646 belonged to Pieter van Hecke, and perhaps also with 'eene schilderije wesende een naect vrouwken met eenen pels van d'Heer Rubens naer Titian', owned by Frans Snyders in 1655, and a 'Vrouken met bonte pels van Rubens naer Titsiaen' which in 1691 was in the collection of J.-B. Anthoine in Antwerp. However, it has been shown by Anna-Maria Schwarzenberg and myself that Duverger was confusing the work with Rubens's copy of Titian's famous *Young Lady in a Fur*, now in Vienna, to which we shall return.

Until recently it was generally supposed that Rubens had here painted an intimate portrait of his second wife when she was about to take a bath or had just done so. However, in 1967 Held argued on convincing grounds that this anecdotal interpretation is incorrect and that 'Het Pelsken' is a *portrait historié*: to be precise, a representation of Venus with the features of Hélène Fourment. Held pointed out that the gesture with which Hélène holds her cloak in front of her body derives from

the famous pose of the antique Venus Pudica. Rubens's desire to depict his wife as the goddess of love may be further indicated by the existence of two paraphrases of the 'Pelsken', formerly at Potsdam and in a private collection in Madrid, which were painted by followers of Rubens and can clearly be seen to represent Venus, as they include the classical attributes of Cupid and the looking-glass (Figs. 90, 91).

'Het Pelsken', moreover, is not the only work in which Rubens depicted his wife as Venus. He did so in the *Judgement of Paris*, now in the Prado,³ as is confirmed in a letter from the Cardinal Infante to Philip IV dated 27 February 1639.⁴ In the present work, apart from the antique Venus Pudica, he followed another famous example which lay closer to hand. This was Titian's *Young Lady in a Fur*, now in Vienna, which was in the collection of Charles I during Rubens's stay in London, and of which, as we know, he then made a copy.⁵ From it he borrowed the idea of the subtle contrast between the smooth, naked body and the fur cloak. The similarity to Titian's painting was first pointed out by Glück in 1911. This similarity even led Jeffrey Muller to think that the main destination of this painting was to be an erotic 'bedroom nude' and that as such it was in the tradition originating in sixteenth-century Venice.⁶ On the other hand, Carlo Pedretti's supposition that Rubens may have been inspired by Da Vinci's drawing of a *Pointing Lady* at Windsor⁷ is not convincing: its improbability has already been indicated by Anna-Maria Schwarzenberg.

The portrait has always been dated in the 1630s. Rooses placed it at about 1630, Oldenbourg c. 1638-40, Glück in 1638 and Evers before that year. Evers also suggested that the work was the basis for the figure of Eurydice in *Orpheus and Eurydice*,

one of the scenes executed in 1636–38 for the Torre de la Parada.⁸ Schwarzenberg advanced a more approximate dating in the second half of the 1630s, pointing out that during this period Rubens twice used the Venus Pudica motif as a starting-point, in the *Eurydice* already mentioned and for the Magdalene in *Madonna with Saints* in St James's church, Antwerp.⁹ This view seems to me very plausible.

1. F. a Storffer, *Neu Eingerichtetes Inventarium der Kayl.-Bilder in der Stallburg...*, II, 1730; manuscript in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
2. *Denné, Konstkamers*, p.80, No.CVI.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.432.
4. 'También está acabada la del Juicio de Paris... La Venus que es de enmedio es retrato muy parecido a su misma mujer...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p.228).
5. Cf. *Wethey, Titian*, II, pp.106–107, No.48. Rubens's copy, formerly in the Eustace Hoare Collection in London, is now in the Queensland Art Gallery, Brisbane, Australia (Cf. *Queensland Art Gallery, Selected Works*, Brisbane, 1982, p.22 (repr.)).
6. J. Muller (*loc. cit.*) thereby refers to Charles Hope, 'Problems of interpretation in Titian's erotic paintings', in *Tiziano e Venezia*, Vicenza, 1980, pp.111–124.
7. A.E. Popham, *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1946, pl.123.
8. Cf. *Alpers, Torre*, No.46, fig.155.
9. *K.d.K.*, p.426.

98. *Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens* (Figs.92,93)

Oil on panel; 145 × 102 cm.

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. Inv. No.315.

PROVENANCE: Gisbert van Colen (Antwerp, d.1703); purchased from the former by Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, for his Castle at Schleissheim, 1698; transferred to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, in 1781; transferred to the *Alte Pinakothek* in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPY: Painting, Sankt-Pölten, private collection; canvas, c.162 × c.113 cm.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1948, No.90 (repr.); *London*, 1949, No.101.

LITERATURE: *Michel, Histoire*, p.311; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.272, No.102; *Dillis, Cat. Munich*, No.285; *Parthey, Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.359; *Marggraff, Cat. Munich*, No.279; *Rooses*, IV, pp.169–170, No.947; *Reber, Cat. Munich*, No.797; *Eastlake, Notes*, p.192, No.797; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.372; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.163, 202; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.76, 80 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.122, fig.74; *K.d.K.*, p.346; *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.387; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, No.315; *Evers, Rubens*, pp.451, 454, 508, fig.255; *Köhler-Lutterbeck*, pp.73–78; *Krempele, Max Emanuel*, pp.223, 228; *Warnke, Rubens*, pp.27–29, fig.12; *Sonnenburg, Bildaufbau*, pp.78, 81, 84, 191, 195 (repr.); *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp.25–28 (repr.); R. a[n]d[er] H[eiden], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, p.436, No.315 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment is seated on a bench with her little son Frans on her lap. They are both turned three-quarters towards the spectator and are looking straight at him. Hélène wears a blue skirt with golden flower motifs, a green jacket over it, and a wide feathered hat. Her little son sits on a white cloth on her lap; he is quite naked except for a plumed cap. The pair are seated on a terrace, separated by a balcony and a column from a background with foliage. A rambler rose encircles the column, and an orange-brown curtain is draped around it.

In more than one respect this painting closely resembles the *Portrait of Hélène Fourment and her Children* of c.1636 in the Louvre in Paris (No.99; Fig.97). The similar pose and headgear, the features of the mother and child, and the unfinished character of the work, are common to both portraits, which were undoubtedly painted at more or less the same time. In

view of their unfinished state we may wonder whether it was not the intention, in both cases, to include the two other children, Clara-Johanna and Isabella-Helena, for whom there would be room on the right-hand side of the panel. Perhaps Rubens intended to represent himself also, as the dominating paterfamilias, as in the sketch at Philadelphia, painted a few years earlier (No. 140; Fig. 194), where Hélène Fourment appears in a very similar pose and is wearing a jacket of almost the same type.

In this connection it is interesting to note that Rubens originally intended the portrait to be smaller. As von Sonnenburg recently pointed out, he enlarged the 'nuclear portrait' at the bottom and on the right, as is shown by the composition of the planks of the panel. These changes are perhaps partly the reason for the later overpainting to which von Sonnenburg also drew attention. In certain places, such as the whole left-hand part of Hélène's figure, Rubens himself made 'retouchings' in the still wet paint, producing great clefts as a result.

This portrait too is symbolic of love. The rambler rose clinging to the pillar, which may have been added as part of the enlargement, is a well-known motif of this kind.¹ More important, however, is that for the composition of this group, which so successfully depicts the loving bond between mother and child, Rubens drew inspiration, as for the group portrait in the Louvre (No. 99; Fig. 97), from a theme of the Italian High Renaissance in which family love was depicted in a composition of figures intertwined, as it were, in a harmonious *contrapposto*. While Rubens based his group portrait in the Louvre on Titian's allegory of married love (also in the Louvre, better known under the incorrect title *Allegorical Portrait of the Mar-*

quis del Vasto), his model here was more of a religious kind. As Warnke already pointed out, there is here an analogy with a representation of the Madonna. The Madonna pose which, since the time of the Italian High Renaissance, had been the classic expression of the love between mother and child, was transposed by Rubens into a secular setting. The deliberateness of his intention is clearly shown by the nakedness of his son in the picture, imitating that of the Christ Child. In my view, this portrait is expressly based on one of the most famous and influential Madonna types of the whole Renaissance, Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia* in the Pitti Palace in Florence,² which became celebrated at an early date and was much copied. The way in which the spectator is brought into the intimacy of the scene, and the mutual affection expressed in the poses of mother and child, seem to be directly borrowed by Rubens from this work of Raphael's.

In the same connection we should consider once again the Philadelphia sketch (No. 140; Fig. 194). Not only, as we have seen, is Hélène Fourment shown in a pose and costume very similar to those in the present painting, but in that work there is, as here, a direct typological link with a representation of the Madonna. It seems to me not improbable that while, as far as can be judged, the Philadelphia sketch was not developed into a finished work, the present painting represents a modified version of the original idea.

In a thorough restoration in 1922, the work was cleared of a good deal of eighteenth-century overpainting and enlargement. It was cut down by 22 cm. at the top and about 18 cm. on the left.

1. Cf. *de Jongh, Zinne- en minnebeelden*, pp. 22ff.

2. L. Dussler, *Raphael*, London, 1971, fig. 84.

98a. Frans Rubens: Drawing (Fig. 94)

Black and red chalk; 148 × 122 mm. Below, by a later hand, the inscription *Rubens*.

Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett. Inv.No. C962.

PROVENANCE: Acquired for the Electoral Collections at Dresden before 1756.

COPY: Drawing (Fig. 95), London, British Museum, Inv. No. 1895-9-15-1047; black and red chalk. **PROV.** London, J. Richardson Senior (1665-1745); London, T. Hudson (1701-1779); London, Dr W. Malcolm; purchased in 1895. **EXH.** *London, 1974, No. 92* (as *Rubens*); *London, 1977, No. 156* (repr., as *Rubens*). **LIT.** *Hind, Rubens*, p. 30, No. 95 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p. 117, No. 156 (repr., as *Rubens*); K. Renger, [Review of *Cat. Exh. London, 1977*], in *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 135 (as *not by Rubens*); D. Freedberg, 'L'Année Rubens, manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, 39, 1978, p. 90, n. 19 (as *not by Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *Der Menschheit bewahrt, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, 1959, No. 13-76.*

LITERATURE: *Rooses, V*, p. 274, No. 213; *Glück-Haberdtztl.*, p. 58, No. 213 (repr.); *Held, Drawings, I*, p. 143, under No. 127.

This drawing, showing the boy's features in three-quarter view and slightly from below, is a direct preliminary study, from life, for the figure of Frans in the Munich *Portrait of Hélène Fourment* (No. 98; Fig. 92). Instead of the plumed beret, however, he wears a white skull-cap and over it a round piece of headgear, difficult to define exactly: perhaps simply the lower rim of a beret. A copy of this drawing, made perhaps in the eighteenth century, is now in

the British Museum (Fig. 95). But there the boy is seen in a plumed beret: the copyist was probably acquainted with the Munich painting. Burchard rightly pointed out that this copy is by the same hand as the copy in Rotterdam (Fig. 99) after Rubens's lost study for Frans in the group portrait in Paris. Both drawings, moreover, have a common pedigree, bearing the collectors' marks of J. Richardson Senior and Thomas Hudson.

99. Hélène Fourment with Clara-Johanna and Frans Rubens (Figs. 96, 97)

Oil on panel; 115 × 85 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 1795.

PROVENANCE: De la Live de Jully, sale, Paris, 5 March 1770, lot 6; Randon de Boisset, sale, Paris, 27 February 1777 et seq., lot 29; comte de Vaudreuil, sale, Paris, 24-25 November 1784, lot 20; purchased for Louis XVI, King of France.

COPY: Engraving by J. Schmuzer (1733-1811), after a drawing by F. Gianni (c. 1760-1823) (V.S., p. 167, No. 120).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1930, No. 226.*

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, p. 316; *Catalogue historique du Cabinet de peinture et sculpture française de M. De Lalive*, Paris, 1764, p. 113; *Musée Central des Arts. Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande*, Paris, 1801, No. 498; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 118-119, No. 399; F. Villot, *Notice des tableaux exposés dans les galeries du Musée national du Louvre*, II, Paris, 1852, No. 460; *Rooses, IV*, pp. 170-171, No. 948; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 396; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp. 163, 204, pl. CCCLI; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp. 78, 80 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp. 122-124, fig. 75; *K.d.K.*, p. 383;

L. Demonts, *Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue des peintures exposées dans les galeries*, III, Paris, 1922, p.6, No.2113; *Van Puyvelde, Portraits*, pp.21–22 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, pp.451–452, 508, fig.253; *Köhler-Lutterbeck*, pp.79–84; *Bréjon-Foucart-Reynaud*, p.119 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment, dressed in white with a red scarf over her shoulders and a plumed hat, is seated on a stool, in three-quarter view to the left. With her are the eldest three children of her marriage to Rubens. On the left is Clara-Johanna, born in 1632. The child is dressed in grey, with a white apron that is held with one hand and tugged at with the other. She wears a shawl over her head. Her younger brother Frans sits on Hélène's lap and looks towards the spectator. He too is dressed in grey, and wearing a black hat decorated with flowers. His left fist is clenched, and he holds a crooked stick in his right. Below, to the right of the picture, can be seen the arms of a small child running towards its mother—undoubtedly Isabella-Helena, who was born in 1635.

The fourth child of Rubens and Hélène Fourment was born on 1 March 1637, which is thus a *terminus ante quem*: the picture was no doubt painted some time in 1636. It is incomplete, however: only the figures of Hélène and the two eldest children are fully worked up, especially the faces. The clothing is clearly unfinished, and some details are very sketchy: the stool, the whole background with the column, and the arms of the youngest child. The pet bird between Clara-Johanna and Frans is also very cursorily sketched.

The bird, however, explains the position of Frans's hands. It must be attached to a string, not yet painted, which the boy is holding in his clenched fist. As explained

in my description of the double portrait of *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens at Vaduz* (No.142; Fig.200), the bird which a boy holds by a string symbolizes the child's love for Christ and the Cross. The black mask hanging by Clara-Johanna's ear can also be interpreted symbolically, as suggesting that the purity of the child's soul has no need to conceal itself behind false appearances.¹ As to the girl's gesture, may she not be fumbling in her apron for some food to give to the bird? In that case her action may perhaps be taken as a symbol of the unspoilt child fostering divine love.

The motif of a mother seen in three-quarter view with her children on her lap and beside her had already been used by Rubens, particularly in the *Gerbiere Family* of c.1630, of which this picture is a reversed variant.² But the composition of both portraits derives from an older source, Titian's so-called *Allegorical Portrait of the Marquis del Vasto*, which is now in the Louvre but was in Charles I's collection during Rubens's stay in London.³ Rubens did not simply borrow the compact and concentrated structure of the work, but must also have appreciated the deeper significance of Titian's painting: it was essentially an allegory of love,⁴ and this portrait of Hélène Fourment and her children can be interpreted in the same way. The concentration of the family group stresses the mutual affection of its members and gives visible form to the bond of love that unites them. In addition, the symbolic reference to divine love brings out very clearly the deeper meaning of the family portrait.

1. For the mask as a symbol of false appearances see e.g. *Henkel-Schöne*, I, pp.1318–1320. For the connection with the idea of true love see e.g. *Otto Vaenius, Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerp, 1608, pp.54–55, 220–221.

2. See *Huemer, Portraits*, pp.120–127, No.14, figs.63, 64.

3. *Ibid.*, p.124. For Titian's painting, see Wethey, *Titian*, III, pp.127-129, No.1, pls.68-71.
4. This has been demonstrated very convincingly by Erwin Panofsky (*Problems on Titian, mostly iconographic*, London, 1969, pp.127-129).

99a. Isabella-Helena Rubens:
Drawing (Fig.98)

Black, white and red chalk; 398 × 287 mm.; below, to the right, the marks of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184) and of the Louvre (L.2207). The upper corners are trimmed. *Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No.20.197.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior, London (1665-1745); J. Bernard, London (d.1784); acquired for the Musée National during the French Revolution.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938-39, No.21 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No.40 (repr.); *Paris*, 1949, No.107; *Brussels*, 1949, No.103; *Paris*, 1954, No.419; *L'Enfant dans le dessin du XVe au XIXe siècle*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1957, No.12; *Paris*, 1959, No.15; *Paris*, 1978, No.30 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Reiset, *Notice des dessins, cartons, pastels, miniatures et émaux ... au Musée National du Louvre*, Paris, 1866, No.558; *Rooses*, V, p.274, No.1525; *Glück*, *Liebesgarten*, pp.79-80 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.123-124, fig.76; *Glück-Haberditzl*, pp.60-61, No.227 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, pp.451, 453, fig.254; *Lugt, Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.17-18, No.1026 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, p.144, No.128, pl.138.

A full-length drawing, in profile, of a child in a harness and wearing a protective head covering, walking to the left with outstretched arms.

A child similarly dressed, though in quite a different pose, figures in the *Portrait of Rubens and Hélène Fourment with Clara-Johanna* in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (No.141; Fig.195). On this account Rooses took the present drawing to be a study for that work. However, Glück and Haberditzl pointed out that the attitude of the arms corresponds exactly to those of the child, not otherwise identifiable, on the extreme right of the portrait of *Hélène Fourment and her Children* in the Louvre in Paris (No.99; Fig.97). As I have indicated in the description of that work, this must be taken to be Isabella-Helena, born in 1635.

99b. Frans Rubens: Drawing

c.290 × c.200 mm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig.99), Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No.V.1; black, red and some white chalk, 291 × 200 mm. PROV. London, J. Richardson Senior (1665-1745); London, T. Hudson (1701-1779); Haarlem, F. Koenigs (1881-1941); Rotterdam and Vierhouten, D.G. van Beuningen (1877-1955). EXH. *Antwerp*, 1927, No.4 (as *Rubens*); *Tentoonstelling van oude kunst*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1929, No.271 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.114 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *Held, Drawings*, pp.33, 143-144, No.127, pl.137 (as *Rubens*); (2) Drawing (Fig.100), counter proof of (1), Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No.V.62; black and red chalk, 235 × 181 mm. PROV. London, J. Richardson Senior (1665-1745); London, W. Esdaile (1758-1837); Haarlem, F. Koenigs (1881-1941). EXH. *Tentoonstelling van oude kunst*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 1929, No.272.

LIT. *Held, Rubens*, p.144, under No.127; (3) Engraving (Fig.101) by Maria Cosway (1759-1838), with the representation of Hélène Fourment.

This drawing, which is now lost but can be judged from an old copy in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum (Fig.99) and a counterproof, also there (Fig.100), was the direct model for the pose of Frans Rubens in the family group in Paris (No.99; Fig.97). In the drawing the boy's cape hangs straight down, showing that he was standing upright at the time: the motif of his mother embracing him was introduced later, when the final composition based on Titian was decided upon.

99c. Frans Rubens: Drawing (Fig. 102)

Black and red chalk; 200 × 149 mm.; inscribed below to the right, by a later hand: *P. P. Rubens*; below, to the left, the marks of Thomas Lawrence (L.2445) and P. Sylvester (L.2108), to the right, the marks of Francis Egerton, first Lord Ellesmere (L., *Suppl.*, 2710b) and R. Cosway (L.629). London, *Collection of the Duke of Sutherland*.

PROVENANCE: P. Sylvester, London (d. 1718); P. Sandby, London (1725-1809); R. Cosway, London (1740-1821); Sir T. Lawrence, London (1769-1830); purchased from the former by Francis Egerton, first Earl Ellesmere, London (1800-1857); London, Bridgewater House, Ellesmere Collection.

COPY: Engraving by L. Schiavonetti (1765-1810; V.S., p.168, No.129).

EXHIBITED: London, 1938, No.581; *Old Master Drawings*, Leicester Museums and Art Gallery, Leicester, 1952, No.58.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.330, under No.1246 (as *Albert Rubens*); A.E. Popham, 'Seventeenth-Century Art in Europe at Burlington House', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, p.19 (repr.); P.A. Tomory, *The Ellesmere Collection of Old Master Drawings*, Leicester, 1954, p.38, No.107; *Held, Drawings*, I, p.144, under No.128.

Shoulder-length study of a boy wearing a plumed cap; the flat collar of his costume is indicated rather sketchily. He is seen nearly full-face but is gazing dreamily to the right.

This is Frans, the eldest son of Rubens's second marriage, as is clearly seen from his resemblance to the boy on Hélène Fourment's lap in the group portrait in Paris (No.99; Fig.97). I believe this drawing to have been made as a study for the family portrait and to be one of a series of poses, as it seems to have been Rubens's custom in other cases. In the final version, however, he used the motif of the boy looking to the right.

100. Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens (Figs. 103, 104)

Oil on panel; 195 × 132 cm.

Paris, *Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No. RF1977-13.

PROVENANCE: Donated by the City of Brussels to John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), in 1706; Dukes of Marlborough, Blenheim Castle; purchased in 1885 by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild (Paris, 1827-1905); Baron Edouard de Rothschild, Paris (1868-1949); Baron Guy de Rothschild, Paris; purchased from him by the Louvre, in 1977.

COPIES: (1) Painting (half-length), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No.325; canvas, 75 × 61 cm. PROV. Purchased by Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, for his gallery at Düsseldorf, before 1719; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation; temporarily removed to the 'Filialgalerie' at Augsburg (c.1922). LIT. Karsch, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.173 (as Rubens); Van Gool, *Nieuwe Schouburgh*, II, p.544 (as Rubens); *Cat. Düsseldorf*, p.19, No.26 (as Rubens); Michel, *Histoire*, p.301 (as Rubens); Pigage, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.247 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.68, No.197 (as Rubens); IX, p.271, No.100 (as Rubens); Dillis, *Cat. Munich*, No.328 (as Rubens); Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.356 (as Rubens); Marggraff, *Cat. Munich*, No.920 (as Rubens); Rooses, IV, p.169, No.946 (as Rubens); Reber, *Cat. Munich*, No.796 (as Rubens); *Nachtrag [zum Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Augsburg]*, Augsburg, [1922], p.6, No.325 (as Rubens); (2) Painting (half-length), Schwerin, Staatliches Museum; canvas, 63 × 51.5 cm. PROV. Grand-Dukes of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. LIT. F.Schlie, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Werke älterer Meister in der Grossherzoglichen Gemälde-Galerie zu Schwerin*, Schwerin, 1882, No.903; (3) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 54 × 49 cm. PROV. Vienna, Neue Galerie (c.1934); (4) Painting of the head and shoulders in an oval frame, whereabouts unknown; panel, 70 × 60 cm. PROV. Count Cavens, sale, Brussels (Le Roy), 7 May 1923 et seq., lot 177 (as Rubens). EXH. *Les 100 portraits, Collection du Comte Cavens*, Galerie Royale, Brussels, 1909, No.72 (repr.); (5) Drawing of the head, London, British Museum, Inv. No.1882-6-10-96; black chalk, heightened with white, 432 × 259 mm. PROV. J. Deffett

Francis. EXH. *London*, 1974, No.91 (as Rubens). LIT. *Hind, Rubens*, p.30, No.96 (repr., as Rubens); Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.10; (6) Mezzotint engraving by R. Earlom (1742/43-1822) (V.S., p.166, No.107).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1861; *Les chefs-d'œuvre des collections privées françaises retrouvées en Allemagne*, Orange-rie, Paris, 1946, No.70 (repr.); *Le XVIIe siècle flamand au Louvre. Histoire des collections*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1977-78, No.195 (repr.); *Défense du patrimoine national*, Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1978, No.2 (repr.); *Cinq années d'enrichissement du patrimoine national 1975-1980*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1980-81, No.31 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Marlborough Jewels and Pictures* (Manuscript, British Museum, Add. Mss. 9125, Coxe Papers, XLVIII), [?1718], fol.7v.; [T.Martyn], *The English Connoisseur*, I, London, 1766, p.18; *Tour from Stow to Blenheim and Ditchley, the seats of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Litchfield*, London, [?1770], p.6; [W.F.Mavor], *New Description of Blenheim*, London, 1789, p.58; A.Ponz, *Viage fuera de España*, I, Madrid, 1791, p.289; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.242-243, No.829; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, II, p.43; Waagen, *Treasures*, III, p.126; Scharf, *Cat. Blenheim*, p.30; Rooses, IV, pp.168-169, No.945; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.444; W.Bode, *Rembrandt und seine Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1906, p.287; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.163-164, 223, pl.CCCLIII; Glück, *Liebesgarten*, pp.83, 87-89 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.132-134, 181, fig.80; K.d.K., p.425; Van Puyvelde, *Portraits*, pp.17-18 (repr.); Evers, *Rubens*, pp.446-449, 508, fig.250; J.Foucart, 'Un nouveau Rubens au Louvre: Hélène Fourment au carrosse', *La Revue du Louvre*, 1977, pp.343-353 (repr.); Bréjon-Foucart-Reynaud, p.121 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment is depicted full-length, standing on a flight of steps in front of a façade with monumental pilasters. She is in three-quarter view, looking directly at the spectator. She wears a low-cut dress of black and white satin with violet bows, a flat lace collar and a large jewel on her breast, to which is attached a double row of golden chains. Over her dress is a black hooded cloak, one flap of which she holds up in her right hand. Her pose, and this foreshortened architecture extending obliquely into the background, were already used by Rubens in his Italian period: they can be seen in a remarkably similar form in his *Portrait of Brigida Spinola Doria* in Washington, dating from 1606.¹

Standing on the right behind Hélène Fourment is a boy with a hat in his hand. Rooses identified him as Frans, the eldest son of Rubens's second marriage, born in 1633; Oldenbourg and Glück supported this opinion, and so recently have Jaffé and Foucart. On the strength of this, it was supposed that Rubens executed the painting in c.1639, shortly before his death, when the boy was about six years of age. However, another suggestion—made by Bode and Van Puyvelde—is that the boy is in fact Nicolaas, the youngest son of Rubens's first marriage, who also appears in the so-called *Walk in the Garden* in Munich, dating from c.1630 (No.139; Fig.192). Accordingly, in Bode's and Van Puyvelde's opinion, the portrait discussed here should be more or less contemporary with the Munich group portrait. Personally, I think that it is Hélène's eldest son Frans who is represented here. Indeed the child's stature and features seem to be those of a boy not much older than six years. At that very moment Hélène was about 25 years old. She certainly looks that age here, appearing as a mature woman and not as a girl of seventeen, as in the Munich

Walk in the Garden. Some iconographic details may confirm Hélène's status and qualities as a married woman. First and foremost, the conspicuous gesture with which she holds up the edge of the cloak is a motif borrowed via the Italian Renaissance from the antique *Pudicitia*, used by Rubens on several occasions to symbolize female chastity and modesty.² The background too contains what may be symbols of the married state. The monumental architecture on the right clearly resembles that of the sumptuous family dwelling at the Wapper, while on the left can be seen a thoroughfare with a carriage and two horses (Fig.104): these are a common symbol of concord, including marital harmony.³

Foucart thinks that this portrait did not belong to the 'gift' of paintings, which was more or less extorted from the City of Brussels by the Duke of Marlborough, in 1706. Yet that origin can hardly be doubted. Already in the first known inventory of the collection at Blenheim, the 'Marlborough Jewels and Pictures', probably dating from 1718, it is stated explicitly that 'Rubens Wife and Boy with a Coach' together with two other Rubens paintings was given to the duke 'by the Town of Brussels'.

1. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, No.41, fig.119.
2. An unidentified woman holds her veil in a similar manner in the *Portrait of a Lady*, formerly in the Rothschild collection in Paris and now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*K.d.K.*, p.58, right).
3. Harrebomée cites two old Dutch proverbs to the effect that a carriage is best drawn by two even-stepping horses: 'Als de paarden gelijk trekken, dan gaat de wagen wel' and 'Gelijke paarden trekken best' (P.J. Harrebomée, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal*, Utrecht, 1856-70, II, pp.160, 162). Erasmus in his *Christiani Matrimonii Institutio* speaks of marriage as 'biga quaedam coniugum' (*Desiderii Erasmi Roterdami Opera Omnia*, V, Leiden, 1704 (facs. ed., London, 1962), col.625; cf. also P. Huvenne, 'De liefdesallegorie van Pieter Pourbus', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXV, 1979-80, p.107.

100a. Hélène Fourment: Drawing

(Fig. 105)

Black and red chalk, heightened with white, partially reinforced with pen and brown ink; the figure has been cut out in silhouette and backed; the headdress has been retouched by a later hand with black chalk and brown wash; 612 × 550 mm. Fully mounted.

London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection, Inv. No.64.

PROVENANCE: Prince Charles of Lorraine (1712–1780); Count de Cuypers de Rijmenam, Brussels (d.1802); Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seq., lot 192; R. S. Holford, London (1808–1892); G. L. Holford, sale, London (Christie's), 17–18 May 1928, lot 3 (repr.); Count Antoine Seilern (1901–1978); bequeathed by the latter to the Courtauld Institute.

EXHIBITED: *Pictures ... of Mr. R. Holford*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1921–22, No.28; London, 1927, No.570; *Selected Dutch and Flemish Pictures of the XVIIth Century*, E. S. Wisselingh and Co., Amsterdam, 1932, No.14 (repr.); London, 1977, No.155 (repr.); *Mantegna to Cézanne. Master Drawings from the Courtauld Institute*, British Museum, London, 1983, No.57.

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p.204 [as *A female portrait*]; *Dillon, Rubens*, p.233; (R. Benson, ed.), *The Holford Collection at Westonbirt in Gloucestershire*, London, 1924, p.73, No.73; [C. Dodgson], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.203, No.570, pl.CXX; *Glück-Haberdtz*, pp.61–62, No.234 (repr.); A. J. J. Delen, *Flemish Masters of the 17th Century*, London, 1950, pp.22–23, No.20 (repr.); *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, p.102, No.64, pls.CXXI–CXXIV; J. Q. van Regteren Aletena, [Review of *Seilern, Flemish*

Paintings], in *Oud Holland*, LXX, 1955, p.177; A. E. Popham, [Review of *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*], in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, p.398; *Held, Drawings*, pp.21, 33, 115, 140, No.114, pl.125; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.322–323, No.201 (repr.); *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, No.105 (repr.); *Seilern, Corrigenda and Addenda*, pp.38–39; *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, p.117, No.155 (repr.).

A half-length frontal portrait of Hélène Fourment. She wears the same hooded cloak, and holds in her right hand the edge of a veil falling over her hair, in the same way as in the full-length portrait in the Louvre (No.100; Fig.103). In her left hand she holds a small book. Her jewellery, and the cut of her dress, are much the same in this drawing as in the Louvre portrait; however, in that portrait the sleeves of the dress are plain, whereas here they are ornamented with ribbons in two different tints.

In his catalogue of 1955, Count Seilern referred to this drawing as an 'independent work of art' and not a preparatory study. He dated it late, c.1635–38. This was contested by Van Regteren Altena and Held, who both placed it in the early 1630s, on account of the similarity of the costume to that of the Munich full-length portrait of c.1631 (No.96; Fig.85). In the light of their criticism Seilern changed his mind, and in the *Corrigenda and Addenda* to his catalogue he himself proposed a date of 1630–31.

Held already suggested that this drawing was related to the genesis of the portrait in the Louvre (No.100; Fig.103). Personally I am convinced that it is indeed a preliminary study for that portrait, although the latter shows Hélène not frontally but in three-quarter view to the right.

My chief reason is the resemblance between this drawing and that in the Albertina, Vienna (No.100b; Fig.106), on the reverse of which is a costume study (Fig.107) directly intended for the painting in the Louvre.

100b. Hélène Fourment: Drawing
(Fig. 106)

Black and red chalk, heightened with white chalk; 320 × 410 mm.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.8255.

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

EXHIBITED: Vienna, Albertina, 1977, No.53 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.280–281, No.1540 (as *Portrait d'une jeune femme*); *Michel, Rubens*, p.600 (repr.); *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.87, 89, pl.XII, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.133, fig.82; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.61, No.232 (repr.); E.Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina, 1977*, p.122, No.53 (repr.).

Hélène Fourment is shown slightly turned to the left, looking directly at the spectator. Although sketchier, this drawing is clearly related to that in the Princes Gate Collection (No.100a; Fig.105). It shows the same characteristic round face and full lips; the expression is so similar as to suggest that two different poses were recorded at about the same time. The connection between the two drawings is still more evident when it is observed that the dress in both of them appears to be the same: not only is the cut identical, but the sleeves have the same striped design.

The pose is more similar to that of the portrait of Hélène Fourment in the Louvre

(No.100; Fig.103), likewise in three-quarter view. However, the position of the head and arms is quite different, and in these details among others there is a remarkable similarity to the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.¹ This was pointed out by Glück and Haberditzl and also by Mitsch, in their respective catalogues of Rubens's drawings. Mitsch, accepting the identification of the Lisbon portrait as that of Hélène Fourment, regarded the present drawing as a direct study for it. Glück and Haberditzl rightly believed that the Lisbon portrait was not of Hélène Fourment, but thought, mistakenly, that it was of her sister Suzanna.² They therefore regarded the drawing in Vienna as a costume study of Hélène Fourment which was in fact only used later for the supposed portrait of Suzanna. They also assigned a late date to the drawing, c.1636–38.

My own view is that the present drawing is to be regarded—partly on account of the costume study on the reverse side (No.100c; Fig.107)—as a preparatory study for the portrait of Hélène Fourment in the Louvre; but that, at about the same time, it was also used to establish the pose in the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Gulbenkian collection, which represents neither Hélène nor her sister Suzanna.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.329.

2. See further under Nos.101, 102. The reasons for claiming that the portrait in the Gulbenkian Foundation cannot be of Suzanna Fourment are given under No.102.

100c. Drapery Study: Drawing
(Fig. 107)

Black and some red chalk, heightened with white chalk; 410 × 320 mm.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.8255.

PROVENANCE: See under No.100b.

EXHIBITED: Vienna, *Albertina*, 1977, No.52 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Schönbrunner-Meder*, VII, No.732; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, p.87, pl.XI, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.133, 181, figs.81, 100; *Burchard, Nachträge*, pp.388, 397; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.61, No.233 (repr.); *Evers, Rubens*, p.508; O.Benesch, *Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina*, Salzburg, 1964, No.150; E.Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, p.122, No.52 (repr.).

Meder was the first to recognize this drawing as a direct costume study for *Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens* in the Louvre in Paris (No.100; Fig.103).

In this drawing Rubens seems to have wished to reproduce the exact fall of the folds of *Hélène's* dress rather than the details of the costume itself, which is treated much more summarily. There is also a slight difference between the drawing and the painting as regards the subject's pose. In the costume study she is seen more from below, and more in three-quarter view.

100d. *Hélène Fourment as St Barbara* (Fig.108)

Oil on canvas; 179 × 99 cm.

Potsdam-Sanssouci, *Bildergalerie*.

Inv. No.10081.

PROVENANCE: Purchased for the collections of King Frederick II of Prussia, in 1755 or 1756; from 1829 till 1906 in the Royal Museum at Berlin.

LITERATURE: M.Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts in Sans-Souci*, Potsdam, 1764, No.72; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.106, No.351;

G.F.Waagen, *Verzeichnis der Gemäldesammlung des königlichen Museums zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1830, II, No.294; *Parthey, Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.361; P.Seidel, 'Friedrich der Grosse als Sammler von Gemälden und Skulpturen', *Jahrbuch der königlich preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XIII, 1892, p.191; E.Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, No.93 (repr.); id., in *Cicerone*, XXII, 1930, p.55; id., 'Ein unvollendetes Spätwerk von Rubens', *Pantheon*, VII, 1931, p.185 (repr.); *Burchard, Nachträge*, p.388; *Evers, Rubens*, p.448, fig.251; G.Eckardt, *Die Gemälde in der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1975, pp.68-69, No.52 (repr., as *School of Rubens*).

St Barbara holds a martyr's palm in her right hand, while the legendary tower with three windows is seen in the left background. Apart from these attributes, the picture is an exact repetition of No.100, and for these reasons has been regarded as authentic. Henschel-Simon and Burchard believed it to be a first version of the Paris portrait, which Rubens's pupils had changed into a St Barbara after his death. Evers too regarded it as a second autograph version, but one executed *after* the portrait in the Louvre. Götz Eckardt, who recently made a thorough study of the painting for his catalogue of Sanssouci, concluded that the whole of it was pupils' work. I entirely agree with this opinion: it appears to be a feeble, uninspired imitation of the masterpiece in the Louvre.

SUZANNA FOURMENT [101-102]

Suzanna Fourment (1599-1628) was an elder sister of *Hélène Fourment*. In 1617

she married Raymond del Monte, who, however, died before 1621. Her second husband, whom she married in 1622, was Arnold Lunden, a merchant and master of the Antwerp Mint.¹ Her daughter by her first marriage, Clara del Monte, was to marry Rubens's eldest son Albert in 1641.² Portraits of Suzanna Fourment are recorded in the possession of Rubens himself, his son Albert and his brother-in-law Arnold Lunden.

The earliest mention of portraits of Suzanna Fourment by Rubens dates from 1641. In that year Arnold Lunden acquired from Rubens's estate 'twee contrefeytsels van syne huysvrouwe voor de somme van 120 guldenen'.³ A third 'contrefeytsel van Jouffrouwe Lunden', valued at 300 guilders, was acquired from the estate by H  l  ne Fourment.⁴ Albert Rubens bought from his father's estate no fewer than four portraits of Suzanna Lunden-Fourment, but it seems less likely that these were originals by Rubens. A 'contrefeytsel van Jouffrouwe Lunden' is recorded among a series of copies;⁵ at the same time Albert purchased 'dry trognien vande selve op doeck', which were for a long time valued at only 30 guilders in all and were not clearly described as Rubens's own work.⁶ All these portraits were stated in the inventory to be the undivided property of H  l  ne Fourment and her children on the one hand and the two children of Rubens's first marriage on the other. It appears from this that all the 'contrefeytsels en trognien' were executed before the death of Rubens's first wife on 20 June 1626. The interest taken in them by Arnold Lunden, H  l  ne Fourment and Albert Rubens is to be explained on family grounds, as they were respectively Suzanna's widower, younger sister and son-in-law. The portraits acquired by Arnold Lunden and Albert Rubens are recorded later in their

possession and that of their respective descendants.

An inventory, dating from the 1640s, of pictures belonging to Arnold Lunden mentions successively: 'Un portrait de Susanne Rubens', valued at 150 guilders,⁷ 'Le portrait de Susanne Rubens', valued at 250 guilders,⁸ and '2 portraits, sujets de Susanne', valued together at 120 guilders.⁹ In view of the price it would seem that these last are identical with the two portraits that Lunden bought from his brother-in-law's estate in 1641. The incorrect name 'Susanne Rubens' may be due to a translator's error, as the document was originally in Dutch: perhaps it gave only the first name, followed by that of Rubens as the artist.

Arnold Lunden's portraits were inherited by his grandson, Arnold Lunden junior, whose mother Catharina married her cousin Willem Lunden. The inventory drawn up at the latter's death in 1692 described the portraits as: '2. Le portrait de Susanne Fourment ... peint par Rubens [valued at 150 guilders] ... 3. Autre portrait de la m  me par Rubens [valued at 120 guilders] ... 4. Autre de la m  me en berg  re par le m  me [valued at 250 guilders].'¹⁰ The three valuations agree with the figures for the respective portraits of Suzanna Fourment in the inventory of the 1640s. It also appears from the inventory of 1692 that most of the paintings listed there are valued at the same amount as in the earlier document.¹¹ It thus appears very likely that the more explicitly described portraits in the 1692 inventory are identical with the portraits of 'Susanna' or 'Susanne Rubens' that bear the same valuations in the inventory of the 1640s. There is one difference, however: in the older inventory two portraits of Suzanna are valued together at 120 guilders, whereas in 1692 the same figure is given

for a single portrait of Suzanna Fourment. Perhaps this discrepancy is due to a clerical error.

Some works from the original Lunden collection were owned by his descendants until after 1800. J. B. Descamps in 1752, G. P. Mensaert in 1763 and J. F. M. Michel in 1771 mention female portraits owned by members of the family, which can be connected with items in the seventeenth-century inventories and also with paintings that are still in existence. This will be shown in the discussion of the following catalogue entries 101 and 102.

There is also later mention of the portraits acquired by Albert Rubens. The inventory drawn up after his death on 1 October 1657 mentions 'het pourtraict van de grootmoeder Juffrouwe Susanne del Monte' and 'de twee contrefeytsels van de moeder van mevrouwe saliger'.¹²

1. For her biography see *Génard, Rubens*, p. 411, with the rather misleading statement that 'she was dead on 11 December 1643'. This must be based on a document of that date, not otherwise known, referring to her as deceased. Later writers, including myself (*Vlieghe, Lunden*, p. 175), have mistakenly inferred that she died on that date. I am much indebted to my colleague Dr Carl Van de Velde for his discovery in the Antwerp City Archives of a petition on behalf of Suzanna's children indicating that she died on 31 July 1628 ('den lesten der maent July') (Antwerp, Stadsarchief, PK.727 [Request-boek 1628], f. 149r.). In the light of this discovery it is also necessary to revise the dating of the Arnold Lunden inventory listing the different portraits of Suzanna by Rubens. In the study mentioned above, I dated it c. 1643–44, believing 1643 to be the date of her death; however, as I pointed out in the same article (p. 175), the inventory cannot have been drawn up before 1640. Mols, who included the French translation of the inventory in his *Rubenianna*, dated it between 1639 and 1649 (*ibid.*).

2. Cf. P. Génard, 'Clara del Monte en Deodatus van der Mont', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 6.

3. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 77–78, No. LVI.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 78, No. LXIII.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 78, No. LXIX.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 78, No. LXX.

7. Cf. *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p. 188, No. 54.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 190, No. 78.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 195, No. 106.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

12. M. Rooses, 'Staat ende Inventaris van den Sterff-huyse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens ende Vrouwe Clara del Monte', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, pp. 29–30.

101. Suzanna Fourment (Fig. 109)

Oil on panel; 68 × 58 cm.

Brussels, Private Collection.

PROVENANCE: Arnold Lunden (1595–1656), Antwerp, after 1640; Willem Lunden (1624–1692), son-in-law of the former; Arnold-Albert Lunden (born in 1646), son of the former, Antwerp, 1692; still in the Lunden family, Antwerp, in 1763; Pilaer and Beeckmans, dealers at Antwerp, 1785; Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840, lot c (as *Hélène Fourment*), withdrawn; d'Alcantara family, descendants of the former.

COPIES: (1) Painting, ?18th century, whereabouts unknown; panel, 67 × 59.5 cm. PROV. St. Petersburg, Gliboff Collection, until 1921; Lausanne, E. N. Broemmé, where still in 1959; (2) Engraving by Georges Maile, 1817 (*V.S.*, p. 160, No. 39).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1977*, No. 59 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Mensaert, Peintre*, I, p. 197; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 261, No. 882 (as *Hélène Fourment*); IX, p. 272, No. 103 (as a copy, *Hélène Fourment*); *Rooses*, IV, p. 182, under No. 953; *Burchard, Nachträge*, p. 389; *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p. 190 (repr.); W. Sauerländer, [Review of *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*], *Pantheon*, XXXV, 1977, p. 340 (as doubtful); *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, p. 625; J. Foucart, 'Rubens: l'année du quadricentenaire', *Encyclopaedia Universalis*, 1978, p. 512 (as doubtful); K. Renger, [Review of *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*], *Kunstchronik*,

XXXI, 1978, p.5 (as doubtful); *Vlieghe, Remarks*, pp.108–110, 114 (repr.).

A bust-length portrait. The sitter's body is seen in profile; her face, in a sharp light, is turned almost towards the spectator. Her hair is braided at the back. Her white dress, trimmed with red ribbon, amply displays her bosom. She wears a straw hat ornamented with wild flowers, and holds a shepherdess's crook in her right hand.

The identification of the sitter as Suzanna Fourment is based on the unmistakable resemblance to the portrait in the National Gallery in London (No.102; Fig.110) and also to the drawing in the Albertina (No.102a; Fig.113), which, according to the inscriptions on it, almost certainly represents Suzanna's features. On the strength of this identification it also seems likely, as Burchard first pointed out, that the present portrait is the one which belonged to Suzanna's husband shortly after 1640, which was also in the inventory of the estate of her son-in-law Willem Lunden in 1692, and which then passed to her grandson Arnold Lunden junior. In 1692 it was expressly described as a portrait 'en bergère'. It further seems likely that this work is identical with a portrait by Rubens of a woman '... coiffée d'un chapeau de paille, mais de façon que le visage est en reverbération de la clarté du soleil', which G.P.Mensaert saw in 1763 in the possession of the descendants of the Lunden-Fourment couple.

The present painting may also be identical with one seen by Descamps before 1753 in the same collection in Antwerp and described by him as: 'le Portrait d'une Demoiselle Lundens: La tête est couverte d'un chapeau qui y porte l'ombre ensorte que cette tête n'est éclairée que par la réflexion des lumières qui l'environnent'.

However, it is quite possible that this refers to the portrait in the National Gallery (No.102; Fig.110). A description of the same portrait by Michel in 1771 is ambiguous: 'La famille de Lunden à Anvers possède encore plusieurs éclatantes pièces de Rubens... Le second tableau dans ladite famille est le portrait d'une jeune Demoiselle, qui dans son tems passa pour la plus belle personne des 17 Provinces, elle y est représentée le chapeau de paille plumé en tête, qui met le visage dans un clair ombrage, & le grand jour donnant tout son éclat sur sa belle poitrine découverte, & sur le reste du corps, produit l'effet le plus enchantant...'.² There seems to be a mistake in the description of the hat. Either Michel took the wild flowers for feathers, in which case his painting may be identical with the present one, or else he mistook the material of which the hat is made, in which case he probably refers to the famous portrait in the National Gallery. At all events, the Lunden family possessed many portraits by Rubens. Mensaert mentions three others including 'une des femmes de Rubens';³ he also states that they came into the Lunden family by inheritance from Rubens.

The present work was formerly in the Schamp d'Aveschoot collection in Ghent as a portrait of Hélène Fourment. It is perhaps the one referred to by the Antwerp dealers Pilaer and Beeckmans, who on 5 August 1785 wrote triumphantly to Thomas Harvey in Norwich: 'Nous venons de faire la plus belle acquisition possible d'un beau Rubens. C'est le portrait de Helena Froment [*sic*], une des femmes de ce peintre. Elle est vêtue en bergère avec un chapeau de Paille, on voit le corps en profil, et elle a la tête tournée aux spectateurs...'. The letter adds that Sir Joshua Reynolds was interested in the painting, but offered too little for it.⁴ The sitter was

first identified as Suzanna Fourment by Burchard in 1933. Her guise as a shepherdess is typical of the style of portraiture which, from the early seventeenth century onwards, was an aspect of the pastoral fashion in Dutch and Flemish painting and literature.⁵ This pastoral symbolism had associations with eroticism and fertility, and there may be an allusion to this in the revealing *décolleté*.

Like catalogue entry 102, this portrait can be dated on stylistic grounds to the early 1620s: the sculptural quality and the placing of the sitter are comparable to such works of this period as the portrait of Isabella Brant at Cleveland (No.75; Fig.36). It seems to me possible that this and the following work (No.102; Fig.110) were painted on the occasion of, or in connection with, Suzanna's betrothal and marriage to Arnold Lunden in 1622.

The painting has been extensively cleaned and has lost much of its original brilliance. Partly for this reason, recent literature (see above) has treated it rather critically; but despite its much impaired state I see no reason to doubt its authenticity.

1. Descamps, *Vie*, p.324.

2. Michel, *Histoire*, p.330.

3. Mensaert, *Peintre*, I, loc. cit.

4. The originals of this and 29 other letters by Pilaer and Beeckmans are preserved in the Rembrandthuis, Amsterdam; transcriptions of these documents are at the Rubenianum, Antwerp.

5. The portrait of Suzanna Fourment bears a striking resemblance, in particular, to the numerous contemporary or somewhat later shepherdesses by Paulus Moreelse, some of which may be pastoral portraits (cf. C.H. de Jonge, *Paulus Moreelse, Portret- en genreschilder te Utrecht*, Assen, 1938, esp. figs. 167ff.). Comparison may also be made with Honthorst's *Shepherdess* of 1622 in the Centraal Museum, Utrecht (cf. J.R. Judson, *Gerrit van Honthorst. A Discussion of his Position in Dutch Art*, The Hague, 1959, pl.23).

102. Suzanna Fourment (Figs.110-112)

Oil on panel; 79 × 54.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. No.852.—*Verso*: the brand mark of the city of Antwerp and the initials MV (Michiel Vriendt).

PROVENANCE: ?Arnold Lunden (1595-1656), Antwerp, after 1640; ?Willem Lunden (1624-1692), son-in-law of the former; ?Arnold-Albert Lunden (born in 1646), son of the former, Antwerp, 1692; in the Lunden family through the 18th century; Jean-Michel-Joseph van Havre, husband of Cathérine-Anne-Marie Lunden, 1771; Jean-Michel-Antoine-Joseph van Havre (1764-1844), the former's son, Antwerp; sold to his father-in-law, Henri-Joseph Stier d'Aertselaer (1743-1821); the latter's sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 1; purchased by L.J. Nieuwenhuys, J. Foster and J. Smith; deposited with King George IV at Carlton House, London, 1823; sold by Smith to Robert Peel, in 1824; purchased with the latter's collection, in 1871.

COPIES: (1) Painting by A. van Ysendyck, 1821, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Paris, Mme Boursault, 1843; ?Col. J. T. Lutley, Bromyard, Herefordshire, 1941. LIT. J. Immerzeel, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders...*, III, Amsterdam, 1843, p.256; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (2) Drawing by Antonis Overlaet, 1768, whereabouts unknown. PROV. ?Van Havre family; Lord Northwick, sale, London (Christie's), 26 May 1838, lot 166. LIT. *Hours in the Picture Gallery at Thirlestaine House*, Cheltenham, 1846, p.82, No.DI; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (3) Miniature by Madame de Neuville, whereabouts unknown. LIT. 'Les copies du tableau "Le Chapeau de Paille" par Rubens', *Messenger des Sciences et des Arts*, 1824, p.325; Martin, *Cat. Natio-*

nal Gallery, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (4) Gouache by M. de Meulemeester. LIT. 'Les copies...', *op. cit.*, p.325; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (5) Drawing by J.M.W. Turner, whereabouts unknown. LIT. A.J. Finberg, *The Life of J.M.W. Turner*, London, 1939, p.281; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (6) Pastel by Andrew Geddes (1783-1844), Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Inv. No.1073a; 115 × 87.5 mm. LIT. K. Andrews and J.R. Brochie, *National Gallery of Scotland. Catalogue of Scottish Drawings*, Edinburgh, 1960, p.93, No.1073a; Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 181, under No.852; (7) Engraving by R. Cooper, 1823 (V.S., p.167, No.115, as *Hélène Fourment*); (8) Engraving by S.W. Reynolds, 1823 (V.S., p.167, No.117, as *Hélène Fourment*).

EXHIBITED: Mr. Stanley's Rooms, London, 1823, No.21; *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, National Gallery, London, 1946-47, No.52 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Reynolds, *Journey*, p.187; Paquet-Syphorien, *Voyage historique... pendant les années 1811, 1812 et 1813*, II, Paris, 1813, p.83; *Description des quatre superbes tableaux... par Rubens à vendre à l'aimable*, 1817, No.1; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.228-231, No.811; C.J. Nieuwenhuys, *A Review of the Lives and Works of Some of the Most Eminent Painters*, London, 1834, pp.204-205, 210-213; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, pp.278-280; C.M., 'Collection de Sir R. Peel', in *Le Cabinet de l'Amateur et de l'Antiquaire*, IV, Paris, 1845-46, pp.63-65, No.34; C.F.H., in *The Times*, 29 April, 1847; Waagen, *Treasures*, I, pp.398-399; Rooses, IV, pp.175-179, No.949; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.224; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.160, 195, No.4, pl.CCIX; Seymour de Ricci, 'Joséphine as a Rubens Buyer', *The Burlington Magazine*, XXII, 1912, p.170; Glück,

Liebesgarten, pp.90, 92-93 (repr.), reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.142 to 144 (repr., as *Bildnis einer Dame*); K.d.K., p.280; P. Jamot, 'Chapeau de Paille ou Chapeau de Poil?', *Annuaire des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1938, pp.157-161 (repr.); Evers, *Rubens*, pp.325, 487, 499, 507, 510; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.275-288, 356, figs.301, 302; P.B. Coremans, 'The Recent Cleaning of Rubens's Chapeau de Paille', *The Burlington Magazine*, XC, 1948, pp.257-261 (repr.); Martin, *Cat. National Gallery*, pp.174-182, No.852; *National Gallery Illustrated General Catalogue*, London, 1973, p.640, No.852 (repr.); O. Millar, *The Queen's Pictures*, London, 1977, p.154.

The sitter is seen almost full face, her body very slightly turned to the left. She wears a dark bodice with red sleeves. Over her shoulders is a whitish-grey shawl, which she holds in front with crossed hands. She wears lace sleeves, no collar and a low *décolleté*. She has on a broad-brimmed hat of dark felt with a large ostrich-feather. She is seen out of doors in bright sunlight, suggested even by the transparent shadow beyond her face.

Gregory Martin pointed out various *pentimenti*: 'the hat was first sketched in slightly higher and more to the left; only the thumb and forefinger of the sitter's left hand were first depicted; the thumb of her right hand was originally higher; part of her left cuff was shown; one of the gold tips to the bow on her left sleeve has been painted out; the shawl originally billowed out more to the right, and part of the white chemise on her right shoulder has been painted out'.

The arguments for the identification as Suzanna Fourment have been set out above (No.101; Fig.109). This portrait, like

the previous one, is to be dated between c.1620 and c.1625. Only Glück proposed a much later date, c.1630, and did not believe the sitter to be Suzanna Fourment. In its plasticity and use of space this painting is also closely comparable to that of Isabella Brant at Cleveland, of the same period (No.75; Fig.36), where we also find the typical luminosity and transparent shadows. Like the preceding work (No.101; Fig.109), this portrait is perhaps connected with Suzanna's betrothal and marriage to Arnold Lunden in 1622: Gregory Martin also drew attention to her prominently displayed engagement or wedding ring.

In discussing the preceding work I have pointed out that this portrait may well be identical with a painting formerly in the possession of the Lunden family, which was described by Descamps in 1753 and by Michel in 1771. For two centuries and until recently the present portrait was consistently given the erroneous title 'Chapeau de paille'. Gregory Martin, basing himself *inter alia* on Burchard's documentation, was able to show that this was due to a confusion which arose c.1770-80, at a time when the portrait began to be known among connoisseurs.¹

Suzanna Fourment's pose and hat in this portrait are remarkably similar to those in the *Portrait of a Lady* in the Gulbenkian collection in Lisbon. This is perhaps why some have identified the sitter in that portrait as Suzanna Fourment.² This is not so, however: the figure is of a different type, with a shorter and fatter face. Moreover, Suzanna Fourment had been dead some years when the Lisbon portrait was painted.

1. The following is a brief summary of Gregory Martin's argument. The title 'Chapeau de paille' was first certainly applied to the work by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1781. Its correctness was challenged as early as 1813 by Paquet-Syphorien (*op. cit.*, p.83: 'je

ne sais trop d'où lui est venu le nom de Chapeau de Paille, puisqu'en effet la femme est coiffée d'un vrai chapeau de feutre orné d'un plumet blanc'). Many attempts have been made to explain the anomaly, four hypotheses being advanced: (1) the word is a French corruption of the original Dutch 'Spaensch-Loedeken' (thus Smith, Waagen and Rooses); (2) it is a corruption of 'chapeau de poil' (first proposed by C.H.F. in *The Times*, *op. cit.*; later adopted in the National Gallery catalogues of 1911 and 1912, and by Paul Jamot); (3) the original 'Chapeau de feutre' was corrupted into 'Chapeau de feurre', an old French word for 'straw' (thus Vitale Bloch in 1948); (4) 'paille' is to be understood as 'parasol' or 'shelter from the sun', a meaning which it had till the 18th century (Evers). The confusion is without doubt due to the fact that from a certain time in the later part of the 18th century, Mensaert's description of the real 'chapeau de paille' (see under No.101) was wrongly applied to the present painting.

2. *K.d.K.*, p.324; for further details, see *Vlieghe, Remarks*, p.108 (repr.).

102a. Suzanna Fourment: Drawing

(Fig. 113)

Black and red chalk, heightened in white, traces of black ink (the eyes); 344 × 260 mm.; inscribed above in red chalk: *Suster van Heer Rubbens*; below, to the right, in brown ink: *P.P. Rubens*.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.17.651.

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

EXHIBITED: *Vienna*, 1930, No.202; *Antwerp*, 1930, No.435; *Zürich*, 1946-47, No.93; *Old Master Drawings from the Albertina*, The Arts Council of Great Britain, London, 1948, No.71 (repr.); *Paris*, 1949, No.102 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1949, No.98 (repr.); *Re-mekművek a Bécsi Albertinából*, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Budapest, 1966, No.68; *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.43 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.264-265, No. 1506, pl.420; *Schönbrunner-Meder*, V,

pl.527; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.88-90 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.136, 139-141, fig.86; H.Leporini, *Rubens. 8 Kupfertiefdrucke*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1923; *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p.51, No.162 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, I, pp.135, 137-138, under No.104; O.Benesch, *Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina*, Salzburg, 1964, XIII; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.176, 178, n.23; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, No.117 (repr.); *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p.191, n.78; E.Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, pp.102-103, No.43 (repr.).

The sitter is in three-quarter view facing right; her hair is braided at the back of her head. The expression is so similar to that of the portrait in the National Gallery in London (No.102; Fig.110) that I consider this must be a direct study for the latter work, drawn from life. Rubens probably made several chalk studies of Suzanna Fourment from different angles but with the same expression; one of these was undoubtedly a study of the same pose as the London portrait. I have already suggested a similar preparatory process for the *Portrait of Isabella Brant* in Cleveland (No.75; Fig.36). As I have also pointed out, that work is stylistically very similar both to the portrait of Suzanna Fourment in the National Gallery and to that in a private collection in Brussels (No.101; Fig.109). The preliminary study for the Cleveland Isabella Brant in the British Museum (No.75a; Fig.38) also closely resembles the present sheet in style, especially the sculptural modelling of the face with red chalk and white highlights, and the precise rendering of the hair. In view of this, the traditional dating of the sheet to about 1625 or 1626-27¹ must be shifted to the early 1620s. The inscription in the upper left corner, added after Ru-

bens's death, is also found in several other drawings in the Albertina, Vienna.²

1. E.g. *Glück-Haberdtztl*: c.1626-27; O.Benesch, *loc. cit.*: c.1625; *Kuznetsov, Risunki*: c.1625; E.Mitsch, *loc. cit.*: c.1626-27.

2. Cf. the list published in *Held, Drawings*, I, p.138; see also under Nos. 80a and 115a.

103. A Member of the Fourment Family

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Painting (Fig.114), Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv. No.RF.2122; for references, see under No.104.

See, for further comment, No.104.

104. A Member of the Fourment Family (Fig.114)

Oil on panel; 63 × 47.5 cm., oval.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. RF.2122.

PROVENANCE: H.J.Stier d'Aertselaer, sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 12 (as *Portrait de jeune femme vue de profil*); Edward Gray; Baron de Schlichting, Paris; bequeathed to the Louvre by the latter, in 1914.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No.357.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.227, No.806 (as *Hélène Fourment*); J.Guiffrey, 'Collection de M. le Baron de Schlichting', *Les Arts*, L, February, 1906, pp.4, 7 (repr.); *Rooses, Vlaamsche Kunst*, p.12 (as not *Suzanna Fourment*); *Fierens-Gevaert*, I, p.84, pl. XXXIV (as not *Suzanna Fourment*); *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.87, 89-90 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.136-139, fig.85; *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p.191 (repr.); *Bréjon-Foucart-Reynaud*, p.122 (repr., as a copy).

The sitter is in full profile to the left, with a low *décolleté*. The portrait proper is enclosed in a *trompe-l'œil* cartouche.

Jean Guiffrey first identified the sitter as Suzanna Fourment in 1906; previously she was thought to be Héléne Fourment. The identification as Suzanna was upheld in later publications, including an article by myself in 1977. However, the difference between this lean face, with markedly thin lips, and the fuller features of Suzanna as we see them in the portraits in a Brussels private collection (No.101; Fig.109) and the National Gallery (No.102; Fig.110) seems to me too great to justify this long-standing identification. One of the main arguments in support of it is the seventeenth-century inscription on the study for this portrait, or the original thereof, in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam (No.104a; Fig.115), which reads: 'Mademoiselle forment sœur de la seconde femme de Rubens'. But the inscription is no longer visible and was in any case not made on the drawing itself but affixed to the mount. I am prepared to accept, with reservation, that the text does apply to the drawing and that what it says is true; but it is very general, and could equally refer to one of Héléne's other sisters.

Burchard too regarded the portrait as original, but its authenticity is no longer accepted in the recent Louvre catalogue, and I agree with this view.

Rubens used the same female profile on the right of the *Garden of Love* in Madrid.¹ The generally accepted dating of that picture to the early 1630s therefore seems to me appropriate for the original of the present portrait and the preliminary study in Rotterdam.

104a. A Member of the Fourment Family: Drawing (Fig.115)

Black, red and white chalk; 388×280mm. Formerly, a sheet of paper was pasted on the mount with the following 17th-century inscription: *Mademoiselle forment sœur de la seconde femme de Rubens.*

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. Inv. No.V58.

PROVENANCE: Mrs L.M.Bancroft, sale, London (Sotheby's), 16 May 1928, lot 51 (repr.); F.W.Koenigs, Haarlem (1881-1941); purchased by D.G. van Beuningen, Rotterdam and Vierhouten (1877-1955), in 1940, and presented by him to the Museum Boymans in 1941.

EXHIBITED: *Ausstellung alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz*, Kunstverein, Düsseldorf, 1929, No.87 (repr.); *Amsterdam, 1933*, No.123 (repr.); *Meesterwerken uit vier eeuwen, 1400-1800*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1938, No.346 (repr.); *Brussels, 1938-39*, No.19 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1939*, No.21 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1948-49*, No.131; *Paris, 1949*, No.101; *Brussels, 1949*, No.97; *Rotterdam, 1952*, No.68; *Antwerp, 1956*, No.101 (repr.); *Třicetiletí Nizozemské Kresby, 1400-1700*, Kinsky Palace, Prague, 1966, No.46 (repr.); *Dessins flamands et hollandais du dix-septième siècle*, Institut néerlandais, Paris, 1974, No.98 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p.51, No.161 (repr.); T.Borenius, in *Pantheon*, I, 1928, p.167; E.Haverkamp-Begemann, *Vijf eeuwen tekenkunst, tekeningen van Europese meesters in het Museum Boymans te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1957, p.28, No.31; *Held, Drawings*, p.137, No.104, pl.114; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.213-214, No.136 (repr.); *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp.178-179, under No.852; *Vlieghe, Lunden*, p.191, n.78.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.348.

The sitter faces left, in slightly three-quarter view. Her hair-style is the same as in the profile portrait in Paris (No.104; Fig.114), but she is differently dressed: instead of the low *décolleté* she wears here a bodice fastened to the top and a flat upright lace collar.

A strip of paper was formerly attached to the mount of this drawing, with the above-cited text in a seventeenth-century hand. The strip disappeared after the sale of 16 May 1928.¹ Since the drawing was first published by Glück and Haberditzl in 1928 it has always been regarded, partly on account of the text, as a portrait of Suzanna Fourment; however, Gregory Martin rightly doubted whether it was a likeness of her. Under the preceding catalogue entry I have suggested the possibility of a different interpretation of the text.

As I suggested with regard to the studies for the portraits of Isabella Brant at Cleveland (No.75a; Fig.38) and Suzanna Fourment in the National Gallery, London (No.102a; Fig.113), this drawing was also, in my opinion, one of a series representing the sitter in different poses.

1. A facsimile of this text appears below the reproduction of the drawing in the above-mentioned sale catalogue of 16 May 1928.

105. Frans Francken the Elder
(Fig. 116, 118)

Oil on panel; 61 × 47 cm., oval.
Montpellier, Musée Fabre. Inv. No.833-1-I.

PROVENANCE: Chevalier Erard, sale, Paris, 7 August 1832, lot 127 (as *Portrait du Graveur Bolswert*); purchased by François-Xavier-Pascal Fabre, 1833; bequeathed by him to the city of Montpellier in 1837.

COPIES: (1) Left half of the *Portrait of Frans Francken the Elder and his Wife*, painting by Cornelis de Vos, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Münster, private collection, 1939. EXH. *Meister holländischer und flämischer Malerei aus westfälischem Privatbesitz*, Landesmuseum, Münster, 1939, No.81. LIT. K.Langedijk, 'Ein Bildnis Frans Franckens I., gemalt von Frans Pourbus dem Jüngeren, in den Uffizien zu Florenz', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IX, 1960, p.263 (repr.); (2) Painting (Fig.117), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 32.100.37; panel, 64 × 48.5 cm. PROV. Leopold II, King of the Belgians (1835-1909); Cronberg, A. de Ridder, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 2 June 1924, lot 59 (as *Rubens*); purchased by Kleinberger; New York, Michael Friedsam, c.1926; bequeathed by the latter to the Metropolitan Museum in 1931. LIT. C.J.Holmes, 'Pictures lately in the collection of the King of the Belgians', *The Burlington Magazine*, XV, 1909, p.238 (repr.); W.Bode, *La galerie de tableaux de feu M.A. de Ridder*, Berlin, 1913, p.19, pl.73; R.Oldenbourg, *Die flämische Malerei des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1922, p.66, fig.29 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Baetjer, Cat. New York*, I, p.161; III, p.372 (repr., as *Workshop of Rubens*); *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, pp.224-225, pl.85 (as *Workshop of Rubens*); (3) Painting, Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut; panel, 58.5 × 42.7 cm. PROV. Purchased from Dr Grambs, 1817. LIT. H.Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemäldegalerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1900, p.104, No.133; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 53.5 × 42 cm. PROV. Seighford Hall, Staffordshire, Major R.E.Eld, sale, London (Christie's), 12 February 1960, lot 52 (as *A. van Dyck*); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Berlin, Julius Böhler, 1929; (6) Etch-

ing by A. van Dyck (Fig. 119). LIT. *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, p. 15, No. 6 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *Les chefs-d'œuvre du Musée de Montpellier*, Orangerie, Paris, 1939, No. 122; *Meisterwerke des Museums in Montpellier*, Kunsthalle, Bern, 1939, No. 98; *London, 1953-54*, No. 206; *Le portrait à travers les collections du Musée Fabre*, Musée Fabre, Montpellier, 1979, No. 2; *Tokyo, 1985*, No. 49 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p. 225, No. 799 (as A. van Dyck); A. van Hasselt, *Histoire de P. P. Rubens*, Brussels, 1840, p. 336, No. 1078; *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Province. Monuments civils*, I, Paris, 1878, p. 258 (as ?Rubens); *Rooses*, IV, pp. 182-183 (as A. van Dyck); H. Weizsäcker, *Catalog der Gemälde-Galerie des Städelschen Kunstinstituts in Frankfurt am Main*, Frankfurt am Main, 1900, p. 104, under No. 133 (as A. van Dyck); *K.d.K.*, van Dyck, ed. Schaffer, p. 144 (as A. van Dyck); A. Joubin, *Musée Fabre, Montpellier. Catalogue des Peintures et Sculptures*, Paris, 1926, No. 276; H. Vey, *Van Dyck Zeichnungen*, Brussels, 1962, p. 319 (as a version of lesser quality than Copy [2]); K. Langedijk, 'Ein Bildnis Frans Franckens I., gemalt von Frans Pourbus dem Jüngeren, in den Uffizien zu Florenz', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, IX, 1960, pp. 259-264 (repr.); *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, I, p. 225 (as probably a workshop replica); D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo, 1985*, pp. 48-49, No. 49 (repr.).

A shoulder-length portrait. The sitter is seen nearly full face and looks directly at the spectator. He is dressed in black, with a flat white collar. He holds his cloak over his shoulders with his right hand. I have discussed the origin of this pose under No. 90.

The sitter can be identified as the painter Frans Francken I (1542-1616) thanks to the portrait etching by Van Dyck (Fig. 119) after Rubens's prototype, which also appears in the *Iconography*.

The present portrait may have been modified into an oval shape as late as the eighteenth century. The original rectangular form can be seen in a number of copies, the best of which probably is the example in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Fig. 117). It seems to me quite likely that Rubens painted this portrait of his fellow-artist at the time of the latter's death in 1616; at all events, the sculptural use of lighting is a stylistic feature which does not conflict with that date.

106. Jan-Gaspar Gevartius (Fig. 122)

Oil on panel; 119 × 98 cm.—*Verso*: the monogram MIV of Michiel Vriendt and the brand of Antwerp. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. No. 706.

PROVENANCE: Jan-Gaspar Gevartius; Carel-Jacob de Sivory, Gevartius's grandson; inherited, after the latter's death, by the children of Jan Roose and Marie de Kinschot, daughter of Ambrosius Kinsschot and Anna Gevaerts, Jan-Gaspar's sister; Roose sale, Antwerp, 8 May 1798 (19 Floréal VI), lot 1, apparently withdrawn; in possession of the Roose family until 1830; Philippe Gillès, 's Gravenwezel; bequeathed to the Museum by the latter in 1874.

COPIES: (1) Painting (head and shoulders only) by ?T. Willeboirts Bosschaert, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus; canvas, 64 × 50.5 cm. PROV. Balthasar Moretus II. LIT. M. Rooses, *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1922, pp. 13-14, No. 9;

M. Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1928, pp.90, 116 (repr.); (2) Painting (head and shoulders only), Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay, No.102; panel, 54 × 42 cm. PROV. P.J. de Marneffe, sale, Brussels, 16 May 1809, lot 14; J. Reiset, sale, Paris, 29 April 1870, lot 5 (as A. van Dyck); De Beurnonville, sale, Paris, 12 May 1881, lot 439; J. Dollfuss, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 2 March 1912, lot 16. EXH. *Exposition des Orphelins d'Alsace-Lorraine*, Louvre, Paris, 1885, No.437. LIT. E. Jonas, *Collections léguées à la ville de Paris par Ernest Cognacq*, Paris, 1930, p.33, No.102 (as Rubens); (3) Painting (head and shoulders only), whereabouts unknown; 52 × 43 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 26 October 1973, lot 115; (4) Engraving by P. Pontius (Fig. 121; V.S., p.183, No.249).

EXHIBITED: Antwerp, 1927, No.28; London, 1953-54, No.212; *Roem der Belgische Gemeenten*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1960, No.260.

LITERATURE: D. Papebrochius, *Annales Antwerpienses*, [c.1700; ed. F.H. Mertens and E. Buschmann, Antwerp, 1848], pp.259, 276; Michel, *Histoire*, pp.254, 255, 360; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.264, No.892; Rooses, IV, pp.186-187, No.958; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.302; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.152-153, 190, No.22, pl.CCXCIII; *K.d.K.*, p.304; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.157; G. Gepts, 'Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1954-60, p.84; J.S. Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p.36; Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, p.56, pl.166; Warnke, *Rubens*, pp.99-100, fig.53.

Jan-Gaspar Gevaerts or Gevartius (Antwerp, 1593-1666), son of the Antwerp lawyer and city secretary of Turnhout,

Johannes (Jan) Gevartius, studied law and the humanities at Louvain University. He was internationally famous as a classical scholar, notably for his critical edition of Statius; he also wrote an unpublished commentary on the work of the Stoic Emperor Marcus Aurelius. He was a close friend of Rubens and provided for the humanistic education of the painter's eldest son Albert. He held the office of Antwerp town clerk without interruption from 1621 to 1662, and as such was responsible for the organization of civic festivities on solemn occasions and for the Latin inscriptions connected therewith: most notably the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* of 1635, which was also the most fruitful result of his friendship and cooperation with Rubens.¹

The sitter's identity is made clear by the inscription beneath the engraving made posthumously by Paul Pontius (Fig. 121).² Gevartius is shown to knee-length, seated in a chair, in three-quarter view—almost in profile, but looking directly at the spectator. He wears black official costume with a starched fluted ruff. He is seen writing, with a quill pen in his right hand, his left resting on an open manuscript. Facing him on the desk to the left is a bust of Marcus Aurelius, and behind it, against the wall, a bookshelf with four books.

We do not know on what occasion this work was painted. It was no doubt commissioned by Gevartius himself. The earliest known mention of it is by Papebrochius, who records it, shortly before 1714, as belonging to Gevartius's grandson Carel-Jacob de Sivori. As the latter died childless, the portrait was inherited by the Roose family, descendants of Gevartius's sister Anna, who married Ambrosius de Kinsschot and whose daughter married Jan Roose.³ The painting still be-

longed to a descendant of the collateral line in 1771, when it was mentioned in Michel's biography of Rubens—the first record of it since Papebrochius.

Rooses dated the portrait c.1628, and this has since been generally accepted; only Burchard proposed a date c.1631, just after Rubens's period of extended foreign travel in 1628–30. Rooses's date seems to me in any case the earliest possible: the portrait already shows the freer execution that characterizes Rubens's *ultima maniera*. However, Rooses may have been influenced by the fact that in 1628 Gevartius was engaged in research on Marcus Aurelius. On 24 December of that year Rubens wrote to Gevartius that at the latter's request he had tried, unsuccessfully, to trace writings by the emperor in private libraries in Spain.⁴ The prominence of the bust of Marcus Aurelius in the portrait may have suggested it was painted at or soon after a time when Gevartius was concentrating on the latter's work.

Unlike many other humanistic portraits by Rubens, this one makes a rather stereotyped impression. We do not find here the baroque compositional scheme or Titianesque bravura that lend such directness to the portraits of, for example, Ophovius (No.126; Fig.155), Van Thulden (No.152; Fig.220), Nonnius (No.124; Fig.152) or Turquet de Mayerne.⁵ There is also no attempt to suggest a concentrated sculptural effect. The depiction of the sitter in semi-profile works against this, and the anecdotal, descriptive element is strongly emphasized, with loving attention to the books and bust indicating the humanist's profession. All these are stylistic attributes which relate the portrait not so much to the Italian Renaissance as to early Netherlandish prototypes.

This impression is confirmed if we com-

pare the portrait with its probable counterpart. In 1944 Edith Greindl published a portrait, attributed by her to Cornelis de Vos, of Jan Gevartius, Jan-Gaspar's father (Fig.120).⁶ This closely resembles Rubens's portrait in several ways: it is on panel and of the same dimensions, and the sitter is on the same scale in relation to the picture surface; his pose is similar, but in reverse; the details are even more emphasized than in Rubens's painting. On these grounds, Greindl supposed that father Gevartius's portrait may have been a pendant commissioned at a later date by the younger Gevartius to form a kind of diptych with the portrait of himself. The resemblances indeed seem to me too striking to be accidental, but I wonder if the portrait supposedly by De Vos is not the earlier of the two. It is even more anecdotal and old-Netherlandish in style than the other, and its existence might have obliged Rubens, in his own work, to take more account of the old tradition. Be that as it may, the two portraits together are highly reminiscent of a famous Netherlands diptych of the early sixteenth century, the portraits of Erasmus and Petrus Aegidius painted by Quinten Metsijs in 1517 for Sir Thomas More.⁷ Gevartius and Rubens certainly knew this double portrait or one of its many copies. Jan-Gaspar Gevartius, as a humanist, may have felt an affinity with Metsijs's sitters, and moreover Petrus Aegidius, like Gevartius senior and junior, was in his time a city official.

Despite its old-fashioned style, Rubens's portrait was not without influence, especially on related works with a humanist connection. As Held pointed out, Rembrandt must have been influenced by Pontius's engraving after this portrait in his *Aristotle* (in the Metropolitan Museum, New York).

1. For Gevartius's biography see M. Hoc, *Le déclin de l'humanisme belge. Étude sur Jean-Gaspard Gevaerts, philologue et poète (1593-1666)*, Brussels, 1922.
2. As Held (*loc. cit.*) rightly pointed out, this work cannot have been executed before 1644, in which year Gevartius became 'Counsellor and historiographer' to the Emperor Ferdinand III (cf. M. Hoc, *op. cit.*, p. 54). In the engraving he wears a portrait medallion of the emperor and is described in the inscription as holding the above-mentioned office, whereas in the painting he wears no decoration.
3. For the genealogy of Gevartius and his descendants see Baron de Herckenrode, *Complément au Nobiliaire des Pays-Bas et du Comté de Bourgogne*, Ghent, 1864, pp. 74ff.
4. 'Ick hebbe, Mynheere, ecnighe diligentien ghedaen om te vernemen oft in eenighe particuliere bibliotheken iet meer te vinden waere van Uwen Marcus, als tghene tot noch toe bekendt is maer en hebbe tot noch toe niet becomen non desunt tamen qui affirmant se vidisse in inclita illa diui Laurentij penu codices ms⁹ duos, D. Marci titulum praeferentes, sed ex circumstantijs, pondere et facie cod^m (erat enim mihi cum homine minime Graeco negocium), nihil magni aut noui auguror, sed vulgaria reor quae jam dudum exstant Marci opera esse. Si que lux aut sordium eluuiis ex illorum collatione erui possit, non est meum perscrutari, quem tempus et vitae ratio et institutum alio auocant et prae ceteris idiotismus ab intimis istis Musarum penetralibus procul arceat'. ('I have made some effort to learn whether in the private libraries something more is to be found about your Marcus than is already known. So far I have not discovered anything. However, there are some who affirm that in the famous Library of San Lorenzo they have seen two manuscripts bearing the name of Marcus Aurelius. But from the description of the weight and appearance of the volumes (for I was talking with a man who knew not a word of Greek) I augur nothing new or important. I believe they contain only the familiar and already long-known works of Marcus. Whether there is any light to be gained from collating the texts, or it is simply a mass of rubbish, I am not the one to do the research. For my time, my mode of life, and my studies draw me in another direction, and besides, my ruling genius keeps me away from this intimate sanctuary of the Muses'); (*Rooses-Ruelens*, V, pp. 14-15; translated by R. Saunders-Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, pp. 293-295).
5. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, No. 47, fig. 128.
6. Oil on panel; 120 × 98 cm.; Turnhout, Museum Taxandria. Edith Greindl (*Corneille de Vos, portraitiste flamand*, Brussels, 1944, p. 117) says that the portrait, then in a private collection, is fully signed by De Vos; however, recent cleaning proved this signature to be false. The traditional identification as Jan Gevartius is corroborated by Adriaan Lommelin's engraving after Erasmus Quellinus II, representing

Jan Gevartius's epitaph (cf. F. Baudouin, 'Het epitaaf van Jan Gevaerts', *Liber Amicorum Léon Voet*, Brussels, 1985, p. 490 [repr.]). Gevartius's features can be compared to those in the bust portrait of the scholar, by which the epitaph is decorated. Furthermore, we see there the arms and the emblematical dove of peace, which also appear in the Turnhout painting.

7. See for these portraits, their replicas, copies and pedigree: *Friedländer*, VII, p. 64, Nos. 36-37, pls. 40-41. Jaffé saw a source of inspiration in the similar pose of Claudio Merulo, painted by Annibale Carracci (Naples, Pinacoteca Nazionale; *Jaffé, Rubens and Italy*, pl. 165). I think it more probable, however, that both Carracci and Rubens, independently of each other, followed an older model.

107-108. TWO PENDANTS: PETER VAN HECKE (?) AND HIS CONSORT, CLARA FOURMENT(?)

107. Peter van Hecke (?) (Fig. 123)

Oil on panel; 115 × 90 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Vicomtesse de Spoelberch; Léon Gauchez; purchased from the latter by Baron Edouard de Rothschild, before 1890; in the Rothschild collection, Paris and Geneva, until recently; Colnaghi's, New York.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 125), whereabouts unknown; panel, 113 × 90 cm. PROV. Baron von Grote; purchased in Brussels by Hackenbroich; Frankfurt am Main, Baron Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1926); Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1950). EXH. *Meisterwerke alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1926, No. 58 (repr.). LIT. *Duverger, Van Hecke*, p. 163, n. 93.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, pp. 192-193, No. 966; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 172; *Glück, Review*, p. 58, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 161 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Bode, Kritik und Chronologie*, pp. 200-201 (as

A. van Dyck); K.d.K., *Van Dyck, ed. Schäffer*, p.149 (as *A. van Dyck*); K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, p.106 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Duverger, Van Hecke*, p.163; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Portraits of Nicolaas Rockox and others', *Apollo*, CXIX, 1984, pp.275-281 (repr.).

The sitter, with a wide moustache and short pointed beard, is shown standing and facing the spectator, but with his body in three-quarter view to the right. He wears a black costume with a cape over his shoulders and a flat lace collar; in his left hand he holds a broad-brimmed hat. The background is for the most part hidden by a curtain; only on the right is there a column base with a patch of sky beyond.

Max Rooses was the first to publish this and the next portrait (No.108; Fig.124). He does not give arguments for identifying the sitters with Peter van Hecke II and Clara Fourment. There was no doubt an old tradition to that effect, and it should not be dismissed as baseless, since we have here less well-known members of Rubens's family circle. In my opinion this old identification deserves more credit than, for example, the association of countless portraits of ladies with the names of Isabella Brant or Hélène Fourment. Peter van Hecke II was born at Antwerp in 1591 and in 1612 married Clara Fourment, daughter of the tapestry and silk merchant Daniël Fourment, whose partner and successor he later became. He was Rubens's brother-in-law through the latter's marriage in 1630 to Clara's younger sister Hélène. Peter van Hecke died at Antwerp on 15 March 1645.¹

The attribution to Rubens, proposed by Rooses, also seems to be based on an old tradition that can no longer be verified. It was disputed by later authors such as

Schaeffer, Bode and Glück, who believed the portraits to be by Van Dyck. Burchard expressed the same view in his notes. Both Rooses and the critics who contested Rubens's authorship of the portraits dated them c.1618. I have not been able to see the originals and can only judge from photographs, but it appears to me that the ascription to Van Dyck cannot be justified and that a reattribution to Rubens should be seriously considered. During the preparation of this catalogue raisonné Jaffé, in a recent article, also came to the same conclusion. Like Jaffé, I would date the works later than has hitherto been supposed, viz. after 1630. It seems to me that the freer brushwork and the gently merging shadows in the faces and hands are comparable with other portraits by Rubens dating from after 1630, such as the late *Self-Portrait* in Vienna (No.137; Fig.180). A second, even stronger argument for a late dating is afforded by the drawings for Rubens's *St Cecilia* in Berlin,² dating from the 1630s, on the reverse of Rubens's drawn sketch for the portrait of Peter van Hecke in the British Museum (No.107a; Fig.127). These drawings, as Jaffé has also stressed, lend important further support to the ascription of the present two portraits to Rubens. A late dating for this portrait would tend to confirm the traditional identification of the couple: the corpulent Peter van Hecke looks more like a man of 40 than one of 27, which would be his age if the portraits dated from c.1618.

There is a second version of this set of portraits: in 1950 it was sold at Brussels and since then its whereabouts are unknown. As far as can be concluded from the photographs, the quality of these portraits, which are likewise painted on panel, does not seem to be much inferior to that of the ex-Rothschild set. However,

since I have not seen these paintings, I think it preferable to list them here—at least provisionally—as copies (Figs. 125, 126).

1. For Van Hecke and the Fourments, see especially *Duverger, Van Hecke* and E. Duverger, 'Hecke, Peter II van, handelaar en kunstverzamelaar', in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, V, Brussels, 1972, cols. 435-440.
2. Cf. *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, pp. 127-129, No. 82, fig. 144.

107a. Peter van Hecke (?): Drawing

(Fig. 127)

Black chalk; 413 × 345 mm.; inscribed by an 18th-century hand, in the right corner below: *Rubens*; below, to the left, the mark of R. Cosway (L.628); below, to the right, the marks of J. Thane (L.1544), J. Richardson Senior (L.2432) and (in the corner) T. Hudson (L.2432).

London, British Museum.

Inv. No. 1895-5-9-48.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779); J. Thane (London, 1782-1846); R. Cosway (London, 1740-1821); W. Russell (London, 1800-1884).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1974, No. 86; *London*, 1977, No. 81 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hind, Rubens*, pp. 28-29, No. 91 (repr.); *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p. 530 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings*, pp. 76-77, No. 81 (repr.); *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, p. 628; K. Renger, [Review of *Cat. Exh. London*, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p. 136; D. Freedberg, 'L'Année Rubens, manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIX, 1978, p. 90, n. 19 (as *A. van Dyck*); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Portraits of Nicolaas Rockox and others', *Apollo*, CXIX, 1984, pp. 276, 280 (repr.).

The sitter is shown to knee-length. Compared to the final work, he is seen more from below and his body is more in profile.

The drawings on the reverse are directly connected with Rubens's *St Cecilia* in Berlin, dating from the 1630s.¹ Although Hind had pointed this out, the studies continued to be overlooked. As noted above (see under No. 107), they are an important argument for attributing the portraits of Peter van Hecke and Clara Fourment to Rubens and dating them in the 1630s.

1. Reproduced in *Cat. Exh. London*, 1977, p. 77, No. 81v.; for the Berlin picture, see *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, No. 82, fig. 144; I failed to list the studies on the back of the drawing discussed here.

108. Clara Fourment (?) (Fig. 124)

Oil on panel; 115 × 90 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Vicomtesse de Spoelberch; Léon Gauchez; purchased from the latter by Baron Edouard de Rothschild, before 1890; in the Rothschild collection, Paris and Geneva, until recently; Colnaghi's, New York.

COPY: Painting (Fig. 126), whereabouts unknown; panel, 113 × 87 cm. PROV. Baron von Grote; purchased in Brussels by Hackenbroich; Frankfurt am Main, Baron Max von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1926); Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild (1950). EXH. *Meisterwerke alter Malerei aus Privatbesitz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1926, No. 59 (repr.). LIT. *Duverger, Van Hecke*, p. 163, n. 93.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p. 160, No. 934; *K.d.K., ed Rosenberg*, p. 173; *Glück, Review*, p. 58, reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 161 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Bode, Kritik*

und *Chronologie*, pp.200-201 (as *A. van Dyck*); *K.d.K., Van Dyck, ed. Schäffer*, p.150 (as *A. van Dyck*); *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.107 (as *A. van Dyck*); *Duverger, Van Hecke*, p.163; *M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Portraits of Nicolaas Rockox and others', Apollo*, CXIX, 1984, pp. 275-281 (repr.).

The sitter is shown to knee-length, seated in an armchair. As with the portrait of her husband (No.107; Fig.123), her body is in three-quarter view to the left, while she seems to be gazing at the spectator. She wears a pearl necklace, large pearl earrings and a starched cartwheel ruff. Her black costume is relieved only by white cuffs and a long row of buttons in front. She wears her hair in a chignon at the back, ornamented by a diadem. In her right hand she holds a fan of ostrich feathers. On the left, as in the companion portrait, is a curtain in front of a column; this is parted to reveal a river landscape, probably inspired by the Scheldt, with a two-masted ship. Very recently Eddy de Jongh argued persuasively that similar vistas with a sailing merchant-vessel, appearing in the background of certain Dutch seventeenth-century portraits of married women, are to be considered as metaphors for the virtuous housewife.¹ It seems very likely that in this case too the briskly sailing vessel approaching the coast may have the same connotation.

Like its counterpart, the painting is stylistically akin to other portraits of the 1630s. If this depicts Clara Fourment, born in 1593, she would be about 40 years old, which is compatible with her appearance in the portrait.

1. This metaphor finds its origin in Proverbs 31: 10-14 — 'Who shall find a valiant woman? Far and from the uttermost coasts is the price of her... she is like the merchant's ship, she bringeth her bread

from afar'. As De Jongh (*Portretten van echt en trouw* [Cat. Exh.] Haarlem, 1986, p.209) made clear, this text was paraphrased again in Dutch moralizing literature from the late 16th century onwards.

109. *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (Fig. 128)

Oil on panel; 56.8 × 44 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ?Arnold Lunden (1595-1656), Antwerp, after 1640; ?van Schorel sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 9; Lunden family, Brussels; O.Wertheimer, Paris, since c.1952; private collection, Switzerland (1962).

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No.50 (repr.); *Elewijt*, 1962, No.5 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Haverkamp Begemann, Olieverfschetsen*, pp.70-71, No.50 (repr.); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.116 (as a workshop replica); *Vlieghe, Lunden*, pp. 195-196 (repr.).

This sketch-like bust of the Infanta is generally taken to be the prototype, done from life, of the official portrait painted by Rubens in 1625 (see further, under No.110).

110. *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (Fig. 129)

Oil on canvas; 120.5 × 90 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840, lot 239; purchased by Mme Durré for Henry H. Gibbs, first Lord Aldenham; on sale as

property of Lord Aldenham, London (Christie's), 10 December 1954, lot 84 (repr.), apparently withdrawn; Lord Aldenham sale, London (Christie's), 29 May 1981, lot 143 (repr., as *Studio of Rubens*).

COPIES: (1) Painting, Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Inv. No.4263; canvas, 116 × 96 cm. PROV. First mentioned in the Grand-Ducal Collections of Tuscany, at Florence, c.1654–55. EXH. *Florence, 1977*, No.92 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.115–116, n.10; D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Florence, 1977*, p.218, No.92 (repr.); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 115 × 85 cm. PROV. Paris, A. de Berghe, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 7 June 1906, lot 35 (repr., as *A. van Dyck, Portrait d'une religieuse*); (3) Painting, Monaco, Private Collection; canvas, 116 × 92 cm. PROV. Monaco, Coll. Cambacérés. EXH. *Tokyo, 1985*, No. 42 (repr.). LIT. D. Bodart, *Rubens*, Milan, 1981, p.106, No.626b (repr., as *Rubens*); id., in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo 1985*, pp.43–45, No. 42 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.756; *Brussels, 1910*, No.375; *London, 1950*, No.32; *London, 1953–54*, No.166; *Flandres, Espagne, Portugal, du 15e au 17e siècle*, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux, 1954, No.77; *Elewijt, 1962*, No.6.

Isabella, in the habit of a Poor Clare, is seen to knee-length. She is standing and turned slightly to the left, looking towards the spectator and clasping her veil in her hands. Around her head are traces of an aura, largely obscured by over-painting and restoration. The original appearance of the portrait is clear from other replicas (No.111; Fig.130) and the engraving after it by Pontius (No.112; Fig.131). This engraving also explains the

symbolism of the aura, representing Divine Providence. After the death of her consort Albert on 13 July 1621, Isabella joined the Third Order of St Francis in October of that year, and for the rest of her life wore the habit of a Poor Clare in sign of mourning. Like many other Spanish Hapsburgs, Isabella always had a particular fondness for the Franciscans and Poor Clares. In her youth she had been in frequent contact with the convent of the Descalzas Reales in Madrid, which was founded by the Infanta Juana, youngest daughter of Charles V. The convent oratory served more or less as a chapel to the court. Isabella always had a Franciscan as her confessor. It was from one of these confessors, Andreas de Soto, then Commissioner-General of the Third Order of St Francis for the Netherlands and Germany, that she received the habit of a Tertiary in which she is here depicted.¹

The portrait was painted immediately after the capture of Breda in June 1625, when the Infanta and Spinola were received as victors in Antwerp. The work was executed during their stay there, as is made clear by Bellori and above all by Philippe Chifflet in his history of the Brussels court from 1559 to 1632,² and also by Hermanus Hugo in his *Obsidio Bredana* of 1626.³ We also know that the Infanta visited Rubens's house on 10 July 1625, very possibly in connection with the portrait.⁴

The depiction of Isabella as a Poor Clare continued to be the official state portrait until her death. Van Dyck's portrait of 1628 is directly based on the type created by Rubens.⁵

Burchard considered this to be the best of the different extant versions of this portrait type.⁶ He also believed it to be wholly autograph, an opinion which I cannot share. None of the execution seems to me

consonant with Rubens's style: above all the habit with its stiffly falling folds is clearly the work of an uninspired routine copyist.

1. For Isabella's devotion to the Rule of St Francis and her relations with the Poor Clares in particular, see the thorough study by Nora De Poorter (*De Poorter Eucharist*, I, pp.23ff.).
2. Chifflet writes in his *Journal historique des choses mémorables arrivées en la cour des Pais-Bas depuis l'an 1559 jusques à l'an 1632 inclus*: '1625. Rubens peignit l'Infante à Anvers avec une couronne civique, sur laquelle M. Gevart fit les vers qui sont dans sa lettre' (published by De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella*, p.375, No.199). The 'couronne civique' and Gevartius's verses appear in Pontius's engraving after the portrait: see No.112.
3. 'Isabella dum Antverpiae manet, Rubenii pictoris excellentissimi penicillo expressa, caeloque in aes insculpta se Civica coronatam augusta sane in tabulo vidit. Digna sicpingipost nobilissimum triumphum, nec alterius atque Apellis illius manu' [*In margine:*] 'Isabella victricis icon insignis a Rubenio expressa'. ('While Isabella was in Antwerp she was painted by the brush of the eminent artist Rubens and engraved in copper by his etching needle, and saw herself adorned with a civic crown in this truly noble picture. After this glorious triumph [the capture of Breda] she deserved to be depicted thus, and by no other hand than that of the famed Apelles'; [in the margin] 'The famous portrait of the victorious Isabella, painted by Rubens'; H. Hugo, *Obsidio Bredana*, Antwerp, 1626, p.125). Hugo's allusion to the 'civica corona' relates to Pontius' engraving after the portrait, in an allegorical setting also designed by Rubens: cf. n.2 above and No.112, Fig.130. For Bellori's account, see under No.110.
4. In his *Diaire des choses arrivées à la Cour des Pais-Bas, du temps de l'Infante Isabelle en l'an 1625* Chifflet records under 10 July: 'Après le diner S.A. fut voir le Panthéon de Rubens et toutes ses raretez...' (*De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.375, No.197). As De Maeyer observes (*op.cit.*, p.115, n.4), it is curious that while mentioning Isabella's visit to Rubens's house, Chifflet says nothing about the portrait.
5. Cf. *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, pp.193-194, pl.XXIX.
6. A version also figures among the many paintings listed in the inventory of the Marquis of Leganés, in 1655: '498. Un retrato de medio cuerpo de la Ynfanta Doña Ysabel, bestida de terçiaría de mano de Rubens, en 400' (*López-Navió*, p.291).

III. Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare (Fig.130)

Oil on canvas; 116 × 89.5 cm.

Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art.

PROVENANCE: ?Infanta Isabella, Coudenberg Palace, Brussels; Hapsburg Family; Galerie Sankt-Lucas, Vienna (1934); Thyssen Collection, Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano; Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York (1957); purchased by Mr and Mrs Norton Simon, Los Angeles.

COPIES: See above, under No.110.

EXHIBITED: *Aus dem Besitz der Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz*, Castagnola (Lugano), 1949, No.216; *Selection from the Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art*, Princeton University Art Museum, Princeton, 1972, No.6 (repr.).

LITERATURE: R.Heinemann, *Stiftung Sammlung Schloss Rohoncz, Lugano*, Lugano, 1937, No.360; Glück, *Portrait*, pp.175, 178 (repr.); *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.115 (repr.); J.R.Martin, in *Cat. Exh. Selection from the Norton Simon...., op.cit.*; Princeton, 1972, pp.35-36, 38; D.W.Steadman, 'The Norton Simon Exhibition at Princeton', *Art Journal*, XXXII, 1972, p.35 (repr.).

This replica of the preceding work (No.110; Fig.129) was also regarded by Burchard as autograph. It differs from that formerly in the Aldenham collection in that it clearly shows the aura round Isabella's head and the reflection of it on the velvet curtain in the background. Here again I can only accept Burchard's view with much reserve. Only the features seem to me authentic: their pictorial

quality is in my opinion equal to that of the sketch-like Wertheimer version (No.109; Fig.128).

112. Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare (Fig.131)

Engraving; 594 × 435 mm.; inscribed, above the upper edge: *D.ISABELLA CLARA EVGENIA, HISPANIARVM INFANS, &c;*; above, just below the upper edge: *PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTA / VT SERVES VINCIS*; below on the left: *P.P.Rubens pinxit*; below, on the left, just above the edge: *cum Privilegijs*; below, on the right: *P. Pontius Sculpfit*; on the cartouche: *Caesaribus proavis et magno nato PHILIPPO / EVGENIA, Hesperij Gemma Decusque Soli: / BELG/certa Salus: iusti Prudentia Belli, / Pacis Honos castae Relligionis Amor; / Hanc tibi Chaoniâ textam de fronde Coronam / Invictâ donat BREDa recepta manu: / Optatamque diu felix sibi BELGICA Pacem / A Radijs sperat, CLARA ISABELLA, tuis. / C.Gevartius lud.*

COPIES: (1) Engraving by Wallerant Vailant (V.S., p.178, No.207); (2) Engraving by Abraham Verhoeven the Younger (V.S., p.178, No.209); (3) Engraving by Alexander Voet (V.S., p.178, No.211); (4) Engraving, edited by J.C.Vischer (V.S., p.178, No.208).

LITERATURE: *Hecquet*, *Rubens*, p.79, No.7; *Basan*, p.139, No.36; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.315, No.1180; V.S., p.178, No.206; *Dutuit, Manuel*, p.184, No.36; *Rooses*, IV, pp.196–197, under No.970; *Vanden Wijngaert, Prentkunst*, p.83, No.543; *De Maeyer, Albrecht en Isabella*, p.115, n.6.

The knee-length portrait of the Infanta is here reproduced in a frame. Two angels

are seen lifting up a veil by which the portrait was covered; they also hold a wreath of oak-leaves just over Isabella's head. Above it is the all-seeing eye of Providence, surmounted by the inscription *PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTA*. A supernatural light radiates from the eye and surrounds the Infanta's head with an aura. Below is a torch, probably symbolizing war,¹ and an oar around which is entwined a snake with a palm in its mouth, representing the glory and far-sightedness of Isabella's government.² Between these two motifs is a broad cartouche with a Latin text composed by Gevartius,³ further glorifying Isabella's victory. The text refers to the oak wreath as a tribute from unconquered Breda, and to the expectation of a lasting peace. The hope of a return to prosperity is symbolized by the cornucopias with fruits of the earth, disposed decoratively around the frame.

There is no doubt that Rubens himself designed the whole of this engraving. The angels are unmistakably in his style, and the composition is ascribed to Rubens in Hermanus Hugo's *Obsidio Bredana* of 1626, where it is praised as a representation of Isabella's victory.⁴ On the other hand it would seem that Gevartius was the *auctor intellectualis* of the emblematic ornaments. Not only did he compose the inscription, but such motifs as the eye and the oar, symbolizing Divine Providence and human prudence, were suggested by him to Rubens on a later occasion.⁵

1. G. de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane, 1450–1600*, Geneva, 1958, p.382.

2. An oar and a rudder are symbols of royal prudence (*Providentia Regis*) e.g. in Rubens's decorations for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (cf. *Martin, Pompa*, p.162, No.43). The coiled snake with a palm in its mouth undoubtedly has the same significance as the snake curled round a sword and holding a laurel wreath in its mouth, symbolizing the fame to be won by courage and discipline (cf. *Henkel-Schöne*, I, col.645).

3. Gevartius wrote the text, according to Chifflet (see under No.110, n.2).
 4. Cf. above, under No.110.
 5. Viz. for the decoration programme of the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi (cf. *Martin, Pompa, loc. cit.*).

113. Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.133), New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No.29.100.12; canvas, 125 × 101 cm. PROV. Lord Glenorchy; Paris, Trotti (1913); New York, Mrs. H.O.Havemeyer; purchased from her for the Metropolitan Museum in 1929. EXH. Detroit, 1936, No.26 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Le portrait dans l'art flamand de Memling à Van Dyck*, Orangerie, Paris, 1952-53, No.72 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Court Art of Vasa Dynasty in Poland*, Wawel Castle, Cracow, 1976, No.135 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *K.d.K.*, pp.273, 466 (as a good workshop replica) J.Mycielski, 'Communications sur le portrait... du prince... Ladislas IV, peint en 1624 par Rubens', *Prace komisji historii sztuki*, I, 1921, p.XXVIII (as *Rubens*); R.Przedziecki, *Trzy portrety Wladislawa IV przez Rubensa*, Warsaw, 1937, p.206 (as *Rubens*); *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.163, No.82 (as partly by pupils); *Goris-Held*, p.29, No.18, pl.23 (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.146 (as *Rubens*); *Larsen, Rubens*, p.217, No.64 (as *Rubens*); J.S.Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p.56, n.45 (as *Rubens*); J.T.Petrus, in *Cat. Exh. Court Art of Vasa Dynasty*, Cracow, 1976, pp.171-172, under No.135, fig. 47 (as *Rubens*); *Baetjer, Cat. New York*, I, p.161; III, p.372 (repr.); *Chrościcki, Rubens*, pp.159-166, fig.18; *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, pp.220-222, pl.83 (as Workshop of Rubens); (2) Paint-

ing, Genoa, Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini; canvas, 75 × 65 cm., oval. LIT. C.G.Ratti, *Instruzione... di più bello in Genova*, Genoa, 1780, p.181 (as *A. van Dyck, Portrait of Rubens*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.155, No.540 (as *Rubens, Self Portrait*); *Rooses*, IV, pp. 282-283, No.1078 (as *Rubens*); W.Suida, *Genua*, Leipzig, 1906, p.162 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.466 (as *Rubens*); A.Morassi, 'Alcune Opere del Rubens a Genova', *Emporium*, 1947, pp.194-195 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p.29, under No.18; P.Torriti, *La Galleria del Palazzo Durazzo Pallavicini a Genova*, Genoa, 1967, pp.180-187 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Chrościcki, Rubens*, pp.159-166 (repr.); (3) Painting, destroyed in 1944; canvas, 72 × 57 cm. PROV. Rapperswil, Museum, to which it was donated before 1890. LIT. *Chrościcki, Rubens*, pp.159-166 (repr.); (4) Painting of the prince on horseback; for references, see No.114; (5) Engraving by Paulus Pontius, 1624 (Fig.132; *V.S.*, p.171, No.156); (6) Engraving by J. van der Heyden (*V.S.*, p.172, No.157); (7) Engraving of the head and shoulders of the prince, in an oval frame (*V.S.*, p.172, No.158); (8) Engraving of the head and shoulders of the prince, in an oval frame, by J.Surmacki (J.F.Sapichy, *Adnotationes historicae*, Cologne, 1730; *V.S.*, p.172, No.159).

The subject's identity is clarified by the inscription beneath Paulus Pontius's engraving of 1624 (Fig.132): WLADISLAVS SIGISMVNDVS D.G.POLONIÆ ET SVEVICIÆ PRINCEPS / ELECT. MAGN. DVX MOSCOVIÆ SMOL. SEVER. CFRD. DVX. It appears from a letter of 13 September 1624 from Baugy, the French envoy in Brussels, that the Infanta Isabella had commissioned Rubens to paint a portrait of Prince Ladislas-Sigismund of the Swedish house of Vasa (1595-1648).¹ The

prince, who from 1632 reigned in Poland as Władysław IV, was related to the Hapsburgs by his marriage to Archduchess Renate of Austria. He stayed in the Netherlands in 1624, when he inspected the siege of Breda and visited Antwerp: there he received a cordial reception and met various artists.²

In this knee-length portrait, the prince's head and body are turned slightly to the left but his eyes are fixed on the spectator. On his breast he wears a large golden chain and the insignia of the Golden Fleece, an order bestowed on him in 1615 by Philip III of Spain. His right hand rests on a commander's baton; his left is against his hip, just above the sword-hilt. His black costume, with white lace cuffs, is repeatedly interwoven with the letter S in gold: no doubt the initial of his father, who was then reigning in Poland as Sigismund III. He wears a short open-work collar and a broad-brimmed hat: the brim is turned up on the right, and attached to it is a tassel decorated with jewels. The background largely consists of a red ornamental curtain; only on the extreme right is there a view of a light cloudy sky.

It is noteworthy that the future King of Poland is here depicted in the usual West European court costume of the time and not in East European dress with a *żupan*, fur cap and so forth. As Held points out, the Polish noblemen who had their portraits painted in the Netherlands generally preferred to be depicted in Western dress.³

The prince's pose in this ceremonial portrait is strongly reminiscent of Titian's portraits of rulers, such as his *Charles V with Drawn Sword*, which Rubens had himself copied.⁴ The portrait of Ladislas Sigismund was not without influence in its turn: an anonymous portrait in the National Gallery in London, dated 1626,

which may represent a member of the Netherlands family of Waha, is a pastiche of Rubens's work.⁵ Rubens's portrait was also copied by Willem van Haecht in his famous *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* of 1628 (Fig. 68).

1. 'Le peintre Rubens est en ceste ville [i.e. Brussels]. L'infante luy a commandé de tirer le pourtraict du prince de Pologne' (published by L. Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1877, p. 26). Since the Infanta commissioned the portrait, it does not seem likely that it should be connected, as Rooses claims, with an item in the list of debts and assets drawn up in 1626 after the death of Isabella Brant: 'Item ontfanghen van wegghen de Con. Majesteyt van Polen de somme van thien hondert guldenen eens op rekeninghe vande achthienhondert gulden die de selve Con. Majesteyt desen sterffhuys schuldech was' (M. Rooses, 'Staet van goederen in het sterfhuis van Isabella Brant', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 163-164). Moreover, Ladislas-Sigismund was not a 'Royal Majesty' at the time in question.
2. See for biographical details on Ladislas-Sigismund, e.g. E. Duverger, 'Une tenture de l'histoire d'Ulysse livrée par Jacques Geubels le jeune au prince de Pologne', *Artes Textiles*, VII, 1971, pp. 74-98.
3. J. S. Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p. 56.
4. And engraved by Vorsterman; see reproduction in *Wethey, Titian*, II, pls. 48-49.
5. Cat. No. 1895; see the reproduction in *National Gallery, Illustrated General Catalogue*, London, 1980, p. 227, No. 1895.

114. Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland, on Horseback (Fig. 134)

Oil on canvas; 259 × 185.5 cm.
Cracow, Wawel Castle, State Collection of Art.

PROVENANCE: Henry Metcalfe, sale, London (Christie's), 15 June 1850, lot 45, probably withdrawn; Philip Metcalfe, sale, London (Christie's), 19 May 1860, lot 198; Sir Frederick Cook, Richmond; Sir Herbert Cook, London; Sir Francis Cook, sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 June 1958, lot 118; L. Koetsier, London; purchased by Dr Ju-

lian Godlewski, Zürich, and donated to the Wawel Castle, Cracow, in 1977.

LITERATURE: *Catalogue of the Collection of Sir Frederick Cook*, II, London, 1914, No.344; *Abridged Catalogue of the Pictures at Doughty House Richmond in the Collection of Sir Herbert Cook*, London, 1932, p.81, No.344; Burchard, *Nachträge*, p.378; Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, p.146; Chrościcki, *Rubens*, pp.166–168 (repr., as a copy); J. Szablowski, 'Portret konny królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Wazy na Wawelu jako przejaw aktualnych wydarzeń europejskich oraz jego wzory flamandzkie i włosk', *Folia Historiae Artium*, XV, 1979, pp.89–121.

This life-size equestrian portrait shows the future King of Poland in the same pose as the half-length portrait (No.113; Figs.132, 133), but he is here depicted in armour. The rider's pose is the same as that used earlier, c.1615, for the equestrian portrait of the Archduke Albert (No.58; Fig.2). The background consists of an undulating wooded landscape. A combat is painted there; Chrościcki identified it as the battle of Chocim, which took place in 1621.

Burchard had no doubt that the whole portrait was an authentic work by Rubens. Although I have not seen it, there seem to be some reasons for doubting this. In particular it is unusual that Rubens should have combined a portrait type which, as we know, was created in 1624 with an equestrian pose in the statuesque style of about a decade earlier. Only a short time before he painted Ladislas-Sigismund in Antwerp he had created, in *Maria de' Medici at the Battle of Jülich*,¹ a new frontal equestrian type in the somewhat more flowing style of the 1620s. It thus seems to me very strange that he should have returned to the older formula for this por-

trait of Ladislas-Sigismund, which must in any case be dated after 1624. It is more likely to be a contemporary and highly eclectic variant, not touched by Rubens himself and not necessarily a product of his studio.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.255.

115. Don Diego Messia, Marquis of Leganés (Figs.135, 136)

Oil on canvas; 118 × 103 cm.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: W. V. Wentworth, Wentworth Castle, Barnsley; Captain B. C. Vernon, Wentworth Castle, Barnsley, sale, London (Christie's), 13 November 1919, lot 103; Mrs Gutekunst, London; Colnaghi's, London, 1947; Mathiesen, London; Martin Ascher, London, before 1970.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1927, No.155 (repr.); Colnaghi's, London, 1947.

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.342 (as a *General*); *Rooses*, IV, p.315, No.1140 (as *Un Général*); Fry, *Flemish Art*, pp.138–143 (repr.); [T. Borenius], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.68, No.155; E. Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina, 1977*, pp.104–105, under No.107 (repr.); M. C. Volk, *New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés*, *The Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, p.263, n.42.

Don Diego Messia Felipe de Guzmán, Marquis of Leganés (?1580–1655) was a Spanish councillor of state and commander of the Spanish artillery and cavalry in the Netherlands. As a special envoy from Philip IV to the Archduchess Isabella, he was at the Brussels court from 9 Septem-

ber 1627 to 3 March 1628. He also resided there from 1630 to 1635.¹

The marquis is shown to knee-length, his body in three-quarter view and his eyes fixed on the spectator. He is dressed as a commander, in full armour with the red officer's scarf draped over it. As a concession to Netherlands fashion he wears a cartwheel ruff: these had been out of use for some time in Spain, since Philip IV's edict of 1623 on the simplification of court dress.² Leganés holds his baton in his right hand in a martial gesture, while his left hand rests on his hip.

The scheme of this portrait of a commander derives from Titian's *Francesco II della Rovere, Duke of Urbino*.³ The portrait seems to me in every way typical of Rubens's renewed interest in Titian's work in the last decade of his life. In the monumental use of space and in its fluent pictorial quality, the portrait is very similar to others of that time, such as *Jan Brant* (No.78; Figs.42-44) or *Jan van Montfort* (No.123; Figs.147, 150). I therefore think it probable that the portrait was painted during Leganés's second period in Brussels.⁴

1. Many biographical facts, especially concerning Leganés's stay in the Netherlands, can be found in J. Cuvelier, *Correspondance de la Cour d'Espagne sur les Affaires des Pays-Bas au XVIIe siècle*, II, Brussels, 1927, *passim*; there is a short but valuable summary of his biography in Mary Crawford Volk, *op. cit.*
2. For this change in fashion, see Huemer, *Portraits*, pp.65-66.
3. The original is now in the Uffizi in Florence: see Wethey, *Titian*, II, No.89, pl.67. Rubens cannot have seen it at Urbino, but in view of the family connection between the Della Roveres and the Gonzagas it is very probable that there was a copy in the palace at Mantua.
4. In a letter of 9 December 1627 to his Paris correspondent Pierre Dupuy, Rubens spoke of a 'ritratto del Sr. Marchese' that he was to begin on very shortly (Rooses-Ruelens, IV, p.334). Rooses (*Rooses, loc. cit.*), recently followed by Mitsch (*loc. cit.*), related this to the portrait of Leganés. However, Rooses afterwards corrected himself (*Rooses, Ru-*

bens. Leven en werken. Antwerp, 1903, p.439; Rooses-Ruelens, IV, p.336) and rightly indicated that the letter refers to Ambrogio Spinola, Marquis of Los Balbases (see below, under No.149). Van Gelder (*van Gelder, Rubens Marginalia*, p.166, n.7) recently drew attention to the confusion and to Mitsch's mistake.

115a. Don Diego Messia, Marquis of Leganés: Drawing (Fig. 137)

Black and red chalk, heightened with white body-colour; 383 × 275 mm.; inscribed by a foreign hand, below, to the left: *Marquis de la genesse*; above, to the left: *P.P. Rubbens*.

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.9252.

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

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No.42 (repr.); *Meisterzeichnungen der Albertina*, Albertina, Vienna, 1970, No.71; *Master Drawings from the Albertina*, Puschkine Museum, Moscow, 1973, No.2 (repr.); *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.44 (repr.); *Die Albertina und das Dresdener Kupferstichkabinett. Meisterzeichnungen aus zwei alten Sammlungen*, Vienna-Dresden, 1978, No.88 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, p.267, No.1510; *Schönbrunner-Meder*, III, pl.355; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.51, No.164 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, I, pp.77, 138; Kuznetsov, *Risunki*, No.107 (repr.); E. Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, pp.104-105, No.44 (repr.); M. C. Volk, 'New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', *The Art Bulletin*, LXII, 1980, pp.263, n.42, 266 (repr.).

A preliminary study, undoubtedly from life, for the marquis's portrait formerly in the Gutekunst collection (No.115; Fig.135).

There is a slight difference in that the head in the final portrait is somewhat longer than in the study. Rubens may have intended in this way to create a more idealized pose than the chalk drawing, which gives a rather stocky impression. The inscription below is in the same hand as that on other drawings in the Albertina.¹

1. Cf. Glück-Haberitzl, Nos. 152, 156-157, 162, 165; this was first pointed out in Held, *Drawings*, I, p. 138.

116. Jan van der Linden (Fig. 139)

Oil on panel; 65 × 48 cm.

Schoten (Antwerp), Collection of Baron Bracht.

PROVENANCE: ? Refectory of the convent of the Alexian Friars, Antwerp; ?Anna-Theresia van Halen, sale, Antwerp, 19 August 1749, lot 55; ?P. J. Snyers, sale, Antwerp, 23 May 1758, lot 8; ?F. A. Verdussen, Antwerp (1762); ?sale, Antwerp, after 5 July 1784, lot 15 (as *un très beau Portrait, représentant un Frère Alexien, Ami intime de Rubens...*); ?sale, London (Christie's), 8 May 1813, lot 68 (as *Portrait of a Benedictine with a skull on the table before him*); ?Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1849-1883 (as copy after Rubens); ?J. H. Teixeira de Mattos *et al.*, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 6-7 November 1894, lot 43 (as a copy); Zacharias, sale, Berlin, 1-2 May 1900 (repr.); Paul Bottenwieser, Berlin, c. 1924-26; Dr Friedmann, Berlin, sale, Berlin (Cassirer and Helbing), 23 November 1927, lot 72 (repr.), withdrawn; Hoogen-dijk, Amsterdam (c. 1935-38).

COPIES: (1) Painting, probably 19th century, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 66 × 50 cm. PROV. Antwerp, Mr and Mrs A. Mattheys-Smets; (2) Drawing by A. Overlaet, 1762, whereabouts unknown.

PROV. Antwerp. R. Della Faille, c. 1890. LIT. *Roses*, IV, p. 276, under No. 1069; (3) Etching by N. van den Bergh (1725-1774) (Fig. 138; V.S., p. 183, No. 254).

LITERATURE: G. Hoet, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derzelver Pryzen*, II, The Hague, 1752, p. 259; P. Terwesten, *Catalogus of Naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derzelver Pryzen*, The Hague, 1770, p. 200; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 222 No. 790; A. and A. J. Lamme, *Catalogus van schilderijen enz. in het Museum te Rotterdam...* Rotterdam, 1849, No. 347 (as *School of Rubens*); W. Bürger, *Musées de la Hollande*, II, Paris, 1860, p. 335; F. D. O. Obreen, *Beschrijving der schilderijen en beeldhouwwerken in het Museum te Rotterdam*, Rotterdam, 1883, No. 274 (as *after Rubens*); *Roses*, IV, p. 276, No. 1069; G. Caillet, *Les Œuvres d'Art de l'Hôpital Notre-Dame à Courtrai*, Courtrai, 1914, p. 91; *The Burlington Magazine*, XLVIII, 1926, p. XXXIX (repr.).

Jan van der Linden (Antwerp, 1577-1638) was from 1622 to 1634 Provincial for Brabant of the Order of Alexian Brothers, who specialized in caring for the sick, especially those stricken by plague.¹ In 1633 he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and received the title of a Knight of Jerusalem. We are fully informed about this journey by an account which he had printed barely a year after his return.²

The identification and authorship of the portrait are based on the inscription below the etching made after it by N. van den Bergh in the eighteenth century (Fig. 138). This refers to Van der Linden as 'Eques jerosolijmitanus Alexianorum Provincialis', and to Rubens as painter of the original. Partly on these grounds Burchard in 1938 ascribed to Rubens a paint-

ing, then with the art dealer Hoogendijk in Amsterdam, corresponding in reverse to the etching.

Van der Linden, in the black habit of his Order, is seen bust-length in front of a table with a skull on which his right hand rests. In the upper right corner is the emblem of pilgrims to Jerusalem, a shield with a large 'cross potent' surrounded by four smaller similar crosses, and a palm-branch.³ The presence of this emblem means that the painting cannot have been executed before 1633. The pilgrim's emblem is here combined with a tree, being the heraldic motif of the Van der Linden family.⁴ The skull may suggest that the portrait was painted at the time of Van der Linden's death in 1638, but it may merely allude in a general way to his asceticism.

The original painting may come from the former Alexian monastery, where there were some portraits of Van der Linden, not specifically attributed, until the French Revolution.⁵ Rooses states that Rubens's portrait hung in the refectory, but I could not find any confirmation of this. It is yet another question whether the example ascribed to Rubens by Burchard is authentic. The work is hard to judge, because of heavy overpainting. The broad, fluid style is that of Rubens's late years, but the brush-work seems to me rather hesitant and uncertain, and I therefore find it difficult to agree with Burchard's attribution.

1. See for his biography: P. Bergmans, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XII, Brussels, 1892-93, cols. 221-222.

2. *Heerlycke ende gelukkige Reyze nae het Heilig Land ende Stad van Jeruzalem...*, Antwerp (H. Verdussen), 1634.

3. A standard work on pilgrimages to the Holy Land is R. Röhrich and H. Meissner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande*, Berlin, 1880. Older models of portraits of those who had made the pilgrimage, and were depicted with the appropriate emblems,

can be found in the work of, e.g., Jan van Scorel (*Friedländer*, XII, Nos. 344-349, pls. 184-185) and Antonio Moro (*ibid.*, XIII, No. 342, pl. 169).

4. *Rietstap, Armorial Illustré*, IV, pl. LXIX.

5. Cf. *Graf- en gedenkschriften*, IV, pp. 286, 301.

117. Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four Philosophers')
(Figs. 140, 169)

Oil on panel; 167 × 143 cm.

Florence, *Palazzo Pitti*. Inv. No. 85.

PROVENANCE: In the collections of the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, at least since the end of the 17th century; temporarily removed to the Louvre, Paris, from 1799 until 1815.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Ghent, private collection; panel, 168 × 137.5 cm. PROV. Brussels, Jean de Coen, 1942. LIT. L. van Puyvelde, in *Trésor de l'art flamand*, I, Brussels, 1932, p. 76 (as *Rubens*); P. Fierens, 'Une version inédite des "Quatre Philosophes" de Rubens', *Apollo*, June 1942, pp. 5-8 (repr.); (2) Painting, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Inv. No. 75; canvas, 163 × 135 cm. PROV. Purchased in 1922. LIT. M. Rooses, *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1922, pp. 82-83; A. M. Berryer, 'Essai d'une iconographie de Juste Lipse', *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIII, 1939-40, p. 33, No. 46B; (3) Painting, Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts, No. 283; canvas, 170 × 145 cm. PROV. Dr Bénit. LIT. Musée de Nancy, *Catalogue descriptif et annoté*, Nancy, 1909, No. 283; A. M. Berryer, *op. cit.*, p. 33, No. 46A; (4) Painting, Monceau-sur-Sambre, coll. Houtart (1952); canvas, 166 × 144 cm. PROV. Rameignies-Chin, Vicomte Cossée de Maulde, LIT. A. M. Berryer, *op. cit.*, p. 33, No. 45; Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, p. 104; (5) Painting,

whereabouts unknown; canvas, 156 × 130 cm. PROV. ?William A. Clavering, sale, London (Christie's), 18 March 1921, lot 109; ?W. Lawson Peacock, sale, London (Christie's), 11 November 1921, lot 292; Washington, Foster Cannon (1974); (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Roslags Näsby, Sweden, C.R. Lamm (1938); (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Madrid, Marquess Urrujo; Duke of San Carlos; Lord Northwick, sale, London (Phillips), 28 July 1859, lot 288 (as *Velázquez*); purchased by Captain Ridgway, Shipley; (8) Painting of Woverius's portrait and the Roman vista, whereabouts unknown; panel, 44 × 63 cm. PROV. Brussels, Prince of Arenberg. LIT. W. Burger, *Galerie d'Arenberg à Bruxelles*, Paris-Brussels-Leipzig, 1859, pp.76-77, 170, No.92 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, IV, p.283, No.1079 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.5, left (as *Rubens*); *Glück*, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.156; (9) Painting of Woverius's head, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Sale, Düsseldorf (Schenk), 25 October 1965 et seq.; (10) Painting of the books on the tablecloth, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 78 × 66.5 cm. PROV. London, Duits and Co. (1963); (11) Watercolour, 19th century (?), whereabouts unknown. LIT. *Rooses*, IV, pl.300, facing p.204; (12) Drawing, New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery, Inv. No.1930.241; black and red chalk, on paper, 463 × 414 mm. PROV. F.B. Kaye. LIT. E. Haverkamp Begemann and A.-M. Logan, *European Drawings and Watercolours in the Yale University Gallery, 1500-1900*, I, p.364, No.A297; (13) Drawing of Woverius's head, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. No.PD.47-1947; black chalk, heightened in white, 232 × 169 mm. PROV. Bequeathed by L.C.G. Clarke, 1947; (14) Engraving by F. Gregori (1743-1804; *V.S.*, p.169, No.140); (15) Engraving by A. Morel (1765-1829; *V.S.*,

p.169, No.141); (16) Engraving by C. Normand (1765-1840; C. Landon, *op. cit.*, pl.66); (17) Engraving by L. Paradisi, 1837 (*Rooses*, IV, p.205, under No.977).

EXHIBITED: Antwerp, 1930, No.224; Florence, 1977 No.86 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Michel, *Histoire*, p.314 (as *P.P. Rubens, Erasme de Rotterdam, Juste Lipse & Gevaerts*); A. Young, *Travels in France and Italy*, London, 1792 (as *A Group of four men at a table*); J.B. Wicar, *Le Musée de Florence*, I, Paris, 1799 (repr.); *Notice des principaux tableaux recueillis en Italie, par les commissaires du gouvernement français*, Paris, [1800], No.119 (as *Grotius, Juste Lipse, Rubens et son frère*); *Notice de plusieurs précieux tableaux, recueillis en Italie et provenant de l'ancienne collection, exposés dans le grand Salon du Musée*, Paris, [1803], No.53 (as *Grotius, Juste Lipse, Rubens et son frère*); C. Landon, *Annales du musée et de l'école moderne des Beaux-Arts*, III, Paris, 1803, pp.239-240, pl.66; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie Napoléon*, Paris 1810, No.558 (as *Grotius, Juste Lipse, Rubens et son frère*); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.149, No.521 (as *Hugo Grotius, Justus Lipsius, Philip Rubens and the Painter Himself*); L. Bardi, *L'Imperiale e Reale Galleria Pitti illustrata*, I, Florence, 1837 (repr.); *Rooses*, IV, pp.203-205, No.977; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.6; *Glück*, *Review*, pp.53-54, reprinted in *Glück*, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, pp.156-157; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.19, 31, 91-92, 159, 215, pl.XX; *K.d.K.*, p.45; A.M. Berryer, 'Essai d'une iconographie de Juste Lipse', *Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLIII, 1939-40, pp.32-33, No.44; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.27, 484, 510; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.113, 324-329, 338; Van Puyvelde, *Rubens*, p.114; Warnke, *Kommentare*, pp.33, 86, 90-91; J.S. Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*,

Princeton, 1969, p.23; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Collector', *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, 1969, pp.644-646 (repr.); W. Prinz, 'The Four Philosophers by Rubens and the Pseudo-Seneca in Seventeenth-Century Painting', *The Art Bulletin*, LV, 1973, pp.410-428 (repr.); M. Vickers, 'Rubens's Bust of "Seneca"?', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.644 (repr.); Warnke, *Rubens*, pp.42-44, fig.21; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.282-291, No.1-3; D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Florence, 1977*, pp.206-208, No.86 (repr.); K. Downes, *Rubens*, London, 1980, p.42; J. S. Held, *The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century*, Detroit, 1982, p.81; Vlieghe, *Remarks*, pp.107, 113 (repr.); J. Ruyschaert, 'Les éditions de 1605 et de 1615 du *Séneque* Lipsien et le tableau dit des *Quatre philosophes* de Rubens' in [Mina Gregori ed.], *Rubens e Firenze*, Florence, 1983, pp.195-214 (repr.).

In a well-balanced composition making subtle use of *contrapposto*, Rubens has here depicted himself and three fellow neo-Stoics. Wolfram Prinz has recently given a full description of this group portrait and its symbolic significance, and the following lines are partly based upon it.

Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) sits, somewhat right of centre, in the attitude of a teacher; he wears the fur-trimmed gown of a professor at Louvain University. This is a posthumous portrait: he died in 1606 and is here represented after a portrait of 1605 by Abraham Janssens, which Rubens had already taken as a model on other occasions.¹ He is seen in three-quarter view, looking straight ahead. An open book lies before him on a small table; he points to a passage with his left hand, and gestures with the right as if expounding it. The table is covered by a thick woollen

cloth of oriental pattern. Seated to either side of him are two pupils who appear to be following his argument. On the left is Philip Rubens (1574-1611), holding a pen in his right hand and looking reflectively towards the spectator. On the right, in left profile, is the lawyer Johannes Woverius (1576-1635), who seems to be considering the text of a book that he holds open. The portrait of Philip Rubens is also posthumous: here Rubens simply copied the portrait he had made earlier, perhaps for his brother's funeral monument (see No.144; Fig.206). Woverius, on the other hand, must be depicted from life. His features are strikingly similar to those in the portrait medallion of 1633 by Adriaan Waterloos, which may be based on the present work.² The identification of Woverius is due to Rooses, who drew attention to the copy after the present work which was formerly in the Arenberg collection (cf. Copy [8]),³ and which shows a brown and white spotted dog jumping up beside Woverius's right knee. This animal has traditionally been regarded as one of Lipsius's three favourite dogs, Mopsus, Mopsulus and Saphyrus, as mentioned by contemporaries.⁴ Prinz accepted this and believed the dog to be Mopsus, which its master described as having a brown coat. I wonder, however, if this is not rather far-fetched. If it were Lipsius's dog, would not Rubens have painted it beside the philosopher himself? It seems to me more likely that the dog is simply the traditional symbol of loyalty and affection.⁵ This would be quite in harmony with the programmatic nature of the painting, which is to be read as a tribute and testimony to the devotion of Lipsius's pupils to their master and to his teaching.

Rubens was inclined towards Lipsius's neo-Stoical ideas, not as a classical scholar

or disciple of the philosopher of Louvain and Leiden, but by virtue of his general cast of mind. Perhaps for this reason, he has painted himself slightly apart from the others: not seated at the table, but standing beside his brother and looking out in a somewhat challenging manner, similar to the 'hidden self-portraits' in other works.⁶

The persons depicted were united by Lipsius's neo-Stoical doctrine. This is emphasized by the presence in a niche, behind Lipsius's head, of the famous marble bust which in Rubens's time was generally though wrongly believed to be a portrait of Seneca—one of the principal Stoics of classical times and the subject of an important part of Lipsius's work. It is generally accepted that the bust in the painting is the one in Rubens's own collection of antiques, now in the Rubens House in Antwerp.⁷ In front of it is a vase with four tulips, which Evers convincingly interpreted as symbols of the four men in the portrait. The tulips that are not yet in bloom represent the two who are still alive, namely Rubens himself and Woverius; the other two symbolize the deceased humanists Lipsius and Philip Rubens, whose portraits, as already mentioned, derive from earlier prototypes. Prinz has recently pointed to other instances in Dutch art where tulips, and flowers in general, are thus used as symbols of life and death. Between two columns—one, on the left, is concealed by a red ornamental curtain—can be seen a landscape with ancient ruins. The architectural motifs can be partly recognized in the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine*, now in the Louvre in Paris, which dates from c.1614.⁸ The scene, as is generally accepted, symbolizes the civilization of ancient Rome, the basis and object of all humanistic studies and the common interest of the four men por-

trayed. This discreet representation of a particular locus occurs in other paintings by Rubens. In the background to the first *modello* for the altarpiece of Sta Maria in Vallicella,⁹ Roman ruins indicate, in the same way as here, the cultural and historical context of the scene. Similarly, in the background of the *Self-Portrait with Friends*, dating from Rubens's Italian period and now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum in Cologne, there is an indication of Mantua, where Rubens and his companions were at the time.¹⁰ That portrait seems indeed to have been the prototype of the present work. I would add a further point concerning this background. The landscape with ruins is represented at evening, a traditional allusion to the theme of transience. The figures in the portrait, on the other hand, are brightly lit by an illumination that seems to come from the bust of Seneca. I suggest that by this contrast between the twilight ruins and the bust reflecting bright light on the four subjects of the painting, Rubens may have wished to imply that despite the fall of ancient Rome its culture was still alive and an inspiration to scholars in his own time.

The *contrapposto* effect of the group points back to the early sixteenth century, in a tradition begun by Raphael's *Portrait of Leo X with his Cardinals*. Rooses dated the present work to 1602 and thought it commemorated a meeting in that year by the Rubens brothers and Woverius at Verona. Other writers including Rosenberg have accepted this dating. Glück, in his review of Rosenberg's book, established that the painting must be much later; however, he proposed a very late date, in the 1620s, and Van Puyvelde's proposal of c.1614–15 was also too late. Credit for the dating now almost generally accepted as correct,¹¹ c.1611–12, belongs to Rudolf Oldenbourg, who first proposed it in his

K.d.K.; the present author accepts this date also. Since the portrait of Philip Rubens is posthumous, the year of his death—1611—must be a *terminus post quem*. The vivid, three-dimensional character of the portrait, enhanced by the sharp light, is typical of Rubens's work around and shortly after that date. It may be, as Oldenbourg proposed, that the death of Rubens's brother prompted him to paint the group as a token of homage. This might be suggested by the climbing plant conspicuously entwined around the column just behind Philip's head. As Prinz pointed out in this connection, the plant is an accepted symbol of affection and attachment. Moreover, as Warnke suggested, tendrils of ivy around a column may be a variant of Alciati's famous emblem—very suitable for a posthumous tribute—of the immortality of love: 'AMICITIA ETIAM POST MORTEM DURANS' (Ill., p.206).¹² The fact that the curtain is draped immediately above Philip's head also seems to me to support the idea that the painting is a tribute to him.

1. For this portrait and its importance for Rubens's design for Lipsius's *Senecae opera omnia* (1615), see especially Judson-Van de Velde, I, pp.156-160; II, figs.104-107.
2. See the description of the medal in L. Alvin, *Les portraits en médailles des célébrités de la Belgique*, Brussels, 1916, p.83; see, for biographical references, e.g. Judson-Van de Velde, I, p.116. It is to be noted that in descriptions of the painting before Rooses, Woverius was identified as Hugo Grotius (See above, under the bibliographic references).
3. This or another version may be identical with 'Een conterfeytsel van d'Heer van den Wauwer, men meynt Rubbens geschildert', mentioned in 1678 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.275).
4. Aubertus Miraecus in his *Elogia Belgica sive Illustrium Belgi Scriptorum* (Antwerp, 1609, p.169) speaks of the scholar's love of dogs and describes these three by name. A much earlier portrait engraving by Hendrik Goltzius, of 1587, shows Lipsius with one of his dogs reproduced in J. Puraye [ed.], *Album Amicorum Abraham Ortelius*, Amsterdam, 1969, fol.74v. The dog jumping up was already identified as Mopsus by Rooses (*loc. cit.*).

5. Another example by Rubens of a dog leaping up, to be interpreted as a symbol of fidelity, is in the *Portrait of Caterina Grimaldi*(?) in the Bankes collection at Kingston Lacy (cf. Huemer, *Portraits*, fig.118).
6. Cf. his own 'hidden' self-portrait in *The Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Prado (K.d.K., p.26).
7. For a reproduction see e.g. W. Prinz, *op. cit.*, fig.13.
8. See Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.66-69, No.16, fig.45.
9. See Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, fig.25.
10. See Huemer, *Portraits*, pp.163-166, No.37, fig.115.
11. Recently Downes too favoured a dating c.1615, partly on grounds of style which, however, he did not specify. He also thought the books on the table might allude to the fact that Lipsius's edition of Seneca and Woverius's edition of Philip Rubens's *Opera Omnia* were both published in 1615. In his catalogue, just published, of the Flemish paintings in Detroit, Held takes up a somewhat pragmatic standpoint: he does not object to a dating c.1611-1612 but adds: 'It could very well be even a few years later, although certainly not later than 1615'. The last article written on the portrait is the study by José Ruyschaert, who is in favour of a *terminus post quem* at 1613. This is based on the evidence that the portrait of Lipsius, which Rubens made for Balthasar Moretus, was paid for between 1613 and 1616. There is, however, no need to consider that picture, which still hangs in the Plantin-Moretus Museum at Antwerp, as being the direct prototype for the Lipsius in the Palazzo Pitti group portrait.
12. For this emblem of a dead tree with shoots entwined around it cf. *Henkel-Schöne*, I, cols.259-260.

118. Arnold Lunden

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Arnold Lunden (1595-1656), Antwerp, after 1640.

LITERATURE: Rooses, IV, p.208, No.981; Vlieghe, *Lunden*, p.195.

The inventory of works of art in the possession of Arnold Lunden, drawn up in the 1640s,¹ mentions a portrait of the owner by Rubens: it is described as a sketch and valued at 100 guilders.² Arnold Lunden (Antwerp, 1595-1656), a merchant and master of the Antwerp Mint, was the

husband of Suzanna Fourment and thus Rubens's brother-in-law.³

1. See above, under Nos.101–102, for the details of this inventory.
2. 'Un Dito [i.e. portrait] de Sr.Lunden, esquisse. F.100'. Rubens's name is not mentioned but must be assumed, as the item figures amid a whole series of works by Rubens.
3. See under Nos.101 and 102; for the scarce bibliographical information about Lunden, apart from my above quoted article, see also F.V.Goethals, *Dictionnaire général et héraldique des familles nobles de Belgique*, II, Brussels, 1852, pp.705–706; R.Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart*, I, Brussels, 1976, p.201.

119. Frederik van Martselaer (Fig. 142)

Oil on panel; 65 × 50 cm.

Baroda, India, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.

PROVENANCE: M. van Vergelo, Antwerp, 1777; J.Ward, London, 1796; Sir Charles Robinson, 1891; Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris, 1898; Baron Koenigswarter, Vienna, sale, Berlin (Schulte), 20 November 1906, lot 79 (repr.); Shepherd Bros., London 1911; acquired for the Baroda Museum in 1921.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Louvain, University; panel, 60.5 × 50 cm. PROV. Louvain, Mgr. H. van Waeyenbergh. EXH. *Oude kunst uit Leuvens privébezit*, Stedelijk Museum, Louvain, 1964, No. V/260; (2) Etching by A.B. de Quertenmont, 1777 (Fig. 143; V.S., p.184, No.261); (3) Engraving by A. Fogg (as Hugo Grotius; V.S., p.183, No.250).

EXHIBITED: *Spring Exhibition*, Shepherd Bros., London, 1911.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.341, No.364; Rooses, IV, p.211, No.989; *The Third Hundred of Paintings by Old Masters belonging to the Sedelmeyer Gallery*, Paris, 1898, p.188, No.167 (repr.); K.d.K.,

ed. Rosenberg, p.333; K.d.K., p.453 (as possibly A. van Dyck); K.d.K., Van Dyck, p.549; M.Hoc, 'Een Brusselse magistraat van het Ancien Régime: Frederik de Marselaer (1584–1670)', *Gemeentekrediet van België*, XXIII, 1969, No.87, pp.29–30, 32 (repr.); H.Goetz, *Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery*, Baroda, 1952, p.70, No.34.

The sitter is shown almost frontally, bust-length. He is dressed in black, with a fur-trimmed gown over his costume and a white pleated ruff. On his breast is a double gold chain with an unidentified gold medallion.

The sitter is identified as Frederik van Martselaer (Antwerp, 1584—Perk, 1670) by the inscription on the eighteenth-century etching after the portrait, made by A.B. de Quertenmont (Fig. 143). A jurist from Louvain, Van Martselaer was seven times Mayor of Brussels and sixteen times an alderman. He was also celebrated for his *Legatus*, a treatise on the functions and conduct of diplomats, first published in 1618 with a frontispiece by Rubens. In 1626 he inherited through his wife the estates of Perk and Elewijt; it was from him that Rubens purchased the latter in 1635.¹

The traditional attribution to Rubens is based on the address below De Quertenmont's etching. As far as can be judged from photographs, however, I find it hard to accept the portrait as by Rubens: the pictorial treatment is much more like Van Dyck's portraits of his so-called second Antwerp period, c.1627–32. The subtle play of light, the elegantly twirled moustache and wavy hair, a certain smoothness in the painting of the head, the reserved expression, the arabesque forms of the contours of the mouth—all these details are much more characteristic

of Van Dyck's portraits, especially in his second Antwerp period, than of the later Rubens. A certain sensuality about the mouth and the sitter's glance is not so typical of Rubens, but is frequent in Van Dyck's later work. Moreover there is a portrait by Van Dyck of Van Martselaer in three-quarter view (Fig. 141),² which displays the above details to such an extent that the two portraits seem to be variants painted at practically the same time. I am therefore inclined to agree with the opinion expressed in 1921 by Oldenbourg, who, unlike other critics, denied the work to Rubens and ascribed it with some reservation to Van Dyck.

1. Biographical evidence about Van Martselaer is summarized in M. Hoc, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-35; see for the *Legatus*, especially *Judson-Van de Velde*, I, pp. 344-349, No. 84.
2. K. d. K., *Van Dyck*, p. 280, left.

120. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Estate of P. P. Rubens, 1640.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p. 213, No. 992.

Maximilian (1558-1618), Archduke of Austria and Count of Tyrol, was the fourth son of the Emperor Maximilian II and an elder brother of the Archduke Albert. He held various governmental posts in the hereditary Hapsburg lands and in 1595 became Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.¹ The work described in the inventory of Rubens's estate of 1640 as 'Un portrait de l'archiduc Maximilien'² must be regarded as the prototype of the portrait, which is known in several non-autograph versions (see below, under

Nos. 121 and 122). Rubens may have had an opportunity to paint Maximilian's features in 1615, when the archduke visited the Netherlands and stayed in Antwerp.³

1. For biographical information about Maximilian see H. von Zeissberg, in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, XXI, 1885, pp. 72ff.; J. Hirn, *Erzherzog Maximilian der Deutschmeister, Regent von Tirol*, I, Innsbruck, 1915, *passim*.
2. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 62.
3. Cf. *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, p. 42.

121. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ?Painted for Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm of Austria, in 1619.

COPIES: (1) Fragment of the *Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm*, painting by David Teniers the Younger (Fig. 145), Schleissheim, Castle, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No. 1839; canvas, 96 × 128 cm. LIT. *Speth-Holterhoff, Cabinets*, p. 146, pl. 60; *Staatsgalerie Schleissheim. Verzeichnis der Gemälde*, Munich, 1980, p. 41, No. 1839 (repr.); (2) Painting (Fig. 146), whereabouts unknown; for references, see under No. 122; (3) Painting, lost since 1945; canvas, 117 × 95 cm. PROV. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. LIT. *Bernhard, Verlorene Werke*, p. 161; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. ?Kupper collection, sale, Cologne (Kölner Kunsthaus), 20 October 1920 et seq., lot 20 (repr.); Stockholm, Cornelis Bosman (1931); Stockholm, Olga Bosman (1952); (5) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 68.5 × 53.5 cm. PROV. The Duke of Buccleuch, sale, London (Christie's), 6 February 1959, lot 3 (as *Rubens*); (6) Painting of the head, Stockholm, Sven Boström; canvas, 37 × 30 cm. PROV. Stockholm, Harry Axelsohn Johnson; (7) Painting of

the head, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 47 × 39.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 6 February 1953, lot 90 (as *Van Dyck*); (8) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; black chalk, washed, on paper, 320 × 240 mm. PROV. Amiens, H.J. Masson. EXH. *Exposition d'art ancien*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Tourcoing, 1906, No. 152; (9) Engraving by J. Suyderhoef after a drawing by P. Soutman (*V.S.*, p. 171, No. 149); (10) Engraving by L. Vorsterman (*V.S.*, p. 171, No. 150); (11) Engraving by P. de Jode (*V.S.*, p. 171, No. 151).

For comments, see under No. 122.

122. Maximilian, Archduke of Austria
(Fig. 146)

Oil on canvas; 115 × 93 cm.

Kreuzlingen, Collection of Heinz Kisters

PROVENANCE: ?Cortenbach family, Helmond Castle; Wesselman van Helmond family, Helmond Castle; Douairière A. M. E. A. Wesselman van Helmond, Helmond, sale, 8 September 1948, lot 328 (as *an anonymous 17th-century master*); purchased by Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam.

Maximilian is shown to knee-length, standing in front of a green curtain. His right hand rests on the back of a chair covered in Mechlin gold-leather; his left hand is against his belt. He wears a black silk costume with a white fluted lace collar and cuffs. Over it is a cloak trimmed with black fur and bearing on the shoulder the embroidered insignia of the Teutonic Order: a cross, its tips adorned with stylized lilies and the intersection covered by an eagle shield. The German Cross also hangs on a golden chain across his breast.

Although, as mentioned above (see under No. 120), Rubens may have had a chance to depict Maximilian from life, the work seems to me partly based on a much earlier portrait of Maximilian in his youth, painted c. 1580 by Martino Rota and now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (Fig. 144).¹ I have in mind not so much the three-quarter pose as the fact that both paintings represent him with a frowning expression and with short, straight hair combed to one side. At all events, other portraits of Maximilian later in life exhibit quite a different type.²

A version of the portrait of Maximilian can be seen in one of Teniers's depictions of the Art Gallery of the Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm, now at Schleissheim (Fig. 145). Burchard proposed to identify it with a painting of unknown title, commissioned from Rubens by Leopold-Wilhelm and mentioned in letters both from and concerning Rubens, dated respectively 27 April³ and 4 May 1619.⁴ This identification is quite possible. Shortly before that time, Maximilian had died and Leopold-Wilhelm, his great-nephew, had succeeded him as Grand Master of the Teutonic Order; either of these circumstances may have been the occasion of Leopold-Wilhelm commissioning a portrait of his kinsman and predecessor in office.

The portrait certainly displays the severity of design characteristic of Rubens's style from c. 1615 to c. 1620. However, unlike Burchard, I do not believe this to be an autograph example. I have never seen it, but to judge from photographs it appears flat and dry in execution, without the sense of space and corporeality that is so typical of Rubens's work in the second decade of the century. I believe the painting to be a studio replica untouched by Rubens.

1. Inv. No.1063; first published in G.Heinz, 'Studien zur Porträtmalerei an den Höfen der österreichischen Erblande', *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LIX, 1963, pp.114-116, fig.107; see also *Porträtgalerie zur Geschichte Oesterreichs von 1400 bis 1800 (Führer durch das Kunsthistorische Museum Nr.22)*, Vienna, 1976, No.80, fig.129.
2. Cf. the more or less contemporary portrait by Justus Sustermans, in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence (reproduced in P.Bautier, *Juste Suttermans, peintre des Médicis*, Brussels-Paris, 1912, fig.XXI, facing p.66).
3. Rubens's letter to Peter de Vischere, Council of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm: 'J'ay receu par Monsieur Annoni la vraye mesure du tableau que je doy faire pour Monsieur larchiducq Leopoldo et aussy la toile est toute preste pour commencer l'ouvrage que sera bien tost, si le S^t Dieu me donne vie et santé. J'employerey tout ce petit talent d'industrie que j'ay au monde pour faire chose agréable à un prince d'une telle qualité de quoy vous pourrés asseurer ce cavaglier qui se trouve de part de son Altesse à Brusseles. J'espère, que l'ouvrage sarat achevé de tout point pour l'espace de deux mois et s'il sera possible de faire plus tost, le manquement ne sera de ma part. Mais il fault considérer que est besoing que les peintures se sèchent deux ou trois fois avant qu'on les puisse reduire à perfection. Cependant je baise bien humblement les mains à Vostre Sérénité avecques très bonne affection d'estre tousjours Monsieur Vostre tres affectioné serviteur PIETRO PAUOLO RUBENS. Anvers ce 27 d'Avrill 1619'. ('I have received from M. Annoni the exact measurements of the picture which I am to do for the Archduke Leopold. The canvas also is all ready for beginning the work, which will be very soon, if God gives me life and health. I shall employ all the slight talent I have in the world to make something pleasing to a prince of such rank, as you can assure this gentleman who is His Highness's representative in Brussels. I hope that the work will be finished in every detail within two months; and if it is possible to do it sooner, there will be no delay on my part. But one must consider that paintings need to dry two or three times before they can be brought to completion. In the meantime I kiss your hands very humbly, and remain always, Monsieur, Your very affectionate servant, Peter Paul Rubens. Antwerp, April 27, 1619'; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.213; translated by R.Saunders Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., 1955, p.70).
4. From Peter de Vischere's letter to Archduke Leopold-William: '... Was der Petro Paulo Rubens wegen des durch den von Falckenstain mir angedeurten gemähls geschriben, geruhen dieselbe aus nebengehendem seinem schreiben gnedigst zue vernemen. Ich soll und will an fleissiger sollicitatur nichts erwinden lassen, damit dasselbe bald und wohl verfertigt werde, und wenn es fertig, Euer hochfürstlichen Durchlaucht underthenigst avisiren...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p.214).

123. Jan van Montfort (Figs. 147, 149, 150)

Oil on canvas; 107 × 90 cm.

London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection. Inv. No.37.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the Palazzo Carrega, Genoa, in 1746; purchased from there by Sir Thomas Sebright, Beechwood; purchased by Count Antoine Seilern from the former's descendant Sir Giles Sebright, Beechwood, 1935; Collection of Count Antoine Seilern (1901-1978); bequeathed by the latter to the Courtauld Institute.

LITERATURE: C.N.Cochin, *Voyage d'Italie [1746]*, III, Paris, 1758, p.262; *Description des Beautés de Gênes*, Genoa, 1773, p.110; C.G.Ratti, *Istruzione ... di più bello in Genova*, Genoa, 1780, p.281; *Waagen, Treasures*, IV, p.329; *Rooses*, IV, p.315, No.1141; A.Seilern, *Gemälde der Sammlung Graf Antoine Seilern*, Vienna, 1937, No.10; *Seilern, Flemish Paintings*, p.66, No.37, pls.LXXVIII-LXXXIV; C.Norris, 'Count Seilern's Flemish Paintings and Drawings', *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, p.398; *Braham, Princes Gate*, p.61, No.85 (repr.).

Jan van Montfort (active 1596-1649) was a medallist and Master of the Mint to Albert and Isabella, in which capacity he bore the title of Major-domo to the Infanta; he seems also to have been employed on political and diplomatic tasks. He is known to have had personal contact with Rubens on more than one occasion.¹ According to Count Seilern in his catalogue of 1955, the subject of this portrait was first identified as Van Montfort by Johannes Wilde, who pointed out the striking resemblance to the portrait of Van Montfort of c.1627-28 by Van Dyck, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum,

Vienna (Fig.148).² Van Dyck's portrait can also be seen in the *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* of 1628 in the Rubens House in Antwerp (Fig.68). In the eighteenth century the present work was in the famous Carrega collection in Genoa. In the three descriptions of that collection, cited above, it is listed as a self-portrait by Rubens, and it is also thus described in a nineteenth-century inventory, existing in manuscript only, of the Sebright collection, for which it was purchased from Genoa.³ Waagen, however, and also Rooses following him, called it only 'a male portrait in an outlandish dress' (*sic*).

Van Montfort is here seen to kneel-length, in three-quarter view and looking towards the spectator. He is dressed in black, with a cloak trimmed with sable fur. With his left hand he holds a chain that hangs across his breast; his right hand rests on the back of a chair. In his belt is a great key, the symbol and attribute of his position as major-domo.

Seilern dated this painting c.1635, arguing that it was very similar in style to the portrait of Jan Brant in Munich, dating from that year (No.78; Fig.42). I agree with this view: the two paintings are indeed very similar in every respect, in particular the use of space and the free, painterly handling of details.

It also appears to me that in this work Rubens was again inspired by Titian: there seems to be more than a superficial resemblance to the latter's portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresio, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.⁴ Features common to both are the emphasizing of the monumental stature of the portly sitter, his facial type and the lively detail of the cloak thrown open. I presume that Rubens had seen the portrait of Salvaresio or a copy of it. Titian's portrait may also have influenced the pose of Rubens's

Nicolaas de Respaigne at Kassel (No.129; Fig.161). However, the open cloak as in the Salvaresio portrait was not part of Rubens's original intention. As an X-ray photograph shows (Fig.149), he first painted Van Montfort without the cloak and with a fluted lace collar. He may have been influenced in this by Van Dyck's portrait (Fig.148) of seven or eight years earlier, which shows Van Montfort in a similar costume.

1. For his connection with Rubens and the latter's opinion of Van Montfort, see *Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp.215, 321-325, 335, 359; V, pp.239, 422, 455.

2. Cf. *K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, pp.282 (repr.), 550.

3. Described in the following terms: 'Portrait of Rubens, by himself. From Palazzo del Sig. Giacomo Filippo Carregi vide Ratti, Genoa'; confirmed by Burchard, who consulted this inventory in March 1935. Permission was granted to Burchard to study that document by the lawyer of Sir Giles Sebright, from whom Count Seilern had purchased the picture in the same year.

4. *Wethey, Titian*, II, pp.137-138, No.92, pl.199.

124. *Ludovicus Nonnius* (Fig.152)

Oil on panel; 124.5 × 92 cm.

London, National Gallery. No.6393.

PROVENANCE: Sale, London (Edward Davis), 1687/88; purchased there by Anthony, Earl of Kent (d.1702);¹ Baroness Lucas, the Earl of Kent's wife; by direct descent in the Lucas family until 1970, the year of the purchase by the National Gallery.

COPY: Painting of the head and shoulders by Erasmus Quellinus II (Fig.151), Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, Inv. No.41; canvas, 62.5 × 46.5 cm. PROV. Painted by Erasmus Quellinus II before 18 April 1647, probably on behalf of Balthasar Moretus II. EXH. *Antwerp's Golden Age*, Smithsonian Institute, Washington, 1973-75, No.12 (repr.). LIT. M. Rooses,

Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp, 1922, p.30, No.2; M.Sabbe, *De Moretussen en hun kring*, Antwerp, 1928, p.64 (repr.); M.-L.Hairs, 'Erasmus Quellin, disciple de Rubens', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XLII, 1973, p.54.

EXHIBITED: *National Loan Exhibition*, Grafton Galleries, London, 1909-10, No.29 (repr.); *London*, 1938, No.66; on loan to the National Gallery, London, 1946-62; *London*, 1950, No.36.

LITERATURE: M.W.Brockwell, in *Athenaeum*, 27 November 1909, p.666 (as *Johann Faber*); M[aa?], 'Ein wiedergefundenes berühmtes Porträt von der Hand Rubens', *Kunstchronik*, 14 January 1910 (as *Johann Faber*); *K.d.K.*, pp.309, 468 (as probably *Théodore Turquet de Mayerne*); L.Burchard, in *Cat. Exh. London*, 1950, p.46, No.36; J.S.Held, *Rembrandt's Aristotle and other Rembrandt Studies*, Princeton, 1969, p.24; [G.Martin], in *National Gallery Annual Report*, 1969-70, pp.33-35, pl. III; *National Gallery Illustrated General Catalogue*, London, 1973, p.643, No.6393 (repr.); F.Baudouin, *P.P. Rubens*, Antwerp, 1977, pp.262, 268, 270 (repr.); *Judson-Van de Velde*, p.245, under No.56.

Ludovicus Núñez or Nonnius (c.1553-1645/6) was an Antwerp humanist of Portuguese origin: his father, Alvaro Núñez, had settled in Antwerp from Lisbon in about 1550. The son, a well-known numismatist and antiquarian, belonged to the circle of Gevartius, Rockox and Moretus among others, but was primarily a physician. In 1627 he published the *Diaeteticon*, a treatise, based on antique sources, on the eating habits of the Romans.²

He is here shown to knee-length, seated in a chair, his body in three-quarter view and his eyes turned towards the

spectator. He wears a black satin costume with a flat white fluted collar and lace cuffs. He points to an open book and moves his lips as if arguing. A niche behind him gives the picture greater relief and serves to emphasize the subject. To the left of it is a bust of Hippocrates, the famous physician of ancient Greece; on the right are some books on a socle. Niches are of course a customary background to antique busts, symbolizing the glory and immortality of the person depicted.³ Here, instead of Hippocrates occupying the niche as would be expected, it is placed behind Nonnius's head, perhaps suggesting that Rubens meant to glorify him as a second Hippocrates.

Although this work has been known for some time, it was only identified in 1950 as a portrait of Nonnius. Brockwell had previously suggested Johannes Faber, and Oldenbourg thought it might be De Mayerne. The true identification was established by Burchard from the documented copy made by Erasmus Quellinus in 1647 for Balthasar Moretus, which is still in the Plantin Museum in Antwerp (Fig.151).⁴

Burchard dated this work to 1627, probably because the *Diaeteticon* was published in that year. Oldenbourg, who did not know the sitter's identity, had previously dated it 1629. Gregory Martin suggested somewhere between the second half of the 1620s and c.1630. As a portrait type it clearly belongs to the group of late portraits of humanists such as those of Gevartius (No.106; Fig.122), Brant (No.78; Fig.42) and De Mayerne:⁵ in all these we find a similar set of attributes, especially the antique busts and the books symbolizing the subject's intellectual status. This portrait differs somewhat from the others in its direct and lively style, with Nonnius depicted in a teaching attitude: in this

respect it is a good deal closer to the (much earlier) *Portrait of Ophovius* (No.126; Fig.155). But Gregory Martin rightly pointed out that there is a great similarity of composition between the portrait of Nonnius and that of Jan Brant in Munich, dating from 1635. It may be added that in style and technique the two works have much in common, with their lively brush-work and the dim, restful lighting. Personally therefore I should be inclined to favour a later date, towards 1635. In that year Rubens was in close contact with Nonnius, who played an active part in designing the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.⁶ It may also be noted that in 1638 Rubens had an engraving made by Pontius after the bust of Hippocrates depicted in the present work.⁷

1. This information comes from an entry in a manuscript catalogue of 1718 drawn up by the Earl of Kent's son, the Duke of Kent, still in the possession of the Lucas family (cf. G.Martin, *op. cit.*, p.35).
2. The relevant facts from Nonnius's biography were well summarized by Burchard in *Cat. Exh. London, 1950, loc. cit.*
3. Rubens's own brother Philip, for instance, is honoured in the same way in C.Galle's frontispiece to *S.Asterii Amaseae Homiliae* (Judson-Van de Velde, No.29, figs.100-101).
4. The accounts in the Plantin archives contain the following item relating to this copy: '1647. 18 april - Betaelt aen Erasmus Quellinus voor het pourtraict D.Nonnius...' (M.Rooses, *Catalogue du Musée Plantin-Moretus*, Antwerp, 1922, p.30, n.1).
5. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, No.47, fig.128.
6. Cf. *Martin, Pompa*, p.65.
7. Cf. *V.S.*, p.223, Suite 25, No.4.

bens); D.Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo, 1985*, p.38, No.31 (repr., as *Rubens*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 68 × 55 cm. PROV. Bruges, Alberic de Meester (1929); (3) Painting, ?18th or 19th century, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 72.5 × 59 cm. PROV. Henry Didier, sale, Paris (Drouot), 16 June 1868 et seq., lot 79 (as *Rubens*); Mme Denain, sale, Paris, 6 April 1893 et seq., lot 29 (as *Rubens*); New York, M.C.D.Borden; London, A.L.Nicholson (1927). EXH. *London, 1927*, No.262 (as *Rubens*); *New York, 1927*, No.5 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. [T.Borenius], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.107, No.262 (as *Rubens*); A.L.Nicholson, [Letter] in *The Burlington Magazine*, L, 1927, p.344 (as *Rubens*); H.Blaker, [Letter], in *The Burlington Magazine*, LI, 1927, p.51; Ella S.Siple, 'Art in America: New York as a Centre', *The Burlington Magazine*, LI, 1927, p.49.

The fact that a number of copies of varying quality show Ophovius *en buste* suggests that the posed portrait in three-quarter view at The Hague (No.126; Figs.154, 155) was preceded by a simpler painted prototype of the sitter's head and shoulders. Such prototypes are not unusual in Rubens' work.¹

1. Cf. *Huemer, Portraits*, Nos.5b (fig.53), 21a (fig.77) and 34a; see also, in the present volume, e.g. Nos.109 and 147.

125. Michael Ophovius

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.153), Brussels, G.Dulière; canvas, 61 × 51 cm. PROV. Dieren, A.Katz (1963). EXH. *Tokyo, 1985*, No.31 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. D.Bodart, *Rubens*, Milan, 1981, p.173, No.403b (as *Ru-*

126. Michael Ophovius (Figs.154,155)

Oil on canvas; 111.5 × 82.5 cm.
The Hague, Mauritshuis. No.252.

PROVENANCE: ?Dominican Convent, Antwerp; J.F. de Vinck de Wesel, sale, Antwerp, 27 April 1813, lot 1; H.J.Stier d'Aertselaeer, sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822,

lot 6; purchased by William the First, King of the Netherlands.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 156), Antwerp, Rubenshuis; canvas, 104 × 84 cm. PROV. On loan from G. Dulière, Brussels, since 1977. EXH. Tokyo, 1985, No. 30 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *Mauritshuis, The Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Illustrated General Catalogue*, The Hague, 1977, p. 206, under No. 252; R.-A. d'Hulst, in *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, p. 113, under No. 45; D. Bodart, *Rubens*, Milan, 1981, p. 173, No. 403a (as *Rubens*); J. Müller Hofstede, "O felix Poenitentia". Die Büsserin Maria Magdalena als Motiv der Gegenreformation bei Peter Paul Rubens', in *Imagination und Imago. Festschrift Kurt Rossacher*, Salzburg, 1983, p. 225, n. 74 (as *Rubens*); D. Bodart in *Cat. Exh. Tokyo, 1985*, p. 38, No. 30 (repr., as *Rubens*); (2) Painting, Brussels, F. C. Jacques; canvas, 113 × 82 cm. PROV. ?Mechlin, Dusart (1854); Brussels, L. Alvin (1886). EXH. Brussels, 1886, No. 195. LIT. A. Michiels, *Rubens et l'école d'Anvers*, Paris, 1854, p. 117; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 110.5 × 81.5 cm. PROV. Sir Douglas Blacket, Bart., Matfen Hall, Northumberland, sale, London (Christie's), 5 November 1965, lot 36; (4) Painting by ?D. Teniers the Younger, whereabouts unknown; panel, 24 × 18 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Sotheby's), 2 March 1977, lot 6 (repr., as *D. Teniers the Younger*); (5) Drawing by ?N. van den Bergh, whereabouts unknown; pen and ink, washed, 205 × 135 mm. PROV. J. G. Verstolk-van Soelen (1776–1845), sale, Amsterdam, 22 March 1847, lot 65 (as *Rubens*); V. D. Sylva, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 13 June 1914, lot 210 (repr., as *Rubens*); Brussels, Cardijn (1921); Brussels, Van den Savel; sale, Brussels (Giroux), 29–31 May 1958, lot 419 (as *Rubens*); (6) Etching by N. van den Bergh (1725–1774), ?after (5) (V.S., p. 185, No. 266).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1977*, No. 45 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 13, No. 26, pp. 113–114, No. 383; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 226–227, No. 1013; [A. Bredius and C. Hofstede de Groot], *Musée Royal de la Haye, Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et des sculptures*, The Hague, 1895, pp. 346–347, No. 252; K. d. K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 316; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp. 174, 217, pl. CCCXXVIII; K. d. K., p. 167; [W. Martin], *Musée Royal de tableaux Mauritshuis à La Haye. Catalogue raisonné des tableaux et sculptures*, The Hague, 1935, p. 296, No. 252; *Mauritshuis. The Royal Cabinet of Paintings. Illustrated General Catalogue*, The Hague, 1977, p. 206, No. 252; J. Müller Hofstede, "O felix Poenitentia". Die Büsserin Maria Magdalena als Motiv der Gegenreformation bei Peter Paul Rubens', in *Imagination und Imago. Festschrift Kurt Rossacher*, Salzburg, 1983, p. 225, n. 74 (as not by *Rubens*); [H. Hoetink], in *The Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis*, Amsterdam–New York, 1985, p. 274, No. 78 (repr.).

Michiel or Michaël Ophovius ('s Hertogenbosch, 1571—Lier, 1637) entered the Dominican monastery of St Paul in Antwerp in 1585. After theological studies at Louvain and Bologna he devoted himself to the Order's primary work of preaching, and was one of the first important champions of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands. In 1608 he was first elected Prior of St Paul's, and did much for the restoration and embellishment of its church. In 1611 he became Provincial of the Order for the Low German area, and in 1615 Prefect of Dominican missions in the United Provinces; this of course was in line with his fervent Catholicism, and brought him into conflict with the Calvinist government of the Dutch Republic.

He also carried out confidential diplomatic missions for the Infanta Isabella in Holland. His militant Catholicism also accounts for his appointment in 1626 as bishop of his birthplace, 's Hertogenbosch, which was one of the furthest outposts of that part of the Netherlands which remained under Spanish and Papal authority; in 1629 he was a witness of its siege and capture by States troops. He remained at his post under Dutch rule until shortly before his death, performing his office in a zealous and combative manner despite many obstacles.¹ He must have been in quite close contact with Rubens; apart from the present portrait, they were in touch concerning a funeral monument to be designed by the artist.² According to an old tradition which goes back to the inscription beneath the eighteenth-century etching by N. Van den Bergh, Ophovius was Rubens's confessor; but no confirmation of this can be found.

Ophovius is here shown to waist-length, in the black and white habit of his Order, turned slightly away from the spectator but looking directly towards him. He holds a part of his black mantle in his left hand, while the right, foreshortened, is held out in an expository gesture with sculptural effect; his lips are moreover slightly parted, as if he were arguing a point. This pose was certainly intentional on the sitter's part, as characteristic of the *Ordo Praedicatorum*; it is also expressive, intentionally or not, of his own combative temperament. This lively portrait schema is of Renaissance origin. Titian, for instance, often used the oratorical gesture to enliven portraits of scholars: a characteristic example is his *Pietro Bembo* of c.1540 in the National Gallery, Washington.³ In the Netherlands too, the motif of a hand thrust out towards the spectator occurs very early in the sixteenth century:

Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen uses this 'speaking gesture' in c.1530-40.⁴

Varying dates have been proposed for this portrait. Rooses placed it around 1630; Burchard agreed, partly because Rubens and Ophovius were in touch about the latter's monument in 1631. However, Ophovius became a bishop in 1626, and it is very unlikely that he would have been painted after that date in attire other than bishop's robes. Oldenbourg dated the portrait c.1618, and I myself find this more probable. The local colouring and sculptural effect are typical of Rubens's style around 1615 or a little later.

It is generally supposed that this work is identical with a portrait of Ophovius by Rubens which was in a room in the Dominican monastery in Antwerp until late in the eighteenth century. That portrait is first mentioned by Jacob de Wit in his description of the Antwerp churches in c.1748.⁵ In any case it was of the same type as the present work, as is clear from De Wit's statement that it was engraved by Van den Bergh. It may well have been identical with the present portrait, but this cannot be taken as certain. In the first place there is a gap in the provenance. The piece presumably disappeared from the monastery in Antwerp during the French Revolution. The first certain mention of the portrait in The Hague, on the other hand, is in the catalogue of the sale of the Vinck de Wesel collection in Antwerp in 1813, and this says nothing of its having been in the Dominican monastery; that information is first found in John Smith's work of 1830. A second reason why the two cannot be regarded as certainly identical is that the portrait in the Mauritshuis is not of the best quality, and several studio replicas were made of it. It does not in fact seem to me fully authentic: in particular, the rather hard

drawing of the folds of Ophovius's habit gives the impression of being studio work. On the other hand, the very expressive and sculpturally modelled head must for the most part be Rubens's own work. It should be pointed out here that the painting conceals the beginnings of an earlier work; however, the X-ray does not make it possible to draw any conclusions as to whether the underpainting is by Rubens. As to the replicas, one of them, at present on loan to the Rubens House (Fig. 156), is of a very high standard: R.-A. d'Hulst actually thought it 'of no less quality' than the example in The Hague.⁶ I do not believe, however, that Rubens had any part in it. For one thing, in that version Ophovius's mouth is not half-open as in the painting at The Hague; the omission of this subtle detail, which so well fits the argumentative and didactic pose of the Dominican prior, can only be explained as a copyist's typical mistake. For the present, then, the example in The Hague, despite some weaknesses, is still to be regarded as the best version and therefore the most likely to be identical with the painting that was in the monastery at Antwerp until the French Revolution.

1. For his biography see P.J.A. Nuyens, in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, V, Brussels, 1972, cols. 659-661.
2. This appears from an entry of 4 February 1631 in Ophovius's famous *Diarium*: 'Ivi ad D. Rubbenium pro disponenda sepultura' (first published in M. Rooses, 'Rubens en Ophovius', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 162).
3. See *Wethey, Titian*, II, No. 15, pl. 90.
4. See in this connection *Friedländer*, XII, pls. 205-208.
5. *De Wit, Kerken*, p. 59: 'In Eene van de Kamers van het Convent siet men het portret van ... Ophovius, Laesten Bischoep van S'Hertoghen bosch, door Rubens geschildert. Het selve gaet in print uyt door van den Bergh gesneden'. This may be the portrait of Ophovius mentioned, without any artist's name, in *Graf- en gedenkschriften*, V, p. 175 (a work based on 18th-century sources).
6. In *Cat. Exh. Antwerp, 1977*, under No. 45.

127. Michael Ophovius

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (full-length; Fig. 159) 's Hertogenbosch, Episcopal Palace; canvas, 149 × 118 cm. PROV. Haren, Groot-Seminarie. LIT. C.H. de Jonge, in *Voorloopige Lijst der Nederlandsche Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst*, I, The Hague, 1931, p. 151; A.M. Frenken, 'De Bossche Bisschop Michaël Ophovius O.P.', *Bos-sche Bijdragen*, VI, 1936, pp. 109-111 (repr.); (2) Painting of the head, Madrid, Banco Urquijo; panel, 39 × 26 cm. PROV. Duchesse de Bogiano; Edouard Warneck, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 27 May 1926, lot 72 (repr., as *Rubens*); Leo Blumenreich; Haarlem, F.W. Koenigs (1881-1941); Rotterdam, Museum Boymans; Madrid, Daniel Moreno (1967). EXH. *Amsterdam, 1933*, No. 46 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Madrid, 1977-78*, No. 102 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, pp. 346, 349; (3) Painting of the head, whereabouts unknown; panel, 52 × 41.5 cm. PROV. Stockholm, A.W. Sjöstrand, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 21 March 1933, lot 27; (4) Engraving by C. II de Passe (c. 1597-c. 1670) (*Hollstein*, XVI, 1974, p. 119, No. 97); (5) Engraving in C. Butkens, *Trophées tant sacrés que profanes du Duché de Brabant*, II, The Hague, 1726, p. 427 (V.S., p. 185, No. 367).

This portrait composition shows Ophovius seated in an armchair in front of a table covered with a cloth of different colours. On the table is a crucifix and a prayer-book which the sitter holds open with his left hand. Ophovius wears the habit of his Order (see under No. 126) but also the violet skull-cap and gold cross of a bishop. In addition, the episcopal ring

is shown prominently on his right hand, and on the extreme right of the picture is a cartouche with his arms beneath a mitre. Ophovius's mitre is also seen in the upper left corner against the curtain which separates the composition from the background; a glimpse on the right shows this to consist of a wooded landscape at evening.

The painting at 's Hertogenbosch has traditionally been associated with Rubens. Burchard accepted this, but pointed out that it could not be an autograph work: it is no doubt a replica of a lost original by Rubens. The strongest argument in support of this is that in the Cabinet des Dessins in the Louvre there is an autograph study drawing for a portrait of Ophovius in almost the same pose as here (No.127a; Fig.157). In the present work Ophovius is clearly older than in the portrait at The Hague (No.126; Fig.155); he is completely grey, and his features have lost something of their earlier forcefulness.

A *terminus post quem* is 13 September 1626, when Ophovius was consecrated bishop. A *terminus ante quem* might be 30 December 1630, when Ophovius—then in the North Brabant village of Geldrop—noted in his diary that his steward, Laurentius van Lommel, was to bring his portrait from 's Hertogenbosch. However, he does not mention the artist's name, nor does the entry indicate whether the portrait was newly painted or had existed for some time.¹ The identification is thus purely speculative.

1. 'Respondi Mag. Laurentio, quod ante discessam meum compereret hic, ... effigiem Reverendissimi conferret' (A.M.Frenken, *op. cit.*, p.109; this author points out that elsewhere in his diary Ophovius similarly referred to himself as 'Reverendissimus').

127a. Michael Ophovius: Drawing (Fig.157)

Black and red chalk, washed in brown;
234 × 190 mm.

Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre. Inv. No.RF 2383.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed to the Louvre by Ernest Grandidier, in 1900.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. KdZ3901; irregularly oval, 253 × 189 mm. PROV. B.Suermondt (Aachen, 1818–1887); purchased from the latter, in 1874. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.270; *Bock-Rosenberg*, I, p.256, No.3901; *Mielke-Winner*, pp.134–135, No.69 (repr.); (2) Drawing (Fig.158), Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No. V.87; 290 × 192 mm. PROV. Weimar, The Grand Dukes of Sachsen-Weimar; Haarlem, F.W.Koenigs (1881–1941). LIT. *Rooses*, V, pp.269–270.

EXHIBITED: Paris, 1954, No.421; Paris, 1959, No.8; Paris, 1978, No.27 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, p.15, No.1019, fig.XX; *Huemer, Portraits*, p.93, fig.39; K.Renger, [Review of *Cat. Exh. Paris, 1978*], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, p.307; Anne-Marie Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions, 1977–1978', *Master Drawings*, XVI, 1978, p.431 (as *not by Rubens*).

A study from life, *en buste*, for the portrait of Ophovius as a bishop. The sitter is in the same pose as in the final painting: his body slightly turned to the right, his eyes fixed on the spectator. As in the final portrait, he is seated in an armchair. A difference is that he is bare-headed and, instead of the black *cappa* of the Dominicans, wears a bishop's *mozzetta* fastened with buttons. Lugt, who first published

this sheet, dated it c.1630-35; he was clearly unacquainted with the facts presented by Frenken, which might suggest a somewhat earlier date (see under No.127). Burchard pointed out that the sheet must have been cut down slightly: the copy at Rotterdam (Fig.158) shows that more of the sitter's hands could originally be seen, below and on the right. Konrad Renger thought that only the under-drawing in black chalk was authentic and that the washed portions were added later. I am inclined to agree with this: the wash shows too much sign of local colour, which seems to me rather unusual for Rubens.

128. Petrus Pecquius (Fig.160)

Oil on canvas; 140 × 119 cm.; on the letter the monogram *P.P.R.*

Fareham, Hampshire, Southwick House, Mrs H.F.P. Borthwick-Norton.

PROVENANCE: Marquess of Ely; Sir Audley Neeld (1922); Sir W. Neeld, sale, London (Christie's), 9 June 1944, lot 24; purchased in 1948 by the present owner, through Agnew's, London.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No.968; canvas, 142 × 121 cm. PROV. Antwerp, J.E. Peeters d'Aertselaer (1725-1786), where seen by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1781; Peeters d'Aertselaer sale, Antwerp, 27 August 1817, lot 12 (as *Rubens*); Brussels, Princes of Arenberg; seized by the Belgian State after the First World War and presented to the Musées Royaux at Brussels in 1924. EXH. Académie Royale, Brussels, 1886, No.193 (as *Rubens*); London, 1927, No.317 (as *Rubens*); *De mooiste portretten uit onze musea*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1961, No.103 (repr.).

LIT. Reynolds, *Journey*, p.186 (as *Rubens, A Chancellor of Brabant*); Rooses, IV, pp.230-231, No.1018 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.106 (as *Rubens*); Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.128, 212, pl.XLIX (as *Rubens*); *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Catalogue de la peinture ancienne*, Brussels, 1927, No.968 (as *Rubens*); [T. Borenius], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.126, No.317 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 148 × 123 cm. PROV. Paris, Dr. Paul Mersch, sale, Berlin (Keller and Reiner), 1-2 March 1905, lot 118 (repr., as *C. de Vos*); (3) Painting of the head and shoulders, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Inv. No.7419; canvas, 64 × 53 cm. PROV. Zweibrücken, Electoral Collections; brought to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, in 1836. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.78, No.243 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting of the head and shoulders, with a medal, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 66 × 48.5 cm. PROV. Sale, New York (Christie's), 15 June 1977, lot 233.

EXHIBITED: *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1878, No.135; *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1910, No.131; *Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Old Masters, on behalf of Lord Haig's Appeal for Ex-Service Men*, Thos. Agnew and Sons, London, 1922, No.10; London, 1927, No.147 (repr.); on loan to the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, c.1951; London, 1953-54, No.208.

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p.246 (as *A Man Seated*); Rooses, IV, p.314, No.1139 (as *Un homme assis*); C. Phillips, in *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 January 1910; M.W. Brockwell, 'Une exposition d'anciens maîtres à la Galerie Agnew', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1923, pp.57-58 (repr.); [T. Borenius], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.65, No.147.

The sitter is shown full-length, seated in an armchair. He is in three-quarter view, looking directly at the spectator. He wears a black gown with a white fluted collar and cuffs, and holds a letter in his right hand. In the left background is the base and lower part of a huge column.

The fact that there are several examples of this portrait suggests that the sitter was a holder of high office. This and the style characteristics seem to confirm the old tradition that the portrait is of Pieter Pecquius. This identification is first found in the catalogue of the sale in 1817 of the Peeters d'Aertselaer collection, referring to the studio replica now in the Royal Museum, Brussels. Pieter Pecquius (1562-1625), lawyer and diplomat, whose estates included Bouchout, Borsbeke and Hove, was appointed Chancellor of the Sovereign Council of Brabant in 1616,¹ which may well have been the occasion for this portrait. The markedly sculptural composition would fit in with this date, and the document Pecquius is holding so prominently may well be his letter of appointment.

There is a remarkable similarity of style with the portrait of Van Thulden in Munich (No.152; Fig.220), which dates from c.1617 or slightly earlier: the sitter's pose at an angle to the picture surface is the same, albeit in reverse. The comparison also shows up some weaker sides of the present work: in the depiction of the head we do not find the lively brushwork that makes Van Thulden's portrait so expressive. There are also evident *pentimenti*, as in the right arm of the chair.

129. Nicolaas de Respaigne (Fig. 161)

Oil on panel; 206.5 × 120 cm.

Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie. No.92.

PROVENANCE: Nicolaas de Respaigne; bequeathed to his wife Cornelia Draeck, 1647; purchased in 1751 by Wilhelm VIII, Landgraf of Hessen-Cassel, from the Dutch dealer Gerard Hoet.

COPIES: (1) Painting by ? David Teniers II, whereabouts unknown; panel, 25 × 19 cm. PROV. J. B. Lebrun, sale, Paris, 29 September 1806, lot 45; Bonnemaïson; Cologne, Rudolf Peltzer, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 26 May 1914 et seq., No.191. LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p.293, under No.1091; (2) Etching by G. P. Longhi (1766-1831; *Rooses*, IV, p.293, under No.1091).

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1930, No.229; *Siegen*, 1967, not numbered.

LITERATURE: J. Causid, *Verzeichniss der Hochfürstlich-Hessischen Gemälde-Sammlung in Cassel*, Kassel, 1783, p.5, No.13; O. Eisenmann, *Katalog der Königlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel*, Kassel, 1888, pp.57-59, No.84; C. Alhard von Drach, in O. Eisenmann, *op. cit.*, pp. LX-LXI; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 292-293, No.1091; H. Knackfuss, *Rubens, Bielefeld-Leipzig*, 1898, pp.84-85, 96 (repr.); M. Rooses, 'De Man in Oostersch Gewaad uit het Museum van Cassel', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp.103-111; Id., 'L'homme en costume oriental du musée de Cassel', *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, 1900, pp.252-267; *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.377; K. Voll, *Die Meisterwerke der Königlichen Galerie zu Cassel*, Kassel, 1904, pl.129; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.267; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.148, n.1, 194, No.9, pl.CCXXXV; K.d.K., p.174; [E. Herzog], *Katalog der Staatlichen Gemäldegalerie zu Cassel*, Kassel, 1958, No.92 (repr.); E. Herzog, *Die Gemäldegalerie der*

1. For biographical references see V. Brants, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XV, Brussels, 1899, cols. 784-792; L. P. L. Pirenne, 'Petrus Pecquius, dienaar der aartshertogen', in *Voor Rogier*, Hilversum, 1964, pp.81-96.

Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Kassel, 1969, p.28, pl.IV; R. A. Ingrams, 'Rubens and Persia', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, p.197, fig.33; R. Baetens, *Schoten. De geschiedenis van een tweeluik*, Schoten, 1982, pp.12-13 (repr.); B. Schnackenburg, *Flämische Meister in der Kasseler Gemäldegalerie*, Kassel, 1985, p.30.

The sitter is shown frontally and full-length. He stands in an assertive pose, with legs apart and with his left hand on his hip; the right rests on a staff. He is dressed in Turkish style. His dark cloak is trimmed with brown fur; under it is a long violet silk garment ornamented with pomegranate motifs, and red breeches underneath. He wears a broad sash around his waist, and a red and white turban. He is standing on an oriental carpet, which enhances the exotic effect. A strong light brings the figure into sharp relief against the background of a subdued brownish-green. On the left, at the very edge of the picture, is a large palm-branch attached to a handle.

The identity of this westerner in oriental dress was for a long time unknown. However, in 1900, when correcting the earlier description in his *Œuvre de Rubens*, Rooses was able to state that it was the Antwerp merchant Nicolaas de Respaigne. There were two clear pieces of evidence for this. Firstly, in the upper right corner of the panel there are much worn but still recognizable traces of a coat of arms with a field of gules, a silver chevron and roses and a crowned helmet, these being the arms of the Respaigne family.¹ Secondly, in the light of this and the facts discussed further, it was possible to identify this portrait with 'syn turcks contrefeytsel gemaect van Rubbens', which Nicolaas de Respaigne bequeathed to his wife

shortly before he died in 1647.² We have some information about his career.³ He spent a long period in Venice as a commercial agent, at least from 1603 to 1605, and married Elisabeth Stappaert, the sister of his partner Orlandus Stappaert; she died in Venice in 1608. From there he travelled for commercial or other reasons to the Levant, including the Holy Land; in 1615 we encounter him as a member of the Flemish Nation in Aleppo. The title of a 'Knight of Jerusalem' was conferred on him in 1611. In his will, mentioned above, he bequeathed to his son Nicolaas a 'Jerusalem cross and chain' and various Turkish garments and accoutrements which no doubt date from this period: 'het goude cruys van Hierusalem met het goude kettenken daeraen gehecht, ende oock syne turxce kleederen, bogen, bylen ende die andere bijgevoegde turxce rariteyten'. The 'Turkish clothes' no doubt included the costume in which he was painted by Rubens, and the palm-branch in the portrait is a traditional symbol of pilgrims to Jerusalem.⁴ From Venice, De Respaigne and his household returned to Antwerp some time before 24 October 1619, on which day he married his second wife, Cornelia Draeck. Between then and 1630 he is regularly mentioned as amateur in St Luke's Guild and the Chamber of Rhetoric known as 'De Violieren'.⁵ He was also a member of the Romanists' Guild from 1629 onwards,⁶ and owned the estates of Schoten and Horst.

This pose in oriental costume is unique in Rubens's work; however, portraits in exotic costume of Europeans who had travelled in the Near East gradually became fashionable in the seventeenth century. Other well-known examples are Van Dyck's *Robert Shirley* at Petworth⁷ and several portraits by Rembrandt.⁸ A portrait by Nicolas de Largillière of a man in

Persian costume, now in Brunswick, seems to derive from Rubens's *De Respaigne*.⁹ The self-assured, martial bearing and the wide open cloak is, on the other hand, reminiscent of some bravura portraits by Titian such as *Fabrizio Salvariesio*, which I have mentioned earlier as a possible model for Rubens's portrait of Jan van Montfort (No.123; Fig.147).

Various dates have been proposed for the present portrait. The earliest known dating and the one most widely accepted is that of C. Alhard von Drach who in 1888, in a special article in Eisenmann's catalogue of the Kassel collection, proposed the date of c.1624, drawing attention to the very similar pose of the Moorish King in Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi* of that year in the Royal Museum at Antwerp.¹⁰ Rooses agreed, and the same date appears in Erich Herzog's monograph on the Kassel collection, published in 1969. Burchard, on the other hand, took the view that the portrait could not be earlier than 1628 because, according to him, that was the year in which De Respaigne visited the Holy Land. Burchard cited a letter of 9 March 1628 from Rubens to Dupuy referring to 'Un amico mio tornato di fresco da Levante il quale sen ando à Jerusalemme',¹¹ which, he believed, could only have meant De Respaigne. Burchard did not argue the matter further, but his hypothesis does not seem to be confirmed by the fact that De Respaigne is continually mentioned at Antwerp, particularly in the *Liggeren* of the Guild of St Luke, between 1623-24 and 1630. The date of c.1624, and certainly c.1628, seems to me incompatible with the style of the portrait. The smooth and thick paint, the sculptural quality and the use of local colour do not seem to me to warrant a date after 1620. Accordingly I much prefer Oldenbourg's dating of c.1616-18. Significantly, Oldenbourg pub-

lished the reproduction of this portrait opposite that of *Tomyris and Cyrus*, now in Boston,¹² which he dated to about the same time. The strongly modelled figure in Moorish dress in that painting is indeed a much better parallel with the portrait of De Respaigne than the King in the *Adoration* of 1624, despite the greater similarity of pose. From this point of view we may wonder whether De Respaigne did not have his portrait painted by Rubens on his return to Antwerp, which, as pointed out above, must have been before 24 October 1619. The 'Turkish clothes' and the pose would then have been used by Rubens some years later, in 1624, for the Moorish King in the Antwerp *Adoration of the Magi*.

1. Cf. *Rietstap, Armorial Illustré*, V, pl.CXLVIII.
2. The document was published *in extenso*, in M. Rooses, 'De man in Oostersch gewaad...', *op. cit.*, p.104.
3. These biographical facts concerning De Respaigne were taken from R. Baetens, *loc. cit.* It is to be noted that we have no information for the years between 1619 and 1623. However, there is no reason to assume with Rooses (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.377) that De Respaigne went to Jerusalem during those years and not earlier.
4. Cf. e.g. the well-known portraits of Jerusalem pilgrims, painted by Jan van Scorel (*Friedländer*, XII, pls.344-347). Marten van Heemskerck (R. Grosshans, *Maerten van Heemskerck. Die Gemälde*, Berlin, 1980, pl.52a) and Antonio Moro (*Friedländer*, XIII, pl.169), as well as Rubens's own portrait of Jan van der Linden (No.116; Fig.139).
5. Cf. *Rombouts-Van Lerijs*, I, pp.604, 613, 615, 628, 629, 640, 641, 654, 656, 669, 671; II, pp.12, 20.
6. *Ibid.*, I, p.604.
7. Cf. *K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, p.510.
8. Cf. e.g. A. Bredius (ed. H. Gerson), *Rembrandt. The Complete Edition of the Paintings*, London, 1969, pp.144, 153.
9. Cf. J[ohanna] L[essmann], in R. Klessmann, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig*, Munich, 1978, pp.126-127 (repr.).
10. *K.d.K.*, p.277.
11. *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.374. Rooses, commenting on this letter (*op. cit.*, p.377), also identified the friend as De Respaigne, but added that he had returned from the Levant in c. 1624 (see also n.3 above).
12. *K.d.K.*, p.175; *Görts-Held* (p.39, No.83, pl.67) proposed the somewhat later date of c.1620.

130. Gaspar Rinckens (?) (Fig. 162)

Oil on panel; 41 × 29 cm.

Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, No. 1739.

PROVENANCE: Charles Sedelmeyer, Paris (1898); Rodolphe Kann, Paris; Martin Bromberg, Hamburg; acquired for the then Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, in 1925.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 5; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 49 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p. 302, No. III2; *Sedelmeyer Gallery, The Three Hundred Paintings by Old Masters*, Paris, 1898, p. 186, No. 165 (repr.); W. Bode, *Catalogue de la Collection Rodolphe Kann*, I, Paris, 1907, p. 27, pl. 26; J. G. van Gelder, 'Belangrijke aanwinsten in onze musea', *Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten*, 1925, pp. 82-84; D. Hannema, 'Verslag omtrent den toestand en de aanwinsten van het Museum Boymans over het jaar 1925', *Jaarverslag Museum Boymans*, 1926, p. 4 (repr.); [D. Hannema], *Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, P. P. Rubens*, Rotterdam, [1934], pp. 6, 10, No. 2 (repr.); E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Rubens in Rotterdam', *Apollo*, LXXXVI, 65, 1967, pp. 41-42, fig. 7; *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam. Old Paintings 1400-1900. Illustrations*, Rotterdam, 1972, p. 220, No. 1739 (repr.); E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Rubens' Portrait of a Carmelite Monk in Rotterdam', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1980, pp. 227-231, fig. 1.

Bust of a Carmelite monk, in three-quarter view; his eyes are fixed on the spectator and his hands folded as if in prayer.

Independently of each other,¹ David Freedberg and Egbert Haverkamp Bege-

mann suggested that this represents Gaspar Rinckens, Prior of the Antwerp monastery of Shod Carmelites from 1622 to 1625.² They were led to this conclusion by the resemblance to a portrait drawing of Rinckens in the *Chronographia Sacri Carmeli* of c. 1746, now in the Antwerp City Archives (Fig. 163).³ The pointed beard and thick lips, the wide open eyes and the oblique fold of skin between the eyebrow and eyelid, are indeed similar. It might even be thought that the eighteenth-century drawing is a rather feeble echo of Rubens's original. This is not so, however. The direct model for the drawing is a seventeenth-century painting, not hitherto noticed, in the Hermitage in Leningrad (Fig. 164),⁴ where it is listed as 'school of Rubens'. This painting proves that the drawing is not an inferior reproduction of Rubens's portrait. A comparison also makes it appear less certain that the Rotterdam portrait is of Rinckens: in particular, there is rather too much difference in the mouth. I would therefore express some reservation as to the identification proposed by Freedberg and Haverkamp Begemann.

The rather accentuated plasticity of this portrait presupposes a date not much later than c. 1615. If the man represented here is really Rinckens, one must wonder on which occasion the portrait was made: neither Rinckens's appointment as prior in 1622, nor his death from the plague in 1625 can be considered.

1. David Freedberg informed me of his views in July 1977.

2. Cf. F. Donnet, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XIX, Brussels, 1907, cols. 345-346.

3. Cf. also, under No. 87.

4. Inv. No. 4625; oil on panel, 46.5 × 35 cm. I am grateful to Frans Baudouin for drawing my attention to this work.

131. Nicolaas Rockox

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Diego Duarte, Antwerp, 1682.

LITERATURE: G. Dogaer, 'De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, p.209.

In the famous collection of Diego Duarte there is a mention in 1682 of a portrait of Nicolaas Rockox begun by Rubens, but in which the body and hand were the work of Jan Boeckhorst, known as Lange Jan.¹ From this scanty description it cannot of course be judged whether the painting was a replica of the well-known portrait on the left panel of the triptych of *The Incredulity of St Thomas*, now in the Royal Museum in Antwerp.² If so, however, Boeckhorst, who did not come to Antwerp till about 1626,³ must have worked up a much older portrait. It may indeed have been a painting that remained unfinished in Rubens's studio after his death. Other works by Rubens are known to have been completed after his death by Boeckhorst, such as *The Assumption of the Blessed* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich.⁴

1. 'Het conterfeytsel van den Borgemeester Rockockx 't lijf en hant van Lange Jan kost guld. 15.' (published in G. Dogaer, *loc. cit.*).
2. Cf. D. Freedberg, *The Life of Christ after the Passion (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VII)*, London, 1983, pp.87-89, No.19, fig.50.
3. Cf. H. Lahrkamp, 'Johann Bockhorst 1603-1668', *Westfalen*, LX, 1982, p.7.
4. Cf. D. Freedberg, *op. cit.*, pp.233-238, No.53, fig.170.

132. Antonius de Roore (Figs. 165, 166)

Oil on panel; 81.5 × 62 cm; formerly inscribed (before 1966) in the right upper

corner, by a later hand: ÆT. SV.Æ. 51 (in black) / 1628 (in red).

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Dr Bernouilli, Basle, since 1932; sold through M. Schulthess, Basle, 1934; Agnew's, London, 1966; L. R. Bradbury; sale, London (Christie's), 11 December 1984, lot 128 (repr., as *Henricus Lancellottus*); sale, London (Christie's), 5 July 1985, lot 19 (repr., as *Henricus Lancellottus*).

COPIES: (1) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; panel, 64 × 40 cm. PROV. Amsterdam, Augustinian Fathers; sold by them in 1933; sold in Finland through Eric Burg Berger, in 1935; (2) Painting, with the hands in a different pose, whereabouts unknown; panel, 83 × 63 cm. PROV. Brussels, Albert Warnant. LIT. E. Greindl, *Corneille de Vos, portraitiste flamand (1584-1651)*, Brussels, 1944, pp.79, 97-98, 106, 136, pl.19 (as *C. de Vos*).

EXHIBITED: On loan to the National Gallery, London, c.1967-71; *The British Antique Dealer's Association Golden Jubilee Exhibition*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1968, No.7 (repr., as *Henricus Lancellottus*); *Master Paintings. Recent Acquisitions*, Agnew's, London, 1975, No.17 (repr., as *Henricus Lancellottus*).

LITERATURE: B. N[icolson], 'Current and forthcoming Exhibitions', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVII, 1975, pp.404, 410, 413 (repr., as *Henricus Lancellottus*).

Antonius de Roore (1577-1655), a Benedictine born at Courtrai, became Abbot of St Martin's at Tournai in 1623. He played an important part in the rebuilding of the abbey complex, and did much to stimulate the monks' devotion and zeal

for learning. The portrait is identified by his arms with mitre and crozier and the motto *OMNIA VANITAS*, which were visible in the upper right corner (Fig. 166) before restoration in 1966.¹ An inscription beneath the arms and motto indicates that he was aged 51 when the portrait was painted in 1628. To the few known facts about his life may be added that he was abbot at Tournai when Jordaens's painting of *St Martin Healing a Possessed Man* (dated 1630, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Brussels) was commissioned for the abbey church.² He is here seen half-length and in three-quarter view, holding a prayer-book in his left hand. His left forefinger is inside the book, and he holds the bookmark-ribbon between the thumb and forefinger of his right hand.

Edith Greindl was the first critic, and till now the only one, to identify the sitter as Antonius de Roore. She did so with reference not to the present painting but to a slightly varied copy in a private collection in Brussels (see above, Copy [2]), which she mistakenly attributed to Cornelis de Vos. Burchard appears to have taken no account of the information concerning De Roore. He proposed to identify the sitter as Henricus Lancellottus (1576–1643), who was prior of the Augustinians in Antwerp when, in 1628, Rubens painted his famous *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine* for the high altar of their church.³ The Benedictine habit is black, like the Augustinian, and the date and age indicated on the portrait are about right for Antonius de Roore. Burchard, however, ignored not only Greindl's information but the fact that the arms in the portrait are not those of the Brabant family of Lancelots or Lancellottus; moreover the mitre and crozier are appropriate for an abbot but not for a prior.⁴ Nevertheless, Burchard's identi-

fication of the sitter as Lancellottus has been accepted to this day.

It seems to me probable that the date of 1628 which originally appeared on the painting is that of its execution, which is quite plausible from the stylistic point of view. The work has suffered from restoration, and in the hands particularly there are many traces of wear. It is noteworthy, however, that we do not find here the plasticity characteristic of Rubens's earlier Antwerp portraits. The face makes a somewhat flat impression, and the gradations of shadow are more fluid. The work in fact presages Rubens's basic evolution, around 1630, towards a much more fluent pictorial style. It is curious therefore that, when the painting was recently exhibited at Agnew's, the catalogue stated that it 'belongs to the years immediately following the artist's return from Italy in 1608'.

The portrait gives an impression of tranquillity and reserve, contrasting with the dynamic extrovert quality that characterizes not only most of Rubens's princes, commanders and burghers but also such clerics as Ophovius (No. 126; Fig. 155) or Van Thulden (No. 152; Fig. 220). The commissioner of the portrait may well have desired it to show something of the contemplative piety of the Benedictine Order. At all events, Rubens did not resort to a Titianesque compositional scheme; instead, as Benedict Nicolson rightly remarked, there is a certain affinity with portraits of the dawning Antwerp Renaissance of the first years of the sixteenth century. The absorbed expression and the quiet play of the fingers give the sitter a meditative air that can be similarly felt in the portraits of a Quinten Metsijs or a Joos van Cleve.

1. See Dom U. Berlière, *Monasticon Belge*, I, Maredsous, 1890, pp. 289–290. The arms seem to have been painted in later, but are certainly those of the monk

in the portrait: they also appear on the two copies after it (see above, Copies [1] and [2]). The inscription, like the arms, is not autograph but appears reliable; the date 1629 appears on one of the two copies ascribed by Greindl to C. de Vos (see above, Copy [2]).

2. This painting (see R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, Antwerp and London, 1982, pl.97) was formerly above the high altar of St Martin's abbey church. It was presumably commissioned on De Roore's initiative, since his arms with the three roses can be seen on the base of the pillars to the left of the picture.
3. For biographical data on Lancellottus see *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, IV, pp.251, 257, 278, and E. van Arenbergh in *Biographie Nationale*, XI, Brussels, 1890-91, cols.245-246.
4. For the arms of the Lancelots family see *Rietstap, Armorial*, II, p.14 (described as 'aux 1 et 4 d'or à une hure de sanglier de sable; aux 2 et 3 de gueule une étoile d'or').

133. Peter Paul Rubens (?) (Fig. 167)

Oil on panel; 50.8 × 36.8 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Private Collection, London (1947).

Portrait *en buste* of a young man with medium-length curly hair and a curled moustache. The head and body are in three-quarter view, and he is looking straight ahead. He wears a white starched pleated collar.

Burchard believed this to be Rubens's earliest self-portrait, painted before he left Antwerp in 1600. In fact, such an early self-portrait is mentioned in the collection of the painter Abraham Matthijs, in 1649.¹ I do not think that Burchard's assumption can be right as regards either the attribution or the identity of the subject. I see no stylistic resemblance to the more or less certain work of Rubens's earliest years, such as the *Architect* or *Geographer* in the Metropolitan Museum at New York,² nor to Rubens's later

work, and I find it hard to recognize his features in the portrait. This must naturally be compared with the self-portrait in the group at Cologne,³ which dates from the beginning of Rubens's Italian period; the comparison does not seem in any way to support Burchard's identification.

1. 'het contrefeytsel van Ruebens in syn jonckheyt van hem selven gedaen' (*Denuec, Konstkamers*, p.123). Rooses (*Rooses*, IV, pp.248-249, No.1042) and Müller Hofstede (J.Müller Hofstede, 'Zur frühen Bildnismalerei von Peter Paul Rubens', *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, p.286) connected this document with a so-called self-portrait by Rubens, in the A.-G.Thiermann sale, Cologne, 20 May 1867 (lot 303, repr.). The small engraving illustrating the sale catalogue (reproduced by J.Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, fig.11) shows that the inscription *AETATIS MEI XXI 1599* was visible on the panel. However, the reasons for the proposed identification of the sitter as Rubens are not very convincing. This identification is based on two facts: first, the young man is represented as a painter, with palette and paint-brushes; secondly, the inscribed date and age make it clear that the sitter was born c.1577-78. I cannot see any connection between the likeness of the artist represented here and that of Rubens in his earliest known self-portrait, the above-mentioned *Freundschaftsbild* at Cologne, dating from the painter's Italian years.

2. *Goris-Held*, pl.1.

3. *Huemer, Portraits*, No.37, fig.115.

134. Peter Paul Rubens (Figs. 168, 170)

Oil on panel; 78 × 61 cm.

Florence, *Uffizi*. Inv. No.1890.

PROVENANCE: ? Received by Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, as a gift from his son-in-law Johann-Wilhelm, Duke of Neuburg and Elector Palatine, c.1713.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Barcelona, private collection (1981); canvas; (2) Engraving by C. Gregori (1719-1759) from a drawing by G.B. Campiglia (1692-? 1762) (*V.S.*, p.159, No.28); (3) Engraving by G.M.Preisler, 1781 (*V.S.*, p.159, No.31); (4) Mezzotint engraving by C. Towney, 1778 (*V.S.*, p.161, No.70).

EXHIBITED: Florence, 1977, No.83 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.146, No.511; Rooses, IV, pp.253–254, No.1046; K.d.K., ed Rosenberg, p.7; Glück, *Review*, p.54, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.157; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.92, 215, pl. LXXXIII; K.d.K., p.141; Burchard, *Nachträge*, pp.392–393; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.462–466, 508, fig.265; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.291–297 (as somewhat doubtful); M.Jaffé, 'Rubens in Italy: A Self-Portrait', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, p.605 (repr.), and *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976–1978, pp.73–74 (repr.); D. Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Florence, 1977*, pp.201–202, No.83 (repr.); Warnke, *Rubens*, pp.32, 34, fig.16; Jaffé, *Exhibitions*, p.136; M.C[hianini], in *Uffizi, Cat. 1980*, p.982, No. A792 (repr.).

A bust-length portrait: Rubens's head is in three-quarter view to the left, his eyes fixed on the spectator; his body, however, is almost in profile. Bare-headed and partly bald, he is dressed in a dark costume with a flat white lace collar. Smith already expressed the opinion that only the head was painted by Rubens, the rest being a later addition so that the piece could be included in the Tuscan Grand Ducal Collection of portraits of artists. Burchard was the first to establish that the whole lower part, as far as 26 cm. from the bottom, is a later, unauthentic addition; there is also an added strip on the right, 8 cm. wide from top to bottom. The whole of the costume is heavily over-painted.

Opinions vary as to dating. Rosenberg placed the portrait in Rubens's Italian years, at c.1602. Oldenbourg preferred to date the work c.1615–18. Rooses proposed c.1628 on the strength of a resem-

blance, which I do not find wholly convincing, to the 'hidden' self-portrait of 1628–29 in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado.¹ This was generally accepted by critics subsequent to Rosenberg and Oldenbourg, in particular Glück, Burchard and Evers, and also Bodart. However, as Jaffé pointed out in 1977, this late dating 'separates it [the portrait] from the Four Philosophers' in the Palazzo Pitti (No.117; Fig.140). The present self-portrait indeed appears to be a reverse image of the portrait of Rubens in that work (Fig.169), and his features do not appear much older. Hence I would argue for an early dating of the present work, around 1615, which would also accord with its plasticity.

Some correspondence of the Tuscan grand dukes in the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century refers to their wish to acquire a self-portrait by Rubens, but it is not entirely clear whether this was the present work or the copy after the 1623 version in the British Royal Collection (Fig.173). In 1671 Leopoldo de' Medici asked the Internuncio in the Southern Netherlands, Monsignor Airoidi, to enquire about a self-portrait by Rubens which, he had heard, was in the possession of Juffrouw Duarte in Antwerp. As a result the Monsignore ascertained that a certain 'De Voet' in Antwerp—evidently Alexander Voet—possessed a portrait of Rubens and also one of Van Dyck, both of the same format and both painted by the latter artist.² At the end of 1693, portraits of Rubens and Van Dyck were offered to the grand duke, but without result.³ Earlier however, on 26 February 1683, Cosimo de' Medici III wrote that he had acquired a portrait of Rubens and one of the latter's wife during his stay in the Netherlands in 1667 or 1669.⁴ This set may well be identical with, on the one hand, the Uffizi copy of

Rubens's *Self-Portrait* of 1623, made for the Prince of Wales (No.135, Copy[2]; Fig.173), and, on the other hand, the portrait of *Isabella Brant*, also in the Uffizi (No.76; Fig.41): both pictures have similar measurements and it may be conjectured that one of the first owners of *Isabella's* portrait had the copy of Rubens's *Self-Portrait* made, so as to form a pair of companion pieces. Cosimo also acquired another self-portrait by Rubens some time before 22 August 1713, as on that date he thanked his son-in-law Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine and Duke of Neuburg, for a present of two self-portraits by Rubens and Van Dyck respectively.⁵ That Rubens portrait may be identical with the painting discussed here.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.26.

2. Cf. W. Prinz, *Die Sammlung der Selbstbildnisse in den Uffizien*, I, Berlin, 1971, pp.95, 159, nn.507-509. Both portraits had an oval form; they were still in Voet's possession at the moment of his death, in 1689 (see *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.311).

3. W. Prinz, *op. cit.*, pp.113, 161, nn.713-714.

4. *Ibid.*, pp.123, 162, n.815.

5. Cosimo's letter has been translated in full into German by T. Levin, in: 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kunstbestrebungen in dem Hause Pfalz-Neuburg', *Jahrbuch des Düsseldorfer Geschichtsvereins*, XX, 1906, p.179. The information is also given, though without the date, by Mols, according to Rooses, IV, p.254, under No.1046.

135. Peter Paul Rubens (Figs. 171, 176)

Oil on panel; 86 × 62 cm.; inscribed and dated at the top: *Petrus Paullus Rubens / Se ipsum expressit / A.D. MDCXXXIII / Æ tatis Suae XXXV.*

Windsor Castle, Collection of H. M. the Queen.

PROVENANCE: Painted in 1623 for Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I, King of Great Britain, and hung in St James's Palace, Westminster; Commonwealth sale, London, 19 December 1651,

lot 1275; purchased by Bass and others; recovered for the Royal Collection at the Restoration, and successively exhibited in Whitehall (1687-88), Kensington Palace, Windsor Castle (1776), Carleton House (1819) and Buckingham Palace (1833).

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.172), Canberra, National Gallery of Australia; canvas, 89 × 67 cm. PROV. Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580-1637); bequeathed by him to Boniface Bourilly, Aix-en-Provence (1564-1648); Aix-en-Provence, Michel Bourilly (1596-1688); Aix-en-Provence, Michel de Fabri-Bourilly (1659-1726); Aix-en-Provence, Gaspard de Fabri-Bourilly; Honoré-Sauveur de Fabri-Bourilly (1737-1821); bequeathed by the latter to François Bermond, Aix-en-Provence (1752-1842); bequeathed by the latter to M. Roux-Alpheran, Aix-en-Provence (1777-1858); Aix-en-Provence, Mme de la Lauzière, the latter's daughter; Paris, Kraemer; purchased by Léopold Goldtschmidt, Paris, in 1900; Paris, Vicomte Louis de Sartiges, son-in-law of the latter (d.1924); Paris, Gilberte de Sartiges, the latter's daughter (d.1943); Louis Greyfié de Bellecombe, 1943-1977; sale, London (Christie's), 15 July 1977, lot 214 (as *Studio of Rubens*). LIT. P.-J. de Haitze, *Les curiosités les plus remarquables de la ville d'Aix*, Aix-en-Provence, 1679, p.61 (as *Le Portrait de Rubens par le Vandeix son Disciple et son élève; Inventaire du cabinet de feu Mons. l'Abbé de Bourilly d'Aix-en-Provence*, [1726], ed. by E. Bonaffé; 'Un dossier de catalogues inédits', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1878, pp.414-428 (as *le portrait de Rubens peint par Van Dic*); Rouard, *Notice sur la bibliothèque d'Aix précédée d'un essai sur l'histoire littéraire de cette ville*, Paris-Aix-en-Provence, 1831, p.76 (as *le portrait de Rubens par Van Dick*); A. Michiels, *L'Art flamand dans l'Est et le Midi de la France*, Paris, 1877,

p.272 (as A. Van Dyck); G.Hipp [H. Guillebert], 'Un portrait de Rubens par Van Dyck', *L'Artiste*, October 1887, pp.262-272 (as A. Van Dyck); M. Rooses, 'Un portrait de Rubens par Van Dyck', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, 1888, pp.238-243; Rooses, IV, pp.252-253, No.1045; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.312-317; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens to himself: the portraits sent to Charles I and to N.-C. Fabri de Peiresc', in [Mina Gregori ed.], *Rubens e Firenze*, Florence, 1983, pp.19-32 (repr.); (2) Painting (Fig.173), Florence, Uffizi, Inv. No.1884; panel, 85 × 61 cm. PROV. ? Purchased in the Netherlands by Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany, in 1667 or 1669. EXH. Florence, 1977, No.84 (repr.). LIT. F. Zacchioli, *Description de la galerie royale de Florence*, II, Florence, 1783, p.274 (as Rubens); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.145, No.510 (as Rubens); Rooses, IV, pp.251-252, No.1044 (as Rubens); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.328, fig.349; D. Bodart, in Cat. Exh. Florence, 1977, p.204, No.84 (repr.); M. C[hiarini], in *Uffizi*, Cat. 1980, p.982, No. A793 (repr.); (3) Painting, lost; panel, 84.5 × 64 cm. PROV. Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, until 1945. LIT. M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung der königlichen Bildergalerie und des Kabinetts im Sanssouci*, Potsdam, 1764, No.82; E. Henschel-Simon, *Die Gemälde und Skulpturen der Bildergalerie von Sanssouci*, Berlin, 1930, No.111; Bernhard, *Verlorene Werke*, p.56; (4) Painting after (2), Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes; panel, 74 × 56 cm. PROV. Sluis, Mattheus Hennequin (1843); undivided property of the families Hennequin, Stern and Verhoeff; purchased for the Siegen Museum in 1972. EXH. Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1961-66 (on loan, as Rubens); Siegen, 1967, not numbered (repr., as Rubens); *Masterpieces from three Centuries*, Cramer, The Hague, No.29 (repr., as Rubens); North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, 1968 (on loan, as Rubens).

LIT. H.G.Evers, 'Selbstbildnisse von Rubens', in Cat. Exh. Siegen, 1967, pp.38-40 (repr., as Rubens); 'Notable Works of Art', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX, 1967, p.728 (repr.); G.C.Vieten, 'Verkaufsausstellung bei Cramer, Den Haag', *Weltkunst*, XXXVIII, 1968, p.396; B. Roedig, 'Die Siegener Rubensgemälde', *Siegerland*, LXII, 1976, pp.79-81 (repr.); (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 77.5 × 62.9 cm. PROV. Venice, Antonio Michieli; Blenheim Castle, The Dukes of Marlborough, sale, London (Christie's), 24 July 1886, lot 71 (as Rubens); London, Colnaghi. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.248, No.844 (as Rubens); Scharf, *Cat. Blenheim*, p.59 (as Rubens); (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 78 × 62 cm. PROV. Brussels, C.-L. Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27-30 June 1921, lot 110 (repr., as Rubens); (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 82.5 × 62.2 cm. PROV. Paris, Mme Tampé; New York, André de Coppet. EXH. Detroit, 1936, No.28 (as Rubens); *World's Fair*, New York, 1939, No.332 (as Rubens). LIT. W. Heil, in *The Antiquarian*, XV, December 1930, pp.45-49 (repr., as Rubens); P. Hendy, in *Parnassus*, V, April 1933, pp.12-13 (repr., as Rubens); E.F. Richardson, in *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, XV, 1936, pp.61-63 (repr., as Rubens); Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.163, No.85 (as Rubens); Goris-Held, p.46, No. A14; Larsen, *Rubens*, pp.170, 172, 217, No.67 (repr., as Rubens); (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 76 × 63.5 cm. PROV. Santa Barbara, Cal., A. Falvy. LIT. Goris-Held, p.47, No. A17; (9) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Duke of Norfolk (1782). LIT. Rooses, IV, p.250, under No.1043; (10) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Count Wallmoden Grimborn (1804). LIT. Rooses, IV, p.250, under No.1043; (11) Engraving by Paulus Pontius, 1630 (Fig.174; V.S.,

p.157, No.1); (12) Engraving after (9) by J.G.Facius after a drawing by J.Boydell, 1782 (V.S., p.159, No.29); (13) Mezzotint engraving after (10) by J.G.Huck, 1797 (V.S., p.159, No.34).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1820, No.95; British Institution, London, 1826, No.52; British Institution, London, 1827, No.87; *Art Treasures of the United Kingdom*, Manchester, 1857, No.550; *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.612; Royal Academy, London, 1870, No.126; Royal Academy, London, 1876, No.152; *London, 1938*, No.55; *The King's Pictures*, Royal Academy, London, 1946-47, No.281; *London, 1953-54*, No.190; *London, 1972*, No.15 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. van der Doort, [*Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I*], ed by O.Millar, in *The Walpole Society*, XXXVII, 1958-60, p.37; W.Bathoe, *A Catalogue of Pictures belonging to the King James the Second*, London 1758, p.10, No.109; G.Vertue, *Note Books*, ed., in *The Walpole Society*, XXIV, 1936, pp.97, 130; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.159-160, No.558; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, pp.171-172; Waagen, *Treasures*, II, pp.435-436, 478; N.Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers illustrative of the Life of Sr Peter Paul Rubens...*, London, 1859, pp.64, 355; Rooses, IV, pp.249-253, No.1043; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, frontispiece, p.454; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.159, 228, pl. CCXLII; K.d.K., frontispiece; C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Principal Pictures in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle*, London, 1937, p.275; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.258, 298, 460-462, 466, 508, 510, fig.262; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.328, 330, 333-345, fig.347; A.Blunt and M.Whinney, *The Nation's Pictures*, London, 1950, p.20; O.Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's Catalogue of the Collections of Charles I', *The Walpole Society*, XXXVII, 1958-60, p.37;

Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.298-302; Warnke, *Rubens*, pp.29-30, 32, fig.13; M.Jaffé, 'Rubens to himself: the portraits sent to Charles I and to N.-C.Fabri de Peiresc', in [Mina Gregori ed.], *Rubens e Firenze*, Florence, 1983, pp.19-32 (repr.).

Rubens is here shown to bust-length in three-quarter view, looking directly out of the picture. His dark costume is relieved only by a flat white lace collar. He wears a broad-brimmed hat encircled with a gold cord. Just below his collar can be seen links of a gold chain, hanging on his breast under a black cape. The background is a rock formation. To the left of it there is a glimpse of a late afternoon sky.

This portrait, exceptionally, is signed and dated, and its history is well known. On 1 March 1623 William Trumbull, the English minister in Brussels, wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that he had been instructed to negotiate with Rubens for a self-portrait that the Prince of Wales, later Charles I, wished to have in his gallery.¹ According to the date of 1623 on the portrait itself, it must have been painted immediately. The prince's commission was conveyed by Earl Danby.² This is probably the basis for the statement in Van der Doort's inventory of Charles I's collection in 1649 that the portrait was a gift from Danby to the King.³ That Charles in fact commissioned it himself is clear from Rubens's letter to Valavez of 10 January 1625, where the painter writes that the prince had asked so pressing for his self-portrait that he could hardly refuse, even though he did not think it fitting to present such a work to a prince of such high degree.⁴ As Oliver Millar suggested in 1972, the portrait may have been regarded to some extent as a substitute for a painting commissioned from Rubens in

1621 which had not met with the prince's favour, as it turned out to be 'a peece scarce touched by his [Rubens's] hand'.

This is the most famous of all Rubens's self-portraits: copied more than any others, it has done most to form posterity's view of the artist's appearance. This is undoubtedly due to the fine engraving that Paul Pontius made of it in 1630 (Fig. 174) on his own initiative and, as the address indicates, after his own design and not one by Rubens.⁵ It need not be, as Renger suggests, that Pontius made his design for the print before Rubens's portrait was sent to England. The engraver may well have worked from a workshop copy, such as the ones listed above.

There is other evidence too of copies made years after the original was dispatched to the Prince of Wales. On 8 March 1627, Peiresc wrote to Jean Chalette that Rubens had promised to send him a self-portrait,⁶ and on 2 December 1628 Rubens wrote to Peiresc from Madrid that he hoped the painting had reached him. The letter added that, some time before leaving for Spain, Rubens had entrusted the task of forwarding the picture to the brother-in-law of Nicolaas Picqueri, his own future brother-in-law.⁷ It must, however, have been very much delayed. On 9 August 1629, Rubens wrote anxiously to Peiresc that if it was still in Antwerp he would ask for the crate to be opened, as the work might have suffered from being deprived of light for so long. In particular it might have yellowed, in which case it should be exposed to the sun for a time to restore the freshness of the colours.⁸ However, the painting must have reached Peiresc before 23 August, as on that day the poet Nostradamus wrote to his friend that he understood the latter had received Rubens's self-portrait, and he enclosed a sonnet to celebrate the event.⁹

From other letters, written by Peiresc, we know that this painting was a copy. A letter to the Dutch painter Abraham de Vries, on 28 April 1628, makes this quite clear. In that letter Peiresc is asking de Vries, whom he had met earlier in Aix-en-Provence¹⁰ and who now resided in Antwerp, if he could not find 'quelque galant homme qui prendra la peine d'en (i.e. from Rubens's *Self-Portrait*) tirer une bonne copie pour l'amour de moy'.¹¹ On 30 June, Peiresc claims to be satisfied with a copy, as he considers himself not important enough to ask Rubens himself to paint the portrait.¹² We also learn from the correspondence between the two men that Rubens's portrait was to join a collection devoted to celebrated contemporary humanists: thus we are informed that Peiresc also wished to have portraits of such men as Gevartius and Erycius Puteanus.¹³

The portrait, now in Canberra (Fig. 172), is a replica on canvas of the panel in the British Royal Collection (see above, Copy [1]) and is from Peiresc's possession, as the above pedigree makes clear. In 1679 it was attributed to Van Dyck. This attribution, wrong though it is, may nevertheless suggest that among Peiresc's descendants there existed from the beginning a tradition of connecting the portrait with Rubens's workshop rather than with the master himself. The attribution to Van Dyck was rightly rejected by Roeses, but both he and Burchard also had doubts as to Rubens's authorship. I agree with them in regarding it as a studio product. In this connection I would recall Rubens's expressed fear that the colours might have become damaged. This fear may have been genuine, but conceivably it was designed to excuse the inferior pictorial quality of the studio replica. Only Jaffé, in a recent article, thought both the

Windsor and Canberra versions to be originals of equal quality.¹⁴

1. 'My L: Davers [i.e. Lord Danby]... doth by a lettre commande me, to traete with him [i.e. Rubens] for his owne Pourtrait, to be placed in the Princes Gallery' (Rooses-Ruelens, III, p.134).
 2. See above, n.1.
 3. '... 2... Item the Picture of Sir Peeter Paule Rubins, in a black hatt and Cloake, and a Goulden cheyne Being his owne picture done by himselfe Soe bigg as the life to the Shoulders, In a black Ebbone frame. Given to *ju M* by my Lo: danbie' (O.Millar, 'Abraham van der Doort's catalogue of the collections of Charles I', *op. cit.*, p.37).
 4. 'aussy Monsieur le prince de Galles... est le prince plus amateur de la peinture qui soit au monde. Il... m'a demandé, par l'agent d'Angleterre résidant à Brusselles avec telle insistance mon pourtrait, qu'il n'y eut aucun moyen de le pouvoir refuzer encores qu'il ne me sembloit pas convenable d'envoyer mon pourtrait à un prince de telle qualité, mais il forza ma modestie...' (Rooses-Ruelens, III, p.320).
 5. The text of the address reads as follows: *Paulus Pontius sculpsit et excudit. Cum Privilegio*. The drawing, which was the model for the engraving, was part of the Crozat collection (sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 821); it is now lost. Another drawing was recorded by Michel, in 1771 (Michel, *Histoire*, p.102): it belonged to the Antwerp Jesuits and is supposed to have been taken to Vienna after the suppression of the Jesuit Order in 1773 (cf. Rooses, IV, p.250). Four states of Pontius's engraving are known (cf. H.Hymans, 'Rubens d'après ses portraits. Étude iconographique', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1885, pp.11-20). It would not be useful to enumerate here the many works copied or derived from Pontius's celebrated engraving. Above I have only listed the 17th-century engravings which are copies of the Pontius prototype; for the later derivations from the type, see especially *Daugherty, Self-Portraits*, pp.48-60.
 6. Published in modern French by Tamizey de Larroque, in *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 1884, according to G.Hipp, *op. cit.*, p.265.
 7. 'Spero che V.S.haveva già ricevuto il mio ritratto che consignai molti giorni, inanzi la mia partenza d'Anversa, al cogniato del S' Pycqueri come egli mi haveva ordinato' (Rooses-Ruelens, V, p.11).
 8. 'Se io sapessi chel mio ritratto fosse ancora in Anversa io lo farei ritenere per aprir la cassa et vedere se sendo stato rinchiuso tanto tempo in una cassa senza veder l'aria, non sia guasto, et si come suole accadere agli colori freschi ingialdito di maniera che non parirà più quello che fu. Il remedio però, se arriverà così mal trattato, sarà di metterlo più volte al sole che sa macerare questa ridundanza del oglio che causa questa mutanza, e si per inter-
- valli torna ad imbrunirse bisogna di novo esporlo ai raggi solari che sono l'unico antidoto contra questo morbo cardiaco' (Rooses-Ruelens, V, pp.153-154).
9. 'J'ai appris que vous avez receu le pourtrait de M. Rubens de sa propre main, sur quoy admirant ce personnage et sa réputation, j'ai fait le sonnet que je vous envoie; que si vous l'estimés digne de lui et de moy, vous luy ferés tenir avec mes tres humbles recommandations: n'estant pas chose nouvelle que la vertu nous face aymer et admirer ceux que nous n'avons jamais veus' (G.Hipp, *op. cit.*, p.266). The sonnet reads as follows: 'AU TRÈS EXCELLENT ET DIVIN RUBENS
- Si sous la firmament et la grande ceinture
Par ou chasqu'an Phoebus les douze signes fait
Se voit quelque mortel si digne et si parfait,
Que l'on doive tenir pour Dieu de la peinture:*
- Rubens, ange plustost qu'humaine créature,
Miracle de cet âge, est l'unique en effait,
Qui veut que son labeur estonne la nature
Bien plus vif et parlant, que vif et contrefait.*
- Don qu'à ce Belge seul Jupiter distribuë
Mais qu'aux heureux aspects il faut qu'on attribüe
Plus qu'à toute industrie et tout scavoïr humain.*
- Si que s'ilz reprenoynt cette mortelle fange,
Freminet, Titian, Raphaël, Michel-Ange
Dresseroynt des autelz à sa divine main.'*
- (G.Hipp, *op. cit.*, p.267).
10. See J.Foucارت, 'Abraham de Vries en France', *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de l'art français*, 1980, pp.127-135.
 11. Published in C.Ruelens, 'Le peintre Adrien de Vries', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, p.86.
 12. 'Quant au portrait de M.Rubens, c'est sans doute que je ne puis reporter qu'a grand heur et avantage de l'avoir de sa main mesme, ne croyant pas avoir mérité de luy donner ceste peine, je me serais bien contenté d'une copie...' (C.Ruelens, *op. cit.*, p.88).
 13. Cf. C.Ruelens, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
 14. Rubens, when writing about his self-portrait, speaks of 'mio ritratto' (see above, nn.8 and 9). This, however, is no proof of Rubens's authorship, as Jaffé (*op. cit.*, pp.25-26) seems to suggest.

136. Peter Paul Rubens (Figs.177,178)

Oil on panel; 61.5 × 45 cm.
Antwerp, Rubenshuis.

PROVENANCE: Prince de Rubempré, sale, Brussels, 11 April 1765, lot 67; Canon Pierre Wouters, sale, Brussels, 1 April 1794 et seq., lot 1; Schamp d'Aveschoot, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840 et seq., lot A; Dukes of Arenberg, Brussels and Beaulieu sur Mer; purchased c.1956 by Mr and Mrs Stavros Niarchos, New York; sale, London (Christie's), 8 December 1972, lot 47 (repr.), where purchased by the City of Antwerp.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 66.5 × 51 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 25 February 1966, lot 105; (2) Painting, enlarged to a knee-length representation, together with one of Rubens's sons, Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No.7728; canvas, 138 × 112 cm. PROV. St Petersburg, Stroganoff Collection, where first mentioned in 1807; in the Hermitage since 1932. EXH. *Leningrad*, 1978, No.74 (repr.). LIT. *Collection d'estampes d'après quelques tableaux de la galerie de Son Excellence Mr. le Comte A. Stroganoff*, St Petersburg, 1807, not paginated (as Rubens); G.F.Waagen, *Die Gemäldesammlung in der Kaiserlichen Eremitage zu St Petersburg nebst Bemerkungen über andere dortige Kunstsammlungen*, Munich, 1864, p.403; Rooses, IV, pp.264–265, No.1053 (as Rubens); Musée de l'Ermitage, *Département de l'Art Occidental. Catalogue des peintures*, II, Leningrad, 1958, p.52, No.7728; (3) Painting, same type as (2), Göttingen, Gemäldesammlung der Universität; canvas, 134 × 115 cm. LIT. *Katalog der Gemäldesammlung der Universität Göttingen*, Göttingen, 1926, No.152; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.331, fig.358; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Berlin, F. Arany (1930); (5) Drawing, Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No.8202; black and red chalk, pen, 280 × 195 mm. PROV. Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738–

Vienna, 1822). EXH. *Brussels, 1965*, No.345 (repr., as Rubens); *Vienna, Albertina, 1977*, No.67 (repr.). LIT. Rooses, V, p.276, No.1529 (as Rubens); Glück-Haberdtztl, p.55, No.191 (repr., as Rubens); Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.330 (repr., as Rubens); Held, *Drawings*, I, p.13, fig.11; E. Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina, 1977*, pp.156–157, No.67 (repr.); (6) Etching by Willem Panneels, 1630 (Fig.175; V.S., p.160, No.46); (7) Etching after (6) by Wenzel Hollar, c.1644–51 (G. Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis seiner Kupferstiche*, Berlin, 1853, p.339, No.1498; V.S., p.159, No.37).

LITERATURE: F.-X. de Burtin, *Catalogue des tableaux vendus à Bruxelles depuis 1773*, Brussels, 1803, p.239; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.260, No.880; IX, p.330, No.316; Rooses, IV, pp.255–256, No.1048; J. Nève, 'Quelques portraits de la Galerie d'Arenberg', *Annales de l'Académie Royale d'Archéologie de Belgique*, X, 1897, p.275; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.308, left: Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.159, 212, pl.CCCXLVII; K.d.K., p.453 (as a copy); L. Van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, p.46, under No.281 (as W. Panneels); Held, *Drawings*, I, p.13, fig.13; *Kunstwerken tentoongesteld in het Rubenshuis*, Antwerp, 1974, No.10 (repr.); Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.324–328 (as possibly by Van Dyck or Panneels).

A head and shoulders portrait, the head and body turned slightly to the left and the eyes, as usual, looking straight at the spectator. The painter wears a black costume with slits of a lighter colour, and a dark broad-brimmed hat.

Oldenbourg and Evers, who had not seen this work, regarded it as a copy after, respectively, the *Walk in the Garden*

in Munich (No.139; Fig.192) and the above-mentioned engraving by Panneels (Fig.175). It is not free from damage. The features seem for the most part to be unimpaired and authentic, but the hat, costume and background have suffered considerably from overpainting and restoration.

The latest possible date is 1630, the year which figures on Willem Panneels's engraving. This means that the portrait must have been painted either before 28 August 1628 or soon after the end of March 1630, as between those dates Rubens was continuously in England, Spain or Holland. Baudouin thinks the earlier period more likely, as Rubens in his opinion looks younger than in the 'hidden self-portrait' in the 1628 addition to the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado, Madrid.¹ It seems to me more probable, however, that the portrait was painted after Rubens's return to Antwerp. It was used as a model for two group portraits with Hélène Fourment, dating respectively from c.1630-31 (No.139; Fig.192) and c.1632-33 (No.141; Fig.195). Its informal character and the neutral background suggest that it may have been a kind of prototype that Rubens kept specially with the intention of using it later in more finished and detailed portrait compositions.

Again, we know that in 1628, just before he went abroad, Rubens had a studio replica painted which was a faithful copy of the portrait commissioned by the Prince of Wales in 1623 (cf. No.135, Copy [1]; Fig.172). It may be wondered whether he would have chosen that earlier pose if the present portrait had existed at the time.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.26.

137. Peter Paul Rubens

(Figs. 179, 180, 183)

Oil on canvas; 109.5 × 85 cm. Inscribed on the column at the left, by a later hand: *P.P. RUBINS.*

Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*. Inv. No.527.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the Imperial Collection at Vienna, in Storffer's painted inventory of 1730.¹

COPY: Etching by A.J.Prenner, 1735 (*V.S.*, p.163, No.79).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No.318; *Antwerp*, 1930, No.227; *Paris*, 1936, No.90; *Zürich*, 1946-47, No.368; *Chefs-d'Œuvre des Musées de Vienne*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1947, No.99 (repr.); *Art Treasures from Vienna*, Arts Council, London, 1949, No.135; *Graz*, 1954, No.19; *De schilder in zijn wereld*, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, 1965, No.102 (repr.); Vienna, 1977, No.58 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Stampart-Prenner*, p.21; *Michel*, *Histoire*, p.305; *Mechel*, *Verzeichnis*, p.114, No.15; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.96, No.311; *Engerth*, *Cat. Vienna*, No.1180; *Rooses*, IV, pp.257-258, No.1049; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.437; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, pp.159, 209, pl.CCCCL; *K.d.K.*, p.427; *Cat. Vienna*, 1928, No.859; *Cat. Vienna*, 1938, No.859; *Evers*, *Rubens*, pp.459, 466-467, 508, fig.266; *Evers*, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.330, 333, 335; *Held*, *Drawings*, I, p.143, under No.123; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *Drawings*, I, p.324, under No.202; *Cat. Vienna*, 1973, p.148 (repr.); *Daugherty*, *Self-Portraits*, pp.308-311; *Warnke*, *Rubens*, pp.32 and 35 (repr.); *K. Schütz*, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna*, 1977, pp.135-136, No.58 (repr.); *J.R.Martin*, 'The Hand of Rubens', *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*, 1983, pp.118-119 (repr.).

A knee-length portrait. Rubens wears a dark-blue costume under a dark-grey cloak, and an unstarched white fluted collar. His customary broad-brimmed hat, as a *pentimento* indicates, was originally rounder in appearance instead of being upturned. He is seen somewhat from below, in three-quarter view and with his eyes fixed on the spectator. His left hand rests on a sword-hilt; his right hand is gloved, and in it he holds the other glove. He has depicted himself with broad locks covering the whole of his head, though in fact he was largely bald at an early age (cf. Nos. 117 and 134); this must mean that he wore a hair-piece, as became customary in the course of the seventeenth century.²

The portrait is deliberately a self-flattering one. The monumental pose and the impressive column on the left give it the air of a ceremonial portrait such as was generally associated with outstanding political and military personalities. Rubens is careful to pose with his sword, symbolizing the noble rank which he had attained in 1624. He also perhaps meant to suggest the more aristocratic way of life he had adopted since acquiring Het Steen at Elewijt in 1635.

This work is generally assigned to Rubens's last years, c.1638-40. This seems to me acceptable, especially as his features clearly look elderly and drawn. It must be left undecided whether, as has been suggested, they also show signs of the gout from which he had suffered for some time. Held was alone in preferring a somewhat earlier date, c.1633-35, on the grounds that, in his opinion, the study of the artist's head at Windsor (No.137b; Fig.181) made him look older still.

1. F. a Storffer, *Neu Eingerichtetes Inventarium der Kayl.-Bilder in der Stallburg...*, II, 1730; manuscript in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

2. Cf. under No.82.

137a. Peter Paul Rubens: Drawing (Fig.182)

Black chalk, heightened in white, with some traces of pen and ink; 461 × 287 mm; brown spots due to the penetration of ink from figure sketches on the *verso*; below on the right, the mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184); below in the middle, the mark of the Louvre (L.2207). Fully mounted. — *Verso*: a strip of paper with the mark of L. Barnard (L.1420).

Paris, *Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No.20.195.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior, London (1665-1745); T. Hudson, London (1701-1779); J. Barnard, London (d.1784); confiscated as refugee property during the French Revolution.

COPIES: (1) Drawing, London, British Museum; black chalk, heightened in white, 452 × 275 mm. PROV. Paris, Paignon-Dijonval (1810); Paris, Marquis Morel de Vindé (1759-1842); London, Sir Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). LIT. M. Bénard, *Cabinet de M. Paignon-Dijonval*, Paris, 1810, p.65, No.1321 (as Rubens); Hind, *Rubens*, p.46, No.123; (2) Engraving by Simon Watts, 1768 (V.S., p.159, No.26).

EXHIBITED: Brussels, 1938-39, No.20 (repr.); Rotterdam, 1939, No.39 (repr.); Paris, 1949, No.108; Paris, 1959, No.6; Antwerp, 1977, No.173 (repr.); Paris, 1978, No.31 (repr.).

LITERATURE: C. Rogers, *Collection of Prints in Imitation of Drawings*, II, London, 1778, p.211; M. Reiset, *Notice des dessins, cartons, pastels, miniatures et émaux... au Musée National du Louvre*, Paris, 1866, No.555; Rooses, V, pp.276-277, No.1530; T.W. Mu-chall-Viebrook, *Flemish Drawings of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1926, p.30, No. 19 (repr.); Glück-Haberdtz, p.62, No.235

(repr.); J. Bouchot-Saupique, 'Quelques dessins flamands du Fonds du Musée du Louvre', *De kunst der Nederlanden*, 1930, p.86 (repr.); Lugt, *Cat. Louvre, École flamande*, II, pp.14-15, No.1017 (repr.); Held, *Drawings*, I, p.143, No.123; II, pl.126; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, pp.323-325, No.202 (repr.); R. Bacou and A. Calvet, *Dessins du Louvre. Écoles allemande, flamande et hollandaise*, Paris, 1968, No.59 (repr.); Kuznetsov, *Risunki*, No.1 (repr.).

This preparatory study for the self-portrait in Vienna (No.137; Fig.180) differs only in detail from the final version. The sword does not yet appear; Rubens holds his cloak with his left hand, which in the finished painting rests on the sword-hilt. His hat-brim is not upturned as in the Vienna *Self-Portrait*, but is more like the first version thereof as shown by the *pentimento*. Consequently Rubens's forehead in the sketch is not partially in shadow as it is in the final painting.

Clearly this drawing is only a study for the pose which Rubens wished to adopt, and the face is treated rather schematically, without the unmistakable signs of age that are so conspicuous in the Vienna painting.

137b. Peter Paul Rubens: Drawing
(Fig. 181)

Black and white chalk, with some pen and ink; 200 × 160 mm.

Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen. Inv. No.6411.

PROVENANCE: Probably acquired for the Royal Collection in the eighteenth century.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1965, No.346 (repr.); *London*, 1977, No.223f. (repr.).

LITERATURE: L. Van Puyvelde, *The Flemish Drawings of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle*, London, 1942, pp.46-47, No.281; Held, *Drawings*, I, pp.143-144, No.126; II, pl.139; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens Drawn by Jordaens', *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p.288, pl.21; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.342-344; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.165, No.223 (repr.); A.-M. Logan, 'Rubens Exhibitions 1977', *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, pp.411, 414; Liedtke, *Cat. New York*, I, p.181.

An almost frontal study of the artist's head. Held pointed out that it was cut from a larger sheet containing various studies in ink, as may be seen from the cut-off details of an arm in the upper left corner and what appears to be a costume study, lower right. The eyes and left contour of the head are retraced. Despite the rather sketchy draughtsmanship this is a remarkably penetrating and lifelike study of the elderly, infirm painter at the end of his life. There is no ground for Van Puyvelde's claim that it is a study for the *Walk in the Garden* in Munich of c.1630-31 (No.139; Fig.192). Nor can we relate it to Rubens's first portrait in the New York group portrait with Hélène Fourment (No.141; Fig.195), as suggested by Liedtke. Held rightly dated it very late in Rubens's career, c. 1635-40. This is confirmed by a drawing on the back, showing a man and a woman embracing: as Anne-Marie Logan has pointed out, this is connected with one of the nymphs in the very late *Nymphs and Satyrs* in the Prado.¹ Held also thought that Rubens's features in this sketch showed him to be even older than in the *Self-Portrait* in Vienna (No.137; Fig.180) and the connected drawing in Paris (No.137a; Fig.182), to which he therefore assigned an earlier

date. I do not share this view: the puffiness of the features and the expression of fatigue in the drawing seem to me to depict a man of the same age as in the Vienna painting. I wonder therefore if this is not an informal study, made perhaps along with several other poses, for Rubens's last self-portrait.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.381.

138. Peter Paul Rubens and Isabella Brant in the Honeysuckle Bower
(Fig. 184-188)

Oil on canvas, mounted on panel; 178 × 136 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. No.334.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Jan Brant II, Antwerp, 1639; first mentioned in the collection of Johann-Wilhelm, Prince Elector of the Palatinate, Düsseldorf, in 1705, by Mr de Blainville; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPIES: (1) Painting of Rubens's head, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 84 × 64 cm. PROV. Mesdemoiselles de Knyff; Marquis de Pietro; Roland Baudouin, sale, Antwerp (Cercle Artistique), 23 November 1925, lot 5 (repr.); (2) Painting of Isabella Brant's head, Trieste, Anna R.E. Calza (1969); canvas, 78 × 58 cm.; (3) Engraving by Carl Hess, 1797 (*V.S.*, p.164, No.86); (4) Engraving by Bartholomeus Weiss (c.1740-1814; *Rooses*, IV, p.261, under No.1050); (5) Lithograph by Wolfgang Flachenecker (1792-c.1847; *Rooses*, IV, p.261, under No.1050); (6) Lithograph of the head of Isabella Brant by Achille Devéria (1800-1857; *Rooses*, IV, p.261, under No.1050).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1948, No.88; *Berne*, 1949-50, No.72; *London*, 1949, No.92.

LITERATURE: *Karsch*, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.168; *Van Gool*, *Nieuwe Schouburgh*, II, p.543; *de Blainville*, *Travels*, p.61; *Cat. Düsseldorf*, 1770, p.18, No.18; *Michel*, *Histoire*, p.299, No.18; J.J.W.Heinse, in *Teutscher Merkur*, 1777, III (reprinted by A.Winkler, as *Briefe aus der Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie*, Leipzig-Vienna, 1914, pp.184-186); *Pigage*, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.286; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.63-64, No.181; *Dillis*, *Cat. Munich*, No.261; *Parthey*, *Bildersaal*, II, p.433, No.349; *Marggraff*, *Cat. Munich*, No.256; *Reber*, *Cat. Munich*, No.782; *Eastlake*, *Notes*, pp.188-189, No.782; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 259-261, No.1050; M.Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.216; *Rooses-Ruelens*, II, pp.53-55; J.Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, Basle, 1898, pp.270-271 (as not by Rubens); *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.40; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, p.200, No.4, pl.XXXVII; *Burchard*, *Anmerkungen*, col.262; *K.d.K.*, p.35; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, p.229, No.334; *Evers*, *Rubens*, pp.81-84; J.G. van Gelder, 'Rubens in Holland in de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, 1950, p.122; H.Kauffmann, 'Rubens und Isabella Brant in der Geissblattlaube', in *Form und Inhalt. Festschrift für Otto Schmitt*, Stuttgart, 1950, pp.257-274; U.Moussalli, 'Rubens et Caravage', *Etudes d'art publiées par le musée national des Beaux-Arts d'Alger*, 1955-56, pp.90-91; W.Schöne, *Rubens. Die Geissblattlaube*, Stuttgart, 1956; E. de Jongh and P.J.Vinken, 'Frans Hals als voortzetter van een emblematische traditie', *Oud Holland*, LXXVI, 1961, pp.145-146; *Warnke*, *Kommentare*, p.31; *Daugherty*, *Self-Portraits*, pp.155-164, 279-281, No.1-2; *Warnke*, *Rubens*, pp.11-16; R.Liess, *Die Kunst des Rubens*, Brunswick, 1977, pp.227-256; L.Dittmann, *Versuch über die Farbe bei Rubens*, in

[E. Hubala, ed.], *Rubens. Kunstgeschichtliche Beiträge*, Konstanz, 1979, pp. 52–54; *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp. 6–7 (repr.); U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, p. 432, No. 334, pl. XIX.

Rubens and his first wife are seen in front of a honeysuckle bower, both looking towards the spectator. The painter sits on a stool, his left leg crossed over the right. He wears a black hat with a gold-coloured copper clasp, a golden satin doublet with black loops and bands, and a flat, open-work lace collar, open at the neck. He has black puff-breeches and light brown silk stockings with bows at the calf. Isabella Brant is seated at a lower level, perhaps actually on the ground, though this is not clear. She wears a tall pointed straw hat lined with silk, and a lace cap on the back of her head. A lace fluted ruff closely encircles her neck. Her white satin (?) bodice, tapering to a peak in front, is ornamented with flower motifs in gold embroidery. Over it she wears a striped cloak, black on black, with white lace cuffs. A red skirt ornamented with gold bands covers her legs in ample folds.

The emblematic and allegorical character of this matrimonial double portrait has often been pointed out, especially by Hans Kauffmann and Wilhelm Schöne, who have located it within a tradition going back to the late Middle Ages. The following interpretation is based on the penetrating analysis of these art historians. The loving contact of the two spouses as they lean towards each other was already the essential motif of such fifteenth-century matrimonial portraits as Van Eyck's *Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife*¹ and the *Loving Couple* of the German Master of the *Hausbuch*.² There is also symbolism in the fact that the married lovers are

depicted in a garden, in front of a honeysuckle bower. This is associated with the medieval *jardin d'amour*, and in antiquity also a garden was regarded as a symbol of love. The honeysuckle completes the symbolism: its entwining tendrils typify the all-embracing power of love, and its fruit, like love, becomes sweeter the more one tastes of it. There is no doubt that Rubens intended the painting as a visualization of the idea of love. Wilhelm Heinse in 1777 gave the first literary interpretation of it as 'ein liebliches Bild geistiger ehelicher Zärtlichkeit für den, ders fühlen kann'. The composition itself is directly influenced by the woodcut *Infidem uxoriam* (Conjugal Fidelity) that illustrates the famous *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciati.³ There the concept is symbolized by a man and a woman joining their right hands (the traditional 'dextrarum iunctio')⁴ and seated, as in Rubens's painting, before a motif expressing love and fertility, in this case an apple-tree. From the compositional aspect, Rubens's work in every way emphasizes the strength and inviolability of the marriage bond. The two figures in *contrapposto* form a perfect unity. Of the way in which they are thus 'blended' together, Kauffmann offers the vivid comparison that 'the two figures adapt themselves to a circumscribing oval like two late Gothic "Fischblasen" motives'.

The portrait is also indicative of social attitudes of the time. Rubens is seated at a higher level than his wife, signifying his role as master and protector, while she sits on or near the ground in the medieval attitude of *humilitas*. Rubens was to use this schema again in works especially concerned with the allegory of love, such as the much later *Pausias and Glycera* in the John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota.⁵

The portrait was most probably painted

for Jan Brant II, Isabella's father, either at his request or as a present from the young couple. The inventory drawn up on his death, dated 31 August 1639 and following days, mentions 'Een stuck schilderije van Heer Petro Paulo Rubbens met sijn eerste huysvrouwe, op panneel, olieerve, in lijst'.⁶ The work is recorded much earlier, however, in the celebrated congratulatory verse by the Leiden humanist Dominicus Baudius in a letter to Rubens of 11 April 1612.⁷ This does not mention the owner, but there is no doubt that Baudius's ecstatic praise refers to the portrait then in the home of Jan Brant II. He and Brant had long been friends, and it may have been through Brant that Rubens himself first met Baudius.⁸ When the latter saw the painting in Antwerp cannot be precisely determined, but it may have been 1610, in which year, as van Gelder has pointed out, Baudius travelled from Paris to Holland by way of Brussels and Antwerp.

That year is in any case an acceptable *terminus ante quem* for the painting. Rubens was again active in Antwerp from October 1608, and married Isabella Brant exactly a year after his return. It is assumed by almost all writers that the portrait was painted on the occasion of the marriage; only Reinhard Liess, for not very clear reasons, has recently suggested that it cannot be earlier than 1612. However, its style is also in favour of a very early date: the concentrated grouping in the foreground, the strongly sculptural quality and the richly variegated glow of local colour are all common features of this portrait and other works dating from just after Rubens's return from Italy.

1. London, National Gallery; see repr. in *Friedländer*, I, pl.20.

2. See repr. in M. Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen*

Kupferstiches im XV. Jahrhundert, Vienna, 1908-34, VIII, p.153, No.80, pl.219, No.524.

3. A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, [first ed.] Augsburg, 1531. Kauffmann and Schöne (*op. cit.*) refer to the woodcut after Bernard Salomon's drawing, in the edition of Alciati's book, which was published at Lyons in 1546; in Warnke, *Rubens* (p.14, pl.2) on the other hand, is another woodcut from the edition of the *Emblemata*, also published at Lyons, in 1551. It appears to me that the disposition of the figures in this latter edition is closer to Rubens's composition than the woodcut after Bernard Salomon.

4. Cf. E. de Jongh and P.J. Vincken, *op. cit.*, p.145.

5. Cf. *Goris-Held*, p.38, No.78, pl.80.

6. Published in P. Génard, 'Het testament van Jan Brant en Clara de Moy', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.230. Rooses for his part (in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, *loc. cit.*) doubted that the work mentioned in the Brant inventory was identical with the present painting, because the latter is on canvas. These doubts are groundless and are not shared by any other critic: the present portrait was unquestionably transferred from panel to canvas a long time ago, perhaps in the 18th century.

7. 'In effigiem celeberrimi pictoris Petri Rubenii et uxoris eius ab ipso expressam, cum naturae veritate certantem.

Principis os pictoris habes cum conjuge fida,

Cui par dulce jugum vix verus ordo tulit.

Æmulus ille manu naturam exaequat et arte.

Haec ipsam formae vincit honore Cyprin.

Caetera concordēs, his est haec una duorum,

Officio atque fide quis potiora ferat.'

(Rooses-Ruelens, *op. cit.*, p.53).

8. See for Baudius: Baron de St. Genois, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols.792-796; P. L. M. Grootens, *Dominicus Baudius, een levensschets uit het Leidse humanistenmilieu*, Nijmegen, 1942.

138a. Peter Paul Rubens: Drawing

Black and red chalk; c.217 × c.156 mm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: J. de Julianne, sale, Paris, 30 March-22 May 1767, lot 498.

COPIES: (1) Drawing by Antoine Watteau, whereabouts unknown; black and red chalk, 218 × 176 mm. PROV. ?Paris, Pierre Crozat (1665-1740); ?Stockholm, Count Carl Gustav Tessin (1695-1770); ?Luise-Ulrike, Queen of Sweden, 1748; ?Princess Albertine of Sweden; ?Count Gustav

Harold Stenbock (1764–1833); ?Count Nils Barck, Paris and Madrid (1820–1896); ?Count Adolphe Thibaudeau, sale, Paris, 20–25 April 1857, lot 318 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p.261, under No.1050 (as *Rubens*); (2) Counterproof of drawing by Antoine Watteau (Fig.189); New York, Mr and Mrs Eugène V.Thaw; black and red chalk, 212 × 151 mm. PROV. London, L.Franklyn, 1957; sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1968, lot 152 (repr.). EXH. *Drawings from the Collection of Mr & Mrs Eugène V.Thaw*, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1975, No.31 (repr.). LIT. *Parker-Mathey*, I, p.44, No.297 (repr.); Felice Stampfle and Cara D.Denison, in *Cat. Exh. Drawings from the Collection of Mr & Mrs Eugène V.Thaw*, *op.cit.*, pp.44–45, No.31 (repr.); (3) Engraving by Cornelis Ploos van Amstel (1726–1798; *V.S.*, p.163, No.73bis); (4) Engraving by Gilles Demarteau (1722–1776), after (1) (*V.S.*, p.162, No.73; E.Dacier and A.Vuaffart, *Jean de Jullienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*, I, Paris, 1929, pp.194–195, fig.83); (5) Engraving by Paul Chenay (1818–1906), after (1) (*Rooses*, IV, p.261, under No.1050).

In the Julienne collection in Paris there was in 1767 a drawing attributed to Rubens and described as 'La tête de Rubens ayant un chapeau en pain de sucre; dessiné à la sanguine et à la pierre noire'. *Rooses* identified this with a sheet which belonged to the Swedish Count Nils Barck in the last century. He was probably confusing it, however, with Watteau's drawing after Rubens, which is also lost. The drawing is accurately reproduced in a counterproof by Watteau himself (Fig.189) and the engravings made after the copy: Rubens is depicted with his hat on, clearly as a study for the double portrait in Munich.

139. Peter Paul Rubens, Héléne Fourment and Nicolaas Rubens ('The Walk in the Garden')
(Figs.192, 193)

Oil on panel; 98 × 130.5 cm.
Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. No.313.

PROVENANCE: Gisbert van Colen (Antwerp, d.1703); purchased from the former by Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria for his Castle at Schleissheim, 1698; transferred to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, in 1781; transferred to the *Alte Pinakothek* in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPY: Painting of the Rubens family in half length, whereabouts unknown; oil on paper (grisaille), 28 × 43 cm. PROV. King Carol I of Rumania. LIT. L.Bachelin, *Tableaux anciens de la Galerie de Charles Jer, Roi de Roumanie*, Paris, 1898, pp.165–166, No.119 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1948, No.91 (repr.); *Schleissheim*, 1976, No.780 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Michel*, *Histoire*, p.311, No.8; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.72, No.217; IX, p.274, No.108; *Dillis*, *Cat. Munich*, No.306; *Marggraff*, *Cat. Munich*, No.287; *Reber*, *Cat. Munich*, No.798; *Rooses*, IV, p.262, No.1051; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.320; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, pp.164, 202, pl.CCCXLVI; *K.d.K.*, p.321; *Glück*, *Liebesgarten*, pp.74, 77, 80 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück*, *Rubens*, *Van Dyck*, pp.122–123 (repr.); *Cat. Munich*, 1936, No.313; *Evers*, *Rubens*, pp.491, 508, 510; *Evers*, *Neue Forschungen*, pp.333, 336–341, figs.359, 362 (as not by *Rubens*); *G. Glück*, *Die Landschaften von Peter Paul Rubens*, Vienna, 1945, pp.29–30, 61–62, No.19 (repr.); *H.Kauffmann*, 'Rubens und Isabella Brant in der Geissblattlaube', in *Form und Inhalt, Festschrift für Otto Schmitt*, Stuttgart, 1950, pp.265–267 (repr.); *Köhler-Lutterbeck*, pp.39–61;

J.S.Held, 'Zwei Rubensprobleme', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXXIX, 1976, p.44; *Krempel, Max Emanuel*, pp.223, 229 (repr.); U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Exh. Schleissheim*, 1976, II, pp.338–339, under No.780 (repr.); *Daugherty, Self-Portraits*, pp.328–332, No.II-4 (as partially by Rubens); J.Foucart, 'Un nouveau Rubens au Louvre: Hélène Fourment au carrosse', *La Revue du Louvre*, 1977, p.349, fig.8; M.Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.103–106, under No.37; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.321–332, fig.17; *an der Heiden, Bildnisse*, pp.28–32 (repr.); U[lla] K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, pp.435–436, No.313 (repr.).

In the centre of the scene, Rubens and Hélène Fourment together with Nicolaas, the youngest son of the painter's marriage to Isabella Brant, are walking towards a pavilion in which a table is laid, and which closely resembles the structure still to be seen in the garden of the Rubens House. For this reason it was long supposed that the scene of the family group was the painter's own garden, but, as Evers first pointed out, this is impossible: even in Rubens's time the garden of his house must have been much smaller and more shut in than is suggested here. On the right of the picture is a tulip-field enclosed by a hedge, and on the left a glimpse of a large parterre with a fountain in the middle, adorned by a putto astride a water-spouting dolphin. The vista beyond the garden is closed by tall trees. In the left foreground is an old woman feeding peacocks; somewhat further off are other domestic fowl including turkeys. In the right foreground a dog is seen running.

There can scarcely be any doubt as to the identity of the figures. Rubens is in the same pose as in his *Self-Portrait* in the

Rubens House in Antwerp (No.136; Fig.178). The features of Hélène Fourment are generally similar to those in the large full-length portrait showing her seated, also in Munich, (No.98; Fig.92). Those of Nicolaas, born in 1618, are known from the double portrait of Rubens's sons in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein at Vaduz (No.142; Fig.200); in that painting, which must be dated c.1626–27, he appears somewhat younger than in the present work. The fact that no children of Hélène Fourment are present indicates that the panel must have been painted very shortly after Rubens's second marriage on 6 December 1630, or perhaps even at the time of the marriage. We may wonder why Albert, the only other surviving child of Rubens's first marriage, is not in the picture also. The reason is probably that Albert, who was aged 16, was appointed secretary of the Conseil Privé du Roy in Brussels on 15 June 1630 and hence no longer lived in the parental home.¹

The popular title 'Walk in the Garden', under which this painting has become known,² is typical of the eighteenth and nineteenth century predilection for interpreting groups of this kind in a narrative-anecdotal sense. What we actually have here is a realistic portrayal of an abstract theme—an allegory of love in the same spirit as the so-called *Honeysuckle Bower* (No.138; Fig.184) or the double portrait with Hélène Fourment in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (No.141; Fig.195). This was first clearly noticed by Hans Kauffmann, who, in the light of comparison with the other two group portraits, correctly interpreted this one as a 'Garden of Love'. He pointed to such details as the trees, bushes and flowers symbolizing love and fertility, the dog for faithfulness and the peacocks sacred to

Juno, the patroness of wedlock. Julius Held also pointed out recently that the fountain and dolphin in the background are a symbol, already known in antiquity, of the brevity and impermanence of love.³ It may be added that the pavilion with its invitingly laid table is clearly intended as a lovers' bower, and this is emphasized by the two turtle-doves on the roof.

The most penetrating analysis of the work, however, was published in 1977 by Matthias Winner, who interpreted the old woman as Vertumnus, god of fertility. This deity, in various disguises including that of an old crone, wooed and finally won the heart of Pomona, goddess of gardens and fruit-trees—just as Rubens, despite his advanced age, gained as his bride the sixteen-year-old Hélène Fourment. As Winner points out, Hélène is seen here in rustic garb, with a straw hat and a gardener's apron. In the same connection Winner drew attention to the striking resemblance to Rosso Fiorentino's *Vertumnus and Pomona*, executed in 1532–35 for the Pavillon de Pomone at Fontainebleau. There we see a figure of Vertumnus in front of an enclosed garden with a small gate, in a pose very similar to that of the old woman and the enclosure in the Munich painting.⁴

Evers alone did not believe this painting to be authentic. He rejected the attribution to Rubens and regarded the work as a pastiche executed after his death, as an idealization of the painter's happy marriage. This view is basically wrong, but can to some extent be understood when it is observed that the painting was originally smaller and has been worked up by another hand. As Ulla Krempel recently pointed out, the panel has been enlarged on three sides, with a strip of c.16.8–17.4 cm at the top, one of 30.5 cm

on the right and one of 8.3 cm at the bottom. As the same author points out, the differences in technique that are noticeable at these points are not entirely due to a different hand. Rubens certainly planned the enlargements and began to execute them, but it must have been at the end of his life and he did not complete the work. It must, as Ulla Krempel says, have been finished by another artist; parts which she thought particularly weak, and not by Rubens, were the tulip-field and the pots containing pineapple plants. To these I would add the three tree-tops in the right background (contrasting with the much more convincing ones on the left), the dog and the birds below on the right. As Ulla Krempel remarked, weaknesses such as these were no doubt part of the reason for Evers' negative judgement of the work.

The painting has had some influence. In particular, David Teniers the Younger's *Company in a Garden* (1651) in the Edgar Evers collection in London seems to me unthinkable without it. It depicts an essentially similar 'Garden of Love', with a pavilion of like appearance and a fountain with a putto astride a dolphin.⁵

1. Cf. e.g. M. Rooses, in *Biographie Nationale*, XX, Brussels, 1908–10, col. 311.

2. The earliest known explicit description is that by Michel in 1771: he calls it a 'petite pièce, Rubens se promenant avec sa femme'. All later descriptions emphasize the 'promenade' aspect.

3. J. Held, 'Zwei Rubensprobleme', *loc. cit.*

4. Winner also drew attention to a drawn copy of the design for this fresco in the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre, made by a follower of Rosso and, according to Winner, retouched with body-colour by Rubens. For Rosso's compositions and the copy drawing see E. A. Carroll, *The Drawings of Rosso Fiorentino*, New York-London, 1970, II, p. 368, No. P39, fig. 103 (the drawing), 104 (engraving by Fantuzzi after Rosso's lost fresco for Fontainebleau).

5. The painting is reproduced in R. D. Leppert, 'David Teniers the Younger and the Image of Music', *Jaarboek Kon. Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1978, p. 115, fig. 36.

139a. Peter Paul Rubens, Héléne Fourment and Nicolaas Rubens: Drawing (Fig. 190)

Black and red chalk; 381 × 292 mm.
London, *British Museum*. Inv. No.1893.
F.31.21.

PROVENANCE: See above, under No.75a.

EXHIBITED: London, 1977, No.154 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Jaffé, 'Rubens as a Draughtsman', *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, p.381, fig.46; C. White, *Rubens and his World*, London, 1968, p.78 (repr.); Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, pp.339-342, No.III-1; Rowlands, *Rubens Drawings*, p.114, No.154 (repr.); M. Jaffé, 'Ripeness is All. Rubens and Hélène Fourment', *Apollo*, CVII, 1978, p.4 (repr.).

This rapid sketch on the reverse of the head study of Isabella Brant (No.75a; Fig.38) shows the artist with Héléne Fourment and a boy. It was discovered only in 1964, when the sheet was remounted.

Daugherty rightly pointed out the striking resemblance between this drawing and the *Walk in the Garden* in Munich (No.139; Fig.192); Héléne Fourment's pose is especially similar. I thus believe this to be a study for the painting in Munich, and that the boy is Nicolaas Rubens. This was not the opinion of Jaffé, who considered the sketch a study for the New York family portrait (No.141; Figs.195-197).

139b. An Old Woman in Two Views: Drawing (Fig. 191)

Pen in brown on greyish paper; 396 × 233 mm; several inscriptions in Rubens's hand, referring to colours and materials

of the costume: *witte halsdoeck/vuyl blauw/vuyl steurse van omber / swart en wit* (from above to below, at the left); *canefas / vuyl blauw / swa[rt] / swarte overtreck mauwen / canefas / root / vuyle gescheurde veurschoot* (on bodice and shoulder); *witte halsdoeck / canefas] / blauw / ... / blauw* (below, at the right, clockwise).—*Verso: Bathing Women*. Berlin, *Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett*. Inv. No.KdZ 12223.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Aylesford (London, 1786-1859); Adolf von Beckerath (Berlin, 1834-1915); purchased from the latter in 1902.

EXHIBITED: Berlin, 1977, No.37 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J. Rosenberg, 'Federzeichnungen von Rubens im Berliner Kupferstichkabinett', *Berliner Museen*, XLVII, 1926, pp.86-88 (repr.); Glück-Haberditzl, p.55, No.190 (repr.); Bock-Rosenberg, I, p.252, No.12223; G. Glück, *Die Landschaften von Peter Paul Rubens*, Vienna, 1945, pp.30, 62, under No.19 (repr.); Held, *Drawings*, I, pp.44-45, 55, fig.19; Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p.199; M. Winner, in *Mielke-Winner*, pp.103-106, No.37 (repr.).

Two studies of an old peasant woman: in profile to the right and, less finished, in three-quarter view from behind, as far as the waist. These studies from life were first recognized as authentic by Rosenberg; they were clearly the model for the old woman feeding peacocks in the left foreground of the *Walk in the Garden* (No.139; Fig.192).

Like the drawing of the dwarf Robin for the *Portrait of Lady Arundel and her Train* (No.72a; Fig.28), this is a costume study 'Naar het Leven'. The colour indications, however, do not wholly agree

with the dress of the woman in the Munich painting: for example, the back of the woman's bodice is marked as blue but is red in the picture. Her pose is also different: in the painting she is bent forward, and not upright as here. Finally, in the drawing she has a purse and a bunch of keys which are missing in the painting.

Rubens reused this drawing somewhat later on: it is clearly the basis for the old peasant woman in *Return from the Harvest* in the Palazzo Pitti, a painting of c.1635.¹

1. See Adler, *Landscapes*, No.48, fig.127.

140. Peter Paul Rubens and Hélène Fourment, with Nicolaas and Clara-Johanna Rubens: Oil Sketch (Fig. 194)

Oil on panel; 35.5 × 38.2 cm.

Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection. No.662.

PROVENANCE: ?M. Kappel, Berlin (1910); ?Art Market, Munich, 1912; ?Lord Darnley, Cobham Hall.

EXHIBITED: ?Brussels, 1910, No.399.

LITERATURE: W. Valentiner, *Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings and Some Art Objects, Flemish and Dutch Paintings*, II, Philadelphia, 1913, p.163; id., *The Art of the Low Countries*, New York, 1914, p.236; Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.164, No.111; Goris-Held, p.47, No.A.18 (as doubtful); B. Sweeny, *Catalogue of Flemish and Dutch Paintings, John G. Johnson Collection*, Philadelphia, 1972, p.76, No.662; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, p.348 (as not by Rubens); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.399-401, No.296, pl.296.

Hélène Fourment is seated in the middle, with a naked child sleeping in her lap. Her

body is almost in profile, but she looks directly at the spectator. Rubens stands on the right; only his head is properly finished, the structure of his body is not clear. A boy stands on the left in a natural attitude, with arms and legs crossed. The sketch is almost entirely in brown monochrome, with some white highlights in the central group. Red lines can be seen on the boy's arm and shoulder. The composition is varied by a background of grey tonality which, as Held observes, seems to have been added by another hand.

This sketch was first published as an authentic work of Rubens by Valentiner. Partly on account of its poor state of preservation Held, in his study of Rubens's works in America (1947), did not accept this unreservedly, and wondered if it was not a pastiche by some later hand. However, he expressed a different view in his recent study of Rubens's oil sketches. He observed, rightly in my opinion, that Hélène Fourment and the two children were painted in a lively and fluent style; but a principal reason for his change of mind was the relationship, which had been neglected, between this sketch and some of Rubens's compositions after 1630. Two figures directly based on it are the seated Madonna in *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, known from a woodcut by Jegher and a painted version in the Prado in Madrid,¹ and the seated woman in the centre of the *Garden of Love*, also known from a woodcut by Jegher² and a painting in the Prado.³ Held also pointed out that Rubens's head is a copy in reverse of the *Self-Portrait* of 1623 in the British Royal Collection (No.135; Fig.171), though it should be noted that in the sketch the painter's gaze is fixed on his wife and not on the spectator. Held also tried to identify the two children. The sleeping baby must be Clara-Johanna, born on 18 Janu-

ary 1632, the first child of Rubens and Hélène Fourment, while the boy can hardly be any other than Nicolaas, Rubens's son by Isabella Brant, who was 14 in that year. Held wondered why Nicolaas's elder brother Albert was not present: in my opinion the reason is clearly that, as I have noted elsewhere, Albert had left the parental home some time previously.⁴ Nicolaas's pose with crossed legs is borrowed from that of Albert in the famous portrait of the two brothers dating from c.1626–27 (No.142; Fig.200), but the position of the head and torso is different. This sketch was evidently never used for a finished painting, but a few years later it inspired a composition by Rubens in which Hélène Fourment is the central figure (No.98; Fig.92).

1. See Adler, *Landscapes*, pp.143–146, No.43, fig.120.
2. For Jegher's woodcut and the preliminary drawing for it in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, cf. Held, *Drawings*, I, No.152 and Burchard-d'Hulst *Drawings*, I, No.180.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.348.
4. See under No.139.

141. Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and Clara-Johanna Rubens
(Figs. 195–197)

Oil on canvas; 204 × 153.5 cm.
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Inv. No.1981–238.

PROVENANCE: ?Philip Rubens, Antwerp' 1676; donated by the City of Brussels to John Churchill, first Duke of Marlborough (1650–1722), in 1706; Blenheim Castle, Dukes of Marlborough; purchased in 1885 by Baron Alphonse de Rothschild (Paris, 1827–1905); Baron Edouard de Rothschild (1868–1949), Paris; Baronne Germaine de Rothschild, Paris; purchased from her by Mr and Mrs Ch. Wrightsman, New York,

in 1978; donated to the Metropolitan Museum in 1981.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with the features of Charles and Mary Churchill, by J. Eccardt, 1751, Farmington, Conn., The Lewis-Walpole Library. LIT. Liedtke, *Cat. New York*, I, p.182, fig.46; (2) Drawing, 17th century, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. No.PD44–1961; black chalk, pen and brown ink, 185 × 141 mm. PROV. P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628–1692); J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665–1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701–1779); Sir Joshua Reynolds (London, 1723–1792); T. Banks (London, 1735–1805); Sir E.J. Poynter, sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 April 1918, lot 288 (repr., as *Rubens*); Charles B.O. Clarke; Louis C.G. Clarke. EXH. Royal Academy, London, 1879, No.445; *Drawings from the Collection of Louis C.G. Clarke*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1981–82, pp.8–9, not numbered (as attributed to A. van Dyck). LIT. Liedtke, *Cat. New York*, I, p.182; (3) Mezzotint engraving by J. McArdell (1728–1765; V.S., p.163, No.84).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1865, No.52; *Les chefs-d'œuvre des collections françaises retournés en Allemagne*, Paris, 1946, No.69.

LITERATURE: *Marlborough Jewels and Pictures* (Manuscript, British Museum, Add. Mss. 9125; Coxe Papers, XLVIII), [?1718], fol. 7v; [T. Martyn], *The English Connoisseur*, I, London, 1766, p.17; *Tour from Stow to Blenheim and Ditchley, the seats of his Grace the Duke of Marlborough and the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Litchfield*, London [?1770], p.6; H. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, 4th ed., II, London, 1786, p.144; [W.F. Mavor], *New Description of Blenheim*, London, 1789, p.58; J. Ferington, *The Ferington Diary*, [1801], [ed. by J. Greig, I, London, 1922], p.311; Smith, *Catalogue*

Raisonné, II, pp.243–244, No.83; J.D.Pas-savant, *Kunstreise durch England und Belgien*, Frankfurt am Main, 1833, p.176, No.13; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, pp.47–48; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.129, No.13; *Scharf, Cat. Blenheim*, p.23; *Rooses*, IV, pp.263–264, No.1052; *Michel, Rubens*, pp.440, 465–467 (repr.); *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.341; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.163–164, pl.CCCXLIX; *Glück, Liebesgarten*, pp.75, 80 (repr.), reprinted in *Glück, Rubens, Van Dyck*, p.122, fig.73; *K.d.K.*, pp.447, 472 (as *J.Boeckhorst*); *Evers, Rubens*, pp.468–472, 508–509, figs.267, 269; *Evers, Neue Forschungen*, pp.330, 340; *Köhler-Lutterbeck*, pp.62–72; *Daugherty, Self-Portraits*, pp.303–308, No.1–6; J.Foucart, 'Un nouveau Rubens au Louvre: Hélène Fourment au carrosse', *La Revue du Louvre*, 1977, pp.343–347, fig.1; D.Bodart, in *Cat. Exh. Rubens e l'Incisione*, Rome, 1977, p.180, under No.399; M.Jaffé, 'Ripeness is All. Rubens and Hélène Fourment', *Apollo*, CVII, 1978, pp.1–4 (repr.); G.Kopelman, 'The Evolution of a Late Rubens Family Portrait', *Tableau*, V, 1982–83, pp.380–386 (repr.); W.Liedtke, 'Flemish Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum, 1: Rubens', *Tableau*, VI, 1983–84, pp.83–84 (repr.); *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, pp.176–187, pls.XIII, 66–72.

Rubens wears a black costume with a flat white collar and a broad-brimmed black hat. A violet cape is thrown over his left shoulder. He is turned to the right in three-quarter view and gazes lovingly at Hélène Fourment. He supports her right arm with his left hand, and extends the other hand protectively over his daughter's head. Hélène is in a black silk dress with a lace collar standing up at the back. Her hair is uncovered, but done up after the fashion of the time and adorned with a diadem. She holds an ostrich-feather fan

in her left hand, and the child's harness in her right. Clara-Johanna—the couple's first child, born on 18 January 1632—looks up at her mother and points with her left hand. She is dressed in yellow, with a white cap and a blue protective band round her forehead; she also wears a blue sash. She seems to be at least a year old, and at the time of the portrait Hélène Fourment must have been expecting her second child. Frans, who was born on 12 July 1633. Some art historians, however, dispute this apparent identification and the consequent dating c.1632–33. Evers, for not very clear reasons, thought the child was Peter Paul Rubens, born on 1 March 1637, and therefore concluded that the painting belonged to Rubens's last years. Recently, with equally little argument, Jaffé and Kopelman have endorsed this conclusion. Liedtke, in his recent catalogue of the Metropolitan Museum, also identifies the child as Peter Paul.² I cannot see, however, why in such a family portrait the third child should be included and not the two elder ones. For the same reasons I would reject Bodart's suggestion that the child is the younger girl Isabella-Helena Rubens. An important argument for the earlier dating is that this portrait of Hélène Fourment was a model for one of the female saints in the *Mystic Marriage of St Catherine*, completed in 1633 and now in the museum at Toledo, Ohio.³ In the same pose as here, but inclined slightly further forward, with the same expression and hair-style and with her hands in the same position, she can be seen in that painting as the female saint standing on the right next to the Madonna. Finally, there is a strong link—thematically, stylistically and with respect to figure types—with the *Garden of Love* at Madrid, which also dates from c.1632–33.⁴

For unconvincing reasons Kopelman recently suggested that Rubens originally intended to paint only his wife and child, and included himself in the picture as an afterthought. Kopelman was the first to point out that the composition was arched above, at an early stage in its execution: this can be seen from X-rays (Fig.197) and even be detected with the naked eye on the painting's surface. Kopelman concluded from this that initially Rubens's wife and child would have been represented alone in a garden, under some kind of arch. This has been rightly refuted by Liedtke. Technical examination of the painting proved that the figure of Rubens was part of the original composition.⁵ Furthermore, the gestures and glances of the three figures are clearly interconnected, and there is no doubt that the group is intended to express family affection. From this point of view the portrait is in line with the earlier *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant* (No.138; Fig.184). As in that portrait, and as in the *Walk in the Garden* (No.139; Fig.192), the scene here is set in a Garden of Love, in front of a gateway partly overgrown with ivy. On the right amidst the ivy is a rose-bush from which a parrot, symbolizing virginal purity, is biting off a branch.⁶ This is clearly a variation on the theme of plucking or cutting down a thorny rose-bush—a familiar allegory of love, which brings pain as well as pleasure, but which is none the less to be embraced.⁷ The herm—a half-naked female mythological figure—is no doubt to be understood in the same context, in the way Rubens habitually uses such allegorical motifs to enhance the significance of his main theme.⁸ It is natural to suppose that the figure here represents Venus or Ceres, personifying love and fertility.

There is also a formal similarity between this painting and the two others on

a kindred theme. Like the *Honeysuckle Bower* (No.138; Fig.184), this portrait is directly inspired by a sixteenth-century representation of a *Loving Couple*. Jaffé drew attention to the striking affinity between, on the one hand, the figures of Rubens and Hélène Fourment and, on the other, the couple in Dürer's engraving of that name.⁹ As Jaffé also pointed out, Rubens had already used the same Dürer motif in his oil sketch for the *Marriage of Henri IV to Maria de' Medici* in the Wallace Collection in London.¹⁰ Again, there is a formal resemblance to the *Walk in the Garden* (No.139; Fig.192). From the X-ray of the New York portrait (Fig.197), it appears that Rubens originally painted himself in exactly the same pose as in the *Walk in the Garden*, inclined slightly forward like the *Antwerp Self-Portrait* (No.136; Fig.178). His change of mind improved the painting, which would otherwise not have its present harmonious *contrapposto* effect.

In 1706 this picture was presented, more or less under compulsion, by the City of Brussels to the Duke of Marlborough. Its previous fortunes are not clear. In 1676 it seems to have been in Antwerp. Burchard's notes refer to the following passage in a letter of 7 February 1676 from the art dealer Picart to his Antwerp colleague Matthijs Musson: 'Ic bidde Ul hem soo veul te obligeren naer het Leven van Rubens te vernemen ende soo het mogelyk is het conterfeytsel van Rubens met syn huysvra ende kind datter in is te bekomen ende de mate seynden met den naesten prys'.¹¹ This description of the family portrait seems to fit the present work. Burchard also suggested that its owner in Antwerp may have been Philip Rubens, the painter's nephew and author of the first biography, *Vita Rubenii*. This is also quite possible, since the family portrait is

mentioned in the same breath as the famous Life of Rubens, and an earlier passage in the same letter refers to other works bought from Philip Rubens.¹²

1. These protective bands were very common in the Netherlands until the beginning of the 19th century; see G.T.Haneveld, 'De Val-Hoedt', *Spiegel Historiaal*, VIII, 1973, pp.462-465.
2. Evers points to the sash as an imitation of adult male attire and therefore identifies the child as the young son of Rubens and Hélène Fourment. His argument was adopted by Liedtke, in his New York catalogue. However the sash, just like the long dress of the child, was worn by boys and girls alike: a good example is offered by the girl in a chariot, in a *Family Portrait* by J.G.Cuyp, in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Lille (cf. *Cent chefs d'œuvre du Musée de Lille*, Lille, 1970, pp.112-113, No.48, repr.); I owe this information—as well as references to other similar examples—to Mrs Katlijne Van der Stighelen.
3. Cf. *K.d.K.*, p.343. Oldenbourg (*K.d.K.*, p.472) has already remarked on this obvious relationship with the St Catherine in the altarpiece at Toledo. Very surprisingly, he attributed the portrait discussed here to Boeckhorst. He considered the figure of Hélène Fourment in the present picture a copy after Rubens's female saint in the Toledo altarpiece.
4. *K.d.K.*, p.348; Liedtke (*Liedtke, Cat. New York*, I, p.180) rightly remarks that the drawing in the Louvre of a young woman with an ostrich fan (*ibid.*, fig.42), which is generally recognized as a study for one of the figures in the *Garden of Love*, also resembles the figure of Hélène Fourment in the portrait discussed here: the dress in particular looks very similar.
5. Liedtke also explained that the arch does not necessarily belong to this picture, but may have been on the panel as the ground of another composition which, for some reason, never came to execution.
6. See *Cat. Exh. Die Sprache der Bilder*, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, 1978, p.75, under No. 11, with further literature. The parrot as a symbol of purity occurs in many portraits of ladies by Rubens: e.g. *Madame Gerbier and her Family*, *Brigida Spinola Doria* (?) and *Veronica Spinola Doria* (see *Huemer, Portraits*, Nos.14, 42-44, figs.63, 117, 124-125). It also occurs in a specifically Christian context: thus it denotes the Immaculate Conception in the well-known *Holy Family with Parrot* in the Royal Museum in Antwerp (*K.d.K.*, p.284).
7. Cf. examples in *Henkel-Schöne*, I, p.299; also the clear account in *de Jongh, Zinne- en minnebeelden*, pp.25ff.
8. This is clearly pointed out, for example, in rela-

tion to designs for tapestries and title-pages, by *Haverkamp-Begemann, Achilles*, pp.39-41.

9. See the reproduction in F.Winkler, *Dürer. Des Meisters Gemälde, Kupferstiche und Holzschmitte*, Berlin-Leipzig, 1928, p.107. Liedtke (*Liedtke, Cat. New York*, I, p.181) insisted on the progeny of this Dürer motif, especially in representations of strolling couples in paintings and engravings made by the Haarlem school from c.1590 onward. There is also a striking similarity between Rubens and Hélène Fourment in the present painting and the couple in a *Garden of Love*, etched by Nicolas de Son after Johann Liss (c.1597-c.1630), who spent his formative years in Haarlem (cf. *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, fig.45).
10. Cf. *K.d.K.*, p.320r.
11. *Denucé, Na Rubens*, p.435.
12. *Ibid.*, p.434; cf. also Philip Rubens's letter to Picart of 11 February 1670 (C.Ruelens, 'La vie de Rubens par Roger de Piles', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, pp. 162-163); the other paintings which Philip Rubens certainly owned and which are also mentioned in the letter of 7 February, without the name of their proprietor, are a *Bacchus* and an *Andromeda*.

141a. Hélène Fourment

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.199), The Hague, Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V, Inv. No.NK1409; panel, 52 × 40 cm. For references, see under No.141c; (2) Painting (Fig.198), whereabouts unknown; panel, 59 × 46 cm. For references, see under No.141b; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 56.5 × 44 cm. PROV. Vienna, Czernin Collection. LIT. *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.459, right, 487; K.Wilczék, *Katalog der Graf Czernin'schen Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1936, p.77, No.288; Evers, *Rubens*, p.508, n.481; (4) Painting, Richmond, Virginia, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Inv.No.50-1; panel, 64 × 48.5 cm. PROV. Vienna, Hans Makart Senior (d.1884); Vienna, Hans Makart Junior, where seen by G. Glück in 1920; New York, Carl Schoen; New York, Lilienfeld Galleries (1936); purchased for the Museum in 1950. EXH. *Detroit*, 1936, No.34 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. H.Tietze, 'Ein

neues Helene Fourment-Bildnis von Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, LVI, 1921, pp.18-19 (repr., as *Rubens*); Evers, *Rubens*, p.508, n.481; Goris-Held, pp.45-46, No.A.7; *Daugherty, Self-Portraits*, p.307; (5) Painting, Brussels, Robert Finck; panel, 56.5 × 43 cm. PROV. Charles Warner Lewis, sale, London (Christie's), 3 June 1871, lot 16; Miserden Park, Edward Aldam Lewis (d.1900); London and Cape Town, Sir Joseph Robinson (1840-1929); Cape Town, Princess Labia, daughter of the former; sale, London (Sortheby's), 27 November 1963, lot 23 (as *Rubens*). EXH. *Robinson Collection*, National Gallery of South Africa, Cape Town, 1959, No.26 (as *Rubens*); *Tableaux de maîtres flamands du XVe au XVIIIe siècle*, Galerie Robert Finck, Brussels, 1964, No.A (repr., as *Rubens*); Brussels, 1965, No.209 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. L. Van Puyvelde, 'Un important portrait d'Hélène Fourment par Rubens', *Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art*, XXXIV, 1965, pp.3-10 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Daugherty, Self-Portraits*, p.307; *Liedtke, Cat. New York*, I, pp.182, 185, n.46.

A preliminary study *en buste* for Rubens's second wife in the group portrait in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (No.141; Fig.195). Liedtke (see under Copy [5]) convincingly suggests that the original of this representation of Hélène's head was painted before the group portrait and was not a partial copy made after it. Thus he could remark that, in comparison to the New York group portrait, the present work shows Hélène slightly differently: her head inclines more in the direction of the onlooker, her smile is more pronounced, and the details of her garment are not fully worked out.

None of the five surviving examples of this study can be regarded as authentic.

Two of them, for which Burchard issued certificates of authenticity in 1926 and 1927 respectively, were shown together in the Rubens exhibition organized in 1933 by the Amsterdam art dealer Jacques Goudstikker. Later, after the panel was cleaned, Burchard revised his original enthusiastic view. In later notes on the first of these copies (No.141b; Fig.198)—which last appeared in a sale at Versailles in 1973, described as a studio product—Burchard took a more critical view, although not finally doubting its authenticity. As to the second copy, which is now in the Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V in The Hague (No.141c; Fig.199), Burchard also expressed more scepticism and even regarded it as of inferior quality to the first, though here again he did not explicitly retract his previous highly favourable assessment. Consequently, both versions are discussed separately in the present work.

The original version was perhaps the one described in 1836 in the collection of J. Van Hal in Antwerp: 'Portrait d'une jeune et aimable dame qui paraît être celui d'une des femmes de ce prince des peintres; ouvrage que certainement il a fait avec amour et sous une inspiration particulière; car son pinceau n'a rien produit de plus frais et de plus moelleux. Elle est représentée jusqu'au dessous du sein, et sa blonde chevelure est liée en touffe, avec un ornement en pierres précieuses.' However, taking into account the very similar dimensions, that work may be identical with one or other of the copies mentioned above.

141b. Hélène Fourment (Fig. 198)

Oil on panel; 59 × 46 cm.

PROVENANCE: Charles-Léon Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 28 June 1921,

lot 106; Dr F. Rothmann, Berlin; Galerie Caspari, Munich (1926); Siegfried Buchenau, Niendorf; Buchenau heirs, Spain or Portugal; Jan Dik and a second owner, Vevey (1957); sale, Versailles (Chevau-Légers), 16 December 1973, lot 120 (as *School of Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No. 54 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Evers, *Rubens*, p. 508, n. 481; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, p. 307.

This study was certified as authentic by Burchard in 1927 for the owner at the time, the Munich art dealer Caspari. Much later it was cleaned, and in about 1957 Burchard expressed much more doubt about it in his notes. It does not seem to me to show any trace of Rubens's own hand.

141c. *Hélène Fourment* (Fig. 199)

Oil on panel; 52 × 40 cm.
The Hague, Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V. No. NK14.

PROVENANCE: Mme Hémé, Brussels; Dr F. Rothmann, Berlin (1926); Franz Koenigs, Haarlem (1881-1941); Herrmann Goering; Central Collecting Point, Munich, after 1945; Dienst Verspreide Rijkskollekties, The Hague.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No. 53 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Evers, *Rubens*, p. 508, n. 481; Daugherty, *Self-Portraits*, p. 307; *Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V*, The Hague, 1977, p. 4, No. 14 (repr., as a copy).

The authenticity of this version was certified by Burchard in 1926 to the Berlin art dealer Fritz Rothmann. As in the case of

the previous painting (No. 141b; Fig. 198), he did not expressly withdraw his recognition at any subsequent time. However, in his notes c. 1957 he regarded it as of inferior quality to the previous example. I myself cannot perceive Rubens's hand in either painting.

142. *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* (Figs. 200, 201)

Oil on panel; 158 × 92 cm.
Vaduz, Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein. Inv. No. 114.

PROVENANCE: Albert Rubens; mentioned in the collections of the Princes of Liechtenstein in Vienna, since 1733; transported to Vaduz in 1945.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 202), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No. 9868; panel, 156 × 91 cm. PROV. Seen by Joseph Highmore in a private collection at Paris in 1734; purchased in 1742 from Dubreuil, Paris, for the collection of August III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. LIT. J. Highmore, *Paris Journal*, 1734, ed. by Elizabeth Johnston, in *The Walpole Society*, XLII, 1968-70, pp. 80, 99 (as *Rubens*); *Catalogue des tableaux de la galerie électorale à Dresde*, Dresden, 1765, No. 436 (as *Rubens*); Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 83, No. 259 (as *Rubens*); Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p. 434, No. 363 (as *Rubens*); J. Hübner, *Catalogue de la galerie royale de Dresde*, Dresden, 1872, No. 845 (as *Rubens*); Rooses, IV, pp. 244-245, under No. 1036; (2) Painting, Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts; panel, 33 × 24 cm. PROV. Presented by the French Government in 1872. LIT. *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France. Province. Monuments Civils*, I, Paris, 1878, p. 131; (3) Painting of the busts of the boys, whereabouts unknown; 52 × 64 cm.; (4) Drawing by

N. de Keyser (1813-1887), Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten; 107 × 136 mm. LIT. L.Schoonbaert and D.Cardyn-Oomen, *Tekeningen, aquarellen en prenten, 19de en 20ste eeuw, Koninklijk Museum Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1981, p.311 (repr.); (5) Engraving by G.A.Müller (1694-1767; V.S., p.168, No.125); (6) Engraving after (1) by J.Daullé, 1752 (V.S., pp.167-168, No.123); (7) Engraving after (1) by Dauzel (V.S., p.168, No.124).

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Kunstmuseum, Lucerne, 1948, No.138 (repr.); *Meisterwerke der Malerei aus Privatsammlungen im Bodenseegebiet*, Künstlerhaus, Bregenz, 1965, No.88 (repr.).

LITERATURE: V.Fanti, *Descrizione completa di tutto cio che ritrovasi nella Galleria... della Casa di Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1767, p.74, No.365; Michel, *Histoire*, p.308; [J.Dallinger], *Description des tableaux et des pièces de sculpture que renferme la galerie de ... Liechtenstein*, Vienna, 1780, p.11, No.10; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.100, No.327; D.Wilkie, *Journal*, 1840, ed. by A.Cunningham, *Life of Wilkie*, III, London, 1843, pp.304-305; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.364; Rooses, IV, pp.243-245, No.1036; K.d.K., ed. *Rosenberg*, p.278; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.152, 228, pl.CCLXXII; A.Kronfeld, *Führer durch die fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1927, No.114; Evers, *Rubens*, pp.310, 460, 508, pl.II; E.von Strohmer, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Fürsten Liechtenstein in Wien*, Vienna, 1943, p.97, pl.VI; J.Müller Hofstede, [Review of Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*], in *Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p.451; J.S.Held, 'Rubens' "Het Pelsken"', in *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, p.191, reprinted in Held, *Rubens*, p.110; G.Wilhelm, *Peter Paul Rubens aus den Sammlun-*

gen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz, 1974, No.15 (repr.); Warnke, *Rubens*, p.26, fig.10; R.Baumstark, *Meisterwerke der Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Zürich-Munich, 1980, pp.150-151, No.55, pl.55.

Albert, in a dark costume with a white fluted collar and cuffs, leans against a pilaster in an unconstrained pose. He wears a broad-brimmed black hat and holds a book at his side with his right hand. A glove dangles from his left hand, which is laid protectively on the shoulder of his younger brother Nicolaas. He looks directly at the spectator. Nicolaas, in three-quarter view, is watching a goldfinch fastened by its feet to a T-shaped perch with bells attached, which he holds in his right hand. With his left hand he pulls a string, making the bird move this way and that. He is much more colourfully dressed than his brother, in a blue doublet with slits showing a yellow lining, grey puffed breeches and white stockings with red bows. His collar and cuffs are pressed flat. The identity of the two youths has never been questioned, and there is no reason to do so: Albert's name is clearly indicated in a seventeenth-century hand on the preliminary study of his head (see No.142a; Fig.203).

Although Oldenbourg wished to date the portrait c.1625, its *terminus post quem* is clearly 20 June 1626: Isabella Brant died on that day, and there is no mention of the work in the inventory then drawn up.¹ The portrait was probably painted soon after: Albert, born in 1614, seems to be a good twelve years old, and his brother, who was four years younger, could be aged eight. This dating is now accepted by almost all critics, though Burchard and d'Hulst, for reasons that are not clear,

propose a later date, c. 1630–31. This is not in accordance with the style of the work, which does not yet show the fluidity of touch characteristic of Rubens's *ultima maniera* after his foreign travels of 1628–30.

The double portrait shows clearly the difference in maturity between the two boys. Albert is represented as a scholar: he was at this time attending the Augustinian grammar school in Antwerp.² His seriousness is emphasized by the severity of his costume and a certain assurance of manner. Young Nicolaas is more playful: both his occupation and his colourful attire suggest the lively, carefree existence of a boy not yet at school. Held pointed out that Rubens must have intended this contrast of the two personalities, and suggested, I think rightly, that the painter was giving a personal interpretation of Pliny the Elder's description of a portrait of two boys by the Greek painter Parrhasius, one expressing calm and self-assurance and the other artlessness.³ The game with the captive bird on which Nicolaas appears so intent is to be understood emblematically: as E. de Jongh has pointed out from other instances, it symbolizes the child's love of God (the bird) and readiness to bear the cross of Christ's sacrifice (the stick with its cross-piece).⁴ In this way Rubens conveyed the moral lesson that the child's proper road in life is that which leads to God. However, it was pointed out recently by J.B. Bedaux that the captive bird can also be seen as a symbol of studiousness. That the double portrait should have this connotation as well, may possibly be deduced from the emphasis on Albert's activity as *studax*.⁵

As is frequent with Rubens, the panel on which the portrait is painted is made up, in a rather complicated fashion, of four planks of different sizes. The lower part, as far as a point somewhat below

Nicolaas's left hand, consists of a massive horizontal plank; the upper part consists of three vertical planks. Waagen wrongly inferred from this that Rubens originally intended the portrait to be a half-length and changed his mind during its execution. Rooses shared this view, which can still be found in the different catalogues of the Liechtenstein collection, including the Vaduz exhibition catalogue of 1974. However, in recent years the technical examination of a large number of Rubens's works on panel has clearly shown that it was a current studio practice to use composite panels of this sort and that they are not necessarily a proof of 'second thoughts' during the execution.⁶

The Gemäldegalerie in Dresden has a copy of this work, on panel and of about the same dimensions (Fig. 202). Before Waagen pointed out its inferior quality in 1866, this was traditionally regarded as an authentic Rubens. The execution is certainly weaker and duller than the original, but, partly on account of the use of panel as a support, I believe it to have originated under Rubens's supervision. It may seem unlikely that a studio copy would have been made, especially on panel, of a portrait intended for the family circle; but this may be explained by the original purpose of the work at Vaduz. There is little doubt that the latter is identical with the painting 'representeerende de contrefeytsels van Mynheer den overledenen ende synen broeder', listed in the inventory of Albert Rubens's estate on his death in 1657.⁷ The work had no doubt been presented to him by his father,⁸ and may not Rubens, to please his younger son, have had a replica made which could well be identical with the Dresden version?⁹

1. For the inventory, see M. Rooses, 'Staat van goederen in het sterfhuis van Isabella Brant', *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp. 154–183.

2. See M. Rooses, in *Biographie Nationale*, XX, 1908-10, col. 309.
3. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, XXXV, 70.
4. Cf. de Jongh, *Zinne- en Minnebeelden*, pp. 44-47, esp. the reference to a representation similar to that in Rubens's portrait, of a bird attached to a T-shaped perch with bells on it, as an emblem in A. Poirter's *Afbeeldinghe van de Eerste eeuw der societeyt Jesu...*, Antwerp, 1640, pp. 296-297. Children with such playthings are common in 17th-century Flemish portraits, e.g. the *Family Portrait* of 1631 by Cornelis de Vos in the Royal Museum, Antwerp (repr. in de Jongh, *Zinne- en Minnebeelden*, p. 45, fig. 32). I am less convinced by Baumstark's theory that the bird is an allusion to the recent death of Isabella Brant. This rests on a letter of 1602 from Justus Lipsius, who compares human life to a bird that a boy holds captive, but that may fly away unexpectedly.
5. Cf. J. B. Bedaux, 'Beelden van leerzucht en tucht: Opvoedingsmetaforen in de Nederlandse schilderkunst van de zeventiende eeuw', *Nederlands Kunst-historisch Jaarboek*, XXXIII, 1983, pp. 63-64, 72, n. 48.
6. The reason for the practice was that composite panels were less likely to warp than single ones. This was recently clearly shown, as regards the Rubens panels in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, by Sonnenburg, *Bildaufbau*, I, pp. 77-100. Among Burchard's papers I have also seen a note stating that the support of the double portrait at Vaduz must have had this complex form from the start.
7. 'Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuyse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens', published by M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p. 29.
8. The picture must have changed hands in Rubens's lifetime, as there is nothing about it in the *Staetmasse* (see Denucé, *Konstkamers*, pp. 71ff.).
9. It was not uncommon to have copies made after a family portrait, in order to meet the wishes of the brothers and sisters of the oldest descendant who, as a rule, inherited the original. Thus we know that in 1638 a certain Cornelis Michielsz, a citizen of Delft, bequeathed his own portrait by Johan van Ravesteyn to his oldest son, while he had copies painted for his younger children (cf. J.M. Montias, *Artists and artisans in Delft. A socio-economic study of the seventeenth century*, Princeton, 1982, p. 194).

I42a. Albert Rubens: Drawing
(Fig. 203)

Black chalk, reinforced by a later hand; 310 × 200 mm.; inscribed by a later hand, below: *DS Albertus Rubens*. Cut in an octagonal form.
Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: Count Duchastel-Dandelot, Brussels.

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, pp. 270-271, No. 1518; F.M. Haberditzl, 'Über einige Handzeichnungen von Rubens in der Albertina', *Die Graphischen Künste*, XXXV, 1912, p. 12; Glück-Haberditzl, p. 51, No. 158 (repr.); Held, *Drawings*, I, p. 139, under No. 108 (as a copy); Burchard-d'Hulst, *Drawings*, I, p. 215, under No. 138.

The execution of this drawing is very similar to that of the portrait study of the *Earl of Arundel*, which was also in the Duchastel-Dandelot collection, and which Frances Huemer, rightly in my opinion, regarded as a chalk drawing by Rubens, later inked-over by another hand.¹ I believe the present study, from life, of Albert Rubens to have been worked up in the same way, possibly even by the same hand: there is in particular a striking resemblance in the mechanical precision with which the waves of the hair are rendered. In its original form this study may thus have been much closer in style to the design for Nicolaas's portrait (No. I42b; Fig. 204).

1. Cf. Huemer, *Portraits*, pp. 107, 109, No. 4a, fig. 49.

I42b. Nicolaas Rubens: Drawing
(Fig. 204)

Black chalk, heightened in white; 227 × 180 mm.; inscribed by a later hand, in ink, below to the right: *P. P. Rubbens*.
Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 17.648.

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

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1965, No.350 (repr.); *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.42 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.273, No.1523; *Schönbrunner-Meder*, III, No.245; *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p.51, No.159 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, pp.138-139, No.108, pl.117; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.215, No.138 (repr.); E.Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, pp. 100-101, No.42 (repr.).

Young Nicolaas's expression in this study differs somewhat from the double portrait at Vaduz (Fig.201): in particular his mouth is closed, while in the final painting it is slightly open, so as to give the boy in that portrait the desired unconstrained expression.

143. Nicolaas Rubens with a Felt Cap: Drawing (Fig.205)

Black and red chalk, heightened in white; 292 × 232 mm.
Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No.8.266.

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

EXHIBITED: *Zürich*, 1946-47, No.94; *Antwerp*, 1977, No.157 (repr.); *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.41 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.273, No.1524; *Schönbrunner-Meder*, No.111; *Glück-Haberdtztl*, p.51, No.163 (repr.); *Held, Drawings*, p.139, No.109, pl.118; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, p.198, under No.126; E.Mitsch, in *Cat. Exh. Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, pp.98-99, No.41 (repr.).

The boy's head is in three-quarter view. He wears a felt cap and a cloak over his

shoulders, beneath which his right hand is concealed.

The sitter is generally identified as Rubens's second son Nicolaas, and I see no reason to doubt this: the somewhat prominent lower lip and turned-up nose are clearly recognizable from the double portrait of *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* in the Prince of Liechtenstein's collection at Vaduz (No.142; Fig.200). The sheet, like that painting, is generally dated between c.1625 and c.1627.

It must remain uncertain whether this drawing was made with a view to a painted composition.

144. Philip Rubens (Fig.206)

Oil on panel; 68.5 × 54 cm.
Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts. Inv. No.26.385.

PROVENANCE: ?Church of St Michael's Abbey, Antwerp; Peeters d'Aertselaer sale, Antwerp, 27 August 1817, lot 10; H.J. Stier d'Aertselaer, sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 11; M.J.L. Nieuwenhuys, Brussels; Grand Duke Henry of Mecklenburg; Mecklenburg sale, Paris, 11 December 1854, lot 16; Carl von Hollitscher, Berlin; Camillo Castiglioni, Vienna, sale, Amsterdam (F.Müller), 17-20 November 1925, lot 74 (repr.); William E. Scripps, Detroit; purchased for the Detroit Institute in 1926.

COPY: Engraving by C. Galle, 1615 (Fig.207; V.S., p.170, No.143).

EXHIBITED: *Ausstellung von Bildnissen des fünfzehnten bis achtzehnten Jahrhunderts aus dem Privatbesitz der Mitglieder des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Vereins*, Königliche Kunst-Akademie, Berlin, 1909, No.121;

Brussels, 1910, No.396; *Detroit*, 1936, No.19; *World's Fair*, New York, 1939, No.321; *New York*, 1942, No.2; *Los Angeles*, 1946, No.8 (repr.); *Detroit*, 1978, No.1.

LITERATURE: De Wit, *Kerken*, p.154; *Berbie*, *Description*, 1757, p.47; *Descamps*, *Voyage*, p.171; Michel, *Histoire*, pp.83-84; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.10, No.19, 227, No.805; C.Blanc, *Le trésor de la curiosité*, II, Paris, 1857, p.504; T.Lejeune, *Guide de l'amateur de tableaux*, II, Paris, 1864, p.340; *Rooses*, IV, pp.247-248, No.1040; D. von Hadeln, 'Die Porträtausstellung des Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Vereins II', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XX, 1909, p.296; *Rooses*, *Vlaamsche Kunst*, p.10; W. von Bode and M.J.Friedländer, *Die Gemälde-Sammlung Hollitscher*, Berlin, 1912, No.25 (repr.); C.H.Burroughs, 'A Rubens Portrait', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1926, pp.85-87 (repr.); W.Heiland and C.H.Burroughs, *Catalogue of Paintings in the Permanent Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, Detroit, 1930, No.193; E.P.Richardson, 'The Rubens Exhibit', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1936, pp.62-63; *The Detroit Institute of Arts. Catalogue of Paintings*, Detroit, 1944, No.193; *Goris-Held*, p.28, No.14, pl.2; *Larsen, Rubens*, p.215, No.22; 'Other Works of Rubens in the Collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts', *Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Arts*, 1964, p.53; *Warnke, Kommentare*, p.91, n.131; *Judson-Van de Velde*, p.152, fig.99; J.S.Held, *The Collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts. Flemish and German Paintings of the 17th Century*, Detroit, 1982, pp.76-82 (repr.).

The subject can be identified as Rubens's brother Philip from the engraving after this portrait by Cornelis Galle I (Fig.207) which appears as an illustration to the

biography of him by Jan Brant. The biography and print are part of a collective work published by the Officina Plantiniana in 1615 and also including some of Philip Rubens's own writings.¹ Born in 1574, the painter's elder brother was a celebrated humanist and a pupil of Justus Lipsius. He spent the years from 1601 to 1607 in Italy, where he was in the service of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna. After his return to Antwerp he became city secretary and remained in that office until his premature death in 1611.² He is here seen *en buste*, his head turned slightly to the right, his eyes fixed on the spectator. His black costume is relieved only by a white cartwheel ruff.

It is almost universally supposed that this is the painting that originally adorned the funeral monument of Philip Rubens, which was in the church of St Michael's abbey in Antwerp and is mentioned in several eighteenth-century descriptions of works of art in Antwerp churches. Held, however, questioned this identification in his recent catalogue of Flemish paintings in Detroit, chiefly on the ground that the eighteenth-century accounts describe the portrait as oval whereas the one at Detroit is rectangular and shows no sign of having ever been in an oval frame. The latter point is important, but does not suffice to refute the traditional view. It must be borne in mind that the painting has suffered a fair amount of damage: the ruff, for instance, shows clear signs of wear. Traces of an oval frame, if there were any, might have been obliterated by later restoration. In any case the work must date from about the time of Philip's death in 1611 or soon after. The marked plasticity and three-dimensional effect, based on contrasting shadows, is stylistically fully in harmony with the whole of Rubens's work at this time.

1. S. ASTERII AMASEAE HOMILIAE GRAECE ET LATINE *nunc primum editae* PHILIPPO RUBENIO. EJUSDEM RUBENII CARMINA, ORATIONES ET EPISTOLAE *selectiores itemque AMICORVM in vita functum pietas*, Antwerp, 1615.
2. For biographical evidence concerning Philip Rubens, see especially M. Rooses, in *Biographie Nationale de Belgique*, XX, 1908-10, cols. 313-317.

145. Domingo Ruzzola (Fig. 212)

Oil on canvas; 91 × 75 cm.

London, Mr and Mrs E. Verdon-Lee.

PROVENANCE: ?Infanta Isabella, 1621; ?Dominican Church, Brussels (1770); Thurn and Taxis Family; Schamp d'Aveschoot, Ghent, sale, Ghent, 14 September 1840, lot 9; purchased by Messrs Smith; George Blamire; sale, London (Christie's), 7-9 November 1863, lot 67; Lady Islington, Suffolk, sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 July 1948, lot 165.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 211), whereabouts unknown; canvas, 128 × 92 cm. PROV. Munich, private collection (1843); Munich, Weiss (1903); Munich, Dr Anschütz-Kämpfe (1921). LIT. G.K. Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, XIII, Munich, 1843, p. 593 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p. 19 (as *Rubens*); *Oldenbourg, Rubens*, pp. 138-141, pl. 80 (as *Rubens*); H. Kauffmann, *G.L. Bernini. Die figürlichen Kompositionen*, Brunswick, 1970, p. 138, n. 15 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; parchment stuck on panel, c. 13.5 × c. 10.5 cm. PROV. Prague, Dr. Eduard Safárik (1939); (3) Drawing, Plymouth, City Museum and Art Gallery; 178 × 149 mm. PROV. London, J. Richardson Senior (1665-1745); London, T. Hudson (1701-1779); London, C. Rogers (1711-1784); W. Cotton, great-nephew of the former; presented by him to the Plymouth Museum, in 1853. EXH. *Cottonian Centenary*, Plymouth, 1953;

Primitives to Picasso, Royal Academy, London, 1962, No. 341 (as *Rubens*); *London*, 1977, No. 157 (repr.). LIT. A.E. Popham, 'Old Master Drawings at the Royal Academy', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV, 1962, pp. 68-69, fig. 14 (as *Rubens*); J. Rowlands, in *Cat. Exh. London*, 1977, p. 117, No. 157, repr. (as *Rubens*); D. Freedberg, 'L'Année Rubens. Manifestations et publications en 1977', *Revue de l'Art*, XXXIX, 1978, p. 90, n. 19; K. Renger, [Review of *Cat. Exh. London*, 1977], *Kunstchronik*, XXXI, 1978, pp. 135-136; (4) Engraving by Richard Collin (Fig. 210); P.F. Jacobus a Passione Domini, *De Stralen van de Sonne van Elias, indese eeuwen versprydt door Duytsch-landt etc. en Nederlandt*, Liège, 1681, title-page).

LITERATURE: G.K. Nagler, *Neues Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, XIII, Munich, 1843, p. 593; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 261, No. 883; IX, p. 196, No. 187; *Rooses*, IV, p. 268, No. 1055; M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Portrait of Father Ruzzola', *The Burlington Magazine*, CIV, 1962, pp. 389-390 (repr.).

Domingo Ruzzola (Calatayud, Aragon, 1559-Vienna, 1630) entered the Order of Discalced Carmelites in 1589 as Dominicus a Jesu Maria; he held important positions in the Order and was its superior-general from 1617 to 1620. He was noted for his piety, and many miracles were attributed to his zeal in prayer. Maximilian I of Bavaria appointed him spiritual adviser to himself and his troops in the Bohemian campaign at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, and he was credited with a major part in the battle of the White Mountain near Prague in 1620, when Maximilian and Tilly won a spectacular victory over Frederick of the Palatinate and the Protestant insurgents of Bohemia:

during the fighting Ruzzola urged on the imperial troops, crucifix in hand.¹

The identification of this portrait is chiefly based on the inscription beneath the engraving by R. Collin, copied after an example of the work (Fig.210). Ruzzola is portrayed seated and to the waist, turned slightly to the left and with his eyes on the spectator. He wears the brown habit and white mantle of his Order, and holds a crucifix in his hands—as Burchard and Jaffé have pointed out, this no doubt alludes to his encouragement of the troops in 1620.

Burchard drew attention to a letter of 6 August 1621, addressed to Maximilian of Bavaria by Morrens, his agent in Brussels, and stating that Ruzzola, then at the Brussels court, was on the point of leaving for France and Italy; however, at the express wish of the Infanta Isabella he had postponed his departure till 9 August so that Rubens might paint his portrait. The writer added that the portrait was intended for Isabella herself, and was really painted against Ruzzola's wishes.² The style of the present work is in accord with the date indicated by Morrens. Jaffé, who published the painting (it was also known to Burchard), rightly pointed out the similarity of style to Rubens's portraits of c.1620, and compared the 'modelling and impasto of the face, and the breadth and fluidity of the drapery' to the pictorial treatment of Alethea Talbot's attendants in the famous Munich portrait (No.72; Fig.24).

There is no way of knowing whether the present portrait is the actual one painted by Rubens to Isabella's order in 1621. In 1652 a portrait of this subject, attributed to Rubens, was in the possession of the printer Jan van Meurs in Antwerp,³ and in the eighteenth century a work of the same description was in the former church

of the Discalced Carmelites in Brussels.⁴ Until the Second World War there was also an example in the Anshütz-Kämpfe collection in Munich (Fig.211). Oldenbourg, who did not know the present work, published the Munich portrait as an original work by Rubens and dated it 1606–8, during which time Ruzzola was in Rome. I cannot judge its authenticity, but from a photograph it looks more like a copy. Burchard thought it was not an original, and Jaffé was of the same opinion. For completeness' sake I should mention a drawing of Ruzzola's head in the Plymouth museum. This sheet, which was not known to Burchard, was shown as an authentic study in the great exhibition of Rubens drawings at the British Museum in 1977–78. Jaffé stoutly defended its authenticity, but I personally agree with Konrad Renger that the chalk underdrawing is too weak and the interior drawing in ink too hesitant for it to have the slightest claim to be considered a genuine work by Rubens.

1. See for the facts about Ruzzola's life: B.Müller, *Leben und Wirken des Dominikus a Jesu Maria aus dem Orden der reformierten Carmeliter*, Vienna, 1878; [A. M. Knoll, E. K. Winter and H. K. Rössner-Spitzenberg, ed.], *Dominicus a Jesu Maria Ord. Carm. Disc. Seine Persönlichkeit und sein Werk. Festschrift*, Vienna, 1930.

2. 'Reverendissimus Pater Dominicus de Jesu Maria post optima et urgentissima pro negotij noti 342, 195, 344, 242 × × 346 praestita officia hodierna per Gallias in Italiam discessum proposuerat, à Sere-nissima tamen Infante in diem usque luna retinetur à quo licet invito et reluctante, effigiem per Apellem Antverpiensem Rubens depingi in usum Suae Sere-nitatis abtinnuit' (Munich, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv, 30 jähriger Krieg, Akte Nr.123; published partially in S.Riezler, 'Der Karmeliter P. Dominikus a Jesu Maria und der Kriegsrat vor der Schlacht auf Weissen Berge'. *Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sitzungsberichte*, 1897, p.443, n.1.

3. 'Item, Pater Dominicus Carmelita, van Rubens' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.135).

4. Mentioned in Michel, *Histoire*, p.359.

146. Abel Socin(?) (Fig. 208)

Oil on canvas; 98 × 68.5 cm.
 Norfolk, Virginia, *The Chrysler Museum*.
 Inv. No. 71.463.

PROVENANCE: Baron van Brienen van de Grootelindt, Amsterdam; English private collection; Newhouse Galleries, New York; Rita Bellesi.

EXHIBITED: *Paintings from the Collection of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr.*, Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, 1956, No. 4 (repr.); *Peter Paul Rubens, 1577-1640*, Kunsthalle, Cologne, 1977, No. 3 (repr.).

LITERATURE: W. R. Valentiner, 'An Early Portrait by Rubens', *The Art Quarterly*, XVI, 1953, pp. 66-69 (repr.); J. Müller Hofstede, 'Zur frühen Bildnismalerei von Peter Paul Rubens', *Pantheon*, XX, 1962, pp. 283, 285-286 (repr.); J. Müller Hofstede, in *Cat. Exh. Cologne, 1977*, p. 137, No. 3 (repr.); Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, pp. 16-17 (repr.); H. Vlieghe, [Review of Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*], in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, p. 473 (as not by Rubens); *The Chrysler Museum. Selections from the permanent collection*, Norfolk, Virginia, 1982, p. 38 (repr.).

Knee-length portrait of a man in three-quarter view, in a black costume with small white slits and a short fluted lace collar. He wears a belt decorated with silver, to which a sword is attached.

Valentiner, who first published this portrait, assigned it to Rubens's earliest Antwerp period, c. 1598, on account of the striking similarity of the costume to that in Rubens's earliest known dated portrait, the so-called *Astronomer* or *Geographer* of 1597.¹ This view was accepted by Burckhard, Müller Hofstede and Jaffé.

Neither the early dating nor the attribution to Rubens seem to me acceptable, mainly on account of another portrait which may provide the identification of the subject of this one. I have in mind the portrait of the Basle councillor Abel Socin by an anonymous artist, also of Basle, which is dated 1618 and was sold at Berne in 1974 (Fig. 209).² In my opinion the two portraits are of the same man: the pose and the cut of the clothes are very similar, and the faces show more than a superficial resemblance. One portrait may even have been inspired by the other.

It is unlikely in itself that Rubens would have painted the portrait of an obscure Basle magistrate. Moreover the handling of the costume and the drawing of the flesh parts show a stiff, two-dimensional quality that is incompatible with Rubens's style.

1. Cf. Goris-Held, p. 29, No. 19, pl. 1.

2. Oil on panel, 92 × 70 cm.; inscribed: AET. 38 — Ao. 1618. Sold at Berne (J. Stüker), 27 November 1974, lot 2935, with a companion portrait of Abel Socin's wife, Catherina Werzashga. The sitters are identified by a coat of arms and an old inscription on the reverse. I am greatly indebted to my colleague Carl Van de Velde for drawing my attention to this portrait and the unmistakable resemblance to the painting in Norfolk, Virginia.

147. Ambrogio Spinola

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: ?Painting (Fig. 213), Wellesley, Wellesley College, Mass., Jewett Arts Center; canvas, 72.5 × 59.5 cm. PROV. ?Wimpole, The Earl of Hardwicke (1857); Florence. Prince Demidoff de San Donato, sale, Florence, 15 March-10 April 1880, lot 1148; ?Berners; Chicago, Mr and Mrs F. W. Crosby (1890-94); Chicago, The Art Institute (1894-1933); Lake Forest, Frances L. Hughes (1933-55); given to Welles-

ley College in 1955, in memory of Frances L. Hughes. *LIT.* ?*Waagen, Galleries*, p.519; *Rooses*, IV, p.272, No.1062; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.273 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.452; *The Art Institute of Chicago. A Guide to the Paintings in the Permanent Collection*, Chicago, 1925, p.151, No.14; *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.47, No.87b; *Goris-Held*, p.47, No.A21; C.H.Shell and J.McAndrew, *Catalogue of European and American Sculptures, Paintings and Drawings at Wellesley College*, Wellesley, 1958, pp.90-92 (repr.).

Ambrogio Spinola, Marquis of Los Balbases (1569-1630), was Commander-in-Chief of the Spanish armies under Albert and Isabella. His principal feat of arms in the Netherlands was the recapture of Breda in 1625.¹

Several authentic portraits of him by Rubens are known: the prototype may be the one that was in Rubens's estate at his death.² This *editio princeps*, painted from life, must have been executed when Spinola, with the Infanta, visited Rubens soon after the victory at Breda, as we learn from Bellori's account published in 1672.³ Rubens speaks of having painted Spinola from life in a letter dated 2 September 1627.⁴

A head-and-shoulders portrait of Spinola in Wellesley College (Fig.213) may be an exact copy after this prototype, which must be supposed to have been in a similar form. Spinola is depicted in full armour, as in the panel in Prague (No.148; Fig.215), which for this reason is likely to be the earliest version and to have been intended for Spinola himself.⁵

1. For the facts of Spinola's life and, more particularly, his activity in the Netherlands, see A. Rodriguez Villa, *Ambrosio Spinola*, Madrid, 1904, and J. Lefèvre, *Spinola et la Belgique (1601-1627)*, Brussels, 1947.

2. 'Un pourtrait du Marquis Spinola' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.60).
3. 'Presa Bredà l'Infanta Isabella col Marchese Spinola tornando à Bruxelles, nel passare per Anversa, si trasferirono a casa sua [i.e. Rubens's] per la curiosità delle sue opere e Museo, & egli fece i loro ritratti, nelli quali riusciva vivamente, e con forza naturale' (*Bellori, Vite*, p.245).
4. 'Ho ben depinto il ritratto del Marchese Spinola dal naturale, ma sin adesso non è tagliato in rame per altre occupationi che l'hanno divertito...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.299). The engraving was made much later by Pieter de Jode after the second portrait type (No.149; Fig.216). Van Gelder made the interesting suggestion that Rubens may at first have thought of getting a more specialized portrait engraver like Pontius to work under his direction. The fact that such an official portrait engraving was never made is connected by van Gelder, rightly in my opinion, with Spinola's sudden departure from the Netherlands very soon after the correspondence here referred to, so that such a portrait was no longer urgently required.
5. Van Gelder suggests tentatively that Rubens's own example may have been the version on canvas in St Louis (No.150; Fig.217). There recently came to light in the Národní Galerie in Prague another head-and-shoulders version in oil on paper (44 x 31 cm.), smaller than the copy at Wellesley; only the head and collar can there be seen. It is not possible to say from what portrait type this copy was executed. Jaffé, (*Jaffé, Warsaw*, pp.89-90, fig.6) suggests that it is an authentic head study for both the Brunswick and Prague portraits of Spinola (see further, under Nos. 148 and 149). For a more cautious view, see J. Šíp, 'P.P. Rubens in the National Gallery of Prague', *Umění*, XXVI, 1978, p.210, fig.9.

148. Ambrogio Spinola (Fig.215)

Oil on panel; 116.5 x 85 cm.

Prague, Národní Galerie. Inv. No.0 9688.

PROVENANCE: Count Franz Anton Berckel, Vienna, 1692; inherited by Count Anton Johann Nostitz, Prague, in 1706; in the Nostitz family until 1945, when it was acquired for the Národní Galerie at Prague.

LITERATURE: *Parthey, Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.367; *Rooses*, IV, p.271, No.1060; P. Bergner, *Verzeichnis der Gräfllich Nostitzschen Gemälde-Galerie zu Prag*, Prague, 1905, p.48, No.186; *Bode, Kritik und Chronologie*,

p.203; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.152, 224; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.149; *Stirka Stareho Umení. Narodni Galerie v Praze*, Prague, 1955, p.76, No.481; *Duverger, Van Hecke*, pp.150-151, fig.1; *Jaffé, Warsaw*, p.95; *van Gelder, Rubens Marginalia*, pp. 165-168, fig.8; L.Slaviček, 'Příspěvky k dějinám nostické obrazové sbírky', *Umění*, XXI, 1983, p.233.

Spinola is seen to knee-length in three-quarter view, with his eyes fixed on the spectator. His left hand rests on his sword-hilt and the right on his baton. He wears richly decorated armour over puffed breeches, with the chain of the Golden Fleece and, on his left arm, a red officer's scarf. Over his armour he wears a white lace cartwheel ruff; his cuffs are also of white lace. On a table to the left are his plumed helmet and gloves; behind him is an ornamental curtain.

The composition is formalized after the 'international' style of sixteenth-century court portraits by followers of Moro, Coello and others. In particular, it seems to me to be influenced by the portrait of Spinola engraved by Jan Muller in 1615 after a painting in this style by Michiel Mierevelt (Fig.214).

There is reason to suppose that this Prague version is the example based directly on the prototype and intended for Spinola himself. Not only is it on panel and unquestionably autograph, but it is the only version showing Spinola in full armour that can with certainty be attributed to Rubens. And, as van Gelder pointed out, the victor of 1625 would surely have chosen to be thus portrayed, rather than merely in a doublet and breastplate as in the versions in Brunswick (No.149; Fig.216) and St Louis (No.150; Fig.217).

The inventories of the collection of the

Marquis of Leganés, drawn up in 1642 and in 1655 mention a portrait of Spinola by Rubens, half-length and in armour.¹ As Leganés was Spinola's son-in-law there is a possibility that this was the painting commissioned by the general, which may have passed to him by inheritance. On the other hand Slaviček recently pointed out that in 1692 the Prague painting was in the possession of Count Franz Anton Berckel von Dubé, who might have acquired it, like many other of his paintings, from the Antwerp firm of Forchondt.² Jaffé, without giving his reasons, sought to identify the Prague example with the version made by Rubens in 1627 for Pierre Dupuy (see under No.149).

1. The description in the 1655 inventory is the more accurate one: '61. Otro retrato de medio cuerpo armado, del marques de los balbases Ambrosio espinola, de mano de Rubens, en r. 100' (*López-Navió*, p.273). For the entry in the 1642 inventory see Mary Crawford Volk, 'New Light on a Seventeenth-Century Collector: The Marquis of Leganés', *The Art Bulletin*, LMI, 1980, p.267.
2. Slaviček suggests that the piece might be identical with 'I Crijghsman int harnas van Rubbens' which was delivered to Marcus Forchondt in Graz in 1675 and which he intended to sell in Vienna. In any case it was only in Nostitz's inventory of 1738 that it was first identified as a portrait of Spinola.

149. Ambrogio Spinola (Fig.216)

Oil on panel; 117.5 × 85 cm.

Brunswick, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum*. No.85.

PROVENANCE: Acquired for the Collections of the Dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in or before 1710; brought to Paris by the French troops in 1806; returned to Brunswick, 1814/15.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 112 × 84 cm. PROV. Warwick Castle, The Earl of Warwick. LIT.

Waagen, *Treasures*, III, p.213 (as *Rubens*); W.Bürger, *Trésors d'art en Angleterre*, Paris, 1865, p.195 (as *Rubens*); Dillon, *Rubens*, p.237 (as *Rubens*); van Gelder, *Rubens Marginalia*, p.166; (2) Painting of the head and shoulders, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Brussels, A. de Maleingreau d'Hembise (1950); (3) Painting of the head and shoulders, Detroit, private collection; canvas, 79.5 × 62 cm. PROV. ?Sir Timothy Calver Eden, sale, London (Sotheby's), 26 July 1933, lot 18; Detroit, Mr and Mrs H.N. Torrey (1936). EXH. *Inaugural Exhibition*, The Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio, 1912, No.208; Detroit, 1936, No.31 (as *Rubens*); Detroit, 1978, No.5 (as *attributed to Rubens*). LIT. Valentiner, *Rubens in America*, p.163, No.87c; Goris-Held, p.47, No.A22; (4) Engraving of the head and shoulders by Pieter de Jode (V.S., p.186, No.276).

EXHIBITED: *Elewijt*, 1962, No.7 (repr.).

LITERATURE: C.N.Eberlein, *Verzeichniss der Herzoglichen Bildergalerie zu Salzhthalen*, Brunswick, 1776, p.66, No.227; *Notice des tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No.564; Parthey, *Bildersaal*, II, p.434, No.366; H.Riegel, *Beiträge zur niederländischen Kunstgeschichte*, II, Berlin, 1882, pp.58–61; *Rooses*, IV, pp.270–271, No.1059; H.Riegel, *Herzogliches Museum. Beschreibendes und kritisches Verzeichniss der Gemälde-Sammlung*, Brunswick, 1900, No.85; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.274; Dillon, *Rubens*, pp.152, 212, pl. CCLXXII; K.d.K., p.289; Evers, *Neue Forschungen*, p.356; *Du-verger*, Van Hecke, pp.150–151; [S.Jacob and R.Klessmann], *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig. Verzeichnis der Gemälde vor 1800*, Brunswick, 1976, p.51, No.85; R.Klessmann, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig*, Munich, 1978, pp.48–49 (repr.); van Gelder, *Rubens Marginalia*, pp.166–167.

Only in the costume does this portrait differ from the example in Prague. Whereas the latter shows Spinola in full armour, here he only wears a cuirass without arms over a white doublet with gold embroidery.

On 3 December 1627 Rubens wrote to Pierre Dupuy, the royal librarian in Paris, that he would paint the portrait of Spinola, commissioned by Dupuy, to the required measurements.¹ Very soon after, on the 9th, he wrote that he would be setting to work very shortly.² On 20 December 1628 he told Dupuy that he was well ahead with the work, although it was winter and paintings took a longer time to dry. He added that Dupuy would no doubt have had an opportunity of seeing Spinola in Paris (the general having by then left the Netherlands), and would be able to judge whether the portrait was a good likeness.³ Four months later the portrait was ready, as Rubens wrote to Dupuy on 11 May 1628: he was only waiting for a good opportunity to entrust it to someone leaving for Paris.⁴ However, on 6 July he wrote again expressing regret that he had not yet been able to do so.⁵ Two months later, between 10 and 14 September, Rubens arrived in Madrid for a prolonged stay. On 2 December 1628 he wrote once more to Dupuy saying that before leaving Antwerp he had made arrangements for the picture to be forwarded, and that he hoped it had arrived meanwhile.⁶ The sources do not indicate whether this was the case.

Van Gelder has argued for the identification of the example in Brunswick with the portrait painted by Rubens for Dupuy. It is in any case executed after the type in full half-length armour (cf. under No.148), but beyond this it seems to me hazardous to assume with certainty that the two works are identical: the autograph replica

in St Louis (No.150; Fig.217) may also come into question. In addition there are old references to portraits of Spinola attributed to Rubens, such as the example that belonged to the Marquis of Leganés (cf. under No.148). The Duke of Buckingham also possessed one,⁷ and in 1677 one was examined and judged authentic by the deans of St Luke's guild in Antwerp.⁸

1. 'Io non mancharò di servir V.S. del suo ritratto [i.e. Spinola's] in conformità delle misure ch'Ella mi manda...' (G.J.Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië ontrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden*, III, The Hague, 1917, p.293; the same letter, but from an incomplete copy, omitting e.g. the above published sentence, in *Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.332; van Gelder (*loc.cit.*) has already pointed out that the two documents are identical).
2. 'Il ritratto del S^r Marchese si mettera quanto primo in opera' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.334); this text has been misunderstood by some as referring to Rubens's portrait of the Marquis of Leganés: see above, under No.115.
3. 'Ho caro che VS havendo visto adesso il naturale potrà giudichar meglio della somiglianza del ritratto il quale si va facendo et è hormai molto avanzato' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.353); marginal note in the same letter: 'Le pitture vanno in longo d'invverno, perchè gli colori si seccano difficilissime...'
4. 'Il ritratto del Sig^r Marchese è tutto pronto a servizio di V.S. ne aspetto altro che qualq. buona occasione di passaggio a la volta di Parigi' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.404).
5. 'Mi dispiace di non haver ancora trovato occasione di poter mandar a V.S. il suo Marchese...' (*Rooses-Ruelens*, IV, p.438).
6. 'Spero che V.S. haveva ricevuto il ritratto del Sgr. Marchese per cui ricapito lasciar buon ordine al mio partire d'Anversa' (not in *Rooses-Ruelens*; first published by L.Burchard, in *Kunstchronik und Kunstambacht*, LIV, 1919, p.513; for an English translation, see R.S.Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge, Mass., p.292, under No. 179).
7. The inventory of the duke's collection dated 1635 includes an item 'Reuben. Marquesse Spinola' (R. Davies, 'An Inventory of the Duke of Buckingham's Pictures, etc., at York House in 1635', *The Burlington Magazine*, X, 1907, p.379). Burchard rightly supposed that this was one of the paintings that were ready to be sent to Buckingham on 18 September 1627 (see also under No. 81).
8. *Rooses*, IV, p.271, under No.1059.

150. Ambrogio Spinola (Fig.217)

Oil on canvas; 118 × 85,5 cm.

St Louis, City Art Museum. Inv. No.33.34.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the collection of Eugène de Beauharnais, Duke of Leuchtenberg, Munich (1825); Dukes of Leuchtenberg, St Petersburg, until c.1917 (?); Dr Heinemann, Munich (1932); purchased for the City Art Museum of St Louis in 1933.

COPIES: See under No.149.

EXHIBITED: *Detroit*, 1936, No.30; Art Gallery of Toronto, Toronto, 1944; *Los Angeles*, 1946, No.30; *Cincinnati*, 1948, No.7; *New York*, 1951, No.19 (repr.); *Old Masters from American Collections*, Newark Museum, Newark, N.J., 1955-56, No.8; *Fifty Masterworks from the City Art Museum of St Louis*, Wildenstein, New York, 1958, No.8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: J.N.Muxel, *Catalogue des tableaux de la Galerie de feu Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le Prince Eugène, duc de Leuchtenberg à Munich*, Munich, 1825, No.105 (as *A. Van Dyck*); J.N.Muxel, *Gemälde Sammlung in München seiner königl. Hoheit des Dom Augusto Herzogs von Leuchtenberg und Santa Cruz...*, Munich, 1841; *Rooses*, IV, p.271, No.107; J.B.M., in *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St Louis*, XIX, 1934, pp.42-44 (repr.); *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.163, No.87a; *Goris-Held*, pp.28-29, No.15, pl.17; *Larsen, Rubens*, p.217, No.69; *City Art Museum of St Louis, Handbook of the Collections*, St Louis, 1953, p.97 (repr.); *Duverger, Van Hecke*, pp.150-151; *Jaffé, Warsaw*, p.95 (as a studio replica); *van Gelder, Rubens Marginalia*, pp.165-168.

An autograph replica on canvas of the Brunswick version (No.149; Fig.216), ex-

actly alike and of equal quality. The attribution to Rubens has rightly never been questioned.

As to possible identification with portraits of Spinola mentioned by Rubens or in other contemporary documents, see discussion under No.149.

151. Ambrogio Spinola (Fig.218)

Oil on canvas; 129.5 × 124.5 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Sir Henry Edward Bunbury (1830); Sir Edward Henry Bunbury (1891).

COPY: Drawing of a full-length pose (Fig.219), Warsaw, Print Room of the University Library, Inv. No. T.174-367/II; black chalk, heightened with white chalk and body-colour, 423 × 263 mm. PROV. King Stanislas Augustus; purchased for the Warsaw University, in 1818; EXH. *Najcenniejsze Rysunki Obce ze Zbiorów Polskich*, Muzeum Narodowe, Warsaw, 1980, No.82 (repr., as *Rubens*); *100 of the Finest Drawings from Polish Collections*, Heim Gallery, London, 1980, No.80 (repr., as *Rubens*); *Zeichnungen alter Meister aus polnischen Sammlungen*, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, and *Kunstsammlungen*, Veste Coburg, 1981-82, No.87 (repr., as *Rubens*). LIT. *Jaffé*, Warsaw, pp.83-96 (repr.); N. Turner, [Review of Cat. Exh. *100 of the Finest Drawings from Polish Collections*, Heim Gallery, London, 1980] in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, p.213 (as *Rubens*); *van Gelder*, *Rubens Marginalia*, p.166, n.15; R. Harprath, [Review of Cat. Exh. *Zeichnungen alter Meister aus polnischen Sammlungen*, Brunswick and Veste Coburg, 1981-82] in *Kunstchronik*, XXXV, 1982, p.130 (as *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, 1830, p.355, No.1369; *Rooses*, V, p.350, under No.1062; *Graphic*, XLIII, 1891, p.702 (repr.); *Jaffé*, Warsaw, pp.83-96 (repr.); *van Gelder*, *Rubens Marginalia*, p.166, n.13.

Spinola is portrayed to knee-length in the ceremonial dress of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which he became a member in 1605. He is turned slightly to the left with his eyes fixed on the spectator, as in the portraits in armour of 1625-27. This portrait has long been lost; some indications of colour are given in John Smith's description of 1830. This speaks of 'a marone-colour silk bonnet ... edged with gold lace'; the robe was of the same hue, and the curtain in the background was 'of a tawny yellow'.

A drawing in the print-room of the library of Warsaw University (Fig.219), which is a copy of this portrait type, shows the sitter full-length. Possibly the present work was originally full-length also, but there is now no way of judging this or estimating its degree of authenticity. All trace of it has disappeared: it is supposed that it was either destroyed in the fire at Barton Hall in 1920 or previously sold like many other paintings in the collection.¹

Jaffé—no doubt on the strength of the caption to the only known reproduction of the lost painting, which appeared in the journal *Graphic* in 1891 (Fig.218)—states that Rubens painted it during his stay in Spain in 1628-29. We know that Spinola took up residence at the court of Madrid in the same year as Rubens, but there is no concrete evidence to support this dating. Moreover, Pacheco's account of 1649 contains much information concerning Rubens's activity at the Spanish court and the portraits he painted there, and it makes no express mention of Spinola.²

Since the portrait repeats the facial type of 1625-27, I do not see why it should not have been painted at that time.

The Warsaw drawing after this portrait, mentioned above (Fig.219), was published by Jaffé, who stated with emphasis that it was an authentic study by Rubens. I find it hard to recognize Rubens's hand, however, in the dry handling of line and the lack of depth.

1. Burchard received this information from G. Colin Agnew, on 14 August 1937.
2. F. Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, I, Madrid, 1956 [first ed. Seville, 1649], p.153; see also Huemer, *Portraits*, p.63.

152. Hendrik van Thulden (Fig.220)

Oil on panel; 121 × 104 cm.
Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. No.316.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine, for his gallery at Düsseldorf, before 1719; transported to the Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPY: Engraving by Jacques Coelemans (1654-?1731; V.S., p.187, No.280).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1948, No.93; *Berne*, 1949-50, No.73; *London*, 1949, No.94.

LITERATURE: *Karsch*, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.203; *Van Gool*, *Nieuwe Schouburgh*, II, p.546; *Cat. Düsseldorf*, 1770, p.18, No.19; *Michel*, *Histoire*, p.299; *Pigage*, *Cat. Düsseldorf*, No.265; *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.64, No.182, p.311, No.1152; IX, p.265, No.84; *Dillis*, *Cat. Munich*, No.274; *Parthey*, *Bildersaal*, II, pp.434-435, No.368; *Margraff*, *Cat. Munich*, No.267; *Rooses*, IV, pp.278-279, No.1073; *Reber*, *Cat. Munich*, No.800; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.105; *Dillon*, *Rubens*, pp.128, 201, pl. CCXII;

K.d.K., p.140; *Evers*, *Rubens*, pp.84-86, 91, 87, figs.36, 37; *Warnke*, *Rubens*, pp.97-98, 100, fig.52; *Sonnenburg*, *Bildaufbau*, pp.80, 183; U.K[rempel], in *Cat. Munich*, 1983, p.438, No.316 (repr.).

The subject of this painting was not correctly identified until Burchard in 1927 discovered the memorial portrait of Hendrik van Thulden (No.153; Fig.222), which is a repetition of the present work. Previously it was traditionally thought to be a portrait of a 'Dr Van Thulden', whom Rooses identified as Theodoor van Thulden, a theologian at Louvain.¹ Hendrik van Thulden, also of Louvain University, was a licentiate in theology and was parish priest of Sint-Joris (St George's) Church in Antwerp from 1613 till his death in 1617.² He is shown to knee-length, in three-quarter view, seated in an armchair and wearing the black gown of a scholar.

The combination of monumental pose and lively expression is very Titianesque in style. While no direct inspiration can be pointed to, there are examples in Titian's work of similar corpulent figures seen, as here, from below, so as to bring out the full effect of the pose.³ As to the dating, Van Thulden's death in 1617 is undoubtedly a *terminus ante quem*. The portrait cannot be many years earlier than that: the markedly sculptural effect points to a date shortly before or after 1615.

1. His features are known from Van Dyck's portrait (*Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, No.38, repr.). They are clearly not those of the sitter in the Munich portrait.
2. For biographical references see F. Prims, *Geschiedenis der Sint-Joriskerk*, Antwerp, 1923, pp.351-352.
3. A portrait in this style by Titian is that of *Johann-Friedrich*, Elector of Saxony in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (*Vethey*, *Titian*, II, No.54, pl.159), previously in the Alcázar in Madrid, where Rubens must have seen it during one of his two periods in Spain. The inventory drawn up at Rubens's death in 1640 mentions a 'pourtrait du Duc Jean-Frede-

ricq de Saxe', but it is not certain whether this is of the Vienna type (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.59). As is known, Titian also executed a second portrait type of the Elector in full armour (see *Wethey, Titian*, II, p.112, under No.54).

152a. Hendrik van Thulden: Drawing
(Fig.221)

Black chalk on brownish paper; 374 × 262 mm.; in the left lower corner, marks of the collections of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184) and Sir J. Reynolds (L.2364); in the right lower corner, mark of the collection of T. Hudson (L.2432). Fully mounted. Upper corners slanted.

London, *British Museum*. Inv. No. 1845.12.8.5.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779); Sir Joshua Reynolds (London, 1723-1792); purchased for the British Museum on 8 December 1845.

EXHIBITED: London, 1974, No.90; London, 1977, No.78 (repr.).

LITERATURE: L. Cust, *Anthony van Dyck*, London, 1900, repr., facing p.174 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Hind, Rubens*, p.64, No. 44 (as *A. Van Dyck*); Clare Stuart Wortley, 'Portrait of Hendrik van Thulden', *Old Master Drawings*, VI, 1931-32, pp.30-33, pl.24; M. Delacre, *Le dessin dans l'œuvre de Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1934, pp.180-181; *Held, Drawings*, p.132, No.86, pl.97; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.174-175, No.109 (repr.); *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, No.65 (repr.); *Rowlands, Rubens Drawings* p.75, No.78 (repr.); *Jaffé, Exhibitions*, p.631.

A costume study for the Munich portrait (No.152; Fig.220). Here, unlike the final version, the priest wears a *biretta*. As Held pointed out, the corrections to the head

show that it was originally set slightly lower into the collar: the alteration produced the vital, domineering pose that is also seen in the Munich portrait. Held rightly observed that there must also have been a detailed study of the sitter's features. This drawing is mainly concerned with the pose and details of costume, while the face is very sketchily rendered.

153. Hendrik van Thulden (Fig. 222)

Oil on panel; 126 × 44 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: St-Joriskerk, Antwerp; Sir Eric Hambro, Milton Abbey, Dorset, sale, London (Christie's), 19 November 1926, lot 137; purchased there by Asscher, Koetser and Welker, London; Galerie Van Diemen, Berlin, from 1926 till at least 1933; seen in a private collection at Bucharest in 1936, by L. Van Puyvelde.

EXHIBITED: Amsterdam, 1933, No.47 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Wit, Kerken*, p.144; *Roeses*, IV, p.278, No.1072; F. Prims and K. Van Herck, *Geschiedenis van St-Jorisparochie en -kerk te Antwerpen (1304-1923)*, Antwerp, 1924, p.363; F. Prims, 'De pastorie van Sint-Joris (Antwerpen)', *Ons volk ontwaakt*, XIII, 1927, pp.386-387 (repr.); G. Biermann, 'Rubens' Bildnis des Lizentiaten Hendrik van Thulden', *Der Cicerone*, XIX, 1927, pp.276-278 (repr.); *Art News*, XXVI, 28, 1928 (repr.); C. Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p.229; *Van Puyvelde, Rubens*, p.203, n.57.

Van Thulden's features are typified in the same manner as in the Munich portrait

(No.152; Fig.220); the monumental three-quarter pose, viewed slightly from below, is also derived from it. Instead of a gown, Van Thulden is here depicted in an alb and stole, in an attitude of prayer, in front of a small table with a crucifix and prayer-book. Behind him are a curtain and a pilaster.

Burchard showed that this votive portrait was originally placed over Van Thulden's tombstone, formerly in the Sint-Joris church in Antwerp: Jacob de Wit speaks of 'het monument van den Pastor ... Tuldenus, wiens portret, tot aan de knieën men seght geschildert te syn door P.P.Rubens'.¹ Burchard identified the present portrait as that mentioned by De Wit on the basis of a view of the interior of the former church, executed before 1799, in which the votive portrait can be recognized (Fig.223). It must have remained there till the church was demolished in 1799-1800, and would naturally have been executed in 1617—the year of Van Thulden's death—or very soon after.

There is, however, a question as to the work's authenticity. I have never seen it, but I am inclined to share the reservation of Van Puyvelde, who wrote that it was not of the same quality as the Munich portrait. Compared to the Munich version, the treatment of the face and hands seems to me drier and less expressive. The white surplice is less finely modelled and appears dead by comparison with the Munich portrait. The details such as the curtain and table with the book and crucifix are very clumsily drawn. Altogether I wonder if the portrait is not largely a studio product. It should be noted that while the work is associated with Rubens in De Wit's description of the Antwerp churches, in the plans attached thereto it is attributed to Jan Boeckhorst ('lange Jan'). Without discussing this old attribu-

tion here, it seems clear that in the eighteenth century there was already some doubt as to the work's authenticity.

1. His tomb is further described in *Graf- en Gedenkschriften*, II, p.437.

154-155. TWO PENDANTS: NICOLAS TRIGAULT AND PETRUS DE SPIRA

154. Nicolas Trigault (Fig.224)

Oil on canvas; 220 × 136 cm.; on a tablet, in the left corner below, the following inscription: *R. P. NICOLAUS / TRIGAULT DVA / CENSIS, SOCIETATIS / JESU SACERDOS, / E CHINENSI MIS / SIONE, IN BELGIO / REVERSVS, A° / 1616, HOC IN HA / BITV A MVLTVS / A° 1617, DVACI VI / SVS. OBIT A° / 1627 IN CHINA*; further to the right another later inscription reads thus: *A° AETATIS 40 / 1617*.

Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse. Inv. No.27.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Convent, Douai; presented to the Museum by Remy de Rombault before 1869.

EXHIBITED: *Les successeurs de Jean Bellegambe, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, 1981-82, No.24 (repr., as an artist from the circle of Van Dyck, c.1630).*

LITERATURE: C. Dehaisnes, *Vie du Père Trigault*, Paris, 1864, pp.131-132 (repr.); *Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, dessin, gravure et lithographie exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Douai, Douai, 1869, p.22, No.27 (as attributed to Jean Bellegambe); S.Leroy, Catalogue des peintures, sculptures, dessins et gravures exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Douai, [Douai], 1937, p.144, No.9 (as Jean Bellegambe the Younger); Bernard-Maitre, pp.308-313 (repr.).*

This and the next painting (No.155; Fig.225) are clearly designed as pendants. Both represent a European in Chinese costume, consisting of a black gown with green lapel and girdle; in both of them the subject wears a *biretta*. In the present painting a tablet is to be seen with an inscription to the effect that this is the Jesuit Father Nicolas Trigault from Douai, attired in the Chinese costume in which many of his fellow-townsmen saw him on his visit there in 1617. It also states that he died in China in 1627. Another inscription indicates that the portrait was painted in 1617 when Trigault was 40 years old. He is shown full-length and slightly turned to the right, in front of an altar on which stands a lighted candle. Behind him hangs a red ornamental curtain. His face is illuminated from the right: above on the right can be seen rays and an angel's head, suggestive of the celestial sphere. The man in the companion portrait (No.155; Fig.225), who correspondingly faces left, stands in front of a balustrade beyond which is an evening landscape. A curtain is seen behind his head as in the pendant. This partly covers a monumental column on the right, on the base of which is a partly legible inscription in Latin—added subsequently, as in the companion portrait—identifying the sitter as Trigault's fellow Jesuit Petrus de Spira. He, like Trigault, was from Douai and had lived in China as a missionary; he had also been in India. Both were outstanding members of their Order. Trigault, born at Douai in 1577, studied at the university there and became a Jesuit in 1594. In 1606 he went to India and China by way of Portugal. He was back in Europe between 1614 and 1618, when he was received by Cosimo de' Medici II. De Spira, born in 1584, studied law at Douai and became a Jesuit novice in Brussels in

1603-4. In 1609 he went to India and China, where he joined Trigault in 1611. In 1616-17 Trigault spent several months in the Southern Netherlands, visiting the principal towns in aid of the missionary cause. In particular he is known to have been in Antwerp between 20 November 1616 and February 1617.¹ As is known and as these portraits indicate, the Jesuit missionaries in China adopted mandarin costume at an early date, which to no small extent contributed to their success in the Far East.²

Both paintings are from the former Jesuit college in Douai. After being acquired by the Douai museum they were groundlessly attributed to the local master Jean Bellegambe the Younger. This attribution was only recently challenged, in particular by F. Baligand, who suggested 'un artiste travaillant dans le cercle de Van Dyck vers les années 1630'. This is at least closer to the truth, for there is no doubt that the two portraits belong to the Antwerp school. In addition, Trigault's features are markedly characteristic of Rubens: the strong face modelled by the light, the effective articulation of the nose, eyes, mouth and beard, as well as the sculptural folds of the garment and curtain. These features, and the handling of local colour, are typical of Rubens's style around 1615 and shortly after; they are strongly reminiscent of the monumental representations of St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier, made by him at about that time for the Jesuit church in Brussels.³ It is conceivable that the companion portraits at Douai were, as such, inspired by the similar pair representing the two great Jesuit saints. At all events this prototype, invented by Rubens, soon became an accepted iconographic schema which was imitated time and again.

However, the features of de Spira are

not rendered with the same lively effectiveness as those of Trigault. The face makes a dull impression, with the very schematic treatment of the beard and the poor articulation of the eyes and eyebrows. On closer examination, de Spira's features suffer by contrast with his costume, which clearly has the same three-dimensional quality as Trigault's. Another reason for the lack of plasticity in this face may be the fact that de Spira's portrait could not be made from life. For, unlike Trigault, he did not return to Europe; the appearance of the prototype for this painting must remain a matter for speculation. There is no doubt that the two portraits were executed at the same time by the same hand. They are clearly not copies after a lost original: around de Spira's headgear and to the left of his right arm, *pentimenti* can be seen with the naked eye. In my opinion they are both studio products in which Rubens himself had no hand: they do not exhibit his characteristic spatiality, and the handling of detail (as in Trigault's face) is too dry.

In the latter part of the second decade of the century, Rubens and his studio executed a remarkable number of paintings for churches, abbeys and monasteries in Southern Flanders, in territory which is now part of France. Around this time there were, for instance, important commissions for Lille, Arras, Valenciennes, Cambrai and Saint-Omer.⁴ However, the chief reason for attributing the two portraits at Douai to Rubens's studio lies in their connection with the four well-known Rubens drawings which represent Jesuit missionaries in Chinese dress (Nos. 154a-d; Figs. 227, 229, 230, 231).

The relation between these drawings was pointed out in an interesting article by Clare Stuart Wortley as long ago as

1934.⁵ This author also pointed out the connection with the drawing of a man in Korean costume, recently acquired for the Getty Museum. From the long Latin inscription on one of the drawings (No. 154b; Fig. 227) she was the first scholar to point out that it depicted a European Jesuit in Chinese costume. From the colour indications on the drawing it appeared that the subject was wearing a black robe with a bluish-green lapel and sash, exactly as in the Douai portraits. Clare Stuart Wortley connected the drawings with the celebrations organized by the Antwerp Jesuits on 23-24 July 1622 to mark the first anniversary of the canonization of St Ignatius and St Francis Xavier. These included a great procession in which novices in oriental dress symbolized the Far Eastern realms in which Jesuit missions had been organized.⁶ At this stage it was at any rate possible to dispose of an eighteenth-century tradition to the effect that the drawing formerly in Burchard's collection (No. 154c; Fig. 229) represented a Siamese priest belonging to an embassy sent from that country to Charles I of England.

Recently, however, Felice Stampfle rightly pointed out that Rubens might have had other opportunities of noticing the oriental dress worn by Jesuit missionaries in China, in view of his close and friendly relations with the Order, especially in Antwerp.⁷ Stampfle also tentatively suggested that the drawings might have been executed before the celebrations of 1622; she was inclined to support Evers's suggestion that they might have been connected with the preparation of the *Miracles of St Francis Xavier*, now in Vienna,⁸ which was probably completed in 1617. In that painting there is a man in Korean head-dress similar to the one in the drawing in the Getty Museum at

Malibu,⁹ which is stylistically akin to the group we are concerned with here. Stampfle also stated, without going further into the point, that Rubens might have been aware of Trigault's tour of the Netherlands to enlist support for the missions. However, a connection that Stampfle failed to notice had in fact been previously observed. There has hitherto been no mention in the Rubens literature, including Burchard, of the article of 1953, quoted above, by the French Jesuit Henri Bernard-Maitre,¹⁰ in which the four drawings of Jesuits in Chinese dress are tentatively identified as representing Trigault, since they bear a certain resemblance to the portrait at Douai. Personally I agree that there is a striking resemblance between that portrait and these drawings (Nos. 154a-d; Figs. 227, 229, 230, 231). Not only are the costume and pose similar, but also the physiognomy: the same sharp face with a goatee beard. What is more, a drawing was sold in Amsterdam in 1814, attributed to Rubens and described as 'Het Afbeeldsel van Pater Trigantius'.¹¹ Accordingly I feel inclined to suppose that these drawings represent Trigault. Moreover they can be precisely dated. The version in an American private collection (No. 154b; Fig. 227) is inscribed 17 *Januaris*, which signifies, in the light of the foregoing, that that sheet, and probably the other ones, were executed on 17 January 1617.

All these drawings are primarily costume studies, with a certain emphasis on the details of the Chinese dress and its folds. There can be no doubt that the facial features of Trigault were rendered in a separate drawing of the Jesuit's head. Judging from the lively and sculptural treatment of the face in the Douai full-length portrait, that study drawing must have had the same degree of plasticity

and realism which characterizes the still extant sheets of this kind.¹²

The drawing of a Korean mentioned above, which is connected stylistically and chronologically with these four studies, cannot be interpreted further and is therefore not discussed here.

As regards Rubens's portrayal of Jesuits in Chinese costume, Clare Stuart Wortley also pointed out that similar figures occur in an oil sketch in grisaille, probably contemporaneous with the drawings and now in the Musée Bonnat in Bayonne (Fig. 226).¹³ This sketch is hard to interpret, but seems to consist of detached studies with no evident relation to one another. The interesting fact is that the two figures in Chinese dress are, as types, not unlike Trigault and de Spira. One of them, with a sharp, ascetic face, is bending forward while an angel or 'genius' holds him by the shoulder; the other is a much fatter man with drooping shoulders. Could it be that at some time or other Rubens was commissioned to paint a picture in which the two missionaries were to play a role?

1. For biographical facts, cf. especially C. Dehaisnes, *op. cit.* Trigault's sojourn in the Netherlands is related in full detail in E. Laurall, 'La propagande du P. Nicolas Trigault en faveur des missions de Chine', *Archivium Historicum Societatis Jesu*, IX, 1940, p. 62.
2. The initiative was taken in the 16th century by the famous Italian Jesuit Matteo Ricci (1552-1610); see R. Fülöp-Miller, *Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten*, Leipzig-Zürich, 1929, pp. 272ff., and *New Catholic Encyclopaedia*, XII, 1967, pp. 470-471.
3. Cf. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II, Nos. 113-114, figs. 36-37. Burchard dated these paintings c. 1620-22 and I followed him in my book. However, in the light of hitherto unknown evidence found by Mr. W. Scheelen in the Archives Générales du Royaume and soon to be published by him, it appears that both paintings were in fact delivered as soon as 1616.
4. Cf. H. Vlieghe, 'Rubens en Van Scorel', *Oud Holland*, 1980, pp. 32-36.
5. *Stuart Wortley*, pp. 40-47.
6. We are well informed about this event by an anonymous chronicle published by the Plantin Press in 1622, entitled *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola*,

Societatis Jesu Fondatori et S. Francisco Xaverio, Indiarum Apostolo per Gregorium XV inter Divos relatis, Habitus a Patribus Domus Professae et Collegii Soc. IESU Antwerpiae 24 Julij 1622, Antwerp, 1622.

7. F. Stampfle, in *Cat. Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York, 1979-80*, p.64.
8. Cf. *Vlieghe, Saints, II, No.104, fig.6*; see also *Evers, Rubens*, p.493, n.184.
9. See *Stuart Wortley*, pl.41; recently purchased for the Getty Museum at an auction sale in London (Christie's), 29 November 1983, lot 135 (repr.).
10. I am very grateful to Marc Vandenven for having informed me of Bernard-Maitre's article, and thus drawn my attention to the portraits at Douai.
11. Hendrik van Eyl Sluyter sale, Amsterdam, 26 September 1814, lot 7 ('Het Afbeeldsel van Pater Triggantius. Kunstig met rood en zwart krijt, door P.P. Rubens').
12. See Nos. 75a, 80a, 102a and 115a.
13. *Stuart Wortley*, pp.46-47 (repr.). This author connected the sketch at Bayonne with the Eucharist series and therefore dated it c.1620. This interpretation and dating were at first accepted by Held (*Held, Drawings, I*, p.137, under No.105) and Müller Hoistede ('Neue Ölskizzen von Rubens', *Städte-Jahrbuch, N.F., II, 1969*, p.234, n.53). Burchard and d'Hulst (*Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings, I*, p.232, under No.147) propose an even later date, c.1630. However, in his recent study of Rubens's oil sketches Held has revised his original opinion. He connects the 'strong, if unobtrusive, plasticity of the forms' with 'an earlier phase of Rubens' development', which he places no later than the time when Rubens was working on the 'Jesuit Ceilings' (*Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.531-532, No.393, pl.382).

154a. Nicolas Trigault (?): Drawing
(Fig.231)

Black chalk, touched with red in the face and turquoise and greenish blue in the collar; 410 × 254 mm.; in the right corner below, the mark of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (L.1980), followed by the old inventory number 1775 B.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. Inv. No.NMH 1968/1863.

PROVENANCE: Count C. G. Tessin (Stockholm, 1695-1770).

COPY: Drawing of the upper part of the body, whereabouts unknown. PROV.

Frankfurt am Main, private collection (c.1936).

EXHIBITED: *Paris, 1949, No.93; Brussels, 1949, No.89; Stockholm, 1977-78, No.30* (as *A man in Chinese costume*).

LITERATURE: *Stuart Wortley*, pp.40-47, pl.43 (as *A Chinese Priest*); *Bernard-Maitre*, pp.308-313; B.Magnusson, 'Rubens som tecknare', in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, p.128, fig.103 (as *A Man in Chinese costume*); Anne-Marie Logan and E.Haverkamp Begemann, 'Dessins de Rubens', *Revue de l'Art*, 1978, p.97.

A full-length drawing of a European in Chinese dress, in three-quarter view to the right. He wears a tall square cap, a long robe with wide sleeves covering the hands, and a sash with two long bands hanging down to his feet. The sheet must be seen in connection with a second autograph repetition of this drawing, now in an American collection (No.154b; Fig.227), a sheet formerly in the possession of Ludwig Burchard (No.154c; Fig.229) showing the same man in reversed pose, his head turned to the left, and a frontal view of the man, in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York (No.154d; Fig.230). The four drawings seem to be studies for the portrait of Nicolas Trigault at Douai (No.154; Fig.224); the connection is discussed under that entry.

154b. Nicolas Trigault (?): Drawing
(Fig.227)

Black chalk, touched with red in the face and turquoise in the collar facings and bands of the sleeves; 448 × 260 mm.; in the left corner below, an illegible inscription (two lines), followed by 17 Jan-

uaris; in the upper right corner, the inscription: *Nota quod color pullus non est / peculiaris Sinensium litteratis sed / Patribus S. Iesu. Exceptis tamen fascijs / ceruleis quae ceteris communes sunt. / Sinenses porro vestis colore non uno / sed quovis colore promiscue utantur. / Et unum reserves flavem scilicet / qui proprius est Regis*; in the right corner below, by a foreign hand: *A. Van Dyck fecit. Maryland, USA, Private Collection.*

PROVENANCE: Lady Sidmouth; Eliza Hobhouse (1842); Henry Hobhouse; Sir Arthur Hobhouse.

COPY: See under No.154a.

EXHIBITED: *Van Dyck Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1900, No.191 (as *A. Van Dyck*); *Art Treasures of the West Country*, Royal West of England Academy, Bristol, 1937, No.251 (as *A Chinese Ambassador or a Jesuit Priest*); *London, 1938*, No.590 (as *A Man in Chinese Dress*); *Antwerp, 1977*, No.156 (repr., as *A Man in Chinese Costume*).

LITERATURE: *Stuart Wortley*, pp.40-47, pl.44 (as *A Chinese Priest*); *Bernard-Maitre*, pp.308-313; *Burchard-d'Hulst, Drawings*, pp.230-232, No.147 (repr., as *A Man in Chinese Costume*); *Kuznetsov, Risunki*, No.100 (repr.); *Anne-Marie Logan and E.Haverkamp Begemann, 'Dessins de Rubens', Revue de l'Art*, 1978, p.97 (repr., as *Van Dyck*).

A somewhat more firmly drawn repetition of the previous number (No.154a; Fig.226). The figure seems to be drawn a little shorter. The handling of line in the two sheets unquestionably reveals Rubens's hand, and his writing can easily be recognized in the Latin texts.¹ These give valuable information as to the colour of the robes; a literal translation is: 'Note that the dark colour is not peculiar to

Chinese scholars but to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, except for the blue facings which are common to all. The Chinese, furthermore, do not use one colour only in their clothing, but any colour they like except yellow, which is reserved for the King' (i. e. the Emperor). The recent suggestion by Logan and Haverkamp Bege-man that this is a copy by Van Dyck after the sheet in Stockholm is not convincing, as has already been observed by Stampfle.

1. See, for comparison, e.g. the annotations on the study for the *Last Communion of St. Francis* in the Wolfgang Burchard collection (*Vlieghe, Saints, I*, No.102b, fig.181) and the *Dwarf Robin* in Stockholm (see above, No.72a; Fig.27).

154c. Nicolas Trigault (?): Drawing
(Fig.229)

Black chalk, touched with red in the face; 353 × 228 mm; in the right corner below, the mark of J. Richardson Senior (L.2184). *Whereabouts unknown.*

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson Senior (London, 1665-1745), sale, London, 22 January 1746 et seq., part of lot 41 (as *A Siamese Priest*); John Barnard, sale, London, 16 February 1787 et seq., lot 56 (as *A Siamese Priest*); T. Philipe, sale, London, 22 May 1817, part of lot 177 (as *Siamese Ambassadors*); J.A. Jolles, sale, Amsterdam, 27 November 1848, part of lot 202 (as *A Siamese Priest*); H. de Kat, sale, Rotterdam, 4 March 1867, lot 231 (as *A Siamese Priest*); W. Lantsheer, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 3 June 1884, lot 282; de Souza; Dr A. Widstrand, Stockholm (1932); purchased from the latter by Ludwig Burchard and in his collection until his death in 1960.

COPY: Mezzotint engraving by W. Baillie, 1774 (Fig.228; V.S., p.187, No.279).

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.120 (repr., as *A Siamese Priest*); Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1935-36, No.130; *Hel-sinki*, 1952-53, No.39 (as *A Jesuit Missionary in Chinese Dress*); *Brussels*, 1953, No.39 (as *A Jesuit Missionary in Chinese Dress*).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.329, No.1244 (as *A Siamese Priest*); *Rooses*, V, pp.277-278, No.1532 (as *Un Prêtre Siamois*); C.Norris, 'The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p.230; Stuart Wortley, pp.40-47, pl.42 (as *A Man in Chinese Dress*); Bernard-Maitre, pp.308-313; F.Baudouin, 'Nota's bij de tentoonstelling "Schetsen en tekeningen van P.P.Rubens"', *Bulletin des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, II, 1953, p.57.

The Jesuit in Chinese dress is here seen in three-quarter view to the left, apparently as a pendant to the previous pose. On account of the rather curious inscription below the eighteenth-century mezzotint engraving by Captain W. Baillie (Fig.228),¹ and prior to Clare Stuart Wortley's article of 1934, this drawing was taken to represent a Siamese priest, supposedly a member of the embassy from that country to Charles I which presented itself in 1630 while Rubens was in London. This description was followed by *Rooses* among others. It is noteworthy that in the eighteenth century the drawing was in the Richardson collection together with the study of a man in Korean costume, now in the Getty Museum in Malibu,² which in style and theme is closely related to the group of preliminary studies discussed here. Later still, when the drawings were in different collections, they were both the subject of prints by Baillie. The caption to his engraving of the Korean man

calls him the Siamese ambassador as seen by Rubens during his stay at the court of Charles I.³ Any connection between this man and Trigault can only be guessed at.

1. A SIAMESE PRIEST. / Arrived at the Court of K. Charles the 1st as an attendant to the Ambassador of his Nation just as Rubens was / preparing to leave England, however that Eminent Artist found time to make the above described Drawing.

2. Stuart Wortley, pl.41.

3. V.S., p.187, No.278; *Rooses*, IV, p. 277, No. 1531.

154d. Nicolas Trigault (?): Drawing (Fig.230)

Black and some green chalk; 424 × 244 mm.; in the right corner below, an inscription in black chalk, nearly visible: *A. Dyck*.

New York, *The Pierpont Morgan Library*. Inv. No. III, 179.

PROVENANCE: C.Fairfax Murray, London; J.Pierpont Morgan, New York.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York*, 1956, No.23 (repr., as *A Jesuit Missionary in Chinese Costume*); *Paris-Antwerp-London-New York*, 1979-80, No.18 (repr., as *A Jesuit in Chinese Costume*).

LITERATURE: C.Fairfax Murray, *Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters formed by C.Fairfax Murray*, III, London, 1912, No.179 (repr., as *A. Van Dyck, The Chinese Ambassador*); Stuart Wortley, pp.40-47, pl.45 (as *A Chinese Priest*); *Goris-Held*, p.44, No.122, pl.108 (as *A Jesuit Missionary in Chinese Costume*); Bernard-Maitre, pp.308-313; *Held, Drawings*, p.44, No.105, pl.123 (as *A Jesuit Missionary in Chinese Costume*); F.Stampfle, in *Cat. Exh. Paris-Antwerp-London-New York*, 1979-80, pp.63-64, No.18 (repr., as *A Jesuit in Chinese Costume*).

This is the front view among what are presumably the preliminary studies for Trigault's portrait. The technique differs from the other drawings. The robe is worked out in less detail, the folds barely indicated. The details of the face are also rendered more cursorily than in the three other drawings (Nos. 154a-c; Figs. 227, 229, 231).

155. Petrus de Spira (Fig. 225)

Oil on canvas; 220 × 136 cm.; on the socle of the column, on the right, the inscription: R.P. / PETRVS DE SPIRA / DVACI NATVS IN SOCIET: IESV / BRUXELLAE / ADMISSVS A° / 1603. ROMAE AD / IN-DOS TRAIECIT ... IN SINAS / ... [only partially legible, due to darkening of the varnish].

Douai, *Musée de la Chartreuse*. Inv. No. 28.

PROVENANCE: Jesuit Convent, Douai; presented to the Museum by Remy de Rombault before 1869.

EXHIBITED: *Les successeurs de Jean Bellegambe*, Musée de la Chartreuse, Douai, 1981-82, No. 25 (repr., as *an artist from the circle of Van Dyck*, c. 1630).

LITERATURE: C. Dehaisnes, *Vie du Père Trigault*, Paris, 1864, p. 132; *Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture, dessin, gravure et lithographie exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Douai*, Douai, 1869, p. 23, No. 28 (as attributed to Jean Bellegambe); S. Leroy, *Catalogue des peintures, sculptures, dessins et gravures exposés dans les galeries du Musée de Douai*, [Douai], 1937, p. 144, No. 10 (as *Jean Bellegambe the Younger*); Bernard-Maitre, p. 310.

For a description and comments, see under No. 154.

156. Jan Vermoelen (Figs. 232, 233)

Oil on panel; 127 × 97 cm.; in the upper left corner, below the coat of arms the inscription AETA. SVAE 27 / A 1616.

Vaduz, *Collections of the Prince of Liechtenstein*. Inv. No. 87.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the collections of the Princes of Liechtenstein at Vienna, in 1805; transported to Vaduz, in 1945.

EXHIBITED: *Meisterwerke aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Kunstmuseum, Lucerne, 1948, No. 140 (as *Rubens*); *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985, No. 198 (repr., as *Rubens*).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 104, No. 340 (as *Rubens, Portrait of a Gentleman*); W. Bode, 'Die fürstlich Liechtenstein'sche Galerie in Wien', *Die graphischen Künste*, XI, 1888, pp. 28-29 (as *Rubens*); Rooses, IV, p. 280, No. 1075 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 132 (as *Rubens*); Dillon, *Rubens*, p. 228, pl. CXXI (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., p. 452 (as *A. van Dyck*); G. Glück, 'Anton van Dyck's Bildnis des Kardinals Domenico Rivarola', *Bulletin of the Bachstitz Gallery*, VII-VIII, September, 1924, not paginated, reprinted in Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck*, p. 309 (as *A. van Dyck*); W. Drost, *Barockmalerei in den germanischen Ländern*, Potsdam, 1926, p. 36 (as *Rubens*); A. Kronfeld, *Führer durch die fürstlich Liechtensteinsche Gemäldegalerie in Wien*, Vienna, 1927, No. 87 (as *Rubens*); H. Rosenbaum, *Der junge Van Dyck*, Munich, 1928, p. 14 (as *Rubens*); K.d.K., *Van Dyck*, pp. 77, 528 (as *A. van Dyck*); Burchard, *Nachträge*, p. 412 (as *A. van Dyck*); E. von Strohmmer, *Die Gemäldegalerie des Fürsten Liechtenstein in Wien*, Vienna, 1943, p. 98, fig. 43 (as *A. van Dyck*); L. Baldass, 'Some Notes on the

Development of Van Dyck's Portrait Style', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1957, pp.252 — 256 (as Rubens); Gerson-ter Kuile, p.114 (as A. van Dyck); L. Van Puyvelde, *Van Dyck*, Brussels, 1950, pp.112, 126, 129, 137 (as A. van Dyck); W. R. Valentiner, 'Van Dyck's Character', *Art Quarterly*, XIII, 1950, p.93 (as A. van Dyck); G. Wilhelm, *Peter Paul Rubens aus den Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, Vaduz, 1974, No.14 (repr., as Rubens); S. Slive, *Frans Hals*, III, London, 1974, p.1 (as A. van Dyck); A. McNairn, *The Young Van Dyck*, Ottawa, 1980, p.12 (as Rubens); M. Jaffé, 'Rubens's Portraits of Nicolaas Rockox and others', *Apollo*, CXIX, 1984, pp.275-276 (as Rubens); W. Liedtke, 'Anthony van Dyck', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, XLII, 1984-85, p.15 (as Rubens); H. Vlieghe, 'Rubens of Van Dijck: het portret van Jan Vermoelen', in *Rubens and his World*, Antwerp, 1985, pp.157-162 (repr., as Rubens); R. Baumstark, in Cat. Exh. *Liechtenstein. The Princely Collections*, New York, 1985, pp.310-312, No.198 (repr., as Rubens).

Jan Vermoelen was born in Antwerp in 1589. He played a prominent part in the commercial history of the Southern Netherlands, first as a sea-captain in the Spanish service and then as commissioner-general for the Spanish merchant navy in the Southern Netherlands. He settled in Spain, where he married Doña Ludovica Canza of Seville; their four children were born in Málaga. He died in Spain before 11 August 1656.¹

The identification of this portrait is based on the coat of arms, whose age and date, in the upper left corner² agree with the known date of Vermoelen's birth.

He is depicted to knee-length, in three-quarter face, dressed in black with a

cloak hanging loosely over his left shoulder. He wears a white starched pleated ruff and matching cuffs. He holds his hat in his right hand and a pair of gloves in his left. He is posed in front of a chair covered in Cordovan gold-leather.

This painting was first mentioned in 1805 in the collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, as a work by Rubens. The attribution was accepted thereafter until 1921, when Oldenbourg held the portrait to be an early Van Dyck. Glück endorsed this view ten years later in his standard monograph on Van Dyck, and Burchard was of the same opinion. Until recently, this attribution was supported by scholars, such as Gerson, in 1960, and Slive, in 1974. However, with the exception of Von Strohmer's publication of 1943, the catalogues of the Liechtenstein collection have continued to uphold the traditional attribution to Rubens. Recently Jaffé, McNairn and Liedtke have called Van Dyck's authorship into question and reverted to the original ascription. In 1985, nearly simultaneously, but independently from each other, Baumstark and I argued in detail to demonstrate that Vermoelen's portrait is in every respect a characteristic work by Rubens. The composition and style, in my view, closely resemble the more or less contemporary portrait of Hendrik van Thulden in Munich (No. 152; Fig. 220). In both of them the effect of space is accentuated by the diagonal pose and modelling illumination, giving the work a strikingly dynamic character. The material of the costume is suggested in the same tactile manner in both paintings. The face and hands show Rubens's typical sense of anatomy and physical features, especially in the indication of bone structure and musculature, the drawing of the hair-line and the depiction of the deep-set eyes.

We do not find in Van Dyck such a sensitive perception of the sitter's corporeality, though in his early work there are portrait types based on the same conception as the present work.³ In any case it is very unlikely that Van Dyck, two years before he became a master in St Luke's guild, would on his own account have executed a commission to paint the portrait of a rich Antwerp burgher.⁴ Glück's belief in Van Dyck's authorship was based on the supposed evidence of style and also on the fact that a portrait of Jan Vermoelen by Van Dyck was in 1656 in the estate of the former's brother, Peter Vermoelen.⁵ But there is no reason why Rubens, as well as Van Dyck, should not have painted Jan Vermoelen's portrait.

1. *Rooses*, IV, p.280, under No.1075, referring to biographical evidence found by A.Goovaerts in the Archives Générales du Royaume in Brussels.
2. See *Rietstap, Armorial Illustré*, VI, pl. XCVII.
3. E.g. the *Portrait of a Man* in the Gulbenkian Museum at Lisbon (see *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, p.115).
4. The traditional belief that Van Dyck set up an independent studio two or three years before he became registered in the painter's guild (1618) is now disputed (cf. C.Brown, *Van Dyck*, Oxford, 1982, p.12, and W.Liedtke, *op. cit.*, pp.6, 9).
5. 'Een schilderye, wesende het conterfeysel van Jan Vermeulen, des afflyvigen broeder, overleden in Spanien, geschildert door van Dyck, beloont met dertich guldens - voor memorie' (*Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p.192).

157. Jan Wildens (Figs.234,235)

Oil on panel; 58.5 × 48 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of Jeremias Wildens, Antwerp, 1653; J.Rump, Copenhagen; J.Pierpont Morgan, London and New York; presented by the former to the Metropolitan Museum in 1911; in the Metropolitan Museum until 1983; sale, New York (Sotheby's), 20 January 1983,

lot 55 (repr., as attributed to Rubens and his Workshop).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1910, No.369.

LITERATURE: M.Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.322; *Rooses, Vlaamsche Kunst*, p.12; *Valentiner, Rubens in America*, p.159, No.50 (as *Portrait of a Young Man*); *Goris-Held*, p.30, No.27, pl.10 (as *Portrait of a Man*); W.Adler, *Jan Wildens. Der Landschaftsmitarbeiter des Rubens*, Fridingen, 1980, pp.13-15, 135-136 (repr., as *doubtful*); *Baetjer, Cat. New York*, I, p.161, Inv. No.11.157; III, p.371 (repr., as attributed to Rubens).

The identification of the sitter as the painter Jan Wildens is primarily based on the striking resemblance to the portraits of the latter by Van Dyck, one of which was engraved by Pontius and figures in the *Iconography* (Fig.236).¹ In addition, the estate of Jan Wildens's son Jeremias included a portrait of 'den ouden Wildens' by Rubens, which may well be identical with the present work.² In a slightly different pose this work appears among the portraits of artists and connoisseurs in Willem van Haecht's *Picture Gallery* of 1628 in the Rubens House in Antwerp (Fig.68). The painter is shown *en buste*, leaning slightly forward and with the upper part of his body inclined to the left. His eyes are fixed on the spectator; with his right hand he points with some emphasis to the right. He wears a black costume and a large white cartwheel ruff. Before a recent cleaning the hand was half covered by a cloak and the ruff was completely overpainted by a flat collar edged with lace (Fig.235). The state of preservation of the painting is very poor.³

The diagonal pose and emphatic gesture of the hand produce a lively effect

which seems to derive from late sixteenth-century ideas of portraiture, such as those of Goltzius and his circle. A similar conception is seen in Rubens's portrait of *Jan Breughel the Elder and his Family*, dating from c.1612–13, in the Princes Gate Collection in London (No.79; Fig.46). Wolfgang Adler—who, like Müller Hofstede, has doubts which I do not share concerning the authenticity of the painting—believes that it was executed c.1616 or 1617, shortly after Wildens returned from Italy and began to work with Rubens. I find this dating acceptable. The sitter looks at least thirty years old, which agrees with the fact that Wildens was born in 1585; and the plastic effect due to strong lighting is characteristic of Rubens's work in general around 1615. However, there is no unanimity as to the date of the portrait. Julius Held placed it c.1620; Erik Larsen is of the opinion that it was painted in about 1613–14 but overpainted in 1620 by Rubens himself. Ludwig Burchar, as his notes indicate, believed that the work was painted in 1624, which is improbably late; he seems, however, to have based this view on a misunderstanding of a statement by Van den Branden.⁴

sche Schilderschool, Antwerp, 1883, p.685: 'Den 27n Mei 1624 deed zijne gade ... haren uitersten wil kennen, en zij stierf twee dagen later. In dit oogenblik moet de weduenaar vertroosting hebben gezocht bij zijnen neef en vriend Rubens, die zijn portret maalde...' (On 27 May 1624 his [Wildens's] wife made known her last will, and she died two days afterwards. The widower must have found consolation at that time with his cousin and friend Rubens, who painted his portrait...). However, Burchar took this last phrase out of context: Van den Branden does not say that the portrait was painted at the time of the death of Wildens's wife.

158. Wolfgang-Wilhelm, Duke of Neuburg

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p.223, No.1009.

The inventory of Rubens's estate at his death in 1640 mentions a 'pourtrait du Duc de Nieubourgh' painted by him. Wolfgang-Wilhelm, Count Palatine and Duke of Neuburg (1578–1653) played a part in the initial phase of the Thirty Years' War. Originally a Protestant, he joined the Hapsburg-Catholic camp in gratitude for support given him by the Archduke Albert and Spinola in his claim to the duchies of Berg, Jülich and Cleves.² Through the archducal couple he came into contact with Rubens, who painted several large altarpieces for him between 1615 and 1619. *Rooses* believed that the portrait was executed in 1625, in which year the duke accompanied Isabella on her return from the successful siege of Breda; this is possible, but cannot be proved. *Rooses* also connected the portrait with an engraving by Pieter de Jode; however, this does not appear to be in Rubens's style, nor does the address bear his name.³

Like other portraits of living notabilities listed in the inventory, this was no doubt a prototype of which Rubens could

1. Cf. *K.d.K.*, *Van Dyck*, p.120 and *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, II, pl.70, I.

2. See *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.165, No.506 ('Het Conterfeytsel van den ouden Wildens van Rubbens').

3. I am very grateful to Walter Liedtke, who kindly sent me his unpublished technical report on the actual state of the present portrait: 'The painting has suffered severely; only traces of its original quality survives. The panel is composed of two boards joined vertically. The bottom of the board on the left (34 cm. wide) indicates that the picture was cut down. The board on the right (14 cm. wide) is not original: the join passes through the middle of the sitter's thumb, and everything to the right of it is a reconstruction. The paint surface has suffered severely from abrasion and exposure to heat, evidently fire. Damage is most severe in the area of the right side of the face, the forehead and the hair'.

4. F.J. van den Branden, *Geschiedenis van de Antwerp-*

make replicas or have them painted by others. What it may have looked like is a mystery. Possibly the well-known portraits by Van Dyck⁴ and De Crayer⁵ are based on it.

1. See *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61.
2. See, for the Duke of Neuburg's biography, the facts summarized by Rooses, *loc. cit.*; see also, in this respect, *The New Cambridge Modern History*, IV, Cambridge, 1970, p.290.
3. Published by Pieter de Jode himself in *Theatrum Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum, Ducum, Principum, etc. Pace et Bello Illustrium*, Antwerp, n.d.; already regarded before Rooses as a print after Rubens, in *V.S.*, p.171, no.154.
4. Cf. *Mauquoy-Hendrickx*, No.118 (repr.).
5. Cf. H. Vlieghe 'Gaspar de Crayer. Addenda et Corrigenda', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXV, 1979-80, p.203, figs.43 and 46.

159. Frans van de Wouwer

Engraving; 200 × 132 mm.; inscribed below: *WOVERIDEM VIX DUM BISSENI AUCTUM / DICENTEM ADMIRANS AULA BRABANTA STUPET. / ANNOS SUADA PRAEIT DECORIS PRAESAGA FUTURI; / O QUANTA EXIMII MICAT INGENII! / INGENIUM SEQUITUR MENTIS PUDOR AUCTOR HONESTI / VULTUSQUE IN TOTO STAT PROBITATIS AMOR. / HANC ANIMAM SERVATO DEUS PATRIAEQ. PATRIQ. / UT VIVAT PATRIAE, MORIBUS OPTO PATRIS. / FRANCISCI WOVERI ANTVERPIENSIS IOAN: F. ANN: XII MENS: VIII NAT./ Sui amicissimi Cognati iconem, CORNELIUS BISTHOVIUS I. C. celebrabat. / P.P. Rubens pinxit. / Corn. Galle sculpsit.*

LITERATURE: *Hecquet, Rubens*, p.85, No.42 (as *Un portrait d'Abbé*); *Basan*, p.154, No.84 (as *Le Portrait d'un jeune Abbé*); *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.289, No.946 (as *A Youth, in an ecclesiastical dress*); *V.S.*, p.187, No.282 (as *Un jeune abbé*); *Dutuit, Manuel*, p.201, No.84 (as *Un jeune abbé*);

Rooses, IV, p.325 (as *Un jeune abbé*); H. Hymans, 'Un Rubens à retrouver', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1896, pp.71-78, reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, pp.502-510.

The subject of this portrait was identified by Hymans, who discovered a unique state of the engraving in 1896. This state, the present location of which is unknown, was accompanied by a full address including Rubens's name and that of the engraver Cornelis Galle, and also a full account of the portrait in Latin. This indicated that the sitter was Frans van de Wouwer or Woverius and that the portrait was dedicated to him by his cousin Cornelius Bishtovius as a tribute to the oratorical prowess he had displayed, at twelve years of age, before the Sovereign Council of Brabant.

Frans van de Wouwer, born in 1609, was the third son of Johannes Woverius, the well-known humanist and disciple of Lipsius who appears in the famous group portrait in honour of Lipsius in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (No.117; Fig.140).¹ The speech praised by Bishtovius was delivered by the young Woverius on 17 July 1622 to commemorate the first anniversary of the death of the Archduke Albert. It made a great stir in humanistic circles and was published in 1623 by Frans's elder brother Louis along with enthusiastic comments by various authors.² Erycius Puteanus made special mention of it,³ and the occasion was later recorded by Papebrochius in his *Annales Antverpienses*.⁴

The portrait was clearly designed to recall the young Woverius's achievement as an orator: his right hand is extended in a rhetorical gesture, not unlike that of Ophovius whose portrait was painted some years earlier (No.126; Fig.155). His

left hand rests on the rounded top of a balustrade behind which he is visible to the waist. He wears a dark costume with a cape and a flat white collar.

1. For biographical references on Frans Woverius see H. Hymans, *loc. cit.*
2. The text of the speech was published under the title *Laudatio funebris anniversaria inclytæ memoriæ Alberti Pii*; the commentaries as *Applausus amoris et favoris ab amicissimis doctissimisque viris Francisco Woverio Io. F. scriptus*. Both works were published by the firm of Moretus in Antwerp in 1623.
3. E. Puteanus, *De Eloquentia studiis Dissertatio Quæ Sædæ Franc. Woverii Joannis filii duodecennis applauditur*, Antwerp, 1622.
4. D. Papebrochius, *Annales Antverpienses* [c.1700?], IV, ed. Mertens-Buschmann, Antwerp, 1847, pp.337-338.

159a. Frans van de Wouwer (Fig. 237)

Engraving; 178 × 132 mm.

Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes*. Inv. No. Cc.34j. C. 10.514.

PROVENANCE: P.-J. Mariette (Paris, 1694-1774); purchased in 1775 from the former's estate by Hugues-Adrien Joly, Keeper of the Cabinet des Estampes at Paris.

LITERATURE: H. Hymans, 'Un Rubens à retrouver', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1896, pp.71-78 (repr.), reprinted in H. Hymans, *Œuvres*, III, Brussels, 1920, pp.502-510.

In this profile state the face of the young Woverius is corrected in brown ink. I am inclined to agree with Burchard that this correction is Rubens's own work.

160. A Member of the Van den Wijngaerd Family (Fig. 239)

Oil on canvas, mounted on panel; 55 × 45 cm.

Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*. No.332.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the Electors of Bavaria, Schleissheim; transported to the Hofgartengalerie Munich, 1781; transported to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836, the year of its foundation.

COPIES: (1) Painting of the head only, whereabouts unknown; canvas stuck on panel, 26 × 18.5 cm. PROV. Sale, London (Christie's), 5 June 1959, lot 41; (2) Painting (full-length representation, in canon's dress; Fig.241), Petworth, Lord Leconfield; canvas, 165 × 112 cm. PROV. ? Bryan, sale, London, 27 April 1795 et seq., lot 39; ? Bryan, sale, London (Christie's), 17 May 1798, lot 20; Revd Edward Balme, sale, London (Christie's), 1 March 1823, lot 63; purchased by Peacock; purchased by Lord Egremont Wyndham, Petworth, before 1830; by descendance into the possession of the actual owner. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.264-265, No.894; Waagen, *Treasures*, III, p.40; Rooses, IV, pp.313-314, No.1137; Dillon, *Rubens*, p.234; C.H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*, London, 1920, No.103; (3) Engraving by A. Schön (V.S., p.190, No.311).

LITERATURE: Dillis, *Cat. Munich*, No.322; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, pp.276-277, No.117; Marggraff, *Cat. Munich*, No.919; Rooses, IV, p.299 (as not by Rubens); Reber, *Cat. Munich*, No.785 (as ?Hugo Grotius); K.d.K., pp.358, 470; *Cat. Munich*, 1936, pp.226-227, No.332; K. Renger, 'Sine Cere et Baccho friget Venus. Zu bacchischen Themen bei Rubens', in *Peter Paul Rubens. Werk und Nachruhm*, Munich, 1981, p.134, n.49.

Bust of a man facing left, in nearly full profile. He wears a cloak with a fur collar, and a chain and medallion hang on his

breast. Rooses disputed the traditional attribution of this portrait to Rubens but remained alone in his opinion, rightly as I believe. Rosenberg dated the work c.1615, but Oldenbourg between 1632 and 1635. Burchard agreed with this dating for what I consider good reasons: the execution shows the freer brushwork characteristic of Rubens's style in the 1630s.

The same man can be seen in a portrait in Lord Leconfield's collection at Petworth (Fig.241), where he is shown kneeling and in a canon's surplice. The panel forms a pair with a second portrait, also of a kneeling canon (Fig.240).¹ There is reason to suppose that both sitters belong to the Brabant family of Van den Wijngaerd. In the first place, this is stated in the earliest known description of the portraits, the sale catalogue of the Balme collection dated 1 March 1823.² Secondly, the escutcheon on both paintings (a bend with three roses) seems to represent the arms of the Van den Wijngaerd family.³ The portraits at Petworth are traditionally attributed to Rubens,⁴ but the hardness of execution calls this into question. Burchard doubted their authenticity, and Renger recently expressed the view that they were not Rubens's work. The portrait of the man with the same features as in the painting at Munich must thus be regarded as a derivation of the latter. It is curious that the features of the man in the Munich portrait also appear in the so-called '*Lansquenet with his Sweetheart*', dating from the 1630s, in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa.⁵

It may be wondered if originally the present portrait did not have a companion piece. For there is a nineteenth-century lithograph by Gaetano Silvani (Fig.238) which, according to the caption, is after a portrait by Rubens (*P.P. Rubens pinx.*). This man, shown to bust-length and

glancing at the spectator, though represented in three-quarter view, has clearly the same features as the second of the two men in canon's surplice, at Petworth (Fig.240).

1. Oil on canvas; each panel, 165 × 112 cm. Attributed to Rubens in: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.264-265, Nos.894 and 895; *Roosees*, IV, pp.313-314, Nos. 1137 and 1138; C.H.Collins Baker, *loc. cit.*
2. Revd Edward Balme sale, London (Christie's), 1 March 1823, lots 62 and 63; the text of the entry reads as follows: 'Rubens. Portraits of a Dean of Lovain, whole length, kneeling ... ditto of a Canon of Lovain, nephew to the former. They are both of the family of Van den Wijngaerd, as appears by the arms on the pictures.'
3. See *Rietstap, Armorial*, II, p.1125.
4. See n.1 above.
5. *K.d.K.*, p.359, above; the head of the lansquenet appears also in a copy, belonging to the Hermitage at Leningrad (*K.d.K.*, p.358, right, as *Rubens*).

161. *Matthaeus Yrsselius* (Fig.242)

Oil on panel; 120 × 104 cm.
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst.
No.613.

PROVENANCE: Church of the Praemonstratensian Abbey of St. Michael, Antwerp; L.C. Coclers, Amsterdam; purchased from the former by Hans West (1758-1811), Consul of Denmark in Brussels between 1802 and 1805; purchased with the West Collection, in 1809.

COPY: Painting, Copenhagen, Adam Pasler; canvas, 120 × 102 cm.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1927, No.132. *Restaureringsbilleder*, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, 1984, No.19 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A.Sanderus, *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*, I [second ed.], The Hague, 1726, p.121; Ph.Skippon, *An Account of a Journey made thro' Part of the Low-Countries, Germany, Italy and France* [1663], in Chur-

chill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, VI, London, 1732; *De Wit, Kerken*, p.150; *Mensaert, Peintre*, I, p.256; *Descamps, Voyage*, p.172; *Michel, Histoire*, pp.82–83; [H.West], *Raisonnement Catalog over Consul West's Samling af Malerier ... udgivet af hem selv*, Copenhagen, 1807, pp.141–144, No.78; V.G. van Grimbergen, *Historische levensbeschrijving van P.P.Rubens*, Rotterdam, 1840, p.393; C. Justi, *Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, II, Bonn, 1888, p.187; *Rooses*, IV, pp.285–286, No.1081; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.310; *Dillon, Rubens*, pp.174, 214, pl. CCCXXVII; *K.d.K.*, p.276; P.Hertz, 'Den Kongelige Malerisamlings Tilblivelse', *Kunstmuseets Aarskrift*, 1921–23, pp.384, 387 (repr.); [T.Borenus], in *Conway, Memorial Volume*, p.57, No.132, pl.LXI; *Fry, Flemish Art*, pp.142–143 (repr.); *Royal Museum of Fine Arts. Catalogue of Old Foreign Paintings*, Copenhagen, 1951, pp.272–273 (repr.), No.613.

Mattheus Gorissen van Eersel, known as Yrsselius (Eersel, 1541–Antwerp, 1629), was a Premonstratensian who became abbot of Sint-Michiels in Antwerp in 1614 and remained in that office till his death. It was his special endeavour to restore the splendour of the abbey, which suffered severely from religious disturbances, warlike operations and a major fire in 1620.¹ Perhaps his most important single act for this purpose was to commission from Rubens, in 1624, the *Adoration of the Magi* which adorned the high altar until the abbey was closed during the French Revolution, and is now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp.²

The abbot is shown to knee-length in an attitude of prayer, with folded hands. He is in three-quarter view, which gives a sculptural effect against the uniform red

backcloth. On the right are his insignia of office: a mitre and a gold and silver crozier with representations of the Virgin and St Michael, the abbey's patron saint. His identity is established by the arms in the upper left corner: three bends gules and a red rose on a silver background with the motto *OMNIBVS OMNIA*.³ Roger Fry in 1927 wrongly questioned the authenticity of this escutcheon.

Before the French Revolution, this portrait at first hung above the abbot's tomb in the choir of the abbey church, where it is first described in the second edition of Antonius Sanderus's *Chorographia Sacra Brabantiae*;⁴ it was suspended against a pillar to the right of the *Adoration of the Magi*.⁵ Later, at an unknown date, it was removed from the choir to another part of the abbey.⁶ Stylistically it can be assigned to about the same date as the high altar painting. It represents the transitional style which began to appear in Rubens's work in those years: the bold, sculptural effect is still present, as it had been since about 1612, but at the same time a freer, livelier touch is observable, especially in details and in the treatment of material. Against this background we may interpret the story first found in the eighteenth century, particularly in *Mensaert* and *Michel*, that Rubens painted the abbot's portrait as a makeweight because the latter found the *Adoration* too expensive.⁷ This is without doubt a typical eighteenth-century invention, but in view of the stylistic resemblance it seems very likely that the two works were painted at about the same time. Moreover there seems to me to be a thematic connection. It is noticeable that Yrsselius is not depicted in front of a crucifix, as is common in votive paintings, but is shown in prayer; the object of his devotion is invisible to us, being outside the picture

to the right. He is in fact in the traditional attitude of a donor on one panel of a retable. I would suggest as a hypothesis that he is addressing his prayers to the Christ Child in the painting of the *Adoration* above the high altar. In other words, the portrait is to be regarded not only as part of the abbot's funeral monument but also as a representation of the donor of the altarpiece. A seventeenth-century donor who wished to be commemorated in this traditional way was faced with some difficulty by changes that had taken place in the liturgical and artistic fields. On the one hand, the Counter-Reformation directives as codified by the Mechlin Synod of 1607 prohibited the depiction of living persons on the centre panel of an altarpiece, whether as donors or in the guise of accessory figures;⁸ and on the other hand, the portico altar for which the *Adoration* was intended did not afford any panel space suitable for such a portrait.

1. For the biographical facts about Yrsselius, see *Graf-en Gedenkschriften*, IV, pp.LIII-LIV.
2. *K.d.K.*, p.277.
3. Cf. *Graf-en Gedenkschriften*, IV, pp.11, 41.
4. 'Pendet etiam in choro supra tumulum Matthaei Abbatis, Imago ejusdem non impare elegantia a praefato Rubenio depicta' (i.e. Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi*).
5. The oldest description of the original place of the portrait is given by De Wit (*loc. cit.*): 'Naest desen autaeer [i.e. the main altar with the *Adoration of the Magi*] aan de Rechterhandt, hanght een Epitaph van eenen Abt deser Abbye, waer in zyn portret, seer schoon door Rubens geschildert'.
6. This is made clear by François Mols, in his comment from 1774, on De Wit's manuscript from c.1748 (see *De Wit, Kerken*, p.150).
7. 'L'abbé ... voulut avoir diminution du prix, ce que le Peintre ne voulut pas entendre, mais par l'amitié spéciale qui régnoit entre lui & Mr. l'Abbé, il s'offrit de lui donner son portrait pour un surplus, ce qui fut accepté & exécuté...' (*Michel, Histoire*, p.82, wrongly identifying the abbot as Christostomus van der Sterre, Yrsselius's successor). The exact documents applying to Rubens's painting for the high altar were found and interpreted by V.C. Van Grembergen, in 1840 (*op. cit.*, p.392): the strange story of the abbot's portrait is not mentioned there.
8. Cf. A.Monballieu, 'Het probleem van het "portret" bij Rubens' altaarstukken', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-78, pp.159-168.



'Amicitia etiam post mortem durans', woodcut

ILLUSTRATIONS





1. After Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback* (No.58). Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein



2. After Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback* (No.58).
Whereabouts unknown



3. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Allegory of Sight* (detail).
Madrid, Prado



4. Workshop of Rubens, *The Riding School*. Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, now lost



5. ?G.de Crayer, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.59).
Norfolk, Virginia, The Chrysler Museum



6. G.de Crayer, *Albert, Archduke of Austria*.
São Paulo, Museo de Bellas Artes



7. J. Muller, Albert, Archduke of Austria, engraving (No.60)



8. J. Muller, Isabella, Infanta of Spain, engraving (No.61)



9. After Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.60).
London, National Gallery



10. After Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (No.61).
London, National Gallery



11. ?Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.62).
Whereabouts unknown



12. ?Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.63).
Whereabouts unknown



13. G.de Crayer, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.64).
Althorp, Earl Spencer



14. G.de Crayer, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (No.65).
Norfolk, Virginia, The Chrysler Museum



15. J. Suyderhoef, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain*, engraving (No.65a)



16. P. Soutman, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain*, drawing (No.65a). Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen



17. Workshop of Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.66). Madrid, Prado



18. Workshop of Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (No.67). Madrid, Prado



19. Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.70). Castagnola, Coll. Bentinck-Thyssen



20. Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (No.68). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



21. Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (No.69). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



22. ?Rubens, *Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel* (No.71).
Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña



23. D.Mytens, *Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel*.
The Duke of Norfolk



24. Rubens, *Aethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, and her Train* (No.72). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



25. Detail of Fig.24



26. Detail of Fig.24



27. Detail of Fig.24



28. Rubens, *Robin the Dwarf*, drawing (No.72.a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



29. Detail of Fig.24



30. W. Delff, Dudley Carleton, engraving (in reverse)



31. Rubens, *Heliodorus de Barea* (No.73).
Barcelona, Private Collection



32. Rubens, *Marcellianus de Barea* (No.74).
Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts



33. N. Lauwers, *Marcellianus de Barea*,
engraving (No.74)



34. N. Lauwers, *Heliodorus de Barea*,
engraving (No.73)



35. X-radiograph of Fig.36



36. Rubens, *Isabella Brant* (No.75). Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art



37. A. van Dyck, *Isabella Brant*. Washington, National Gallery of Art



38. Rubens, *Isabella Brant*, drawing (No.75a). London, British Museum



39. ?Rubens, *Isabella Brant* (No.77). Hamburg, Margret Köser



40. Detail of Fig.41



41. Rubens, *Isabella Brant* (No.76). Florence, Uffizi



42. Rubens, *Jan Brant the Younger* (No.78). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



43. Detail of Fig.42



44. Detail of Fig.42



45. A. van Dyck, *Jan Brueghel the Elder*, etching



46. Rubens, *Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family* (No.79).
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



47. Detail of Fig.46



48. Detail of Fig.46



49. Detail of Fig.46



50. Detail of Fig.46



51. Workshop of Rubens, *George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*
(No.80). Florence, Palazzo Pitti



52. Rubens, *George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, drawing
(No.80a). Vienna, Albertina



53. Rubens, *George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback* (No.81). Formerly Osterley Park, The Earl of Jersey, now lost



54. Rubens, *George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback*, oil sketch (No.81a). Fort Worth, Texas, The Kimbell Art Museum



55. L. Vorsterman, *Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy*, engraving (No.82)



56. Rubens, *Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy*, oil sketch (No.82a). Leningrad, Hermitage



57. E. Sadeler, *Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy*, engraving



58. L. Vorsterman, *Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy*, drawing (No.82). London, British Museum



59. Rubens, *Rogier Clarisse* (No.84). San Francisco, California, The M.H.de Young Memorial Museum



60. Rubens, *Sara Breyll* (No.85). San Francisco, California, The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum



61. Detail of Fig. 59



62. Detail of Fig.59



63. Rubens, *Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess of Condé* (No.86).
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, The Frick Art Museum



64. French 18th-century painter, Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess of Condé. Chantilly, Musée Condé



65. Frans Francken the Younger, *Ball at the Court of Albert and Isabella*. The Hague, Mauritshuis



66. ?Rubens, *Jean de la Court* (No.87). Whereabouts unknown



67. *Jean de la Court*, drawing (No.87). Antwerp, Stadsarchief



68. W. van Haecht, *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*. Antwerp, Rubenshuis



69. Rubens, *Anthony van Dyck* (No.89).
Fort Worth, Texas, The Kimbell Art Museum



70. After Rubens, *Anthony van Dyck*,
drawing (No.89). Vienna, Albertina



71. Rubens, *Anthony van Dyck* (No.90). Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen



72. Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain* (No.91).
Hamburg, Margret Köser



73. Rubens and Workshop, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain* (No.92).
Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art



74. Detail of Fig.76



75. Detail of Fig.77



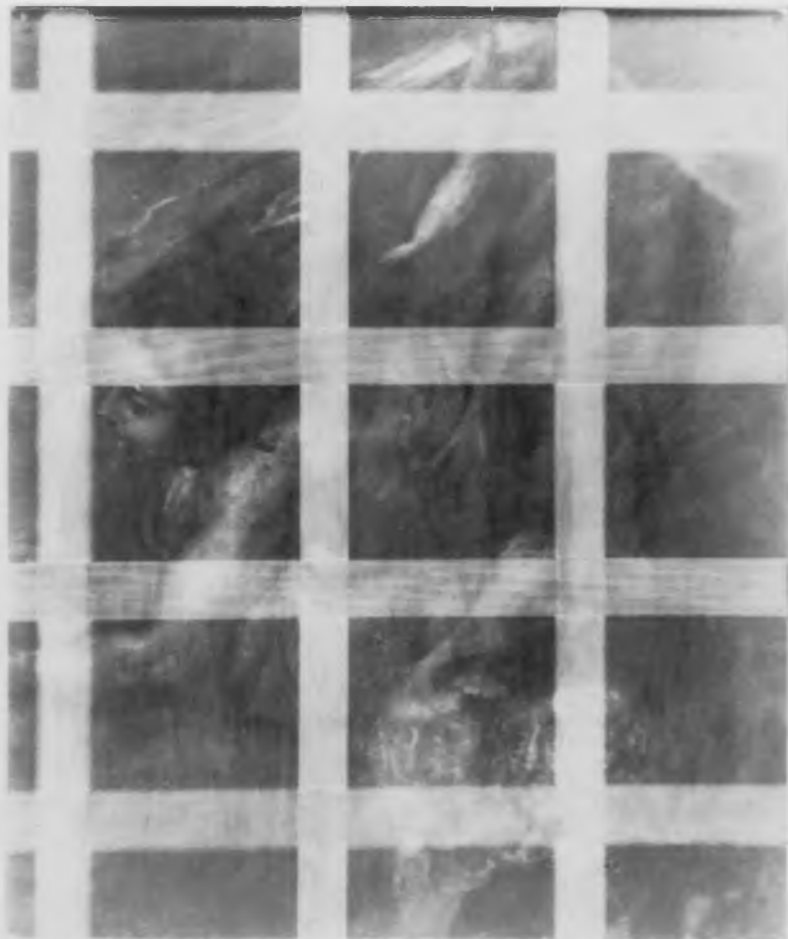
76. Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback* (No.93). Madrid, Prado



77. Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback*, oil sketch (No.93a). Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts



78. ?Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback* (No.93b). Saarbrücken, Private Collection



79. X-radiograph of Fig.77



80. Detail of Fig.77



81. Rubens, *Battle Scene*. Antwerp, Rubenshuis



82. ?Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain* (No.93c).
New York, Metropolitan
Museum of Art



83. ?Rubens, *Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain* (No.94).
Berlin (DDR), Bode Museum



84. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment* (No.95). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



85. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment* (No.96). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



86. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, drawing (No.96a). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



87. ? Rubens, *Hélène Fourment* (No.96b). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



88. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment in a Fur Coat* ('Het Pelsken') (No.97). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



89. X-radiograph of Fig.88



90. *Venus*. Whereabouts unknown



91. *Venus*. Formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie, now lost



92. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens* (No.98). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



93. Detail of Fig.92



94. Rubens, *Frans Rubens*,
drawing (No.98a).
Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett



95. After Rubens, *Frans Rubens*,
drawing (No.98a).
London, British Museum



96. Detail of Fig.97



97. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment with her children Clara-Johanna and Frans Rubens* (No.99). Paris, Louvre



98. Rubens, *Isabella-Helena Rubens*, drawing (No.99a). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



99. After Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (No.99b).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



100. After Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, counterproof of drawing
(No.99b). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



101. M. Cosway, *Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens*, engraving (No.99b)



102. Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (No.99c). London, The Duke of Sutherland



103. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens* (No. 100). Paris, Louvre



104. Detail of Fig.103



105. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, drawing (No.100a).
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



106. Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, drawing (No.100b).
Vienna, Albertina



107. Rubens, *Drapery Study*, drawing (No.100c).
Vienna, Albertina



108. ?Rubens, *Hélène Fourment as St Barbara* (No.100d).
Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie



109. Rubens, *Suzanna Fourment* (No. 101). Brussels, Private Collection



110. Rubens, *Suzanna Fourment* (No.102). London, National Gallery



111. Detail of Fig.110



112. Detail of Fig.110



113. Rubens, *Suzanna Fourment*, drawing (No.102a). Vienna, Albertina



114. After Rubens,
A Member of the Fourment Family
(No. 104). Paris, Louvre



115. Rubens, *A Member of the
Fourment Family*, drawing (No. 104a).
Rotterdam, Museum
Boymans-van Beuningen



116. Rubens, *Frans Francken the Elder* (No.105).
Montpellier, Musée Fabre



117. After Rubens, *Frans Francken the Elder* (No.105).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



118. Detail of Fig.116



119. A. van Dyck, *Frans Francken the Elder*, etching



120. P. de Vos, *Jan Gevartius*, Turnhout, Museum Taxandria



121. P. Pontius, *Jan-Gaspar Gevartius*, engraving (No.106)



122. Rubens, *Jan-Gaspar Gevartius* (No.106).
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



123. Rubens, *Peter van Hecke* (?) (No.107). Whereabouts unknown



124. Rubens, *Clara Fourment* (?) (No.108). Whereabouts unknown



125. ?Rubens, *Peter van Hecke* (?) (No.107). Whereabouts unknown



126. ?Rubens, *Clara Fourment* (?) (No.108). Whereabouts unknown



127. Rubens, *Peter van Hecke* (?), drawing (No.107a).
London, British Museum



128. Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (No.109). Whereabouts unknown



129. ?Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (No.110). Whereabouts unknown



130. ?Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (No.111). Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art



131. P. Pontius, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare*, engraving (No.112)



132. P. Pontius, *Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland*, engraving (No.113)



133. Workshop of Rubens, *Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland*
(No.113). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



134. ?Rubens, *Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince of Poland, on Horseback*
(No.114). Cracow, Wawel Castle, State Collection of Art



135. Rubens, *Don Diego Messia, Marquis of Leganés* (No. 115). Whereabouts unknown



136. Detail of Fig.135



137. Rubens, *Don Diego Messia, Marquis of Leganés*, drawing (No.115a). Vienna, Albertina



138. N. van den Bergh, *Jan van der Linden*,
etching (No.116)



139. ?Rubens, *Jan van der Linden*
(No.116). Schoten (Antwerp),
Baron Bracht



140. Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius
(*The Four Philosophers*) (No.117). Florence, Palazzo Pitti



141. A. van Dyck,
Frederik van Martelaer.
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



142. ?A van Dyck, *Frederik van Martelaer*
(No.119). Baroda, India, Baroda Museum
and Picture Gallery



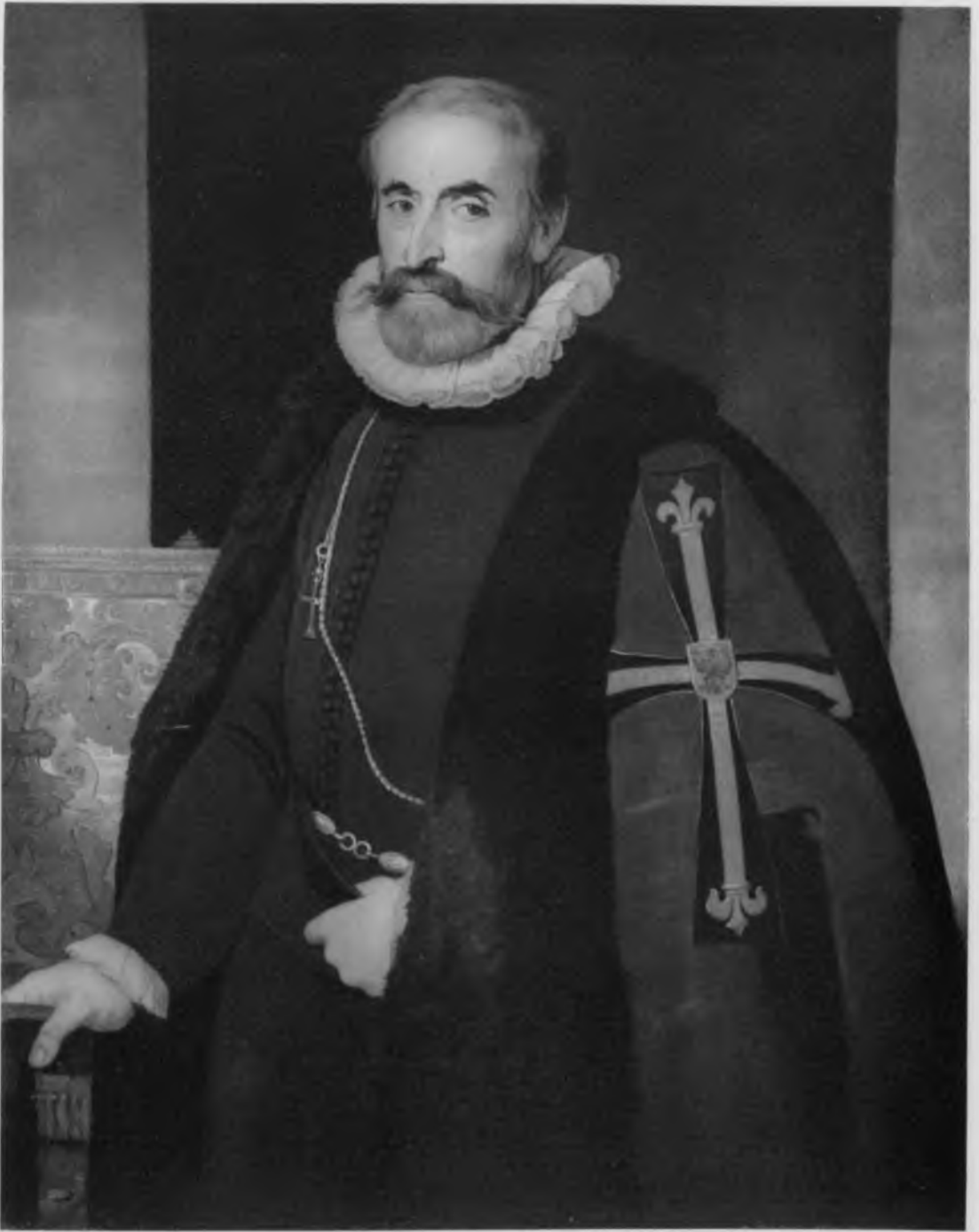
143. A.B. de Quertenmont,
Frederik van Martelaer,
etching (No.119)



144. M. Rota,
Maximilian, Archduke of Austria.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



5. D. Teniers the Younger, *The Picture-Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm.* Schleissheim, Neues Schloss



146. ?Rubens, *Maximilian, Archduke of Austria* (No.122). Whereabouts unknown



147. Rubens, *Jan van Montfort* (No.123).
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



148. A. van Dyck, *Jan van Montfort*.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



149. X-radiograph of Fig.147



150. Detail of Fig.147



151. E. Quellinus the Younger, *Ludovicus Nonnius* (No. 124). Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus



152. Rubens, *Ludovicus Nonnius* (No.124). London, National Gallery



153. After Rubens, *Michael Ophovius* (No.125). Brussels, G.Dulière



154. Detail of Fig.155



155. Rubens, *Michael Ophovius* (No.126).
The Hague, Mauritshuis



156. Workshop of Rubens, *Michael Ophovius* (No.126).
Antwerp, Rubenshuis



157. Rubens, *Michael Ophovius*, drawing (No.127a).
Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



158. After Rubens, *Michael Ophovius*, drawing (No.127a).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



159. After Rubens, *Michael Ophovius* (No.127).
's-Hertogenbosch, Episcopal Palace



160. Rubens, *Petrus Pecquius* (No.128). Fareham, Hampshire,
Southwick House, Mrs H.F.P. Borthwick-Norton



161. Rubens, *Nicolaas de Respaigne* (No. 129). Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie



162. Rubens, *Gaspar Rinckens* (?) (No. 130). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



163. *Gaspar Rinckens*, drawing. Antwerp, Stadsarchief



164. *Gaspar Rinckens*, Leningrad, Hermitage



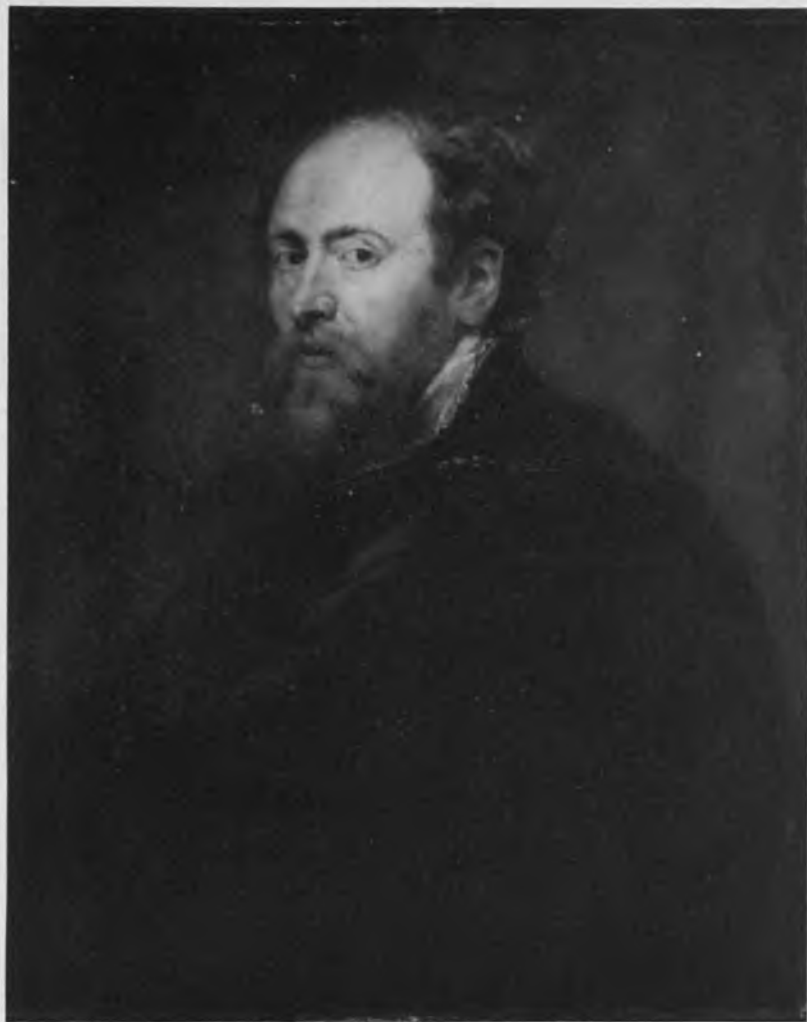
165. Rubens, *Antonius de Roore* (No.132). Whereabouts unknown



166. Rubens, *Antonius de Roore*, before the cleaning of 1966 (No.132)



167. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens* (No.133). Whereabouts unknown



168. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens* (No.134). Florence, Uffizi



169. Detail of Fig. 140



170. Detail of Fig. 168



171. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens* (No.135). Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen



172. Workshop of Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*
(No.135). Canberra, National Gallery of Australia



173. Workshop of Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*
(No.135). Florence, Uffizi

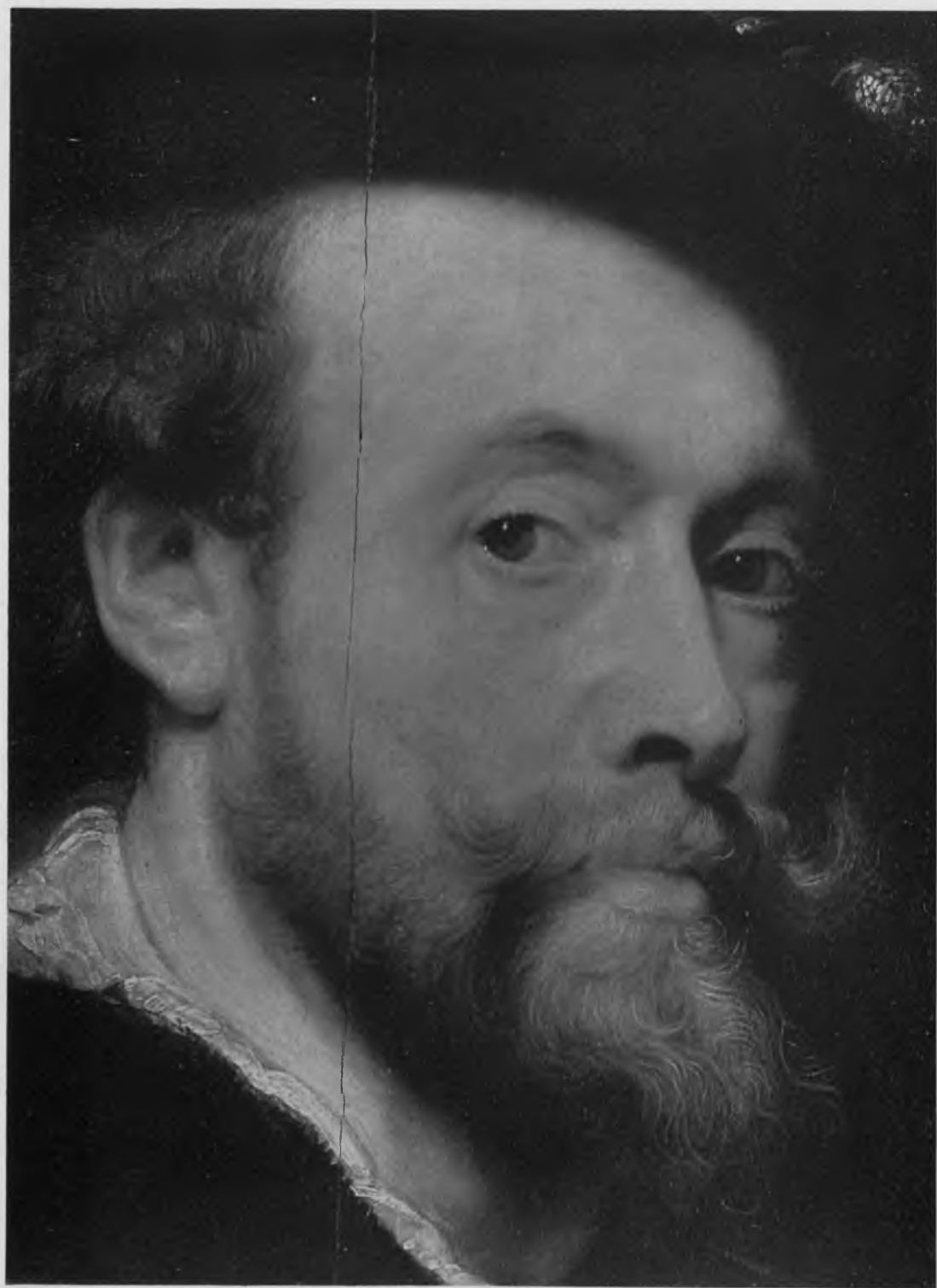


174. P. Pontius, *Peter Paul Rubens*,
engraving (No.135)



Excellentissimus Dns D. PETRVS PAVLVS RVBENVS pictorum Apoll.
aeris huius saeculi. Orbis miraculum. Aulam Hispanicam, Gallicam, Anglicam
Bellicam praeuicillo suo illis tenuit. Quem gladio donauit Philippus Quart.
Hispanicarum et status sibi a Secretis in Ianctiore suo Consilio Bruxellens.
sic tam ad Regem Anania Legatum extraordinarium misit

175. W. Panneels, *Peter Paul Rubens*,
etching (No.136)



176. Detail of Fig.171



177. Detail of Fig.178



178. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens* (No.136). Antwerp, Rubenshuis



179. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens* (No.137). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



180. Detail of Fig. 179



181. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*, drawing (No.137b). Windsor Castle, Collection of H.M. the Queen



182. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*, drawing (No.137a). Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



183. Detail of Fig.179



184. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens and Isabella Brant in the Honeysuckle Bower* (No.138). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



185. Detail of Fig.184



186. Detail of Fig.184



187. Detail of Fig.184



188. Detail of Fig.184



189. A. Watteau, *Peter Paul Rubens*,
counterproof of drawing (No.138a).
New York, Mr and Mrs Eugène V. Thaw



190. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*,
Hélène Fourment and Nicolaas Rubens,
drawing (No.139a).
London, British Museum



192. Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, *Hélène Fourment and Nicolaas Rubens ('The Walk in the Garden')* (No.139). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



193. Detail of Fig.192



194. Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens and Hélène Fourment, with Nicolaas and Clara-Johanna Rubens*, oil sketch (No.140). Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art. John G. Johnson Collection



195. Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, *Hélène Fourment and Clara-Johanna Rubens* (No.141).
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art



196. Detail of Fig.195



197. X-radiograph of Fig.195



198. ?Rubens, *Hélène Fourment* (No.141b).
Whereabouts unknown



199. ?Rubens, *Hélène Fourment* (No.141c).
The Hague, Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V



200. Rubens, *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* (No. 142). Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein



201. Detail of Fig. 200



202. Workshop of Rubens, *Albert and Nicolaas Rubens* (No.142). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



203. Rubens, *Albert Rubens*, drawing (No.142a). Whereabouts unknown



204. Rubens, *Nicolaas Rubens*, drawing (No.142b).
Vienna, Albertina



205. Rubens, *Nicolaas Rubens with a Felt Cap*, drawing (No.143).
Vienna, Albertina



206. Rubens, *Philip Rubens* (No.144). Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts



207. C. Galle, *Philip Rubens*, engraving (No.144)



208. ?Rubens, *Abel Socin* (No. 146).
Norfolk, Virginia, The Chrysler Museum



209. *Abel Socin*. Whereabouts unknown



Vera Effigies V.P. DOMINICI AIE. S. MARIA, alias Ruzgola Carmel.
litae, a Cunitis, usque ad mortem, et post mortē in patrandis miraculis
prodigiosi, ex Pragensi contra protestantes, parte victoria per orden
famosissimum, transactis sanctitatis fama 48. annis in Carmelo veter.
tandem 4. Praep. Generalis Carm. dis. calc. Obijt Vienna Austria
16. Feb. a. 1630. aet. 72.

210. R. Collin, Domingo Ruzgola, engraving (No.145)



211. After Rubens, Domingo Ruzgola (No.145). Whereabouts unknown



212. Rubens, *Domingo Ruzgola* (No.145).
London, Mr and Mrs E. Verdon-Lee



213. After Rubens, Ambrogio Spinola (No.147).

W. H. Wood, Mezz. Wollaton College



ILLUSTRISSIMVS ET EXCELLENTISSIMVS PRINCEPS AMBROSIVS SPINOLA,
MARCHIO SATHI ET VENAERI, DVX SANSEVERINVS, DVX AVINI VELLERS,
RELI. CATHOLICI A CONSILII STATVS ET BELLI MILITIAQ. ET ARABII REGIS
IN BELGIO PRÆFECTVS. 1619. 13. C. XV.

214. J. Muller, Ambrogio Spinola, engraving



215. Rubens, *Ambrogio Spinola* (No.148).
Prague, Národní Galerie



216. Rubens, *Ambrogio Spinola* (No.149).
Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



217. Rubens, *Ambrogio Spinola* (No.150). St Louis, City Art Museum



218. Rubens, *Ambrogio Spinola* (No.151).
Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost



219. After Rubens, *Ambrogio Spinola*,
drawing (No.151). Warsaw,
Print Room of the University Library



220. Rubens, *Hendrik van Thulden* (No.152). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



221. Rubens, *Hendrik van Thulden* (No. 152a). London, British Museum



222. ?Rubens, *Hendrik van Thulden* (No.153). Whereabouts unknown



223. *Interior View of St. Joriskerk. Antwerp, Sint-Joriskerk*



224. Workshop of Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (No.154). Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse



225. Workshop of Rubens, *Petrus de Spira* (No.155). Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse



226. Rubens, *Studies for a Religious Allegory* (?), oil sketch. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



227. Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (No.154b). Maryland, USA, Private Collection



228. W. Baillie, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), mezzotint engraving (No.154c)



229. Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (No.154c). Whereabouts unknown



230. Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (No.154d). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



231. Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (No. 154a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



232. Rubens, *Jan Vermoelen* (No. 156). Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein



233. Detail of Fig.232



234. Rubens, *Jan Wildens* (No.157). Whereabouts unknown



235. Fig.234, before restoration (No.157)



236. P. Pontius, *Jan Wildens*, engraving



237. C. Galle, *Frans van de Wouwer*, proof-state of engraving, retouched by Rubens (No. 159a). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



238. G. Silvani, *A Member of the Van den Wijngaerd Family*,
lithograph



239. Rubens, *A Member of the Van den Wijngaerd Family* (No. 160).
Munich, Alte Pinakothek



240-241. After Rubens, *Two members of the Van den Wijngaerd Family in canon's dress* (No.160). Petworth, Lord Leconfield



242. Rubens, *Matthaeus Yrsselius* (No.161). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst

SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS AND INDEXES

SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

- H.M. the Queen: Fig. 181
Althorp, The Earl Spencer: Fig. 13
Amsterdam, Fotocommissie Rijksmuseum:
Fig. 87
Amsterdam, Gemeentemusea: Fig. 45
Antwerp, J. De Maeyer: Figs. 17, 18
Antwerp, Rubenianum: Figs. 2, 4, 5, 6, 11, 14,
15, 39, 43, 44, 46, 55, 66–69, 70, 72, 74, 78, 81,
90, 91, 93, 98, 101, 105, 108, 121, 125, 126, 128,
131, 132, 135, 136, 138, 139, 142, 146, 150, 151,
156, 157, 159, 162, 163, 166, 167, 169–171, 174,
175, 177, 178, 189, 193, 198, 203, 208–213, 218,
222, 228, 234, 240, 241, Ill. p. 206
Antwerp, 't Felt: Fig. 207
Barcelona, Mas: Fig. 22
Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kultur-
besitz: Fig. 191
Berlin (DDR), Staatliche Museen: Fig. 83
Brunswick, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum:
Fig. 216
Brussels, A. C. L.: Figs. 120, 122, 153, 223
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale: Fig. 236
Brussels, Speltdoorn: Fig. 109
Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Art:
Figs. 35, 36
Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst: Fig. 242
Cracow, Wawel Castle: Fig. 134
Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts: Figs. 75,
77, 79, 80, 206
Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse: Figs. 224, 225
Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: Figs. 94,
202
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland: Fig. 141
Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum: Fig. 19
Florence, Alinari: Figs. 51, 173
Florence, Brogi: Figs. 40, 41, 168
Fort Worth, The Kimbell Art Museum: Fig. 54
The Hague, Dingjan: Fig. 154
The Hague, A. Frequin: Figs. 28, 65, 86, 115, 155,
158
The Hague, Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties:
Fig. 199
The Hague, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische
Documentatie: Fig. 238
Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen: Fig. 161
Leningrad, Hermitage: Figs. 56, 164
London, British Museum: Figs. 38, 58, 95, 127,
190, 221
London, A. C. Cooper: Figs. 12, 23, 31, 47–50, 53,
71, 82, 102, 129, 160, 172, 176
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries: Figs. 147,
149
London, J. Freeman: Figs. 16, 30
London, National Gallery: Figs. 9, 10, 85, 110–112,
152, 200, 201
London, S. Newbery: Figs. 165, 227
London, H. J. Orgler: Fig. 229
London, Royal Academy: Fig. 116
Madrid, Museo del Prado: Figs. 3, 76
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen:
Figs. 24–27, 29, 42, 84, 92, 145, 184–188, 192,
220, 239
New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art:
Figs. 117, 133, 195–197, 235
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Fig. 230
Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts: Fig. 32
Paris, Archives Photographiques: Figs. 97, 119,
123, 124
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale: Fig. 237
Paris, Bulloz: Figs. 96, 226
Paris, Giraudon: Fig. 118
Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux: Figs. 103,
104, 114, 182
Pasadena, Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art:
Fig. 130
Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection:
Fig. 194
Pittsburgh, Frick Art Museum: Fig. 63
Prague, Národní Galerie: Fig. 215
Rome, Anderson: Fig. 140
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen:
Figs. 99, 100
San Francisco, M. H. de Young Memorial
Museum: Figs. 59–62
Sarasota, The Ringling Museum of Art:
Fig. 73
Schaan, W. Wachter: Figs. 1, 232, 233
St Louis, City Art Museum: Fig. 217
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum: Fig. 231
Vienna, Albertina: Figs. 33, 34, 52, 57, 113, 143,
214
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum: Figs. 88, 89,
144, 148, 179, 180, 183
Vienna, Wolfrum: Figs. 20, 21
Warsaw, University Library: Fig. 219
Washington, National Gallery of Art: Fig. 37

Index I: Collections

This index lists all extant paintings, oil sketches and drawings, as well as a retouched proof state of an engraving, catalogued in the present volume. Copies have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place. References to the number of the catalogue entries are given in bold, followed by copy numbers where relevant, then by page references and finally by figure numbers in italics.

ALTHORP HOUSE, EARL SPENCER

- G. de Crayer, painting after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 2;
40-41; *fig.13*

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSMUSEUM

- (?) Rubens
Hélène Fourment, **No.96b**; 88, 90-91; *fig.87*

ANTWERP, MRS BOUDRY

- Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 3; 40
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 3; 41

ANTWERP, KONINKLIJK MUSEUM VOOR SCHONE KUNSTEN

- Rubens, painting:
Jan-Gaspar Gevartius, **No.106**; 26, 113-116,
138; *fig.122*
N. de Keyser, drawing after Rubens:
Albert and Nicolaas Rubens, **No.142**, copy 4;
175-176

ANTWERP, MUSEUM PLANTIN-MORETUS

- E. Quellinus II, painting after Rubens:
Ludovicus Nonnius, **No.124**, copy; 137-139;
fig.151

- (?) T. Willeboirts Bosschaert, painting after
Rubens:

Jan-Gaspar Gevartius, **No.106**, copy 1;
113-114

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

*Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus
Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four
Philosophers')*, **No.117**, copy 2; 128

ANTWERP, RUBENSHUIS

- Rubens, painting:
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.136**; 157-159, 166,
172; *figs.177, 178*

- Workshop of Rubens:

Michael Ophovius, **No.126**, copy 1; 140, 142;
fig.156

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

*George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horse-
back*, **No.81**, copy; 64

ANTWERP, STADSARCHIEF

- Anonymous, drawing after Rubens (?):
Jean de la Court

BARCELONA, MUSEO DE ARTE DE CATALUÑA

- (?) Rubens, painting:
Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, **No.71**;
47-48; *fig.22*

BARCELONA, PRIVATE COLLECTION

- Rubens, painting:
Heliodoros de Barea, **No.73**; 52-54; *fig.31*
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.134**, copy 1; 151

BARODA, INDIA, BARODA MUSEUM AND PICTURE GALLERY

- (?) A. van Dyck, painting:
Frederik van Martselaer, **No.119**; 133-134;
fig.142

BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN PREUSSISCHER KULTURBESITZ, KUPFERSTICH- KABINETT

- Rubens, drawing:
An Old Woman in two Views, **No.139b**;
168-169; *fig.191*
Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:
*Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel and her
Train*, **No.72**, copy; 48
Michael Ophovius, **No.127a**, copy 1; 143

BERLIN (DDR), BODE MUSEUM

- (?) Rubens, painting:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, **No.94**;
87; *fig.83*

BOSTON, MASS., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family, **No.79**,
copy 1; 60

INDEX 1: COLLECTIONS

- BRUNSWICK, HERZOG ANTON ULRICH-MUSEUM
 Rubens, painting:
Ambrogio Spinola, **No.149**; 126, 185-187; *fig.216*
- BRUSSELS, BARON CARTON DE WIART
 Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 4; 40
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 4; 42
- BRUSSELS, G.DULIÈRE
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Michael Ophovius, **No.125**, copy 1; 139; *fig.153*
- BRUSSELS, R. FINCK
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.141a**, copy 5; 174
- BRUSSELS, F. C. JACQUES
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Michael Ophovius, **No.126**, copy 2; 140
- BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX DES BEAUX-ARTS DE BELGIQUE
 T. van Thulden, painting after Rubens:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, **No.93**, copy 6; 82
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Petrus Pecquius, **No.128**, copy 1; 144-145
- BRUSSELS, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 Rubens, painting:
Suzanna Fourment, **No.101**; 105-111; *fig.109*
 Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 5; 40
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 5; 42
- BUDAPEST, SZÉPMŰVÉSZETI MUZEUM
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, **No.91**, copy 1; 80
- CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM
 A.Watteau, drawing after Rubens:
Isabella Brant, **No.76**, copy 10; 57
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and Clara-Johanna Rubens, **No.141**, copy 2; 170
Johannes Woverius, **No.117**, copy 13; 129
- CANBERRA, NATIONAL GALLERY OF AUSTRALIA
 Workshop of Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.135**, copy 1; 153-154, 156-157, 159; *fig.172*
- CASTAGNOLA-LUGANO, VILLA FAVORITA, COLLECTION BENTINCK-THYSSEN
 Rubens, painting:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.70**; 47; *fig.19*
- CLEVELAND, OHIO, THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART
 Rubens, painting:
Isabella Brant, **No.75**; 25, 54-56, 107, 109-110, 112; *fig.36*
- COPENHAGEN, KONGELIGE KOBBERSTIKSAMLING
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback, **No.58**, copy 7; 35
- COPENHAGEN, ADAM PASLER
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Matthaeus Yrsselius, **No.161**, copy; 204
- COPENHAGEN, STATENS MUSEUM FOR KUNST
 Rubens, painting:
Matthaeus Yrsselius, **No.161**; 204-206; *fig.242*
- CRACOW, WAWEL CASTLE, STATE COLLECTION OF ART
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Ladislav-Sigismund, Prince of Poland, on Horseback, **No.114**; 124-125; *fig.134*
- DANZIG, MUZEUM NARODOWE
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.96**, copy 6; 88-89
- DETROIT, THE DETROIT INSTITUTE OF ARTS
 Rubens, painting:
Philip Rubens, **No.144**; 130, 179-181; *fig.206*
 Rubens, oil sketch:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback, **No.93a**; 31, 84-86; *figs.75, 77, 79, 80*
- DETROIT, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Ambrogio Spinola, **No.149**, copy 3; 186
- DOUAI, MUSÉE DE LA CHARTREUSE
 Workshop of Rubens, paintings:
Petrus de Spira, **No.155**; 191-194, 198; *fig.225*
Nicolas Trigault, **No.154**; 191-198; *fig.224*
- DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE
 Workshop of Rubens:
Albert and Nicolaas Rubens, **No.142**, copy 1; 175, 177-178; *fig.202*
 Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 13; 40
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 12; 42

DRESDEN, KUPFERSTICHKABINETT

Rubens, drawing:
Frans Rubens, No.98a; 95; fig.94

EDINBURGH, THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND

Andrew Geddes, pastel after Rubens:
Suzanna Fourment, No.102, copy 6; 108

FAREHAM, HAMPSHIRE, SOUTHWICK HOUSE, H. F. P. BORTHWICK-NORTON

Rubens, painting:
Petrus Pecquius, No.128; 24, 144-145; fig.160

FARMINGTON, CONN., THE LEWIS-WALPOLE LIBRARY

J.Eccardt, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and Clara-Johanna Rubens, No.141, copy 1; 170

FLORENCE, PALAZZO PITTI

Rubens, painting:
Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four Philosophers'), No.117; 23, 58, 128-132, 152; figs.140, 169

Workshop of Rubens, painting:
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, No.80, copy; 62-63; fig.51

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare, No.110, copy 1; 120

FLORENCE, UFFIZI

Rubens, paintings:
Isabella Brant, No.76; 25, 56-58, 153; figs.40-41
Peter Paul Rubens, No.134; 151-153; figs.168, 170

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, No.135, copy 2; 152-154; fig.173

FORT WORTH, TEXAS, THE KIMBELL ART MUSEUM

Rubens, oil sketch:
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback, No.81a; 31, 66-67; fig.54

Rubens, painting:
Anthony van Dyck, No.89; 77-78; fig.69

FRANKFURT AM MAIN, STÄDELSCHES KUNST-INSTITUT

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Frans Francken the Elder, No.105, copy 3; 112

GENOA, PALAZZO DURAZZO-PALLAVICINI

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Ladislav-Sigismund, Prince of Poland, No.113, copy 2; 123

GHENT, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four Philosophers'), No.117, copy 1; 128
Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback, No.58 copy 2; 35

GÖTTINGEN, GEMÄLDESAMMLUNG DER UNIVERSITÄT

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens and one of his Sons, No.136, copy 3; 158

THE HAGUE, MAURITSHUIS

Rubens, painting:
Michael Ophovius, No.126; 24, 139-142, 150; figs.154, 155

THE HAGUE, SCHILDERIJENZAAL

PRINS WILLEM V
(?) Rubens, painting:
Hélène Fourment, No.141c; 173-175; fig.199

HAMBURG, COLLECTION MARGRET KÖSER

(?) Rubens, painting:
Isabella Brant, No.77; 56, 58; fig.39
Rubens, painting:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, No.91; 80-82; fig.72

'S HERTOGENBOSCH, EPISCOPAL PALACE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Michael Ophovius, No.127, copy 1; 142-143; fig.159

HUNSTANTON HALL, NORFOLK

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, No.91, copy 3; 80

KARLOVY VARY, MĚSTKÉ MUZEUM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on Horseback, No.81a, copy 4; 66

KASSEL, STAATLICHE GEMÄLDEGALERIE

Rubens, painting:
Nicolaas de Respaigne, No.129; 24, 137, 145-148; fig.161

KREUZLINGEN, H. KISTERS

(?) Rubens, painting:
Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, No.122; 135-136; fig.146

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE

- Rubens, oil sketch:
Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy,
No.82a; 70; fig. 56
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens and one of his Sons,
No.136, copy 2; 158

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

- Rubens, drawings:
Isabella Brant, **No.75a**; 29, 55-58; fig.38
Peter van Hecke(?), **No.107a**; 118; fig.127
*Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and
 Nicolaas Rubens*, **No.139a**; 168; fig.190
Hendrik van Thulden, **No.152a**; 30, 190;
 fig.221
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.96**, copy 5; 88
Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens, **No.100**,
 copy 5; 99
Frans Rubens, **No.98a**, copy; 95; fig.95
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.137a**, copy 1; 160

LONDON, COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART,
 PRINCES GATE COLLECTION

- Rubens, paintings:
Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family, **No.79**;
 23, 60-62, 72, 77, 201; figs.46-50
Jan van Montfort, **No.123**; 26, 126, 136-137,
 147; figs.147, 149, 150
 Rubens, drawing:
Hélène Fourment, **No.100a**; 101-102; fig.105

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

- Rubens, paintings:
Suzanna Fourment, **No.102**; 25, 106-112;
 figs.110-112
Ludovicus Nonnius, **No.124**; 26, 137-139;
 fig.152

LONDON, MR AND MRS E.VERDON-LEE

- Rubens, painting:
Domingo Ruzzola, **No.145**; 181-182; fig.212

LONDON, THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND

- Rubens, drawing:
Frans Rubens, **No.99c**; 30, 98; fig.102

LOUVAIN, UNIVERSITY

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Frederik van Martselaer, **No.119**, copy 1; 133

MADRID, BANCO URQUIJO

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Michael Ophovius, **No.127**, copy 2; 142

MADRID, MUSEO DEL PRADO

- Rubens, painting:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain,

on Horseback, **No.93**; 27, 65, 82-86;
 figs.74, 76

Workshop of Rubens, paintings:

- Albert, Archduke of Austria*, **No.66**; 43-45;
 fig.17
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.67**; 43-45;
 fig.18

Jan Brueghel the Elder, fragments of

- The Allegory of Sight*, painting:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback,
No.58, copy 1; 35-37; fig.3
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 1;
 39, 41; fig.3
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 1; 41;
 fig.3

MARYLAND, PRIVATE COLLECTION

- Rubens, drawing:
Nicolas Trigault (?), **No.154b**; 30, 193-196;
 fig.227

MEXICO CITY, ACADEMIA DE SAN CARLOS

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family, **No.79**,
 copy 2; 60

MONACO, PRIVATE COLLECTION

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
*Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of
 a Poor Clare*, **No.110**, copy 3; 120

MONCEAU-SUR-SAMBRE,
 COLLECTION HOUTART

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
*Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus
 Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four
 Philosophers')*, **No.117**, copy 4; 128

MONTPELLIER, MUSÉE FABRE

- Rubens, painting:
Frans Francken the Elder, **No.105**; 112-113;
 figs.116, 118

MORA, SWEDEN, COLLECTION ZORN

- Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.96**, copy 2; 88

MUNICH, ALTE PINAKOTHEK

- Rubens, paintings:
*Alethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel and
 her Train*, **No.72**; 48-52, 168; figs.24,
 25-27, 29
Jan Brant the Younger, **No.78**; 26, 58-60, 126,
 137-138; figs.42-44
Hélène Fourment, **No.95**; 87-88; fig.84
Hélène Fourment, **No.96**; 88-91; fig.85

- Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens*, **No.98**; 27, 93-95, 166, 170; figs. 92, 93
Peter Paul Rubens and Isabella Brant in the Honeysuckle Bower, **No.138**; 23, 162-166, 172; figs. 184-188
Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and Nicolaas Rubens ('The Walk in the Garden'), **No.139**; 27, 100, 158-159, 161, 165-168, 172; figs. 192, 193
Hendrik van Thulden, **No.152**; 24, 145, 150, 189-191, 199; fig. 220
A Member of the Van den Wijngaerd Family, **No.160**; 203-204; fig. 239
- MÜNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSGEMÄLDE-SAMMLUNGEN
 Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, on Horseback, **No.93**, copy 1; 82
Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens, **No.100**, copy 1; 94
Petrus Pecquius, **No.128**, copy 3; 144
- NANCY, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four Philosophers'), **No.117**, copy 3; 128
- NANTES, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Isabella Brant, **No.76**, copy 3; 57
- NEW HAVEN, CONN.,
 YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, Philip Rubens, Justus Lipsius and Johannes Woverius ('The Four Philosophers'), **No.117**, copy 12; 129
- NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART
 Rubens, painting:
Peter Paul Rubens, Hélène Fourment and Clara-Johanna Rubens, **No.141**; 27, 97, 159, 161, 170-174; figs. 195-197
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, **No.93c**; 82-83, 86-87; fig. 82
 Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Frans Francken the Elder, **No.105**, copy 2; 112-113; fig. 117
Ladislav-Sigismund, Prince of Poland, **No.113**, copy 1; 26, 123, 125; fig. 133
- NEW YORK, THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY
 Rubens, drawing:
Nicolas Trigault (?), **No.154d**; 30, 193-195, 197-198; fig. 230
- NEW YORK, MR AND MRS E.V. THAW
 A. Watteau, counterproof of drawing:
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.138a**, copy 2; fig. 189
- NÎMES, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Rubens, painting:
Marcellianus de Barea, **No.74**; 52-54; fig. 32
- NORFOLK, VIRGINIA, THE CHRYSLER MUSEUM
 (?) Rubens, paintings:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.59**; 37; fig. 5
Abel Socin, **No.146**; 183; fig. 208
 G. de Crayer, painting after Rubens:
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 2; 41-43; fig. 14
- ORLÉANS, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Albert and Nicolaas Rubens, **No.142**, copy 2; 175
- PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, CABINET DES ESTAMPES
 C. Galle I, proof state of engraving, retouched by Rubens:
Frans van den Wouwer, **No.159a**, copy; 202-203; fig. 237
- PARIS, MUSÉE COGNACQ-JAY
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Jan-Gaspar Gevartius, **No.106**, copy 2; 114
- PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE
 Rubens, paintings:
Hélène Fourment with Clara-Johanna and Frans Rubens, **No.99**; 27, 30, 93-98; figs. 96, 97
Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens, **No.100**; 27, 98-103; figs. 103, 104
 Rubens, painting:
A Member of the Fourment Family, **No.104**; 110-112; fig. 114
- PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS
 Rubens, drawings:
Michael Ophovius, **No.127a**; 143-144; fig. 157
Isabella-Helena Rubens, **No.99a**; 97; fig. 98
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.137a**; 160-161; fig. 182
- PASADENA, CALIF., NORTON SIMON INC. MUSEUM OF ART
 Rubens and workshop:
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare, **No.111**; 120-122; fig. 130

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

- PETWORTH, LORD LECONFIELD
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
A Member of the Van den Wijngaerd Family,
No.160, copy 2; 203-204; fig. 241
- PHILADELPHIA, PHILADELPHIA MUSEUM
 OF ART, JOHN G. JOHNSON COLLECTION
 Rubens, oil sketch:
*Peter Paul Rubens and Hélène Fourment with
 Nicolaas and Clara-Johanna Rubens*, **No.140**;
 31, 169-170; fig. 194
- PISTOIA, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Isabella Brant, **No.76**, copy 5; 57
- PITTSBURGH, THE FRICK ART MUSEUM
 Rubens, painting:
*Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency,
 Princess of Condé*, **No.86**; 22, 73-75; fig. 63
- PLYMOUTH, CITY MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY
 Anonymus, drawing after Rubens:
Domingo Ruzzola, **No.145**, copy 3; 181
- POTSDAM-SANSSOUCI, BILDERGALERIE
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Hélène Fourment as St Barbara, **No.100d**;
 103; fig. 108
- PRAGUE, NÁRODNÍ GALERIE
 Rubens, painting:
Ambrogio Spinola, **No.148**; 184-185; fig. 215
- RICHMOND, VIRGINIA,
 VIRGINIA MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.141a**, copy 4; 173-174
- ROME, PALAZZO ROSPIGLIOSI-PALLAVICINI
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment, **No.96**, copy 4; 88
- ROTTERDAM,
 MUSEUM BOYMANS-VAN BEUNINGEN
 Rubens, painting:
Gaspar Rincens (?), **No.130**; 76, 148; fig. 162
 Rubens, drawings:
Hélène Fourment, **No.96a**; 90; fig. 86
A Member of the Fourment Family, **No.104a**;
 111-112; fig. 115
 Anonymus, drawings after Rubens:
Michael Ophovius, **No.127a**, copy 2; 143;
 fig. 158
Frans Rubens, **No.99b**, copy 1; 97-98; fig. 99
Frans Rubens, **No.99b**, copy 2; 97-98;
 fig. 100
- ROUEN, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS
 Anonymus, paintings after Rubens:
Albert, Archduke of Austria, **No.64**, copy 6; 40
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.65**, copy 6; 42
- SAARBRÜCKEN, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain,
No.93b; 82, 85-86; fig. 78
- SAN FRANCISCO, THE CALIFORNIA PALACE
 OF THE LEGION OF HONOR
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain,
No.93, copy 8; 83
- SAN FRANCISCO, THE M.H. DE YOUNG
 MEMORIAL MUSEUM
 Rubens, paintings:
Sara Breyll, **No.85**; 71-73; fig. 60
Rogier Clarisse, **No.84**; 24, 71-73; figs. 59, 61, 62
- SANKT-PÖLTEN, PRIVATE COLLECTION
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens,
No.98, copy; 93
- SARASOTA, FLORIDA, THE JOHN AND
 MABLE RINGLING MUSEUM OF ART
 Rubens and workshop:
Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain, **No.92**;
 80-82; fig. 73
- SCHLEISSHEIM, CASTLE
 D.Teniers the Younger, fragment of
The Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm,
 painting:
Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, **No.121**,
 copy 1; 134-135; fig. 145
- SCHOTEN (ANTWERP), BARON BRACHT
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Jan van der Linden, **No.116**; 127-128; fig. 139
- SCHWERIN, STAATLICHES MUSEUM
 Anonymus, paintings after Rubens:
*George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham,
 on Horseback*, **No. 81a**, copy 1; 66
Hélène Fourment with Frans Rubens, **No.100**,
 copy 2; 99
- SIEGEN, MUSEUM DES SIEGERLANDES
 Anonymus, painting after Rubens:
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.135**, copy 4; 154
- ST LOUIS, CITY ART MUSEUM
 Rubens, painting:
Ambrogio Spinola, **No.150**; 184-188; fig. 217

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM

Rubens, drawings:

- Robin the Dwarf*, **No.72a**; 29, 52, 196; fig. 28
Nicolas Trigault (?), **No.154a**; 30, 193-196,
 198; fig. 231

STOCKHOLM, SVEN BOSTRÖM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- Maximilian, Archduke of Austria*, **No.121**,
 copy 6; 134

THORÖNSBORG, COUNT GÖSTA MÖRNER

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- Albert, Archduke of Austria*, **No.68**, copy 1;
 45

TRIESTE, ANNA R.E. CALZA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- Isabella Brant*, **No.138**, copy 2; 162

VADUZ, PRINCE OF LIECHTENSTEIN

Rubens, paintings:

- Albert and Nicolaas Rubens*, **No.142**; 25, 30,
 96, 166, 170, 175-179; figs. 200, 201
Jan Vermoelen, **No.156**; 24, 198-200; figs. 232,
 233

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- Albert, Archduke of Austria, on Horseback*,
No.58, copy 5; 35; fig. 1

VIENNA, ALBERTINA

Rubens, drawings:

- George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*, **No.80a**;
 63-64; fig. 52
Hélène Fourment, **No.100b**; 102; fig. 106
Suzanna Fourment, **No.102a**; 29, 106,
 109-110; fig. 113
Don Diego Messia, Marquis of Leganés,
No.115a; 30, 63, 126-127; fig. 137
Nicolaas Rubens, **No.142b**; 30, 178-179;
 fig. 204
Nicolaas Rubens with a Felt Cap, **No.143**;
 179; fig. 205
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.136**; copy 5; 158
Drapery Study, **No.100c**; 29, 102-103;
 fig. 107
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Anthony van Dyck, **No.89**, copy; 77-78;
 fig. 70

VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM

Rubens, paintings:

- Albert, Archduke of Austria*, **No.68**; 31, 45-
 47; fig. 20
Isabella, Infanta of Spain, **No.69**; 31, 45-47;
 fig. 21
Hélène Fourment in a Fur Coat ('*Het Pelsken*'),
No.97; 27, 90-93; figs. 88, 89
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.137**; 117, 159-162;
 figs. 179, 180, 183

WAALRE, TINUS VAN BAKEL

Anonymous, gouache after Rubens:

- Jan Brueghel the Elder and his Family*, **No.79**,
 copy 5; 60

WARSAW, MUZEUM NARODOWE

Adam Braun, painting:

- Hélène Fourment in a Fur Coat* ('*Het Pelsken*'),
No.97, copy 1; 91

WARSAW, PRINT ROOM OF THE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

- Ambrogio Spinola*, **No.151**, copy; 188-189;
 fig. 219

WELLESLEY, MASS., WELLESLEY COLLEGE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- Ambrogio Spinola*, **No.147**, copy; 183-184;
 fig. 213

WINDSOR CASTLE, COLLECTION OF

H. M. THE QUEEN

Rubens, paintings:

- Anthony van Dyck*, **No.90**; 78-80; fig. 71
Peter Paul Rubens, **No.135**; 153-157, 159,
 169; figs. 171, 176

Rubens, drawing:

- Peter Paul Rubens*, **No.137b**; 160-162;
 fig. 181

(?) P. Soutman, drawing after Rubens:

- Isabella, Infanta of Spain*, **No.65a**; 42-43;
 fig. 16

ZANESVILLE, OHIO, ZANESVILLE ART
INSTITUTE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

- George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham*,
on Horseback, **No.81a**, copy 2; 66

Index II: Subjects

This index lists, in alphabetical order, all subjects catalogued.

Under each title are gathered all known representations;

these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after them.

The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by page references;

references to illustrations are in italics.

- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA,
ON HORSEBACK, **No.58**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.58; 35-37
J.Brueghel the Elder, fragment of *The Allegory
of Sight*, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.58,
copy 1; 35-37; *fig.3*
Anonymous, painting (Ghent, private col-
lection) No.58, copy 2; 35
Anonymous, painting (formerly Prague,
Counts Sternberg) No.58, copy 3; 35
Anonymous, painting (formerly Stockholm,
Ohlsen) No.58, copy 4; 23, 35; *fig.2*
Anonymous, painting (Vaduz, Prince of
Liechtenstein) No.58, copy 5; 35; *fig.1*
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown)
No.58, copy 6; 35
Anonymous, drawing (Copenhagen, Konge-
lige Kobberstiksamling) No.58, copy 7; 35
Anonymous, drawing (formerly London,
J.C.Robinson) No.58, copy 8; 35
J.A.Hellich, lithograph, No.58, copy 9; 35
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.59**
(?) Rubens, painting (Norfolk, Virginia, The
Chrysler Museum) No.59; 37; *fig.5*
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.60**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.60; 38-39
J.Muller, engraving, No.60, copy; 38-39, 45-46;
fig.7
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.62**
(?) Rubens, painting (formerly Berlin, Karl
Haberstock) No.62; 39; *fig.11*
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.63**
(?) Rubens, painting (formerly H.S. de Slowak)
No.63; 39; *fig.12*
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.64**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.64, 39-42
J.Brueghel the Elder, fragment of *The Allegory
of Sight*, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.64,
copy 1; 39, 41; *fig.3*
G. de Crayer, painting (Althorp, Earl Spencer)
No.64, copy 2; 40-41; *fig.13*
Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Mrs Boudry)
No.64, copy 3; 40
Anonymous, painting (Brussels, Baron Carton
de Wiart) No.64, copy 4; 40
Anonymous, painting (Brussels, private
collection) No.64, copy 5; 40
Anonymous, painting (Rouen, Musée des
Beaux-Arts) No.64, copy 6; 40
Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels,
Count de Mérode) No.64, copy 7; 40
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown)
No.64, copy 8; 40
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown)
No.64, copy 9; 40
Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Vi-
comte Ruffo de Bonneval) No.64, copy 10; 40
Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Terry
Engell Galleries) No.64, copy 11; 40
Anonymous, painting (formerly Cologne,
B.Schmidt) No.64, copy 12; 40
Anonymous, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegale-
rie) No.64, copy 13; 40
Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, F.Klein-
berger) No.64, copy 14; 40
J.Suyderhoef, engraving, No.64, copy 15; 40
P. de Jode II, engraving, No.64, copy 16; 40
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.66**
Workshop of Rubens and J.Brueghel the Elder,
painting (Madrid, Prado) No.66; 43-45; *fig.17*
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.68**
Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum) No.68; 31, 45-47; *fig.20*
Anonymous, painting (Thorönsborg, Count
Gösta Mörner) No.68, copy 1; 45
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.68, copy 2; 45
- ALBERT, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, **No.70**
Rubens, painting (Castagnola, Villa Favorita,
Collection Bentinck-Thyssen) No.70; 47;
fig.19

ALETHEA TALBOT, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL,
No.71

(?) Rubens, painting (Barcelona, Museo de Arte de Cataluña) No.71; 47-48; *fig.22*

ALETHEA TALBOT, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL,
AND HER TRAIN, **No.72**

Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.72; 48-52, 168; *figs.24, 25-27, 29*
Anonymous, drawing (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.72, copy; 48
Rubens, *Robin the Dwarf*, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.72a; 29, 52, 196; *fig.28*

HELIODORUS DE BAREA, **No.73**

Rubens, painting (Barcelona, private collection) No.73; 52-54; *fig.31*
N.Lauwers, engraving, No.73, copy; 53; *fig.34*

MARCELLIANUS DE BAREA, **No.74**

Rubens, painting (Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.74; 52-54; *fig.32*
N.Lauwers, engraving, No.74, copy; 53-54; *fig.33*

ISABELLA BRANT, **No.75**

Rubens, painting (Cleveland, Ohio, The Cleveland Museum of Art) No.75; 25, 54-56, 107, 109-110, 112; *fig.36*
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.75a; 29, 55-58; *fig.38*

ISABELLA BRANT, **No.76**

Rubens, painting (Florence, Uffizi) No.76; 25, 56-58, 153; *figs.40-41*
Anonymous, painting (formerly London-New York, Vermeer Galleries) No.76, copy 2; 56
Anonymous, painting (Nantes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.76, copy 3; 57
Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Jadwiga Vuyk) No.76, copy 4; 57
Anonymous, painting (Pistoia, private collection) No.76, copy 5; 57
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.76, copy 6; 57
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.76, copy 7; 57
Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Birtschansky) No.76, copy 8; 57
T.Lawrence, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.76, copy 9; 57
A.Watteau, drawing (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) No.76, copy 10; 57
J.G.Facius, engraving, No.76, copy 11; 57

ISABELLA BRANT, **No.77**

(?) Rubens, painting (Hamburg, Margret Köser) No.77; 56, 58; *fig.39*

JAN BRANT THE YOUNGER, **No.78**

Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.78; 26, 58-60, 126, 137-138; *figs.42-44*

SARA BREYLL, **No.85**

Rubens, painting (San Francisco, The M.H. de Young Memorial Museum) No.85; 71-73; *fig.60*

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER AND HIS FAMILY,
No.79

Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute, Princes Gate Collection) No.79; 23, 60-62, 72, 77, 201; *figs.46-50*
Anonymous, painting (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) No.79, copy 1; 60
Anonymous, painting (Mexico City, Academia de San Carlos) No.79, copy 2; 60
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.79, copy 3; 60
S.Malden, gouache (formerly D.O'Brien) No.79, copy 4; 60
Anonymous, gouache (Waalre, Tinus van Baakel) No.79, copy 5; 60

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,
No.80

Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.80; 62-63
Anonymous, painting (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) No.80, copy; 62-63; *fig.51*
Rubens, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.80a; 63-64; *fig.52*

GEORGE VILLIERS, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,
ON HORSEBACK, **No.81**

Rubens, painting (formerly Osterley Park, Earl of Jersey; lost) No.81; 27, 64-67; *fig.53*
Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) No.81, copy; 64
Rubens, oil sketch (Fort Worth, The Kimbell Art Museum) No.81a; 31, 66-67; *fig.54*
Anonymous, painting (Schwerin, Gemäldegalerie) No.81a, copy 1; 66
Anonymous, painting (Zanesville, Ohio, Zanesville Art Institute) No.81a, copy 2; 66
Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.81a, copy 3; 66
Anonymous, drawing (Karlovy Vary, Městské Muzeum) No.81a, copy 4; 66

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- CHARLES DE LONGUEVAL,
COUNT OF BUCQUOY, **No.82**
L. Vorsterman, engraving, No.82; 24, 67-70;
fig.55
Rubens, oil sketch (Leningrad, Hermitage)
No.82a; 70; *fig.56*
- JACOMO DE CACHIOPIN, **No.83**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.83a; 70-71
- ROGIER CLARISSE, **No.84**
Rubens, painting (San Francisco, The M.H.
de Young Memorial Museum) No.84; 24,
71-73; *figs.59, 61, 62*
- CHARLOTTE-MARGUERITE DE MONTMORENCY,
PRINCESS OF CONDÉ, **No.86**
Rubens, painting (Pittsburgh, The Frick Art
Museum) No.86; 22, 73-75; *fig.63*
Anonymous, painting (formerly Madrid,
private collection) No.86, copy 1; 73
Anonymous, painting (formerly Grittleton
House, L.W. Neeld) No.86, copy 2; 73, 75
- JEAN DE LA COURT, **No.87**
? Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown)
No.87; 75-76; *fig.66*
Anonymous, drawing (Antwerp, Stadsarchief)
No.87; 76; *fig.67*
- THE DUCHESS OF CROY, **No.88**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown;
presumably lost) No.88; 76-77
- ANTHONY VAN DYCK, **No.89**
Rubens, painting (Fort Worth, The Kimbell
Art Museum) No.89; 77-78; *fig.69*
Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina)
No.89, copy; 77-78; *fig.70*
- ANTHONY VAN DYCK, **No.90**
Rubens, painting (Windsor Castle, H.M. the
Queen) No.90; 78-80; *fig.71*
Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp,
F. Oppenheimer) No.90, copy 1; 78
W. Dickinson, mezzotint engraving, No.90,
copy 2; 78
- FERDINAND, CARDINAL INFANTE OF SPAIN,
No.91
Rubens, painting (Hamburg, Margret Köser)
No.91; 80-82; *fig.72*
Anonymous, painting (Budapest, Szépművé-
szeti Muzeum) No.91, copy 1; 80
Anonymous, painting (formerly Vienna,
Glückselig) No.91, copy 2; 80
- Anonymous, painting (Hunstanton Hall, Nor-
folk) No.91, copy 3; 80
- FERDINAND, CARDINAL INFANTE OF SPAIN,
No.92
Rubens and workshop, painting (Sarasota, The
John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art)
No.92; 80-82; *fig.73*
- FERDINAND, CARDINAL INFANTE OF SPAIN,
ON HORSEBACK, **No.93**
Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.93; 27,
65, 82-86; *figs.74, 76*
Anonymous, painting (Munich, Bayerische
Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.93, copy 1;
82
Anonymous, painting (formerly Southern Ger-
many, private collection) No.93, copy 2; 82
Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, André
de Hevesy) No.93, copy 4; 82
Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Eugène
Kraemer) No.93, copy 5; 82
T. van Thulden, *Bust of the Cardinal Infante*,
painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des
Beaux-Arts de Belgique) No.93, copy 6; 82
Anonymous, *Bust of the Cardinal Infante*, paint-
ing (San Francisco, The California Palace of
the Legion of Honor) No.93, copy 8; 83
Anonymous, *Bust of the Cardinal Infante*, paint-
ing (formerly Munich, Julius Böhler) No.93,
copy 9; 83
Anonymous, *Head and Shoulders of the Cardinal
Infante*, painting (whereabouts unknown)
No.93, copy 10; 83
P. Pontius, engraving, No.93, copy 11; 83
Anonymous, copper dish, No.93, copy 12; 83
Rubens, oil sketch (Detroit, The Detroit Insti-
tute of Arts) No.93a; 31, 84-86; *figs.75, 77,*
79, 80
? Rubens, painting (Saarbrücken, private
collection) No.93b; 82, 85-86; *fig.78*
? Rubens, *Bust of the Cardinal Infante*, painting
(New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art)
No.93c; 82-83, 86-87; *fig.82*
- FERDINAND, CARDINAL INFANTE OF SPAIN,
No.94
(?) Rubens, painting (Berlin, DDR, Bode Mu-
seum) No.94; 87; *fig.83*
- CLARA FOURMENT (?), **No.108**
Rubens, painting (formerly Paris and Geneva,
Rothschild collection) No.108; 117-118;
fig.124
Anonymous, painting (formerly Baron von

- Goldschmidt-Rothschild) No.108, copy; 117-118; *fig.126*
- HELENE FOURMENT, No.95**
 Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.95, 87-88; *fig.84*
- HELENE FOURMENT, No.96**
 Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.96; 88-91; *fig.85*
 Anonymous, painting (Mora, Sweden, Collection Zorn) No.96, copy 2; 88
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, Roland Baudouin) No.96, copy 3; 88
 Anonymous, painting (Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi-Pallavicini) No.96, copy 4; 88
 Anonymous, drawing (London, British Museum) No.96, copy 5; 88
 Anonymous, drawing (Danzig, Muzeum Narodowe) No.96, copy 6; 88-89
 P.Fontana, engraving, No.96, copy 7; 89
 Rubens, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.96a; 90; *fig.86*
 (?) Rubens, painting (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum) No.96b; 88, 90-91; *fig.87*
- HELENE FOURMENT IN A FUR COAT ('HET PELSKEN'), No.97**
 Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.97; 27, 90-93; *figs.88, 89*
 A.Braun, painting (Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe) No.97, copy 1; 91
 F. van Stampart, etching, No.97, copy 2; 91
 A.J.Prenner, etching, No.97, copy 3; 91
- HELENE FOURMENT WITH FRANS RUBENS, No.98**
 Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.98; 27, 93-95, 166, 170; *figs.92, 93*
 Anonymous, painting (Sankt-Pölten, private collection) No.98; 93
 Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett) No.98a; 95; *fig.94*
 Anonymous, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (London, British Museum) No.98a, copy; 95; *fig.95*
- HELENE FOURMENT WITH CLARA-JOHANNA AND FRANS RUBENS, No.99**
 Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.99; 27, 30, 93-98; *figs.96, 97*
 J.Schmuzer, engraving, No.99, copy; 95
 Rubens, *Isabella-Helena Rubens*, drawing, No.99a; 97; *fig.98*
 Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.99b; 97-98
- Anonymous, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.99b, copy 1; 97-98; *fig.99*
 Anonymous, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.99b, copy 2; 97-98; *fig.100*
 M.Cosway, *Frans Rubens*, engraving, No.99b, copy 3; 98; *fig.101*
 Rubens, *Frans Rubens*, drawing (London, Duke of Sutherland) No.99c; 30, 98; *fig.102*
 L.Schiavonetti, *Frans Rubens*, engraving, No.99c, copy; 98
- HELENE FOURMENT WITH FRANS RUBENS, No.100**
 Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.100; 27, 98-103; *figs.103, 104*
 Anonymous, *Half-length representation*, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.100, copy 1; 99
 Anonymous, *Half-length representation*, painting (Schwerin, Staatliches Museum) No.100, copy 2; 99
 Anonymous, *Head and Shoulders of Hélène Fourment*, painting (formerly Vienna, Neue Galerie) No.100, copy 3; 99
 Anonymous, *Head and Shoulders of Hélène Fourment*, painting (formerly Brussels, Count Cavens) No.100, copy 4; 99
 Anonymous, *Head of Hélène Fourment*, drawing (London, British Museum) No.100, copy 5; 99
 Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, drawing (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) No.100a; 101-102; *fig.105*
 Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.100b; 102; *fig.106*
 Rubens, *Drapery Study*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.100c; 29, 102-103; *fig.107*
 (?) Rubens, *Hélène Fourment as St Barbara*, painting (Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie) No.100d; 103; *fig.108*
- SUZANNA FOURMENT, No.101**
 Rubens, painting (Brussels, private collection) No.101; 105-111; *fig.109*
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Lausanne, E.N.Broemmé) No.101, copy 1; 105
 G. Maile, engraving, No.101, copy 2; 105
- SUZANNA FOURMENT, No.102**
 Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.102; 25, 106-112; *figs.110-112*
 A. van Ysendyck, painting (? formerly Bromyard, Col. J.T.Lutley) No.102, copy 1; 107

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- A. Overlaet, drawing (formerly Lord Northwick) No.102, copy 2; 107
 Mme de Neuville, miniature painting (whereabouts unknown) No.102, copy 3; 107-108
 M. de Meulemeester, gouache (whereabouts unknown) No.102, copy 4; 108
 J.M.W. Turner, drawing (whereabouts unknown) No.102, copy 5; 108
 A. Geddes, pastel (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) No.102, copy 6; 108
 R. Cooper, engraving, No.102, copy 7; 108
 S.W. Reynolds, engraving, No.102, copy 8; 108
 Rubens, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.102a; 29, 106, 109-110; *fig.113*
- A MEMBER OF THE FOURMENT FAMILY,
No.103
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.103; 110-111
- A MEMBER OF THE FOURMENT FAMILY,
No.104
 ? Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.104; 110-112; *fig.114*
 Rubens, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.104a; 111-112; *fig.115*
- FRANS FRANCKEN THE ELDER, **No.105**
 Rubens, painting (Montpellier, Musée Fabre) No.105; 112-113; *figs.116, 118*
 C. de Vos, fragment of the *Portrait of Frans Francken the Elder and his Wife* (formerly Münster, private collection) No.105, copy 1; 112
 Anonymous, painting (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) No.105, copy 2; 112-113; *fig.117*
 Anonymous, painting (Frankfurt am Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut) No.105, copy 3; 112
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Seighford Hall, Major R.E. Eld) No.105, copy 4; 112
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Berlin, Julius Böhler) No.105, copy 5; 112
 A. van Dyck, etching, No.105, copy 6; 112-113; *fig.119*
- JAN-GASPAR GEVARTIUS, **No.106**
 Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) No.106; 26, 113-116, 138; *fig.122*
 (?) T. Willeboirts Bosschaert, painting (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) No.106 copy 1; 113-114
 Anonymous, painting (Paris, Musée Cognacq-Jay) No.106, copy 2; 114
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.106, copy 3; 114
 P. Pontius, engraving, No.106, copy 4; 114-115; *fig.121*
- PETER VAN HECKE (?), **No.107**
 Rubens, painting (formerly Paris and Geneva, Rothschild) No.107; 116-119; *fig.123*
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Baron Albert von Goldschmidt-Rothschild) No.107, copy; 116-118; *fig.125*
 Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.107a; 118; *fig.127*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, **No.61**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.61; 38-39
 J. Muller, engraving, No.61, copy; 38-39, 45-46; *fig.8*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, **No.65**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.65; 41-43
 J. Brueghel the Elder, fragment of *The Allegory of Sight*, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.65, copy 1; 41; *fig.3*
 G. de Crayer, painting (Norfolk, Virg., The Chrysler Museum) No.65, copy 2; 41-43; *fig.14*
 Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Mrs Boudry) No.65, copy 3; 41
 Anonymous, painting (Brussels, Baron Carton de Wiart) No.65, copy 4; 42
 Anonymous, painting (Brussels, private collection) No.65, copy 5; 42
 Anonymous, painting (Rouen, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.65, copy 6; 42
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Count de Mérode) No.65, copy 7; 42
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.65, copy 8; 42
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.65, copy 9; 42
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Prague, Otto Kretschmer) No.65, copy 10; 42
 Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.65, copy 11; 42
 Anonymous, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) No.65, copy 12; 42
 Anonymous, painting (formerly St Albans, Walter Goldsmith) No.65, copy 13; 42
 (?) P. Soutman, drawing (Windsor Castle, H.M. the Queen) No.65a; 42-43; *fig.16*

- J. Suyderhoef, engraving, No.65a, copy 1; 42-43; *fig.15*
 P. de Jode II, engraving, No.65a, copy 2; 42-43
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, No.67**
 Workshop of Rubens and J. Brueghel the Elder, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.67; 43-45; *fig.18*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, No.69**
 Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.69; 31, 45-46; *fig.21*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, IN THE HABIT OF A POOR CLARE, No.109**
 Rubens, painting (formerly Switzerland, private collection) No.109; 31, 119, 122; *fig.128*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, IN THE HABIT OF A POOR CLARE, No.110**
 (?) Rubens, painting (formerly Lord Aldenham) No.110; 119-121, 123; *fig.129*
 Anonymous, painting (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) No.110, copy 1; 120
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, A. de Berghe) No.110, copy 2; 120
 Anonymous, painting (Monaco, private collection) No.110, copy 3; 120
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, IN THE HABIT OF A POOR CLARE, No.111**
 (?) Rubens, painting (Pasadena, Cal., Norton Simon Inc. Museum of Art) No.111; 120-122; *fig.130*
- ISABELLA, INFANTA OF SPAIN, IN THE HABIT OF A POOR CLARE, No.112**
 P. Pontius, engraving, No.112; 24, 120-123; *fig.131*
 W. Vaillant, engraving, No.112, copy 1; 122
 A. Verhoeven the Younger, engraving, No.112, copy 2; 122
 A. Voet, engraving, No.112, copy 3; 122
 Anonymous, engraving, edited by J. C. Vischer, No.112, copy 4; 122
- LADISLAS-SIGISMUND, PRINCE OF POLAND, No.113**
 Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.113; 123-124
 Workshop of Rubens, painting (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) No.113, copy 1; 26, 123, 125; *fig.133*
 Anonymous, painting (Genoa, Palazzo Durazzo-Pallavicini) No.113, copy 2; 123
 Anonymous, painting (lost) No.113, copy 3; 123
- P. Pontius, engraving, No.113, copy 5; 26, 123-125; *fig.132*
 J. van der Heyden, engraving, No.113, copy 6; 123
 Anonymous, engraving, No.113, copy 7; 123
 J. Surmacki, engraving, No.113, copy 8; 123
- LADISLAS-SIGISMUND, PRINCE OF POLAND, ON HORSEBACK, No.114**
 (?) Rubens, painting (Cracow, Wawel Castle, State Collection of Art) No.114, 124-125; *fig.134*
- DON DIEGO MESSIA, MARQUIS OF LEGANES, No.115**
 Rubens, painting (formerly London, Martin Ascher) No.115; 26, 30, 125-127, 187; *figs.135, 136*
 Rubens, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.115a; 30, 63, 126-127; *fig.137*
- JAN VAN DER LINDEN, No.116**
 (?) Rubens, painting (Schoten, Baron Bracht) No.116, 127-128; *fig.139*
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, Mr and Mrs A. Mattheys-Smets) No.116, copy 1; 127
 A. Overlaet, drawing (whereabouts unknown) No.116, copy 2; 127
 N. van den Bergh, etching, No.116, copy 3; 127-128; *fig.138*
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, JUSTUS LIPSIUS AND JOHANNES WOYERUS ('THE FOUR PHILOSOPHERS'), No.117**
 Rubens, painting (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) No.117; 23, 58, 128-132, 152; *figs.140, 169*
 Anonymous, painting (Ghent, private collection) No.117, copy 1; 128
 Anonymous, painting (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) No.117, copy 2; 128
 Anonymous, painting (Nancy, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.117, copy 3; 128
 Anonymous, painting (Monceau-sur-Sambre, Coll. Houtart) No.117, copy 4; 128
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Washington, Foster Cannon) No.117, copy 5; 128-129
 Anonymous, painting (formerly RoslagsNäsby, C. R. Lamm) No.117, copy 6; 129
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Shipley, Capt. Ridgway) No.117, copy 7; 129
 Anonymous, *Head of Woverius and the Roman vista*, painting (formerly Brussels, Prince of Arenberg) No.117, copy 8; 129-130, 132
 Anonymous, *The Head of Woverius*, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.117, copy 9; 129

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- Anonymous, *The books on the tablecloth*, painting (formerly London, Duits & Co.) No.117, copy 10; 129
- Anonymous, watercolour (whereabouts unknown) No.117, copy 11; 129
- Anonymous, drawing (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery) No.117, copy 12; 129
- Anonymous, *The Head of Woverius*, drawing (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) No.117, copy 13; 129
- F. Gregori, engraving, No.117, copy 14; 129
- A. Morel, engraving, No.117, copy 15; 129
- C. Normand, engraving, No.117, copy 16; 129
- L. Paradisi, engraving, No.117, copy 17; 129
- ARNOLD LUNDEN, No.118**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.118; 132-133
- FREDERIK VAN MARTSELAER, No.119**
- (?) A. van Dyck, painting (Baroda, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery) No.119; 133-134; *fig.142*
- Anonymous, painting (Louvain, University) No.119, copy 1; 133
- A.B. de Quertenmont, etching, No.119, copy 2; 133; *fig.143*
- A. Fogg, engraving, No.119, copy 3; 133
- MAXIMILIAN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, No.120**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.120; 134-136
- MAXIMILIAN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, No.121**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.121; 134-136
- D. Teniers the Younger, fragment of the *Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm*, painting (Schleissheim, Castle) No.121, copy 1; 134-135; *fig.145*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.121, copy 3; 134
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Stockholm, Olga Bosman) No.121, copy 4; 134
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Duke of Buccleuch) No.121, copy 5; 134
- Anonymous, painting (Stockholm, Sven Boström) No.121, copy 6; 134
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.121, copy 7; 134-135
- Anonymous, drawing (whereabouts unknown) No.121, copy 8; 135
- J. Suyderhoef, engraving, No.121, copy 9; 1935
- L. Vorsterman, engraving, No.121, copy 10; 135
- P. de Jode II, engraving, No.121, copy 11; 135
- MAXIMILIAN, ARCHDUKE OF AUSTRIA, No.122**
- (?) Rubens, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Gebr. Douwes) No.122; 134-136; *fig.146*
- JAN VAN MONTFORT, No.123**
- Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection) No.123; 26, 126, 136-137, 147; *figs.147, 149, 150*
- LUDOVICUS NONNIUS, No.124**
- Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.124; 26, 137-139; *fig.152*
- E. Quellinus II, painting (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) No.124, copy; 137-139; *fig.151*
- MICHAEL OPHOVIUS, No.125**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.125; 139
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, G.Dulière) No.125, copy 1; 139; *fig.153*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Bruges, Alberic de Meester) No.125, copy 2; 139
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, A.L. Nicholson) No.125, copy 3; 139
- MICHAEL OPHOVIUS, No.126**
- Rubens, painting (The Hague, Mauritshuis) No.126; 24, 139-142, 150; *figs.154, 155*
- Workshop of Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) No.126, copy 1; 140, 142; *fig.156*
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, F.C.Jacques) No.126, copy 2; 140
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Matfen Hall, Sir Douglas Blacket) No.126, copy 3; 140
- (?) D. Teniers the Younger, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.126, copy 4; 140
- (?) N. van den Bergh, drawing (formerly J.G. Verstolk-van Soelen) No.126, copy 5; 140
- N. van den Bergh, etching, No.126, copy 6; 140-141
- MICHAEL OPHOVIUS, No.127**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.127; 142-143
- Anonymous, painting ('s Hertogenbosch, Episcopal Palace) No.127, copy 1; 142-143; *fig.159*
- Anonymous, painting (Madrid, Banco Urquijo) No.127, copy 2; 142
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Stockholm, A.W.Sjöstrand) No.127, copy 3; 142
- C. de Passe II, engraving, No.127, copy 4; 142
- C. Butkens, engraving, No.127, copy 5; 142
- Rubens, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.127a; 143-144; *fig.157*

- Anonymous, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.127a, copy 1; 143
- Anonymous, drawing (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.127a, copy 2; 143; *fig.158*
- PETRUS PECQUIUS, No.128**
- Rubens, painting (Fareham, Southwick House, Mrs H.F.P.Borthwick-Norton) No.128; 24, 144-145; *fig.160*
- Anonymous, painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique) No.128, copy 1; 144-145
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Dr Paul Mersch) No.128, copy 2; 144
- Anonymous, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.128, copy 3; 144
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.128, copy 4; 144
- NICOLAAS DE RESPAIGNE, No.129**
- Rubens, painting (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) No.129; 24, 137, 145-148; *fig.161*
- (?) David Teniers II, painting (formerly Cologne, R.Peltzer) No.129, copy 1; 145
- G.P.Longhi, etching, No.129, copy 2; 145
- GASPAR RINCKENS (?), No.130**
- Rubens, painting (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) No.130; 76, 148; *fig.162*
- NICOLAAS ROCKOX, No.131**
- Rubens and J.Boeckhorst, painting (formerly Antwerp, Diego Duarte) No.131; 149
- ANTONIUS DE ROORE, No.132**
- Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.132; 149-151; *figs.165, 166*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Augustinian Fathers) No.132, copy 1; 149, 151
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Albert Warnant) No.132, copy 2; 149-151
- PETER PAUL RUBENS (?), No.133**
- (?) Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.133; 151; *fig.167*
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, No.134**
- Rubens, painting (Florence, Uffizi) No.134; 151-153; *figs.168, 170*
- Anonymous, painting (Barcelona, private collection) No.134, copy 1; 151
- C.Gregori, engraving, No.134, copy 2; 151
- C.Towney, mezzotint engraving, No.134, copy 3; 151
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, No.135**
- Rubens, painting (Windsor Castle, H.M. the Queen) No.135; 153-157, 159, 169; *figs.171, 176*
- Anonymous, painting (Canberra, National Gallery of Australia) No.135, copy 1; 153-154, 156-157, 159; *fig.172*
- Anonymous, painting (Florence, Uffizi) No.135, copy 2; 152-154; *fig.173*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie) No.135, copy 3; 154
- Anonymous, painting (Siegen, Museum des Siegerlandes) No.135, copy 4; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Colnaghi) No.135, copy 5; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, C.-L. Cardon) No.135, copy 6; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly New York, André de Coppet) No.135, copy 7; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Santa Barbara, Cal., A.Falvy) No.135, copy 8; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Duke of Norfolk) No.135, copy 9; 154
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Count Wallmoden Grimborn) No.135, copy 10; 154
- P.Pontius, engraving, No.135, copy 11; 154-157; *fig.174*
- J.G.Facius, engraving, No.135, copy 12; 155
- J.G.Huck, mezzotint engraving, No.135, copy 13; 155
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, No.136**
- Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) No.136; 157-159, 166, 172; *figs.177, 178*
- Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.136, copy 1; 158
- Anonymous, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.136, copy 2; 158
- Anonymous, painting (Göttingen, Gemäldesammlung der Universität) No.136, copy 3; 158
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Berlin, F.Arany) No.136, copy 4; 158
- Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.136, copy 5; 158
- W.Panneels, etching, No.136, copy 6; 158-159; *fig.175*
- W.Hollar, etching, No.136, copy 7; 158
- PETER PAUL RUBENS, No.137**
- Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.137; 117, 159-162; *figs.179, 180, 183*
- A.J.Prenner, etching, No.137, copy; 159

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

- Rubens, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.137a; 160-161; *fig.182*
 Anonymous, drawing (London, British Museum) No.137a, copy 1; 160
 S.Watts, engraving, No.137a, copy 2; 160
 Rubens, drawing (Windsor Castle, H.M. the Queen) No.137b; 160-162; *fig.181*

PETER PAUL RUBENS AND ISABELLA BRANT IN THE HONEYSUCKLE BOWER, **No.138**

- Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.138; 23, 162-166, 172; *figs.184-188*
 Anonymous, *The Head of Rubens*, painting (formerly Antwerp, Roland Baudouin) No.138, copy 1; 162
 Anonymous, *The Head of Isabella Brant*, painting (Trieste, Anna R.E. Calza) No.138, copy 2; 162
 C.Hess, engraving, No.138, copy 3; 162
 B.Weiss, engraving, No.138, copy 4; 162
 W.Flachenecker, lithograph, No.138, copy 5; 162
 A.Devéria, *The Head of Isabella Brant*, lithograph, No.138, copy 6; 162
 Rubens, *Peter Paul Rubens*, drawing (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.138a; 164-165
 A.Watteau, *Peter Paul Rubens*, drawing (? formerly A.Thibaudeau) No.138a, copy 1; 164-165
 A.Watteau, *Peter Paul Rubens*, counterproof of drawing (New York, Mr and Mrs E.V. Thaw) No.138a, copy 2; 165; *fig.189*
 C.Ploos van Amstel, *The Head of Rubens*, engraving, No.138a, copy 3; 165
 G.Demarteau, *The Head of Rubens*, engraving, No.138a, copy 4; 165
 P.Chenay, *The Head of Rubens*, engraving, No.138a, copy 5; 165

PETER PAUL RUBENS, HELENE FOURMENT AND NICOLAAS RUBENS ('THE WALK IN THE GARDEN'), **No.139**

- Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.139; 27, 100, 158-159, 161, 165-168, 172; *figs.192, 193*
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Bucharest, King Carol I of Rumania) No.139, copy; 165
 Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.139a; 168; *fig.190*
 Rubens, *An Old Woman in Two Views*, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett) No.139b; 168-169; *fig.191*

PETER PAUL RUBENS AND HELENE FOURMENT WITH NICOLAAS AND CLARA-JOHANNA

RUBENS, **No.140**

- Rubens, oil sketch (Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G.Johnson Collection) No.140; 31, 169-170; *fig.194*

PETER PAUL RUBENS, HELENE FOURMENT AND CLARA-JOHANNA RUBENS, **No.141**

- Rubens, painting (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) No.141; 27, 97, 159, 161, 170-174; *figs.195-197*
 J.Eccardt, *Charles and Mary Churchill*, painting (Farmington, Conn., The Lewis-Walpole Library) No.141, copy 1; 170
 Anonymous, drawing (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) No.141, copy 2; 170
 J.McArdell, mezzotint engraving, No.141, copy 3; 170
 Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.141a; 173-175
 Anonymous, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (formerly Vienna, Czernin Collection) No.141a, copy 3; 173
 Anonymous, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (Richmond, Virg., Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) No.141a, copy 4; 173-174
 Anonymous, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (Brussels, Robert Finck) No.141a, copy 5; 174
 (?) Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (formerly Vevey, Jan Dik and another) No.141b; 173-175; *fig.198*
 (?) Rubens, *Hélène Fourment*, painting (The Hague, Schilderijenzaal Prins Willem V) No.141c; 173-175; *fig.199*

ALBERT AND NICOLAAS RUBENS, **No.142**

- Rubens, painting (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) No.142; 25, 30, 96, 166, 170, 175-179; *figs.200, 201*
 Workshop of Rubens, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), No.142, copy 1; 175, 177-178; *fig.202*
 Anonymous, painting (Orléans, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.142, copy 2; 175
 Anonymous, *The Busto of the Boys*, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.142, copy 3; 175
 N. de Keyser, drawing (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) No.142, copy 4; 175-176
 G.A.Müller, engraving, No.142, copy 5; 176
 J.Daullé, engraving, No.142, copy 6; 176
 Dauzel, engraving, No.142, copy 7; 176

- Rubens, *Albert Rubens*, drawing (formerly Brussels, Count Duchastel-Dandelot) No.142a; 178; *fig.203*
- Rubens, *Nicolaas Rubens*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.142b; 30, 178-179; *fig.204*
- NICOLAAS RUBENS WITH A FELT CAP, No.143**
Rubens, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.143; 179; *fig.205*
- PHILIP RUBENS, No.144**
Rubens, painting (Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts) No.144; 130, 179-181; *fig.206*
C. Galle I, engraving, No.144, copy; 179-180; *fig.207*
- DOMINGO RUZZOLA, No.145**
Rubens, painting (London, Mr and Mrs E. Verdon-Lee) No.145; 181-182; *fig.212*
Anonymous, painting (formerly Munich, Dr Anschütz-Kämpfe) No.145, copy 1; 181-182; *fig.211*
Anonymous, painting (formerly Prague, Dr Eduard Safařík) No.145, copy 2; 181
Anonymous, drawing (Plymouth, City Museum and Art Gallery) No.145, copy 3; 181
R. Collin, engraving, No.145, copy 4; 181-182; *fig.210*
- ABEL SOCIN (?), No.146**
(?) Rubens, painting (Norfolk, Virg., The Chrysler Museum) No.146; 183; *fig.208*
- AMBROGIO SPINOLA, No.147**
Rubens, painting (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.147; 183-185
Anonymous, painting (Wellesley, Mass., Wellesley College) No.147, copy; 183-184; *fig.213*
- AMBROGIO SPINOLA, No.148**
Rubens, painting (Prague, Národní Galerie) No.148; 184-185; *fig.215*
- AMBROGIO SPINOLA, No.149**
Rubens, painting (Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) No.149; 126, 185-187; *fig.216*
Anonymous, painting (formerly Warwick, The Earl of Warwick) No.149, copy 1; 185-186
Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, A. de Maleingreau d'Hembise) No.149, copy 2; 186
Anonymous, painting (Detroit, private collection) No.149, copy 3; 186
P. de Jode II, engraving, No.149, copy 4; 186
- AMBROGIO SPINOLA, No.150**
Rubens, painting (St Louis, City Art Museum) No.150; 184-188; *fig.217*
- AMBROGIO SPINOLA, No.151**
Rubens, painting (formerly E.H. Bunbury) No.151; 188-189; *fig.218*
Anonymous, drawing (Warsaw, Print Room of the University Library) No.151, copy; 188-189; *fig.219*
- PETRUS DE SPIRA, No.155**
Workshop of Rubens, painting (Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse) No.155; 191-194, 198; *fig.225*
- HENDRIK VAN THULDEN, No.152**
Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.152; 24, 145, 150, 189-191, 199; *fig.220*
J. Coelemans, engraving, No.152, copy; 189
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.152a; 30, 190, *fig.221*
- HENDRIK VAN THULDEN, No.153**
(?) Rubens, painting (formerly Bucharest, private collection) No.153; 189-191; *fig.222*
- NICOLAS TRIGAULT, No.154**
Workshop of Rubens, painting (Douai, Musée de la Chartreuse) No.154; 191-198; *fig.224*
Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.154a; 30, 193-196, 198; *fig.231*
Anonymous, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (formerly Frankfurt, private collection) No.154a, copy; 195
Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (Maryland, private collection) No.154b; 30, 193-196; *fig.227*
Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (formerly London, Ludwig Burchard) No.154c; 30, 193-198; *fig.229*
W. Baillie, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), mezzotint engraving, No.154c, copy; 196-197; *fig.228*
Rubens, *Nicolas Trigault* (?), drawing (New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library) No.154d; 30, 193-195, 197-198; *fig.230*
- JAN VERMOELEN, No.156**
Rubens, painting (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) No.156; 24, 198-200; *figs.232, 233*
- JAN WILDENS, No.157**
Rubens, painting (formerly New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art) No.157; 77, 200-201; *figs.234, 235*
- WOLFGANG-WILHELM, DUKE OF NEUBURG, No.158**
Rubens (whereabouts unknown; presumably lost) No.158; 201-202

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

FRANS VAN DE WOUWER, **No.159**

C.Galle I, engraving, No.159; 202–203

C.Galle I, proof state of engraving, retouched by Rubens (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes) No.159a, copy; 202–203; *fig.237*

A MEMBER OF THE VAN DEN WIJNGAERD FAMILY, **No.160**

Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.160; 203–204; *fig.239*

Anonymous, painting (whereabouts unknown) No.160, copy 1; 203

Anonymous, painting (Petworth, Lord Leconfield) No.160, copy 2; 203–204; *fig.241*

A.Schön, engraving, No.160, copy 3; 203

MATTHAEUS YRSSELIUS, **No.161**

Rubens, painting (Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst) No.161; 204–206; *fig.242*

Anonymous, painting (Copenhagen, Adam Pasler) No.161, copy; 204

Index III: Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index:

D—drawing; **E**—engraving; **P**—painting.

OLD TESTAMENT

Samson and Delilah **P** (London, National Gallery) 75

NEW TESTAMENT

The Adoration of the Magi **P** (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 147, 205–206

—**P** (Madrid, Prado) 134, 152, 159

The Assumption of the Blessed **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 149

Holy Family with a Parrot **P** (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 173

The Incredulity of St Thomas **P** (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 149

Madonna with Saints **P** (Antwerp, St. Jacobskerk) 93

The Raising of the Cross **P** (Antwerp, Cathedral) *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* **P** (Madrid, Prado) 169–170

—**E** (C.Jegher) 169

The Scourging of Christ **P** (Antwerp, St Paul) 71

SAINTS

The Mystic Marriage of St Catherine **P** (Antwerp, St. Augustinuskerk) 150

—**P** (Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art) 171, 173

St Cecilia **P** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz) 117–118

St Francis of Assisi Receiving the Stigmata **P** (Antwerp, formerly Capuchin Church, now St Antonius,

—**E** (L. Vorsterman) 71

The Last Communion of St Francis of Assisi **D** (Farnham, Wolfgang Burchard) 196

St Francis Xavier **P** (lost) 192

The Miracles of St Francis Xavier **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 193

St Gregory with other Saints **P** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz) 131

—**P** (Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 131

St Ignatius Loyola **P** (Pasadena, Calif., The Norton Simon Museum of Art) 192

MYTHOLOGY

The Battle of the Amazons **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 24

The Temple of Janus **P** (lost) 69

Nymphs and Satyrs **P** (Madrid, Prado) 161

Orpheus and Eurydice **P** (Madrid, Prado) 92–93

The Judgement of Paris **P** (Madrid, Prado) 92

ALLEGORY

The Garden of Love **P** (Madrid, Prado) 111, 171

Allegory of Hearing **P** (with Jan Brueghel the Elder (Madrid, Prado) 62

- 'The Lansquenet with his Sweetheart' **P** (Genoa, Palazzo Bianco) 204
Pausias and Glycera **P** (Sarasota, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art) 163
Studies for a Religious Allegory (?) **P** (Bayonne, Musée Bonnat) 194
The Victims of War **P** (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) 83

HISTORY

- Marriage of Henri IV to Maria de' Medici* **P** (London, Wallace Collection) 172
The Apotheosis of Henri IV **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 69
Battle from the Henri IV Cycle **P** (Antwerp, Rubenshuis) 85; fig.81
Maria de' Medici at the Battle of Jülich **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 125
Tomyris and Cyrus **P** (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts) 147

LANDSCAPES

AND HUNTING SCENES

- The Boar Hunt* **P** (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) 24
The Return from the Harvest **P** (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) 169
Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 131
Tournament in Front of a Castle **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 85

PORTRAITS

- Portrait of Anne of Austria* **P** 31
Portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel **P** (Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum) 80
 —**P** (London, National Gallery) 48
Portrait of Charles the Bold **P** (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) 7
Portrait of Charles V with Upraised Sword **P** (after Titian) 26, 80, 124
Portrait of Giancarlo Doria on Horseback **P** (Florence, Palazzo Vecchio) 21, 23, 36
Portrait of Ferdinand, Cardinal-Infante of Spain as a Cardinal **P** (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) 87
Portrait of Lady Gerbier and her Family **P** (Washington, National Gallery of Art) 27, 96, 173

- Portrait of Caterina Grimaldi* (?) **P** (Kingston Lacy, Bankes Collection) 132
Portrait of Isabella of Bourbon **P** 31
Portrait of the Duke of Lerma on Horseback **P** (Madrid, Prado) 21, 23, 31, 36
 —**D** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 29–30
Portrait of Justus Lipsius **P** (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus) 132
Portrait of Empress Maria **P** 31
Portrait of Maria de' Medici **P** 31
Portrait of Don Gaspar de Guzman, Count of Olivares and Duke of Sanlúcar **E** 7
Portrait of Philip II on Horseback **P** (Madrid, Prado) 7
Portrait of Philip IV **P** 31
Portrait of Philip IV on Horseback **P** (lost) 29, 65, 83–84
Portrait of Nicolaas Rockox **P** (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) 72, 149
Peter Paul Rubens with Friends **P** (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum) 131, 151
Portrait of Brigida Spinola-Doria **D** (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) 29, 100, 173
Portrait of Veronica Spinola-Doria **P** (Karlsruhe, Staatliche Kunsthalle) 173
Portrait of Théodore Turquet de Mayerne **P** 31
Portrait of an Architect or Geographer **P** (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 21, 151, 183
Portrait of a Boy **D** (Vienna, Albertina) 8
Portrait of a Carmelite Monk **P** (Lord Plunket) 76
Portrait of a Girl **P** (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) 8
Three Horsemen **P** (formerly Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum) 30, 36, 65, 84; fig.4
Portrait of a Lady **P** (Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art) 76–77
 —**P** (Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation) 102, 109
 —**P** (New York, Metropolitan Museum) 100
Portrait of a Young Lady in a Fur **P** (after Titian) (Brisbane, Queensland Art Gallery) 92–93
Portrait of a Man **P** (Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet) 72
Portrait of a Man in Korean Costume **D** (Malibu, Getty Museum) 193–194, 197
Portrait of a Soldier **P** (Leningrad, Hermitage) 204

TITLE-PAGES

- Title-page for S. Asterii Amaseae Homiliae* **E** 139
Title-page for Legatus Frederici de Marselaer **E** 133
Title-page for Senecae Opera Omnia **E** 130, 132

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.

- Aeschines* (antique sculpture) 79
Agnew's 149-150
Airoldi, Monsignore 152
Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet 72
Albert, Archduke of Austria 35-47, 68, 134, 136, 184, 202
Albertine, Princess of Sweden 164
Alcantara, d' 105
Alciati, Andrea 132, 163
Aldenham, Lord 119-121
Alvin, L. 140
Amsterdam
 Augustinian Convent 149
 Rembrandthuis 107
Anne, Queen of Great Britain 78
Anschütz-Kämpfe 181-182
Anthoine, J.-B. 92
Antwerp
 Churches and Convents
 Alexians 127-128
 Capuchins 71
 Cathedral 75
 Dominicans 139-141
 Jesuits 157
 St Joris 189-191
 St Michiels 83, 179-180, 204-206
 Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
 72, 88, 147, 149, 173, 178, 205
 Museum Plantin-Moretus 132, 138-139
 Rubenshuis 79, 85, 131, 137
 Stadsarchief 76, 148
 Stedelijk Prentenkabinet 69
Appleby Bros. 39
Arany, F. 158
Arenberg, Charles d' 54
Arenberg, Dukes and Princes of 53, 129-130, 144, 158
Arundel, Alethea Talbot, Countess of 47-52
Arundel, Thomas Howard, Earl of 48-52
Ascher, Martin 125
Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony 175
Aylesford, Earl of 168
Baillie 196-197
Bakel, Tinus van 60
Balme, Edward 203-204
Baltimore, The Baltimore Museum of Art 76
Bancroft, Mrs L.M. 111
Banks, T. 170
Barberini, Cardinal Antonio 63
Barck, Count Nils 165
Barea, Heliodorus de 52-54
Barea, Marcellianus de 52-54
Barnard, John 160, 196
Bass 153
Baudius, Dominicus 164
Baudouin, Roland 88, 162
Baugy 123
Bavaria, Electors of 59, 144, 203
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat 194
Beckerath, Adolf von 168
Beeckmans 105-107
Bellegambe, Jean 191-192, 198
Bellesi, Rita 183
Bentinck-Thyssen, Baroness Gabriele 47
Berckel, Count Anton Franz 184-185
Bergh, Count Hendrik van den 53
Bergh, N. van den 127, 140-141
Berghe, A. de 120
Berlin
 Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum 87
 Royal Museum 103
Bermann, Hans 66
Bermond, François 153
Bernard, J. 97
Berners 183
Bernini, Gianlorenzo
 Portrait of Thomas Baker (sculpture), London, Victoria and Albert Museum 79
 Portrait of Charles I (sculpture), lost 29
Bernouilli, Dr 149
Beuningen, D.G. van 90, 97, 111
Beurnonville, De 114
Bianchi, Ercole 41
Birtschansky 57
Bishtovius, Cornelius 202
Blacket, Sir Douglas 140

- Blaisel, Marquis de 60
 Blaker, Hugh 54
 Blamire, George 181
 Blumenreich, Leo 142
 Boeckhorst, Jan 149, 171, 191
 Boer, P. de 62, 85
 Boessière-Thiennes, Marquis de la 40, 42
 Bogiano, Duchesse de 142
 Böhler, Julius 47, 83, 112
 Bolswert 112
 Bolton, Eugène 75
 Bonaparte, Lucien 90
 Bonnemaïson 145
 Booth, Ralph H. 84
 Borden, M. C. D. 139
 Borrekens, Jan-Baptist 60-62
 Bosman, Cornelius 134
 Bosman, Olga 134
 Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum 80
 Boström, Sven 134
 Bottenwieser, Paul 47, 127
 Bourilly, Boniface 153
 Bourilly, Michel 153
 Boursault, Mme 107
 Boydell, J. 155
 Bradbury, L. R. 149
 Brandt, Mortimer 85
 Brant, Isabella 54-58, 124, 176, 178
 Brant, Jan II 58-59, 162, 164, 180
 Braun, Adam 91
 Breyll, Sara 71-73
 Bienen van de Grootelindt, Baron van 183
 Brisbane, Queensland Art Gallery 93
 Bristol, Marquess of 84
 Broemmé, E. N. 105
 Bromberg, Martin 148
 Brouwer, Adriaan 71
 Brueghel, Ambrosius 60-61
 Brueghel, Catharina 60, 62
 Brueghel, Jan I 41, 44, 60-62
 The Allegory of Sight, Madrid, Prado 35-36, 39,
 41; fig. 3
 Brueghel, Jan II 62
 Brueghel, Pieter I 61
 Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Dukes of 185
 Brussels
 Church of the Discalced Carmelites 182
 Dominican Church 181
 Musées des Beaux-Arts de Belgique 37, 43, 150
 Bryan 203
 Buccleuch, Duke of 134
 Buchenau 175
 Buckingham, George Villiers, First Duke of
 62-67, 76, 187
 Buckingham, George Villiers, Second Duke of
 64
 Bucquoy, Charles de Longueval, Count of 67-70
 Bunbury, Sir Henry Edward 188
 Burg Berger, Eric 149
 Cacault 57
 Cachiopin, Jacomo de 70-71
 Cachiopin de la Redo, Jan-Baptista 70
 Calvert Eden, Sir Timothy 40, 42
 Calza, Anna E. 162
 Cambacérès 120
 Cambó, Francisco 47
 Campiglia, G. B. 151
 Cannon, Foster 129
 Canza, Doña Ludovica 199
 Caravaggio 21
 Cardijn 140
 Cardon, C.-L. 83, 155, 174-175
 Carleton, Sir Dudley 50, 155
 Carol I, King of Rumania 165
 Carracci, Annibale 21
 Portrait of Claudio Merulo, Naples, Museo di
 Capodimonte 116
 Caspari 87, 175
 Castiglioni, Camillo 179
 Catherine II, Empress of Russia 70
 Cavens, Count 99
 Chalette, Jean 156
 Champagne, Philippe de
 Portrait of Richelieu from three Angles, London,
 National Gallery 29
 Charles I, King of Great Britain 26, 62, 79, 92,
 96, 153, 155-157, 159, 193, 197
 Charles V, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire
 120
 Charles, Duke of Lorraine 101
 Chenay, Paul 165
 Chifflet, Philippe 120
 Child, Sir Francis 64
 Chrysler, Walter, Jr. 41
 Clarisse, Louijs 71
 Clarisse, Marie 71
 Clarisse, Rogier 71-73
 Clark, H. M. 66
 Clarke, C. B. O. 170
 Clarke, L. C. G. 129, 170
 Clavering, William A. 129
 Cleve, Joos van 150
 Clive, Lord 56
 Clos, Claude-Joseph 63
 Coats, J. A. 60
 Coats, W. A. 60

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Cobenzl, Count Karl 70
 Coclers, L.C. 204
 Coelemans, Jacques 189
 Coello, Sanchez 185
 Coen, Jean De 66, 128
 Cogels 40, 42
 Colen, Gisbert van 87-88, 93, 165
 Collin, Richard 181-182
 Colnaghi 116, 118, 125, 154
 Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum 131, 151
 Colonna, Ascanio 180
 Condé, Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency, Princess of 73-75
 Condé, Eléonore de 74-75
 Condé, Louis II, Prince of 74
 Cook, Sir Francis 124
 Cook, Sir Frederick 124
 Cook, Sir Herbert 124
 Cooper, R. 108
 Coppet, André de 154
 Cortenbach 135
 Cosimo II, Grand Duke of Tuscany 192
 Cosimo III, Grand Duke of Tuscany 56, 151-154
 Cossée de Maulde, Vicomte 128
 Cosway, Maria 98
 Cosway, R. 98, 118
 Cotton, W. 181
 Court, Jean de la 75-76
 Crayer, Gaspar de 36-37, 40-41, 202
 Portrait of Albert, Archduke of Austria, Sao Paulo, Museo de Bellas Artes 37-38; fig.6
 Crosby, F.W. 183
 Croy, Geneviève d'Urfé, Duchess of 77
 Crozat, Pierre 52, 157, 164
 Cumberland, Duchess of 60-61
 Currie, Bertram 37
 Cuyp, J.G.
 Family Portrait, Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts 173
 Cuypers de Rijmenam, Count de 101
 Czernin 173
- Dacre, Lady 49
 Danby, Lord 155, 157
 Darnley, Lord 169
 Daullé, J. 176
 Dauzel 176
 Davenport Bromley 72
 Deffett Francis, J. 99
 Delff, Willem
 Portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (engraving after Michiel Mierevelt) 63
 Portrait of Sir Dudley Carleton (engraving after Michiel Mierevelt) 50; fig.30
- Demarteau, Gilles 165
 Demidoff de San Donato, Prince 183
 Denain, Mme 139
 Descamps 40, 42
 Devéria, Achille 162
 Dickinson, William 78-79
 Didier, Henry 139
 Diemen, Van 190
 Diepenbeeck, Abraham van 66
 Dik, Jan 175
 Dollfuss, J. 114
 Doort, Abraham van der 155
 Douai, Jesuit Convent 191-192
 Douwes 135
 Draeck, Cornelia 145
 Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett 69
 Duarte, Diego 149
 Duarte, Juffrouw 152
 Dubreuil 175
 Duits and Co. 129
 Dulière, Gaston 139-140
 Dupuy, Pierre 126, 147, 185-186
 Dürer, Albrecht 27
 The Loving Couple (engraving) 172-173
 Durré, Mme 119
 Dusart 140
 Dutuit 69
 Dyck, Anthony van 28, 37, 48-50, 72, 77-80, 112-114, 116-120, 133-135, 152-154, 156, 170, 192, 196-200, 202
 Portrait of Isabella Brant, Washington, National Gallery of Art 54, 58; fig.37
 Portrait of Jan Brueghel the Elder (etching) 61; fig.45
 Portrait of Jacomo de Cachipin 71
 Portrait of Charles I from three Angles, London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collections 29
 Portrait of Geneviève d'Urfé, Duchess of Croy 77
 Portrait of the Infanta Isabella in the Habit of a Poor Clare, Turin, Galleria Sabauda 37, 120
 Portrait of Frederik van Martselaer, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 134; fig.141
 Portrait of Jan van Montfort, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 136-137; fig.148
 Portrait of Erycius Puteanus, Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 69
 Portrait of Robert Shirley, Petworth, Lord Leconfield 146
 Portrait of Jan Wildens 200
 Portrait of a Family, London, Somerville and Simpson 62
 Dyck, Theodoor van 78

- Eccardt, J. 170
 Eden, Sir Timothy Calver 186
 Egremont, Lord 203
 Eld, Major R.E. 112
 Ellesmere, Francis Egerton, First Lord 98
 Ely, Marquess of 144
 Engell, Terry 40
 Erard, Chevalier 112
 Erasmus, Kurt 47
 Esdaile, W. 97
 Essex, Earl of 60
 Esterházy, Prince Nicholas 80
 Evens, Edgar 167
 Eyck, Jan van
 Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and his Wife,
 London, National Gallery 163
 Eyl Sluyter, Hendrik van 195
- Faber, Johannes 138
 Fabre, François-X.-P. 112
 Fabri-Bourilly, Gaspard de 153
 Fabri-Bourilly, Honoré-Sauveur de 153
 Fabri-Bourilly, Michel de 153
 Facius, J.G. 57, 155
 Faille, R. della 127
 Falckenstain 136
 Falvy, A. 154
 Ferdinand, Cardinal Infante of Spain 80-87, 92
 Ferdinand II, Emperor of the Holy Roman
 Empire 67, 69
 Ferdinand III, Emperor of the Holy Roman
 Empire 116
 Flachenecker, Wolfgang 162
 Fleitmann, F.T. 53
 Florence
 Palazzo Pitti 56, 94, 136
 Uffizi 126
 Floris, Frans 23
 Fogg, A. 133
 Fontainebleau, Castle 167
 Fontana, P. 89
 Forchondt, Marcus 185
 Fortescue, Sir John 43
 Fossard 90
 Foster, J. 107
 Fourment, Clara 116-119
 Fourment, Daniël 117
 Fourment, Hélène 87-103
 Fraikin, Dr 82
 Francken, Frans I 112-113
 Francken, Frans II and Pourbus, Frans II
 Ball at the Court of Albert and Isabella,
 The Hague, Mauritshuis 74; *fig.65*
- Franklyn, Leo 165
 Fraula, comte de 63
 Frederick, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia
 181
 Frederick II, King of Prussia 103
 Fréminet, Martin 157
 Friedmann, Dr 127
 Friedsam, Michael 112
 Fries, Count Moriz von 90
- Galle, Cornelis 139, 179-180, 202
 Galton, Major Howard 85
 Gauchez, Léon 116, 118
 Geddes, Andrew 108
 Genoa
 Palazzo Bianco 204
 Palazzo Carrega 136-137
 George III, King of Great Britain 43
 Georg IV, King of Great Britain 107
 Gevaerts, Anna 113-114
 Gevartius, Jan 115-116
 Gevartius, Jan-Caspar 83, 113-116, 121-123, 138,
 156
 Gianni, F. 95
 Gillès, Philippe 113
 Glanusk, Lord 54
 Glenorchy, Lord 123
 Gliboff 105
 Glückselig 80
 Godefroy, Charles 63
 Godlewski, Julian 124-125
 Goering, Herrmann 175
 Goldammer, von 39
 Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Baron Albert von
 116, 118
 Goldschmidt-Rothschild, Baron Max von 116,
 118
 Goldsmith, Walter 42
 Goldtschmidt, Léopold 153
 Goltzius, Hendrik 23, 201
 Portrait of Justus Lipsius (engraving) 132
 Gómez, Don Enrique 73
 Gonzaga 126
 Goudstikker, Jacques 75
 Grambs, Dr 112
 Grandidier, Ernest 143
 Gray, Edward 110
 Gregori, C. 151
 Gregori, F. 129
 Greyfié de Bellecombe, Louis 153
 Grote, Baron von 116, 118
 Grotius, Hugo 132, 203
 Gutekunst, Mrs 125-126

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Haas McMath, Constance 66
Haberstock, Karl 39
Hackenbroich 116, 118
The Hague, Mauritshuis 74
Hal, J. van 174
Halen, Theresia van 127
Hambro, Sir Eric 190
Hapsburg 121
Hardwicke, Earl of 183
Haren, Groot-Seminarie 142
Harewood, Earl of 47
Harvey, Henry 88
Harvey, Thomas 106
Havemeyer, H. O. 123
Havre, van 107
Havre, Jean-Michel-Antoine-Joseph van 107
Havre, Jean-Michel-Joseph van 107
Hecke, Peter van 48, 92, 116-119
Heemskerck, Maarten van 23
Portrait of Jerusalem Pilgrims, Haarlem, Frans
Hals Museum 147
Heinemann, Dr 187
Hellich, J. A. 35
Hémé, Mme 175
Hennequin, Mattheus 154
Heseltine, J. P. 90
Hess, Carl 162
Hevesy, André de 82
Heyden, J. van der 123
Hickman 88
Highmore, Joseph 175
Hines, Ralph J. 86
Hoare, Eustace 93
Hobhouse, Arthur 196
Hobhouse, Eliza 196
Hobhouse, Henry 196
Hoet, Gerard 145
Holbein, Hans
Portrait of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey
79
Holford, George Lindsay 83, 101
Holford, L. R. S. 56, 101
Hollar, Wenzel 158
Hollitscher, Carl von 179
Honthorst, Gerard 41
Shepherdess, Utrecht, Centraal Museum 107
Hoofman 88
Hoogendijk 127-128
Hoof, A. van der 90
Howard Bartol, Elizabeth 60
Huck, J. G. 155
Hudson, T. 95, 97, 118, 160, 170, 181, 190
Hughes, Frances L. 183
Huquier, G. 90
Infantado, Dukes of 73
Isaacz, Isaac 37
Isabella, Infanta of Spain 36, 119-123, 125, 136,
141, 181-182, 184
Islington, Lady 181
James I, King of Great Britain 62
James II, King of Great Britain 78-79
Jamesone, George 77
Janssens, Abraham
Portrait of Justus Lipsius 130
Jeffery 35
Jegher, Christoffel 169-170
Jersey and Westmoreland, Earls of 64
Jode, Pieter II de 40, 42-43, 135, 184, 186, 202
Portrait of Erycius Puteanus (engraving) 69
Johann-Wilhelm Elector Palatine 48, 99, 151,
153, 162, 189
Johnson, Harry A. 134
Jolles, J. A. 196
Joly, Hugues-Adrien 203
Jordaens, Jacob 64
As the Old Sang ..., Antwerp, Koninklijk Mu-
seum voor Schone Kunsten 88
St Martin Healing a Possessed Man, Brussels,
Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
150
Juana, Infanta 120
Jullienne, J. de 164-165
Kabrun 88
Kann, Rodolphe 148
Kappel, Marcus 54, 169
Karlsson, Harry 88
Kat, H. de 196
Katz, A. 139
Kay, Mrs 77
Kaye, F. B. 129
Kent, Anthony, Duke of 137, 139
Kent, Earl of 139
Keyser, N. de 175-176
Kimbell, Velma 77
Kinsschot, Ambrosius 113-114
Kinsschot, Marie de 113-114
Kisters, Heinz 85, 135
Klein, O. 72
Kleinberger 40, 112
Knoedler 81
Knyff, de 162
Koenigs, F. 90, 97, 111, 142-143
Koenigswarter, Baron 133
Koetser 190

- Koetser, David M. 84-85
 Koetser, Leonard F. 37, 86, 124
 Kraemer, Eugène 82, 153
 Kretschmer, Otto 42
 Kupper 134
- Labia, Princess 174
 Ladislas-Sigismund, Prince, later King of Poland
 123-125
 Lamm, C.R. 129
 Lancellottus, Henricus 149-150
 Langlade, Sylvie de 66
 Lankrink, P.H. 55-56, 170
 Lantsheer, W. 196
 Largillière, Nicolas de
Portrait of a Man in Persian Costume, Brunswick,
 Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 146-147
 Lauwers, Nicolaas 53-54
 Lauzière, Mme de la 153
 Lawrence, Sir Thomas 57, 90, 98, 160
 Lawson Peacock, W. 129
 Lebel 72
 Lebrun, J.B. 145
 Leconfield, Lord 203-204
 Leembruggen 88
 Leganés, Don Diego de Guzmán, Marquess of
 73-75, 84, 121, 125-127, 185, 187
 Leningrad, Hermitage 148, 204
 Leopold II, King of the Belgians 112
 Leopold-Wilhelm, Archduke of Austria 134-136
 Leuchtenberg, Eugène de Beauharnais, Duke of
 187
 Lewis, Charles W. 174
 Lewis, Edward A. 174
 Liechtenstein, Princes of 80, 175
 Lilienfeld 173
 Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts 173
 Linden, Jan van der 127-128
 Lipsius, Justus 71, 128-132, 178, 180
 Lisbon, Gulbenkian Foundation 102, 109
 Liss, Johann 173
 Live de Jully, de la 95
 Lommel, Laurentius van 143
 Lommelin, Adriaan
Epitaph of Jan Gevertius (engraving after Eras-
 mus Quellinus II) 116
 London
 Bridgewater House 98
 Buckingham Palace 153
 Carleton House 78, 107, 153
 Kensington Palace 78, 153
 National Gallery 38, 72, 75, 124
 St James's Palace 153
 Victoria and Albert Museum 79
 Wallace Collection 172
 Whitehall 153
 York House 64-65
 Longford Castle 35
 Longhi, G.P. 145
 Longueval, Charles Albert de 68-69
 Louis XIV, King of France 74
 Louis XVI, King of France 95
 Lucas, Baroness 137, 139
 Luise-Ulrike, Queen of Sweden 164
 Lunden 107, 109, 119
 Lunden, Arnold 63, 104-107, 109, 119, 132-133
 Lunden, Arnold-Albert 104-107
 Lunden, Catharina 104
 Lunden, Cathérine-A.M. 107
 Lunden, Willem 104-107
 Lutley, Col. J.T. 107
 Lyndhurst, Eric 47
- Madrid
 Alcázar 44, 82, 189
 Archiepiscopal Palace 82
 Palacio Nuevo 82
 Prado 35, 39, 41, 92, 111, 132, 169
 Maile, Georges 105
 Makart, Hans Senior 173
 Makart, Hans Junior 173
 Malcolm, W. 88, 95
 Malden, Sarah 60-61
 Maleingreau d'Hembise, A. de 186
 Malibu, The J.P. Getty Museum 193-194, 197
 Maltz, B.N. 72
 Mantua, Palazzo Ducale 126
 Mariette, P.-J. 203
 Marlatt, William H. 54
 Marlborough, Dukes of 41, 98, 155, 170
 Marlborough, John Churchill, First Duke of 40,
 98, 100, 170, 172
 Marneffe, P.J. de 114
 Martselaer, Frederik van 133-134
 Maryadale of Islay, Lord 73
 Masson, H.J. 135
 Master of the Hausbuch
Loving Couple (engraving) 163
 Mathiesen 125
 Mattheys-Smets, Mr and Mrs A. 127
 Matthijs, Abraham 151
 Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria 87-88, 93, 165
 Maximilian, Archduke of Austria 134-136
 Maximilian I, Duke of Bavaria 181-182
 Maximilian II, Emperor of the Holy Roman
 Empire 35-36, 134

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Mayer, W. 57
Mazarin, Cardinal 81
McArdell, J. 170
Mecklenburg, Henry, Grand Duke of 179
Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Grand-Dukes of 66, 99
Medici, Cardinal Leopoldo de' 62, 152
Medici, Maria de', Queen of France 74
Meester, Alberic de 139
Merlen, Louis Jacob van 64
Mérode, Count de 40, 42
Mersch, Dr Paul 144
Metcalfe, Henry 124
Metcalfe, Philip 124
Metsijs, Quinten 150
 Portrait of Erasmus, Rome, Palazzo Barberini 115
 Portrait of Petrus Aegidius, Longford Castle, Lord Radnor 115
Meulemeester, M. de 108
Meurs, Jan van 182
Meysens, Jan 43
Michelangelo 21, 157
 Tomb projects for Pope Julius II 69
Michieli, Antonio 154
Michielsz., Cornelis 178
Mierevelt, Michiel
 Portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham 63
 Portrait of Sir Dudley Carleton 50
 Portrait of Ambrogio Spinola 25, 185
Millais, J.E. 57
Mocchi, Francesco
 Portrait of Richelieu (sculpture) 29
Moeremans d'Emaus, G. 40, 42
Mont, Frederick W. 77
Monte, Clara del 104
Montfort, Jan van 136-137
Montglat, Marquis de 82
More, Sir Thomas 115
Moreelse, Paulus
 Shepherdesses 107
Morel, A. 129
Morel de Vindé 160
Moreno, Daniel 142
Moretus, Balthasar 7, 113, 132, 137-138
Morley, C.L. 85
Mörner, Count Axel 45
Moro, Antonio 25, 128, 185
 Portrait of Jerusalem Pilgrims, Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 147
Morrens 182
Morrison 73
Müller, G.A. 176
Muller, Jan 38, 40, 45-46
Munich
 Alte Pinakothek 39, 149, 203
 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 134
 Hofgartengalerie 59, 87-88, 93, 99, 144, 162, 165, 203
Musson, Matthijs 172
Mytens, Daniël
 Portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, The Duke of Norfolk 48, 51
 Portrait of Aethea Talbot, Countess of Arundel, The Duke of Norfolk 25, 48, 50-51; fig.23
Naples, Museo di Capodimonte 72
Nardus, Leo 47
Nassau, Philip-William, Count of 75
Neeld, Sir Audley 84, 144
Neeld, L.W. 84
Neeld, W. 144
Neuerburg, August 58, 80
Neuerburg, Gottfried 58
Neuville, Mme de 107
Newhouse Galleries 183
Newton, Arthur U. 72
New York, Metropolitan Museum 100, 115, 151
Niarchos, Stavros 158
Nicholson, A.L. 72, 83, 139
Nieuwenhuys, L.J. 107
Nieuwenhuys, M.J.L. 179
Nonnius, Ludovicus 137-139
Norfolk, Dukes of 56
Norfolk, Thomas Howard, Duke of 51, 154
Normand, C. 129
Northwick, Lord 107, 129
Nostitz 184
Nostitz, Count Anton Johann 184-185
Nottingham, Earl of 65
Núñez, Alvaro 138
O'Brien, Donough 60
Ohlsen 35
Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán, Count of Olivares and Duke of Sanlúcar 85
Olivares, Miguel de 82, 84
Ophovius, Michaël 139-144
Oppenheimer, F. 78
Orde, Sir Charles 39
Overlaet, Antonis 107, 127
Paignon-Dijonval 160
Pálffy, Count János 42

- Palmer, Sir James 63
Panneels, Willem 158-159
Pantoja de la Cruz, Juan
Portrait of the Infanta Isabella, Munich, Alte
Pinakothek 39
Paradisi, L. 129
Paris
Musée du Louvre 27, 85, 94, 96, 131, 167
Musée National 97
Palais du Luxembourg 83
Parrhasius 177
Passe, Chrispijn II de 142
Passe, Willem de
Portrait of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham
(engraving) 65
Pecquius, Petrus 144-145
Peel, Robert 107
Peeters d'Aertselaer, J.E. 144-145, 179
Peiresc, Nicolas Claude Fabri de 153, 156
Peltzer, Rudolf 145
Philip III, King of Spain 68, 124
Philip IV, King of Spain 26, 82, 84, 92, 125-126
Philipe, T. 196
Picart, Michel 172-173
Picqueri, Nicolaas 156-157
Pierpont Morgan, J. 81, 200
Pietro, Marquis de 162
Pilaer 105-107
Pliny the Elder 177
Ploos van Amstel, Cornelis 165
Plunket, Lord 76
Poggio a Cajano, Castle 56
Pontius, Paulus 83, 114-115, 120-121, 123, 154,
156-157, 184
The Bust of Hippocrates (engraving) 139
Portrait of Jan Wildens (engraving, after
Anthony van Dyck) 200
Potsdam-Sanssouci, Bildergalerie 154
Pourbus, Frans II 22, 74-75
Portrait of the Infanta Isabella 43
Poynter, Sir J.E. 170
Prague, Hradschin 45
Preisler, G.M. 151
Prenner, A.J. 91, 159
Puteanus, Erycius 156, 202
- Quellinus, Erasmus II 36, 116, 137-139
Quellinus, Jan-Erasmus 60
- Radnor, Earls of 35, 66
Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 69
Randon de Boisset 95
- Raphael 21, 27, 157
Madonna della Sedia, Florence, Palazzo Pitti
27, 94
Portrait of Pope Julius II, London, National
Gallery 72
Portrait of Pope Leo X with two Cardinals,
Florence, Uffizi 131
Ravesteyn, J.A. van 178
Reiset, J. 114
Rembrandt 146
Aristotle, New York, Metropolitan Museum
115
Renate, Archduchess of Austria 124
Respaigne, Nicolaas de 145-147
Reynolds, Sir Joshua 81, 106, 109, 170, 190
Reynolds, S.W. 108
Ricci, Matteo 194
Richardson, Jonathan Senior 55-56, 95, 97, 118,
160, 170, 181, 190, 196
Ricketts 57
Ridder, A. de 112
Ridgway, Captain 129
Ridley, Viscount 72
Rinckens, Gaspar 76, 148
Robiano, de 40, 42
Robinson, Charles 133
Robinson, J.C. 35, 174
Rockox, Nicolaas 138, 149
Rogers, C. 181
Rombault, Remy de 191, 198
Roore, Antonius de 149-151
Roose 113-114
Roose, Jan 113-114
Rosenberg 54, 121
Rosso Fiorentino
Vertumnus and Pomona, Fontainebleau, Castle,
Pavillon de Pomone 167
Rota, Martino
Portrait of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria,
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 135;
fig. 144
Rothmann 87, 175
Rothschild, Baron Alphonse de 98, 170
Rothschild, Baron Edouard de 98, 116, 118, 170
Rothschild, Baronne Germaine de 170
Rothschild, Baron Guy de 98
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans 127, 142, 148
Roux-Alpheran 153
Rovere, della 126
Roxard de la Salle 66
Rubempré, Prince de 158
Rubens, Albert 59, 104, 114, 175-179
Rubens, Clara-Johanna 90, 94-96
Rubens, Clara-Serena 58

- Sutherland Gower, Lord Ronald 57
 Suyderhoef, J. 40, 42-43, 135
 Sylva, V.D. 140
 Sylvester, P. 98
- Tampé, Mme 154
 Tartre, du 90
 Teixeira de Mattos, J. H. 127
 Tempesta, Antonio 36
 Teniers, David II 60-62, 140, 145
The Art Gallery of Archduke Leopold-Wilhelm,
 Schleissheim, Castle 135; fig.145
Company in a Garden, London, Edgar Evens
 Collection 167
 Tessin, Count Carl Gustav 52, 164, 195
 Thane, J. 118
 Thaw, Eugène V. 165
 Thibaudeau, Count Adolphe 165
 Thiermann, A.-G. 151
 Thilemans 53
 Thornhill, James 55-56
 Thorpe, Thomas 66
 Thulden, Hendrik van 189-191
 Thulden, Theodoor van 64, 82
 Thun, Count 66
 Thurn and Taxis 181
 Thyssen 62, 121
 Thyssen-Bornemisza, Baron Heinrich 47
 Tilly, Jean t'Serclaes, Count of 181
 Tintoretto, Jacopo 36
 Titian 22, 24, 26-28, 30, 50, 68, 157
*Allegory of Love (So-called Portrait of Marquis
 del Vasto)*, Paris, Musée du Louvre 27, 94, 96
Portrait of Pietro Bembo, Washington, National
 Gallery of Art 141
Portrait of Charles V on Horseback, Madrid,
 Prado 84
Portrait of Charles V with Upraised Sword 26,
 80, 124
Portrait of Johann-Friedrich, Elector of Saxony,
 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 189
*Portrait of Johann-Friedrich, Elector of Saxony, in
 Armour* 190
Portrait of Pope Paul III, Naples, Museo di Capodimonte 72
Portrait of Francesco della Rovere, Duke of Urbino,
 Florence, Uffizi 26, 126
Portrait of Fabrizio Salvaresio, Vienna, Kunst-
 historisches Museum 26, 137, 147
Young Lady in a Fur, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
 Museum 92
 Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art 171-
 173
- Torrey, H.N. 186
 Tournai, Abbey of St Martin 149-151
 Towney, C. 151
 Trigault, Nicolas 191-198
 Trotti 123
 Trumbull, William 155
 Turin, Galleria Sabauda 37
 Turner, J.M.W. 108
 Turnhout, Museum Taxandria 116
 Turquet de Mayerne, Théodore 26, 27, 115, 138,
 152
 Tuscany, Grand-Dukes of 120, 128
- Upper Ossory, Earl of 47, 81
 Urquijo, Marquess 129
 Utrecht, Centraal Museum 107
- Vaillant, Wallerant 122
 Valavez, Palamède de Fabri, Sieur de 155
 Vaudreuil, Comte de 95
 Veen, Otto van 21, 22
Portrait of Albert, Archduke of Austria, Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum 38
Portrait of Albert, Archduke of Austria 37
 Vega, Lope de 84
 Velázquez, Diego de Silva y 86
Venus Pudica (antique sculpture) 27, 92-93
 Vercellini, Francesco 49-50
 Verdussen, F.A. 127
 Vergelo, M. van 133
 Verhoeff 154
 Verhoeven, Abraham II 122
 Vermeer Galleries 56
 Vermeyen, Jan Cornelisz. 141
 Vermoelen, Jan 198-200
 Vernon, Captain B.C. 125
 Vernon, Greville Richard 81
 Vernon, Robert 81
 Veronese, Paolo 22, 28
 Verstolk-van Soelen, J.G. 140
 Vienna
 Albertina 127
 Galerie Sankt-Lucas 121
 Imperial Collection 159
 Kunsthistorisches Museum 38, 135-137, 189
 Neue Galerie 99
 Vinci, Leonardo da
Pointing Lady (drawing), Windsor Castle, Royal
 Collection 92
 Vinck de Wesel, J.F. de 139, 141
 Vischer, J.C. 122
 Vischere, Peter de 136

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Rubens, Frans 93-100
 Rubens, Isabella-Helena 94, 97
 Rubens, Nicolaas 175-179
 Rubens, Philip 128-132, 139, 170, 172-173, 179-181
 Ruffo de Bonneval, vicomte de 40
 Russell, W. 118
 Ruzzola, Domingo 181-182
- Sabin, Frank 60
 Sachsen-Teschen, Albert, Duke of 63, 102, 109, 126, 158, 178-179
 Sachsen-Weimar, Grand-Dukes of 143
 Sadeler, Egidius
 Portrait of Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy (engraving) 69; fig. 57
 Safarik, Eduard 18
 Salamanca, Marquis of 73-74
 Salomon, Bernard 164
 San Carlos, Duke of 129
 Sandby, P. 98
 São Paulo, Museo de Bellas Artes 37-38
 Sarasota, The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art 163
 Sartiges, Gilberte de 153
 Sartiges, vicomte Louis de 153
 Savel, Van den 140
 Saxony, Electors of 40, 42, 95
 Schamp d'Aveschoot 101, 106, 119, 158, 181
 Scherpenbergh, J.B. van 53
 Schiavonetti, L. 98
 Schilders, Robert 68
 Schleisheim, Castle 59, 87-88, 93, 135, 165
 Schlichting, Baron de 110
 Schmidt, B. 40
 Schmuzer, J. 95
 Schoen, Carl 173
 Schön, A. 203
 Schönborn, Counts of 83
 Schorel, van 119
 Schulthess, M. 149
 Scorel, Jan van 128
 Portraits of Jerusalem Pilgrims 147
 Scripps, William E. 179
 Sebright, Sir Giles 136-137
 Sebright, Sir Thomas 136-137
 Sedelmayer, Charles 60, 81, 133, 148
 Seilern, Count Antoine 60, 101, 136-137
 Semeonoff 80
 Seneca (so-called) (antique sculpture), Antwerp, Rubenshuis 131
 Shannon 57
 Shepherd Bros. 133
- Shrewsbury, Gilbert Talbot, Earl of 48
 Sidmouth, Lady 196
 Siete Yglesias, Marquis of 38
 Sigismund III, King of Poland 124
 Silvani, Gaetano 204
 Simon, Norton 121
 Simpson 62
 Sivory, Carel-Jacob de 113-114
 Sjöstrand, A.W. 142
 Slowak, H.S. de 39
 Smirnoff 80
 Smith 181
 Smith, John 90, 107
 Snyders, Frans 92
 Snyers, P.J. 127
 Socin, Abel 183
 Solly, Edward 47
 Somerville 62
 Son, Nicolas de
 Garden of Love (etching after Johann Liss) 173
 Sophocles (antique sculpture) 79
 Soutman, Pieter 43, 88, 135
 Souza, de 196
 Speelman, E. 42
 Spencer, Earl 55-56
 Spink 47
 Spinola, Ambrogio 120, 126, 184-188
 Spira, Petrus de 191-194, 198
 Spoelberch, vicomtesse de 116, 118
 Stafford, William Howard, Viscount of 48, 51
 Stampart, F. von 91
 Stanislas-Augustus, King of Poland 91, 188
 Stappaert, Elisabeth 146
 Stappaert, Orlandus 146
 Stenbock, Count Gustav 164-165
 Stern 154
 Stern, Louis 66
 Sternberg, Counts 35
 Stiebel 54, 121
 Stier d'Aertselaer, Henri-Joseph 107, 110, 139-140, 179
 Stockholm, Royal Library 52
 Storffer 91
 Stradanus, Johannes
 Julius Caesar (engraving) 36
 Strathmore, Earl of 47
 Stroganoff 158
 Strutt, Joseph 85
 Suermondt, B. 143
 Sunderland, Earls of 40
 Šurmacki, J. 123
 Sustermans, Justus
 Portrait of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, Florence, Palazzo Pitti 136

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

- Voet, Alexander 122, 152
 Vorsterman, Lucas 26, 67, 69-71, 80, 124, 135
 Portrait of Charles de Longueval, Count of Bucquoy
 (engraving) 70; fig. 58
 Portrait of Jacomo de Cachiopin (engraving after
 Van Dyck) 71
 Vos, Cornelis de 37, 42, 60-62, 115-116, 144,
 149-151
 Portrait of Frans Francken the Elder and his Wife,
 whereabouts unknown 112
 Portrait of a Family, Antwerp, Koninklijk Mu-
 seum voor Schone Kunsten 178
 Vos, Maarten de 40, 42
 Vos, Paul de 65
 Vos, Simon de 40, 42
 Vriendt, Michiel 113
 Vries, Abraham de 156
 Vuyk, Jadwiga 57
- Waeyenbergh, Mgr H. van 133
 Waha 124
 Wallace, James Hope 86
 Wallis, Dudley 39
 Wallmoden Grimborn, Count 154
 Walrond, Bethell 37
 Wanamaker 41
 Ward, J. 133
 Warnant, Albert 149
 Warneck, Edouard 142
 Warwick Castle 35
 Warwick, Earl of 185
 Washington, National Gallery of Art 55, 100, 141
 Waterlooos, Adriaan
 Portrait Medallion of Johannes Woverius, Brussels,
 Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, Cabinet des
 Médailles 130, 132
- Watteau, Antoine 57, 164-165
 Watts, Simon 160
 Weiss 181
 Weiss, Bartholomeus 162
 Weitzner, J. 41
 Welker 190
 Wentworth, W. V. 125
 Werhashga, Catharina 183
 Wertheimer, O. 119, 122
 Wesselman van Helmond 135
 West, Hans 204
 Widstrand, A. 196
 Wijngaerd, van den 203-204
 Wildens, Jan 200-201
 Wildens, Jeremias 200
 Wildenstein 79
 Wilhelm VIII, Landgraf of Hessen-Cassel 145
 Willeboirts Bosschaert, Thomas 37, 113
 William I, King of the Netherlands 140
 Windsor Castle 92
 Wolfgang-Wilhelm, Count Palatine and Duke of
 Neuburg 201-202
 Woodburn, Samuel 88
 Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum 55
 Wouters, Canon Pierre 158
 Wouwer, Frans van de 202-203
 Wouwer, Louis van de 202
 Woverius, Johannes 71, 128-132
 Wrightsman, C. 170
 Wrzowecz 40, 42
- Yrsselius, Matthaëus 204-206
 Ysendyck, A. van 107
- Zacharias 127