# CORPUS RUBENIANUM

# LUDWIG BURCHARD

## PART XXIV

### THE COSTUME BOOK

KRISTIN LOHSE BELKIN

ARCADE

# CORPUS RUBENIANUM
# LUDWIG BURCHARD

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

# THE COSTUME BOOK

KRISTIN LOHSE BELKIN

⫙

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*To F.G. Grossmann in gratitude*

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# FOREWORD

The reader who is familiar with the organization of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* will have noticed that there is a change in the title of Part XXIV, which is now called *The Costume Book*. In previous announcements it was entitled *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and later Artists* and no separate Part on the *Costume Book* was planned. In fact, it was our intention to include the latter in Part XXIV. However, it appeared that Mrs. Kristin Lohse Belkin's study not only had become more extensive than we had expected but that, moreover, it showed that the copies after earlier models which Rubens has collected in the *Costume Book* have a distinctive character. They are not to be confused with his other copies after works by Renaissance and later artists nor with his adaptations thereof. This consideration has led us to publish the *Costume Book* separately as Part XXIV of the series. Consequently, we had to change the numbering of the subsequent Parts to read as follows :

XXV. COPIES AND ADAPTATIONS FROM RENAISSANCE AND LATER ARTISTS.

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The manuscript of Mrs. Belkin's thorough and original study was submitted in early 1977. Unfortunate circumstances, for which the author was not responsible, have delayed considerably the publication of the present book. Consequently, the literature on Rubens which has appeared since then has not been taken into consideration. We hope that henceforth the publication of the *Corpus Rubenianum* will resume its regular pace.

F. Baudouin

*Keeper of the Art History Museums
of the City of Antwerp*

R.-A. d'Hulst

*President of the "Nationaal Centrum
voor de Plastische Kunsten
van de 16de en de 17de eeuw"*

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*Waagen, Treasures* – G.F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Grait Britain*, I-III, London, 1854.

*Weiditz* – H. Weiditz, *Von der Artzney bayder Glück*, Augsburg, 1532.

*Weigel, 1577* – H. Weigel, *Habitvs praecipvorum popvlorum .... Trachtenbuch*, Nuremberg, 1577, reprint ed. Unterschneidheim, 1969.


EXHIBITIONS:

*London, 1977* – *Rubens, Drawings and Sketches*, British Museum, London, 1977.

# AUTHOR'S PREFACE

This volume consists of an introduction and a *Catalogue raisonné*. The introduction deals with the *Costume Book* as a whole. It is prefaced by a brief discussion on Rubens as a copyist in general. The *Catalogue raisonné* consists of entries for each individual folio as it appears in the present sketch-book. It concludes with the entries of six related sheets which are no longer bound with the book but which I believe to have been part of it originally. Catalogue numbers coincide with folio numbers.

Unlike the previous volumes in the series, this book does not contain any unpublished material from the Burchard documentation. All of Burchard's notes on the *Costume Book* were already included in the detailed and lengthy entry for the *Costume Book* in *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*. However, it has been my privilege, during the writing of this book, to have access to all the Burchard documentation.

I wish to thank Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, President of the 'Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de XVIde en de XVIIde Eeuw' and Frans Baudouin, Keeper of the Kunsthistorische Musea, Antwerp, for their friendly assistance. At the Rubenianum I owe special thanks to Nora De Poorter, Carl Van de Velde, Hans Vlieghe and Paul Huvenne for their generous help and advice.

This manuscript was completed in early 1977. The Rubens literature of that year has not been taken into consideration except where it relates directly to the *Costume Book*, as the British Museum exhibition catalogue.

Much of the *Costume Book* depends upon Antonio de Succa's *Mémoriaux*. Unfortunately, the annotated edition of that work published by the Centre National de Recherches 'Primitifs Flamands', Brussels, appeared after this manuscript was already completed. Because of the significance of a document published for the first time in this edition of the *Mémoriaux*, my biography of de Succa (pp. 34–37) has been modified accordingly. However, no other parts of this edition have been incorporated. In particular the folio numbers for the *Mémoriaux* in my text do not correspond to the new foliation of the annotated edition, but rather to the previous arrangement. The new edition does, however, include a concordance for the two sequences which will serve to minimize this problem.

# INTRODUCTION

## I. RUBENS AS COPYIST

It is well-known that throughout his life Rubens made copies of other artists' works. [1] His wide range of interest is illustrated in the subjects and purposes of these copies which include carefully executed records of antique artifacts for documentary purpose, drawings of classical and Renaissance works of art for his artistic education and as possible source of inspiration, and painted copies after the pictures of the Italian and Northern masters, above all Titian, as expression of his admiration for and affinity with his great predecessors. In the inventory of his estate drawn up after his death were listed no less than thirty-two copies after Titian, nine after Raphael, two after Vermeyen (although at Rubens's time the models were thought to be by Antonis Mor) and one painting each after Tintoretto, Leonardo, Bruegel and Elsheimer. [2] We know that Rubens also painted copies after Mantegna, Caravaggio, Parmigianino, Holbein, Key and others. The presence of most of the painted copies in the inventory suggests that Rubens made them for his personal use. In addition, he executed copies upon commission. While in the service of the Duke of Mantua he seems to have painted copies as gifts for foreign courts. One also has to consider that some of his historical portraits, i.e. portraits of historic personages from earlier portraits might have been done for patrons (e.g., Anna of Hungary, after Hans Maler (cf. under No. 12) and Mulay Ahmed, after Vermeyen).

As well as painted copies which mostly stem from Rubens's later years, he made a vast number of copies in the form of drawings, primarily in his early youth and during his years in Italy. As mentioned above, these can be divided into two groups, those done for documentary purpose and those made for artistic reasons. A passionate archaeologist, Rubens took a keen interest in all relics of the ancient past. He copied Roman armour and weapons, costumes, furniture, vases, coins and cameos. Some of these drawings appear to have been destined for publication, such as those of Roman gems which Rubens, in collaboration with the French archaeologist Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc,

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[1] For an excellent general discussion of this topic, see *Held*, i, pp. 47–61.
[2] See *Denucé, Konstkamers*, pp. 58, 59, Nos. 38–78 and 80; p. 61, Nos. 109 and 119; p. 63, Nos. 148, 149.

planned to use for a book on ancient cameos, a project which never materialized. [3]
A series of drawings from Roman portrait busts as well as coins may have beeen
intended for similar purposes.

The copies of ancient artifacts are outnumbered by those made after classi-
cal sculpture. Like many of his predecessors, such as Jan Gossaert, Marten
van Heemskerck, Lambert Lombard and Frans Floris, Rubens was greatly
attracted by Roman sculpture and studied it carefully, as a whole series of draw-
ings testifies. He copied such famous monuments as the *Laocoön* (in no less
than thirteen drawings), the *Farnese Hercules* and the *Farnese Bull*, the *African
Fisherman* (then thought to be a statue of Seneca), the *Dying Gaul*, the *Apollo
Belvedere*, the *Belvedere Torso* and many more. To these should be added draw-
ings from sarcophagi, the *Column of Trajan* and the *Arch of Titus*. The vast
store of knowledge acquired during Rubens's years in Italy was supplemented
by his collecting antique statuary, coins and gems after he settled in Antwerp. [4]

The same interest that led Rubens to study ancient sculpture also led him to
record the works of the Italian High Renaissance. He copied Leonardo, Raphael,
Titian and, above all, Michelangelo, the latter in a series of sketches after the
*Sistine Ceiling*, two drawings after *The Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs* and one
after the figure of *La Notte* (the latter probably from a small copy in sculpture).
Although his most profound attachment was to the masters of the High
Renaissance, Rubens's study of Italian art ranged over the entire sixteenth cen-
tury. He copied works by Del Sarto, Giulio Romano, Pordenone, Correggio,
Polidoro da Caravaggio, Tintoretto, Primaticcio, Barocci, Cigoli and many
more. [5] His interest in the Italian masters did not end with his return to the
Netherlands but continued throughout his life. After establishing his workshop

[3] See H. M. Van der Meulen-Schregardus, *Petrvs Pavlvs Rvbens Antiqvarivs, Collector
and Copyist of Antiqve Gems*, Ph. D. diss., University of Utrecht, 1975, Alphen a.d.
Rijn, 1975, pp. 37–42.

[4] Among the recent literature on Rubens and classical antiquity, see V. H. Miesel,
*Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 1963,
pp. 312-326; G. Fubini and J. S. Held, *Padre Resta's Rubens Drawings after Ancient
Sculpture, Master Drawings*, II, 1964, pp. 123–141; W. Stechow, *Rubens and the
Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968.

[5] For Rubens's drawings after Italian art, see primarily *Glück-Haberditzl*, pp. 28–31,
Nos. 1–22; *Hind*, II, pp. 20, 21, Nos. 45–50; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949,
pp. 20–33, Nos. 1035–1109 (except Nos. 1086–1102); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I,
pp. 35–45, Nos. 17–24; II, pls. 17–24.

at Antwerp, Rubens employed young artists to record for him works of art in Italy. [6]

Rubens's thorough knowledge of classical antiquity and the Italian Renaissance was complemented by his continuous concern with the artistic heritage of the North. His copies of German and Netherlandish masters range from his early drawings after German illustrated books, such as Holbein's *Dance of Death*, Tobias Stimmer's *Bible* and Jost Amman's *Flavius Josephus* to painted copies he made in later years after pictures by Hans Holbein the Younger, Willem Key, Jan Vermeyen and Pieter Bruegel the Elder. [7] Rubens's familiarity with the greatest Flemish painter is especially evident in the works from the last decade of his life, above all in his beautiful *Kermesse Flamande* in the Louvre and its preparatory sketches in the British Museum. [8] The copies after German woodcut books are among the earliest works of Rubens we know, dating from the 1590's, those after Holbein's *Dance of Death* being the first in the series. In later years Rubens remembered these drawings when he told Sandrart on a boat trip from Utrecht to Amsterdam that he held illustrations by Dürer, Holbein and other German masters in high esteem and that he had copied Holbein and Stimmer in his youth. [9] Besides German woodcuts Rubens also copied prints by Goltzius and after Stradanus and Coxcie. [10]

That Rubens was well aware of the achievements of the German and Flemish masters of the past is borne out not only by the painter's own work but also by

[6] See S. van Hoogstraeten, *Inleyding tot de Hooge School der Schilderkonst ...*, Rotterdam, 1678, Book V, p. 193. The passage is quoted in translation by *Held*, I, p. 49, note 1.

[7] For Rubens's drawings after Holbein's *Dance of Death*, see *van Regteren Altena*; for most of the drawings after Stimmer's *Bible* and Amman's *Flavius Josephus*, see *Lugt, Rubens and Stimmer*, pp. 99–114 and *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, pp. 34–36, Nos. 1116-1121 and 1124. For Rubens's portrait copies which constitute the major part of his paintings after Northern art, see *Stechow, Portraits*. A general discussion on Rubens's debt to Northern artists can be found in H. Robels, *Die niederländische Tradition in der Kunst des Rubens*, Inaug.-Diss., University of Cologne, 1950 and in *Eisler*.

[8] See *Held*, I, pp. 119, 120, No. 57; II, pls. 67–69; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 236, 237, No. 150; II, pl. 150.

[9] J. von Sandrart, *Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675*, ed. by R. A. Peltzer, Munich, 1925, pp. 102, 103.

[10] See *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 16, 17, No. 4; II, pl. 4 and I, pp. 24, 25, No. 10; II, pl. 10 for the copies after Goltzius and Stradanus; for the drawing after Coxcie, see *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p. 28, No. 1077, pl. XLVII.

his collection of paintings and drawings. In the inventory of his estate can be found pictures by, or attributed to, Jan van Eyck, Hugo van der Goes, Dürer, Holbein, Lucas and Aertgen van Leyden, Quentin Massys, Joos van Cleve and many others, including no less than twelve paintings by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. [11] Among contemporary Northern masters the inventory lists works by Sebastian Vranckx, Joos de Momper, Jan Breughel, Adriaan Brouwer and Adam Elsheimer. [12] In addition to paintings Rubens also collected drawings, as demonstrated by the great number of sheets which were retouched by him. He owned (and reworked) drawings by Hans Holbein the Younger, Hans Süss von Kulmbach, Niklaus Manuel Deutsch, Bernard van Orley, Pieter Coecke van Aelst, Jan Vermeyen and Cornelis Bos. [13]

For his copies Rubens always chose the appropriate medium: pen and ink for the sketches after prints and for his archaeological studies when the recording of subject or precise detail was of primary concern, or black chalk for his drawings after classical and Italian Renaissance works of art when tonal values and the play of light and shade had to be studied. Sometimes black chalk was combined with various kinds of coloured chalks and with touches of body colours. The drawn copies belong to Rubens's formative period, i.e., the years before, during and immediately after his sojourn in Italy. In later years copies become relatively rare, with two exceptions: those executed on commission or for reasons not primarily connected with his artistic interests and the copies after Titian made during Rubens's visit to Spain in 1628. Both groups are paintings, the former, mostly historical portraits, possibly in compliance with the demands of his patrons, the latter inspired by his model's colouristic splendour.

Rubens's copies always betray his own style. This is already true of his early

[11] See *Denucé, Konstkamers,* pp. 64–66. On Rubens as a collector of paintings, see J. Muller, *Rubens as a Collector,* Ph. D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.; J. Muller, *Oil Sketches in Rubens' Collection, The Burlington Magazine,* CXVII, 1975, pp. 371–377.

[12] See *Denucé, Konstkamers,* pp. 58, 66–68.

[13] See A.E. Popham, *An Orley Drawing Retouched by Rubens, Old Master Drawings,* I, 1926–27, pp. 45–47, pl. 53; E. Schilling, *Eine Niklaus-Manuel-Zeichnung von Rubens retuschiert, Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte,* XI, 1950, pp. 251–253; Held, I, pp. 162, 163, No. 169, fig. 46; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Collector of Drawings,* I–III, *Master Drawings,* II, 1964, pp. 383–397; III, 1965, pp. 21–35; IV, 1966, pp. 127–148; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford,* Oxford, 1976, I, p. 334, No. 1376; II, pls. 813, 814.

copies after German and Netherlandish prints, as I have tried to show in my discussion of the sheets after Israhel van Meckenem, Hans Burgkmair and Hans Weiditz in the *Costume Book* (cf. Nos. 21–23 and 25). If we compare Rubens's drawings with their prototypes, it becomes immediately clear that Rubens went beyond mere imitation in the interpretation of his models. By concentrating on essentials only, he succeeded in creating clear pictures free of the cluttered designs found in some of his models (cf. No. 25). With a few lines he indicated those details which seemed significant to him, thereby adding to rather than reducing the impact of the original. It goes without saying that he corrected errors in perspective and foreshortening, thus clarifying the positions and poses of figures (cf. No. 23). Except for the drawings after Holbein's *Dance of Death*, Rubens never copied entire scenes but selected fragments or individual figures from his models, arranging them in such a way as to create new compositions and, occasionally, new meanings (see No. 25 and No. 23 with additional examples listed in No. 23, note 1). [14] Such free interpretations of prototypes are particularly successful in his later painted copies, for example in the *Sacrifice to Mars and Venus*, based on Elsheimer's *Il Contento*, in the collection of Count Seilern, London, [15] and in the National Gallery *Roman Triumph*, after Mantegna. [16] In these pictures Rubens selected various groups from his models and, by rearranging them, created new compositions with new meanings.

Besides the clarification and correction of some of his models and new compositional arrangements of others, Rubens's copies, above all, stand out in their liveliness and spontaneity, qualities usually reserved for observations from life. This is especially true of his drawings after sculpture, as can already be observed in the very early drawing of a female nude copied from a bronze statuette of Judith by Conrad Meit. [17] Rubens placed the figure in a sketchily indicated landscape setting and added some drapery to take away its statue-like character. Furthermore, Meit's elongated, mannerist figure has been changed into a strongly modelled, muscular body. Rubens's gift of animating statues while

[14] There is one other, isolated example of Rubens copying an entire scene: *Psyche Standing in Charon's Boat*, after Coxcie (*Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, *1949*, p. 28, No. 1077, pl. XLVII, as *after Raphael* [?]).

[15] *Seilern*, pp. 56, 57, No. 30, pls. LXIV-LXV.

[16] *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, pp. 163–170, No. 278.

[17] The drawing is in the Berlin Print Room, Inv. No. 14713 : *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 23, 24, No. 9; II, pl. 9.

copying them can also be seen in many of the drawings in the *Costume Book*. Although not directly copied from sculpture but rather from a collection of drawn copies by a contemporary of Rubens, the Antwerp painter Antonio de Succa, they display the same degree of freedom as those immediatly derived from plastic models. While there is never any doubt that de Succa copied monuments, in Rubens's drawings these statues come to life. [18]

The majority of Rubens's plastic models are taken from ancient sculpture. It is in this connection that Rubens's treatise *De Imitatione Statuarum* should perhaps be mentioned. In it he advises every artist to study ancient sculpture thoroughly but warns against copying slavishly so as to avoid any suggestion of stone. [19] True to his words, Rubens's copies always give the impression of having been done from the living model. This can perhaps be seen best in the chalk drawing of the so-called Seneca in the Hermitage at Leningrad. [20] On this sheet Rubens drew the head of a bearded man looking up together with another head seen in profile and a hand. We know that Rubens made the drawing of the head seen in frontal view from a bust of the so-called Seneca which he owned. For this study he simply tilted the head backward. The foreshortening, the soft chalk tones and the combination of this study with the head seen in profile and the sketch of an arm, the former possibly and the latter definitely done from life, give the impression of this portrait having also been made from the living model. Rubens used his study from a sculpture in the same way he did those

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[18] For the vitalization of sculpture see also Dürer's silverpoint drawing of one of the little statuettes which formerly surrounded the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon in St. Michael's Abbey at Antwerp (now Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) and Holbein's copies made from a portrait bust of John Colet and from the statues of Jean, duc de Berry and his second wife, Jeanne de Boulogne, now at Bourges Cathedral. All three drawings and their models are discussed by F. Grossmann (*Holbein, Torrigiano and some Portraits of Dean Colet : a Study of Holbein's Work in Relation to Sculpture, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, 1950, pp. 202–236, with reproductions of models and copies). As pointed out by Grossmann, there are important differences between Dürer's and Holbein's concepts of copying sculpture, but to animate a sculpture while copying it is a principle on which both artists agreed. Grossmann includes a brief discussion on Rubens and Watteau as the greatest exponents of this principle in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

[19] This treatise is the only finished or, in any case, the only surviving part of a much larger work on the human body in antique art. It was published by Roger de Piles in his *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris, 1708, pp. 139–148; see M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook*, I, London, 1966, p. 301.

[20] Inv. No. 5454 : *Held*, I, p. 165, pl. 170; see also *Held*, I, pp. 29, 30, citing this example in connection with his discussion of Rubens's copies after sculpture.

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drawn from life. He introduced the head of Seneca just above the possessed women in his picture of *The Miracles of St. Ignatius of Loyola* in Vienna. [21]

Despite its lifelike appearance, some characteristics of the Hermitage drawing, however, indicate a stone rather than a life model, for instance the rendering of the hair. Such characteristics are extremely subtle in Rubens's work and sometimes disappear. The controversy over the model for the drawing of a lioness in Amsterdam is a case in point. The sheet was published by Michael Jaffé as a study from life, [22] whereas Held, Evers and Rosand [23] maintain that it was done after a sixteenth-century Paduan bronze which Rubens had studied elsewhere, as a series of drawings testifies. [24] All authors agree, however, that the beautiful study of a lioness in the British Museum, which shows the animal of the Amsterdam sheet in reverse, was drawn from life with the pose of the Amsterdam figure in mind. [25] This example illustrates the influence of plastic models on Rubens's work even when using a live model.

The closest connection between sculpture and life is demonstrated in Rubens's drawing of the *Spinario*. [26] In this instance Rubens placed a living model in the pose of the statue and copied it. In one sketch he drew the figure more or less exactly in the same pose as the original, while in the second version he changed the position of the head and transformed the 'statue' into a young man drying his feet. This, literally, is vitalization of sculpture.

Rubens's power of imbuing figures copied from inanimate objects with the immediacy usually reserved for observations from life can also be seen in his drawings made for archaeological and historical study, as demonstrated by his sketches of medieval and oriental costumes in the *Costume Book*. Taken from

[21] *K.d.K.*, p. 204; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, pp. 76, 77.

[22] M. Jaffé, *Rubens en de Leeuwenkuil, Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, III, 1955, pp. 59–67. Jaffé upholds this opinion in his *Some Recent Acquisitions of Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting, National Gallery of Art, Reports and Studies in the History of Art*, 1969, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 9.

[23] *Held*, I, p. 131, under No. 83; H. G. Evers, *Rubens und der Löwe, Zu einer Zeichnung in Amsterdam*, in *Festschrift Dr. h. c. Eduard Trautscholdt*, Hamburg, 1965, p. 130; D. Rosand, *Rubens's Munich Lion Hunt : Its Sources and Significance, The Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, p. 35, note 43.

[24] See J. Rosenberg, *Eine Rubens-Zeichnung nach einer Tierbronze des 16. Jahrhunderts, Pantheon*, VII, 1931, pp. 105, 106 and M. Jaffé (*National Gallery of Art, Reports and Studies*) p. 9 and fig. 7.

[25] For the drawing, see *Held*, I, p. 131, No. 83; II, pl. 96 and frontispiece.

[26] For the drawing, see *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, pp. 34, 35, No. 16; II, pl. 16.

a wide variety of sources, such as collections of drawn portrait copies, costume manuals, model-books, German prints, tapestries, paintings and, possibly, sculpture, they are unified by the imprint of his style in their spontaneity and liveliness while, at the same time, remaining faithful to their models in the accuracy of costume details. [27] Such spontaneity without loss of detail can also be observed in some of Rubens's archaeological records, for example in the copy of the *Gemma Augustea* in the Lübeck museum. [28] In this drawing Rubens created a convincing and lively rendering of the figures and their actions without losing the precision required of a document.

What Rubens learned from the old masters is never lost. This is true of his archaeological and historical studies as well as of those copies done primarily for artistic reasons. Whatever his models and his initial purpose in copying them, he transformed them into his own style and, when convenient, integrated them into his later compositions. He applied his knowledge of Roman utensils, weapons and costumes in paintings of ancient history and of biblical subjects and introduced his studies of late-Gothic and Near Eastern costumes into compositions from medieval and oriental history. While the utilization of archaeological and historical records is more or less restricted to the general application of Rubens's vast store of knowledge, copies from classical sculpture and Renaissance works of art, i.e. drawings primarily done for artistic reasons, appear almost unaltered in later compositions. Such direct borrowings can be seen, for example, in the *Dying Seneca* in Munich, a painting which incorporates one of Rubens's drawings of an ancient statue then believed to represent the Stoic philosopher (now considered to be an African fisherman), in his picture of *Romulus and Remus* (Rome, Museo Capitolino) where the centre theme of the wolf and the two babies is based on Rubens's drawing of the Roman *Lupa with Romulus and Remus* and in the allegory of the *Good Government of Maria de' Medici* where Rubens included, among others, figures copied from the *Apollo Belvedere* and from a supposed statue of Homer. Besides the assimilation of ancient figures into his work without major change in content, Rubens often reinterpreted his models and gave them new meanings. Thus pagan figures were

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[27] See, e.g., the opinion expressed by Hind, Müller Hofstede and Rowlands that f⁰ 32 of the *Costume Book* was copied from life although Rubens's models were, in fact, supplied by a costume manual (see No. 32).

[28] W. Stechow, *Rubens and the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, Mass., 1968, p. 19, fig. 7.

transformed into biblical ones, such as the conversion of the figure of Laocoön into Christ and that of the *Spinario* into representations of Susanna or Bath-sheba. [29]

Rubens's borrowings of themes, motifs and forms from the works of other artists never appear as alien elements in his art. Like all great artists, he absorbed and transformed what he had learned in such a way as to make it entirely his own. Even where the derivation of a figure is obvious, it is so perfectly conceived in terms of the artists's own style, so well assimilated into his work that it gives the impression of having been created in total freedom. This creative freedom, however, derived to a great extent from Rubens's careful study of his artistic heritage, as his numerous copies demonstrate. The *Costume Book* is an interest-ing example of this aspect of Rubens's genius.

[29] For the application of antique motifs and themes in Rubens's work, see W. Stechow (*loc. cit.*) who discusses and illustrates all examples mentioned here. For Rubens's use of the Laocoön and the Spinario see also *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, p. 33, under No. 15 and p. 35 under No. 16, respectively. An interesting case of Rubens's trans-formation of a pagan subject into a biblical one is the drawing of one of the sons of Laocoön by Cornelis Bos which Rubens reworked and changed into Eve with the serpent. The drawing is at Christ Church, Oxford (Inv. No. 1089; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford,* Oxford, 1976, I, p. 334, No. 1376 (b); II, pl. 813).

# II. THE COSTUME BOOK

The British Museum holds a sketch-book by Rubens which is known as his *Costume Book*. On its forty folios (twenty-eight single leaves and twelve double leaves) Rubens drew approximately 250 studies of historical and exotic costumes, the majority of which consists of the fashions of late-medieval Netherlands, Burgundy and Germany (f°s 1–31). On f° 32 are two figures in sixteenth-century Spanish dress and on f°s 33–40 we can see men and women in Turkish, Arabic and Persian costume. With the exception of f°s 14ᵛ, 23 and 24, where whole scenes are shown, the sheets are filled with individual studies ranging from full-length figures to heads only. Rubens often chose only male or female figures from various pages of his sources and grouped them together on one sheet (cf. f°s 2, 5, 8, 17, 19, 20, 27, 28, 37 and 38). A few sheets show one or two figures, but most are filled with numerous sketches, often arranged in more or less parallel lines, a practice found in medieval model-books. However, unlike these precursors who clearly separated individual figures from each other, with sharp silhouettes often reemphasized in ink, Rubens's figures are frequently overlapping or left incomplete. With two exceptions (Nos. 14 and 25), Rubens drew on the *recto* only.

The sheets are mounted in passe-partout (except f° 6 which is fully mounted) and bound in an early eighteenth-century leather binding. Most drawings are in pen and ink only; grey and brown washes are applied to several sheets, two have additions of white oil (now oxidized) and one was touched up with coloured chalks, probably by a later hand (No. 32). There is an abundance of notes referring to the identity of the subjects and to colours and materials of their dress. Identifying inscriptions are mainly in French, with some in Flemish and Latin, whereas other notations are mainly in Flemish, with some in French and Italian. They are all in Rubens's hand.

## I. PROVENANCE

The provenance of the book can be traced back to Rubens. According to Mariette's note in his catalogue of the Crozat collection the album was brought from Flanders to France by Roger de Piles.[1] De Piles was a correspondent of

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[1] Mariette's note reads as follows :
"Quarante-trois Desseins de Rubens d'après de vieux monumens qui conservent la forme des anciens habits, qui étoient en usage en France & dans les Païs-Bas, en

Albert Rubens, the artist's eldest son, and might well have acquired the book from him. [2] From de Piles it came into the possession of Pierre Crozat where it remained until the sale of the latter's drawings after his death in 1740. Nothing definite is known of the sketch-book's whereabouts between the time it left Crozat's collection in 1741 and 1841, when it entered the British Museum. The annotated copy of Mariette's catalogue of the Crozat collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum [3] states next to the entry for the *Costume Book* in Mariette's handwriting the name *del. Falange, Falonge* or *Falouge*. I have not been able to discover anything about this name. However, the Louvre's copy of Mariette's catalogue, also annotated with buyers and prices, though not by Mariette himself, states that Mariette purchased the *Costume Book* for himself. It is possible that del. Falange, Falonge or Falouge was an agent for Mariette, as were Hecquet and others. [4] The album does not appear in Basan's catalogue of Mariette's collection. [5]

In December 1841 the British Museum acquired the *Costume Book*, according to Waagen from a "Mr. Boon". [6] Lugt mentions a certain Jean Boon whose collection of paintings was sold after his death in Brussels on 19 April 1815. [7] If he owned the *Costume Book* it might have remained with his heirs who then sold it to the British Museum. Another identification of Waagen's "Mr. Boon" might be the London bookseller and publisher H.G. Bohn (1796–1884) who was also an art collector. [8]

remontant jusqu'au douzième siècle; ensembles quelques modes Turques et du Levant. Cette suite qui a été apportée de Flandre par M. de Piles est curieuse & montre avec quel soin Rubens faisoît des recherches, pour être en état d'observer le *Costume* dans ses *tableaux."* (P.-J. Mariette, *Description Sommaire des Desseins des Grands Maîstres d'Italie, des Pays-Bas et de France, du Cabinet de Feu M. Crozat,* Paris, 1741, p. 97, No. 845).

2 This was also suggested, by Michael Jaffé, for the provenance of Rubens's *Pocketbook* (*Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook,* I, London, 1966, p. 301).

3 Press-mark R.C.W. 63.

4 This suggestion was made by Madame F. Viatte from the Cabinet des Dessins of the Louvre whom I would also like to thank for the information about the note in the Louvre's copy of the sale catalogue.

5 F. Basan, *Catalogue raisonné des différents objets de curiosité dans les Sciences et les Arts qui composaient le Cabinet de feu M. Mariette ...,* Paris, 1775.

6 *Waagen, Treasures,* p. 237.

7 *Lugt, Répertoire,* No. 8684.

8 *Ibid.,* No. 24582. This suggestion was made by F. Grossmann.

As has been stated in pencilled notes on the mounts of the relevant drawings and in print by Hind, [9] most of the German costumes were copied from prints by Israhel van Meckenem, Hans Burgkmair and Hans Weiditz (f⁰ˢ 21–23 and 25). The sources for the Near Eastern dresses (f⁰ˢ 33–40) seem to have been sixteenth-century costume-books, as was demonstrated for most of the Turkish costumes by Hilde and Otto Kurz. [10] For the majority of the Netherlandish and Burgundian sketches, seemingly derived from tomb sculptures, paintings, miniatures, stained glass and tapestries, Rubens, however, used some later series of copies rather than the original works of art themselves. One such series is the *Mémoriaux* by Antonio de Succa which is partly preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Brussels. [11] Hind referred to this manuscript without realizing how many of Rubens's drawings were indeed derived from de Succa's work. Credit for having discovered the close connection between the *Costume Book* and the *Mémoriaux* goes to Julius Held who first published his findings in an article in 1951 and later expanded them in his catalogue of Rubens drawings (see LITERATURE).

Antonio de Succa was an Antwerp painter of Italian-Flemish ancestry. [12] After a short career as courtier in the service of the Count of Mansfeld who governed the Netherlands from November 1592 until January 1594, and a brief military service in the light cavalry of Philippe de Robles, de Succa seems to have turned to painting, for in 1598 his name appears in the register of the Antwerp Painter's Guild immediately after that of Rubens. [13] The name of "Peeter Rubens schilder" is also followed by that of "Antoni Suca schilder" in the Busboek of the Antwerp guild. [14] These two, by any measure unequal

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[9] *Hind*, 11, p. 42.

[10] *Kurz and Kurz.*

[11] Cabinet des manuscrits. Inv. No. 11 1862/1.

[12] On de Succa, see especially *Van den Branden*, pp. 591-595; *Quarré-Reybourbon*, pp. 43–47; *Devigne*, cols. 233–236; *De Maeyer*, pp. 191, 192; *Cat. de Succa*, I, pp. 1-14.

[13] P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerius, *De Liggeren en andere historische Archieven der Antwerpsche Sint Lucasgilde*, The Hague, 1864-76 (reprint edition Amsterdam, 1961), I, p. 402.

[14] *Der Bussen Boeck van S. Lucas Gilde, 1538-1627.* Ms. Koninklijke Academie voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, St. Luke's Archives, No. 243 (4), f⁰ 42. On the *Busboek*, see C. Van de Velde, *The Grotesque Initials in the First Ligger and in the Busboek of the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke*, Bulletin des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, XLV, 1973, Brussels, 1975, pp. 276, 277; *Idem, De Schilderkunst*, in : *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw*, Antwerp, 1975, p. 421.

artists, seem to have had rather similar beginnings for Rubens also started his career as a page, in the household of Marguerite de Ligne, the widow of Philippe, Comte de Lalaing.

Sometime between 1598 and 1600 de Succa painted a series of portraits of former rulers of the Spanish Netherlands for the *Statenkamer* of Antwerp Townhall in replacement of an old series which was destroyed in 1576. At the same time he participated in the first illustrated edition of Hadrianus Barlandus's *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica*, published at Antwerp in 1600.[15] In October 1600 de Succa was authorised by patent letters granted by the archdukes Albert and Isabella to carry out genealogical research pertaining to the Houses of Austria, Burgundy and Flanders.[16] From December 1601 to December 1602 he travelled throughout Flanders making sketches of medals and seals, tomb sculptures, stained glass windows, tapestries, painted portraits and miniatures connected with this project. He also transcribed documents and inscriptions.[17]

[15] H. Barlandus, *Dvcvm Brabantiae Chronica Hadriani Barlandi, Item Brabantiados Poema Melchioris Barlaei : Iconibus nunc primum illustrata, aere ac studio Ioan. Bapt. Vrienti: Opera quoque Nob. viri Antoni de Succa*, Antwerp, 1600.

[16] These letters are lost, but their existence is known from a document of 11 January 1607 quoted by C. Van den Bergen-Pantens in her biography of de Succa in *Cat. de Succa*, pp. 5, 6. According to her these letters authorised de Succa to carry out his project, an undertaking which otherwise might have been difficult, if not impossible. They certainly acted as recommendations which opened doors to monasteries, abbeys and private collections. This is perhaps why we find that de Succa had several of his drawings verified by ecclesiastical officials and private owners (see e.g. f$^{os}$ 35, 39$^v$, 96 and 106). According to Mme Van den Bergen-Pantens there is no proof that the *Mémoriaux* were the result of an official commission from Albert and Isabella, an assumption made by previous authors based mainly on Van den Branden's interpretation (see also *De Maeyer*, p. 192).

[17] The itinerary of the journey, according to de Succa's own notations, is as follows :
December 1601:
    1. Tournai: f$^{os}$ 7 and 11 (extensively discussed by *Devigne, Collection*).
    2. Abbey of Flines, near Douai: f$^{os}$ 46–59, 64–67 (see E. Hautcœur, *Histoire de l'abbaye de Flines*, Paris – Lille – Douai – Brussels, 1874, pp. 413–420).
    3. Convent of La Thieulloye, near Arras: f$^{os}$ 37–45.
January 1602:
    4. Arras: f$^{os}$ 68, 70$^v$–74$^v$.
    5. Bailleul-sire-Berthoult: f$^{os}$ 69–70 (cf. p. 41; *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*).
    6. Abbey of Chocques, near Béthune: f$^{os}$ 61, 62.
    7. St. Omer: f$^{os}$ 93–100$^v$.
    8. Clairmarais, near St. Omer: f$^o$ 4.
February 1602:
    9. The Charterhouse of Gosnay, near Béthune: f$^{os}$ 89–92$^v$.

The result of this archaeological enterprise is partly preserved in the Brussels manuscript. Since this volume is marked as "tome III", it can be assumed that there were at least two other volumes in existence. [18]

In 1604 de Succa bought a house in Antwerp where he established himself as a painter of portraits of historical personages. When he died on September 8, 1620, his inventory listed, in addition to numerous precious objects, fifty-seven portraits of princes painted on wood, thirty painted on canvas, eighty-six done on paper, a series of portraits of Burgundian, Austrian and English princes put together on two scrolls of canvas and many other paintings, including ten more canvases with pictures of rulers. [19] None of de Succa's paintings are known to have survived (the series made for Antwerp Townhall disappeared in 1685). [20] However, their popularity must have been great, for twice, in 1608 and 1612, de Succa decided to sue the guardian of the Townhall for permitting his por-

10. Jacques du Bosquiel, seigneur des Planques, near Lille: f° 75.
11. Lille: f°ˢ 76ᵛ–80ᵛ.
12. Ghent: f°ˢ 81–87ᵛ.
June 1602:
13. Louvain: f°ˢ 101–106.
November and December 1602:
14. Brussels: f°ˢ 6 and 63.
The *Mémoriaux* also include drawings made at Antwerp in 1608 (f°ˢ 29–35ᵛ) and at Bruges in 1615 (f°ˢ 1–3, 12–27ᵛ).

[18] The *Mémoriaux* were acquired in 1868 for the Bibliothèque Royale: see L. Alvin, *Iconographie princière des Pays-Bas, Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, XXXVII, 2ᵉ série, tome XXV, Brussels, 1868, pp. 389-393 (Séance du 2 avril 1868). The album appears in two different registers of acquisition, once as bought from the collection de Theux, a second time as bought from a bookseller named Olivier. The latter might have served as an intermediary. Nothing is known of their previous whereabouts nor about the missing parts. I would like to thank Mmes M. Comblen-Sonkes and C. Van den Bergen-Pantens from the Centre National de Recherches "Primitifs Flamands", Brussels, for this information and for kindly allowing me access to their files on de Succa, and Dr. Carl Van de Velde for clarifying some points pertaining to the acquisition of the *Mémoriaux*. De Succa's drawings are in pen and ink or chalk, some with additions of wash and/or water-colour. They are on 106 paper folios, bound in a rather haphazard way. The *Mémoriaux* have been extensively discussed by *Quarré-Reybourbon*, pp. 43–60 and 97–112 (also published under the title *Les Mémoriaux d'Antoine de Succa*, in *Réunion des Sociétés des Beaux-Arts des Départements*, 1888, pp. 783–797 and *L'Artiste, Revue de Paris*, I, 1889, pp. 98–114). The major source on the *Mémoriaux, Cat. de Succa*, was published after this work was already completed.

[19] See *Devigne*, cols. 234, 235.

[20] The portrait of young Philip III of Spain, dressed in yellow, in the Antwerp museum (Catalogue, 1970, p. 213, No. 652, as *de Succa*) tentatively attributed to de

traits to be copied, [21] and in 1607 he delivered to the Antwerp art dealer Jan
Govaert a series of painted portraits under the condition that they should not
be copied. [22] It is ironical that, after constantly having fought encroachments
upon his copyrights, one of de Succa's merits today lies in the fact that he
supplied models for Rubens to copy. The only other is that he often provides
the only record of lost works of art through his copies.

Since Rubens was in Italy when de Succa collected the bulk of his material
(1601–1602), his return in 1608 provides a *terminus post quem* for the majority
of drawings in the *Costume Book*. As stated above (see note 22), it is likely
that the *Mémoriaux* remained in de Succa's home at Antwerp where Rubens
could have had access to it. It is curious that Burchard and d'Hulst insisted on
a date before 1600 for all of Rubens's costume studies although de Succa's book
as well as Held's initial work on the subject (1951) were known to them when
they published their volume of Rubens drawings. This discrepancy caused me
to examine the relationship between Rubens and de Succa in greater detail and
to reconsider the possibility of Rubens having used the original works of art
rather than de Succa's copies.

Since the original sources for the drawings in question were scattered
throughout the Spanish Netherlands, as indicated by de Succa's itinerary (see
note 17), this would have required extensive travelling on Rubens's part, for
which we have no other evidence. Since we are not especially well informed of
Rubens's whereabouts before 1600, we cannot dismiss such a journey altogether.
However, after a careful examination of the *Costume Book* and the *Mémoriaux*
I have decided that many of Rubens's drawings were indeed copied from de
Succa. Althoug neither sketch-book has been preserved in its original order,

Succa by *Devigne* (col. 235) is by Frans Francken the Elder (see C. Van de Velde,
*Portretten van Frans Francken de Oudere, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone
Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1962–63, pp. 183, 184, fig. 4). Other attempts at attributing
various existing portraits to de Succa have been equally unconvincing (cf. *Devigne*,
cols. 235, 236). A portrait of Charles the Bold, supposedly in Prague, mentioned by
F. Prims (*Het Stadhuis te Antwerpen : geschiedenis en beschrijving*, Antwerp, 1930,
repr. opposite p. 69; *Antwerpiensia*, IX, 1935, p. 386) could not be identified.

[21] See *Cat. de Succa*, I, pp. 11 and 12.

[22] See *ibid.*, pp. 5, 6. The document states that these copies were done at de Succa's house
after a catalogue compiled by the artist. It appears to me that this catalogue could have
been the *Mémoriaux*, since there is no evidence that he compiled any other such
collection than the *Mémoriaux*.

after some attempts at reconstruction, [23] I have come to the conclusion that Rubens's principle of selection suggests a dependence on de Succa. [24] The conformity of paper, ink and pen-stroke of Rubens's so-called de Succa copies supports this assumption. Furthermore, de Succa's method of drawing provides additional proof of Rubens's dependence on him. When de Succa copied only part of a figure (i.e., half-length, bust or head), Rubens's corresponding figure is also shown as such. [25] On the other hand, Rubens often copied from de Succa's full-length figures only those parts which interested him. [26] When de Succa, for the sake of clarity, added separately such details as an especially interesting piece of footwear, the corresponding drawings by Rubens also include these details. [27] In addition to these points, a comparison of inscriptions and notations provides further support of Rubens's dependence on de Succa. They are often identical, even including such peculiarities as the mixture of French and Flemish in the description of one figure. [28] When not identical, they can be deduced from those

[23] See pp. 35, 36, note 17 for the *Mémoriaux* and pp. 46, 47 for the *Costume Book.*

[24] Thus *Costume Book* f°s 17 and 18, which possibly once formed a double folio (see p. 46) were copied from those sections of the *Mémoriaux* which were done at Tournai in December 1601 and at Ghent in February 1602 and which, although no longer bound together, must have followed each other closely in the original *Mémoriaux.* *Costume Book* f° 2 was copied from parts of the *Mémoriaux* done at St. Omer, at the Charterhouse of Gosnay and at Ghent (f°s 83, 84, 89, 96, 98–100), places which de Succa had visited in February 1602 and whose *Mémoriaux* he must have recorded in close succession. *Costume Book* f°s 27 and 28, copied from de Succa's *Mémoriaux* of St. Omer (January 1602, f°s 95[v],96[v], 98–100), the Charterhouse of Gosnay, Lille and Ghent (all February 1602, f°s 75, 87 and 89) all of which must have followed each other in de Succa's original sketch-book, indicate that Rubens only had to go from page to page making his selection of figures copied by de Succa at these widely dispersed locations.

[25] Compare, e.g., Figs 7 (D and I) with Figs. 9 and 15; Fig. 143 with Figs. 144, 145 and 149; Fig. 151 with Fig. 152.

[26] Compare, e.g., Fig. 7 (D and I) with Figs. 12 and 16; Fig. 73 with Figs. 76 and 77; Fig. 82 (E) with Fig. 87.

[27] Compare Fig. 7 (G) with Fig. 13 and the original model, Fig. 18. Also Fig. 96 (E) and Fig. 101.

[28] E.g., Fig. 143 (J) and Fig. 149 where the notations are in French except for the feather on the hat and the hose whose colours are described in Flemish. De Succa often used *grauw* instead of *gris* in an otherwise entirely French description. Rubens usually followed this practice; compare, e.g., Fig. 143 (C and D) with Fig. 144 (upper right and centre right).

found in the *Mémoriaux*. In these instances, they are usually abbreviated,[29] sometimes translated (in one instance rather freely)[30] or left off altogether,[31] but only in three cases do they include information not supplied by de Succa.[32] While the addition of Latin designations in No. 15 suggests itself, the invention of colour notations in Nos. 2 and 27 is more puzzling. However, as discussed below, it is not inconsistent with Rubens's practice of copying and does not constitute a case against Rubens's dependence on de Succa in the light of the overwhelming evidence for such a dependence.

De Succa's capacities as an archivist were far superior to his artistic talents. In his timid and fussy way he rendered everything he considered important for his undertaking. When he copied a tombstone he included the borders and the inscriptions (e.g., Figs. 2, 6, 11, 12 and 74). *Pleurants* are drawn with the little pedestals below their feet (e.g., Figs. 100, 163 and 169). Needless to say, identifications of sitters and their coats of arms are faithfully recorded. In the case of paintings, miniatures, tapestries and stained glass de Succa made careful notes on colours and materials of the costumes. While in most cases Rubens did care for the identities of the figures and the descriptions of their clothes, as indicated by his captions and notes on colours and costumes, he did not record the precise wordings of epitaphs nor the exact designs and locations of the monuments he copied. His curiosity never persuaded him to sacrifice his artistic standards to the restrictions of exact historical documentation. He wanted to visualize his men and women as living beings moving freely in space, not as painted or carved images. He achieved this effect by liberating the figure from its fixed setting, such as bases and backgrounds of tombfigures[33] and by changing the position of arms and legs, thus interrupting de Succa's monotonous rep-

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[29] Compare, e.g., Fig. 1 with Figs. 2 and 6; Fig. 7 with Figs. 13 and 14; Fig. 81 (A) with Fig. 80; Fig. 82 (A) with Fig. 83; Fig. 89 with Figs. 90 and 91 and the majority of costume notations.

[30] See No. 27.

[31] Compare, e.g., Fig. 73 (A and B) with Fig. 74; Fig. 81 (D) with Fig. 78 and Fig. 82 (B) with Fig. 83. An interesting example of Rubens's omission of colour notations can also be seen in Fig. 7 (G and H), Fig. 82 (C and E) and Fig. 89 (A and B) where de Succa used a numbered code for his colours which Rubens did not decipher. It seems likely that, had he copied the originals (all of which still exist and are brightly coloured), he would have added such notes.

[32] See Cat. No. 2, Fig. 7 (J); Cat. No. 15, Fig. 73 (C-I) and Cat. No. 27, Fig. 143 (N).

[33] Compare, e.g., Fig. 1 with Figs. 2 and 6; Fig. 7 with Fig. 11; Fig. 73 with Fig. 74 and Fig. 96 with Fig. 100.

etition of praying hands and parallel dangling feet. [34] While de Succa, not having a style of his own, tried to imitate the International Style of the late middle ages, Rubens transformed his models into his own artistic language. His strong men and graceful women are infinitely more worthy of their knightly armour and fancy dress than de Succa's emaciated bodies with their spindly arms and legs. In accordance with these transformations, Rubens sometimes enlarged de Succa's half-length figures to three-quarter-length portraits, thus imbuing them with a suggestion of the Baroque portrait. [35]

Another album of drawings similar to the *Mémoriaux* is the so-called *Recueil d'Arras*, formerly in the Abbey of St. Vaast at Arras and now in the Municipal Library of that city. [36] This series which consists for the most part of portraits of the Flemish and Burgundian nobility is of little artistic value but of great interest for the number of lost originals whose designs it preserves. It has been attributed to Jacques Leboucq of Valenciennes, King of Arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece, who died in 1573. [37] Much like Antonio de Succa, Leboucq travelled all over the Netherlands (however, mostly in the South) copying effigies, stained glass and paintings. The *Recueil d'Arras* represents only a part of his collection of portrait copies.

Hind already observed correctly that many of the portraits in the *Costume Book* correspond with drawings in the *Recueil d'Arras* and may have been derived from them. As Rubens's 'Arras-portraits' appear in groups and as the inscriptions identifying the sitters correspond closely to the inscriptions in the *Recueil* it seems certain that these copies were made directly or indirectly from the *Recueil* and that they cannot be independent copies of the originals. In trying to establish other than visual connections between Rubens and the *Recueil d'Arras* I came to suspect that Rubens did not copy from it directly but used a series of copies made by Antonio de Succa.

[34] Compare, e.g., Fig. 1 with Figs. 2 and 6; Fig. 7 with Figs. 10 and 16; Fig. 73 with Fig. 74; Fig. 82 with Fig. 83.

[35] Compare, e.g., Fig. 81 (D) with Fig. 78.

[36] Ms. 266. Inv. No. 1136. For a description of the album, see H. Bouchot, *Les Portraits aux crayons des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*, Paris, 1884, pp. 107–113 and 281–309; *Quarré-Reybourbon*, pp. 5–42 and 67–95 and *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*. The drawings have been photographed by Giraudon (Paris, 1906) and A.C.L. (Brussels, 1951).

[37] On Jacques Leboucq, see J. F. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Brussels, 1739, I, pp. 503, 504; L. Devillers in *Biographie Nationale*, XI, 1890–91, cols. 535, 536 and *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*.

We know that de Succa travelled in the Southern Netherlands. Considering the purpose of his mission it is hard to believe that he would have ignored a work of such genealogical value as the *Recueil d'Arras.* It is, therefore, possible that copies after the *Recueil* made up part of the missing volumes of the *Mémoriaux.* [38] Pursuing this line of inquiry led to the work of Dr. Lorne Campbell and, through him, the article by Robert Aulotte. [39] Both authors have discovered independently that the original owner of the *Receuil d'Arras* probably was one Alexandre Le Blancq, Seigneur de Meurchlin, councillor of Lille as well as a scholar, antiquarian and collector of manuscripts. He died in 1574. An inventory of his collection was published by Sanderus in 1641, in which 120 items are listed. [40] Several of these were collections of portrait copies, all or some of which may have been the work of Jacques Leboucq. [41] The library of Alexandre Le Blancq eventually passed to his son, Alexandre II Le Blancq, Seigneur de Meurchlin et de Bailleul-sire-Berthoult whom de Succa visited in 1602. The latter's *Mémoriaux* contains a section titled: *"Mémoriaux* d'Arras et une partie de M. de Meurchlin, demeurant à Bailleul sire Bertoul entre Douay et Arras" (f° 74ᵛ). The title appears to refer to fᵒˢ 68–74. Fᵒˢ 68 and 70ᵛ–74 carry drawings made at Arras, and fᵒˢ 69–70ʳ show portraits copied at Bailleul-sire-Berthoult. The phrase "Une partie" presumably indicates that de Succa compiled another series of drawings on his visit to Bailleul-sire-Berthoult which has not come to light so far. As stated above, it is likely that among his lost drawings was a set of copies made from the *Recueil d'Arras,* some of which, in turn, Rubens copied.

The reversion of some of Rubens's portraits (in respect to those in the *Recueil d'Arras*), as can be seen on fᵒˢ 8 (Fig. 34) and 13 (Fig. 54) can possibly be explained by de Succa's having traced the Arras portraits and by accidentally

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[38] This suggestion was made by the present writer in a paper delivered in the Ph.D. seminar of Professor Sir Ernst Gombrich at the Warburg Institute, London, in the winter of 1972.

[39] R. Aulotte, *Alexandre Le Blancq et sa collection de manuscrits au XVIe siècle, Revue du Nord,* L, 1968, pp. 301–316.

[40] *Bibliotheca Belgica Manuscripta,* I, Lille, 1641, pp. 273–278, reprinted in R. Aulotte, *op. cit.,* pp. 305–316.

[41] Aulotte identifies the *Recueil d'Arras* with item 114 and possibly also with item 109 but the portraits which are contained in ms. 114 were all in pen and ink, whereas the drawings in the *Recueil d'Arras* are in chalk. Dr. Campbell tentatively identifies the Arras album with item 109, described as : "Pourtraicts d'aucuns Princes & grands Seigneurs sur papier".

having reversed some of these tracings when transferring them into his sketch-book. [42] This would be an additional point in favour of de Succa's having copied from the *Recueil d'Arras* rather than Rubens. Tracing would be quite against Rubens's usual practice of copying which, as can be shown in countless examples, always demonstrates a free interpretation and transformation of his models.

We have seen that de Succa's drawings and, indirectly, the *Recueil d'Arras* make up most of the sources for Rubens's Flemish and Burgundian costume studies. Perhaps the missing parts of the *Mémoriaux* also supplied some of those models which I have not been able to find, in particular the portraits of members of the Lalaing, Croy and Baux families. As these are sometimes grouped with half-length portraits derived from the *Recueil d'Arras* and are uniformly done in the same ink as the latter (see No. 8, Fig. 34 and No. 10, Fig. 42), it seems likely that they were also copied from de Succa rather than from the originals. What, however, were de Succa's models? With one exception (f° 9 (C)), Rubens's drawings are full-length. They also have colour notations. This would indicate thay they were probably derived from painted genealogical portrait series of these noble families. Such series were a common form of decoration, apparently not only in civic and religious buildings, but also in the *châteaux* and chapels of the great nobles of the Netherlands. At his château of Beaumont Charles de Croy, Duke of Aerschot (died 1612) owned three series of portraits of counts of Flanders and dukes of Burgundy. [43] One can well imagine that the nobles added portraits of their own families to those of the rulers of the Netherlands [44] and that such portrait galleries were copied by de Succa or, possibly,

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[42] This was suggested to me by Professor Sir Ernst Gombrich in the seminar mentioned in note 38. It is more likely than a dependence on prints which, in any case, are not known, at least not after the portraits copied by Rubens. Even if prints had been made from these drawings and had been known to Rubens, it still would not explain why some of his portraits are reversed.

[43] See his inventory printed in A. Pinchart, *Archives des arts, sciences et lettres. Documents inédits*, Première série, 1, Ghent, 1860, pp. 158–173. This was also discussed by *Campbell, Portrait Painting*, p. 82, note 13.

[44] According to Pinchart, Charles de Croy did, in fact, own portrait series of his own family in his castles of Heverlee, Chimay, Comines, Saint-Josse-ten-Noode, Esclaibes, etc. (*ibid.*, p. 171). Unfortunately, I have not been able to find out more about these portraits. The full-length portraits in Jacob de Bie's *Livre Contenant la genealogie et Descente de Ceux de la Maison de Croy*, Antwerp (?), 1620 (?) were not Rubens's source. The tombs at Heverlee mentioned by Hind as a possible source were of later members of the Croy family than those portrayed by Rubens (cf. A. Sanderus, *Choro-*

Rubens himself. [45] Thus the major sources for Rubens's *Costume Book* seem to be: de Succa's *Mémoriaux,* including his presumed copies from the *Recueil d'Arras* and possibly also copies from genealogical portrait series of the leading Flemish noble families; German printed books and, for the Near Eastern sketches, late sixteenth-century costume-books.

III. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ORIGINAL COSTUME BOOK

Unfortunately, the *Costume Book* has not survived in its original form. The binding is of the early eighteenth century and there is reason to believe that at that time at least two sheets were not bound or were already missing, while at least one sheet not connected with the original sketch-book was added. When Mariette described the album in his catalogue of the Crozat collection it consisted of 43 "desseins" rather than the present 42 drawings (including the *versos* of f[os] 14 and 25) on 40 leaves. [46] If we assume that Mariette referred to drawings rather than sheets and that at his time there were no more folios with drawings on the *recto* and *verso* than the present two, then we must conclude that the book described by him consisted of 41 leaves. [47] Some time after Mariette's description two sheets were removed, as can be inferred from the eighteenth-century note on the *verso* of the fly-leaf which describes the book as consisting of 39 leaves. Indeed, close inspection of the present book shows the remains of two mounting pages torn close to the binding between f°s 5 and 6 and f°s 14 and 15. One sheet (not necessarily identical with one of those torn

*graphia sacra Brabantiae,* II, Brussels, 1662-69, section on Heverlee, pp. 18-33; Baron de Reiffenberg, ed., *Mémoires autographes du Duc Charles de Croy,* Brussels and Leipzig, 1845, pp. 281, 282). For a description and history of Heverlee, see also E. van Even, *Dévastations dans l'église des Célestins d'Héverlé-lez-Louvain, en 1796, Messager des sciences historiques ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique,* Ghent, 1887, pp. 278-292 and 411-419 and P. Clemen, ed., *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler,* II, Munich, 1923, pp. 95-103.

[45] That de Succa (or Rubens) copied from paintings rather than from drawings or prints is demonstrated by Rubens's colour notations, cf. Nos. 5 and 8.

[46] See pp. 32, 33, note 1.

[47] Burchard and d'Hulst interpret 'dessins' as leaves rather than drawings. See also the inscription on the first leaf of the present album. Furthermore, it is possible that in Mariette's time the book included more than two sheets with drawings on both sides, for the eighteenth-century note on the *verso* of the fly-leaf mentions 'plusieurs' sheets with drawings on the *recto* and *verso.* Since the only such sheets we know are the two in the present *Costume Book,* the number of leaves and drawings arrived at for the original *Costume Book* in this reconstruction is only a minimum.

out) has since been added by the British Museum (f° 6) and three further sheets have been discovered in various collections, two formerly in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden, now in the British Museum (Nos. 41 and 42) and two small fragments which probably formed one sheet, one formerly on the New York art market, now in the Metropolitan Museum (No. 43), the other once in the Rodrigues collection, afterwards in Ludwig Burchard's (No. 44). These three leaves have been generally accepted as part of the original *Costume Book*. I believe that two further sheets, one in the museum at Brunswick (No. 45), the other in the Louvre (No. 46) were also part of the original sketch-book. Furthermore, one of the present folios (No. 11) consists of two fragments joined together. Each of these fragments was in Rubens's time part of a separate folio. All these would bring the original book to 48 drawings on 46 leaves, i.e. a book five leaves larger than that described by Mariette. Thus Crozat's album, which possibly was the same as the present one (the binding seems to be of the early eighteenth century), contained fewer drawings than the original *Costume Book*.

The issue is further complicated because the book described by Mariette might have contained drawings not directly related to the original sketch-book. As Hind already observed, it is doubtful whether the sheet after Hans Weiditz (f° 25, *recto* and *verso;* Figs. 119 and 128) should be considered part of the original *Costume Book*. It is of different paper and ink from the other drawings and might have come from a separate sketch-book altogether (for a detailed discussion see under No. 25). It was possibly inserted at the time the book was in Crozat's possession. The sheets with copies after Burgkmair also seem to be independent of the original sketch-book (see Nos. 21 and 22; Figs. 105 and 107). Their larger size, darker ink and broader pen strokes (on f° 21 only used for two of the figures) differentiates them from the other folios. Furthermore, the quality of the paper does not correspond with that of any other sheet and the watermark on f° 21 (near *Briquet* 13166 or 13201; f° 22 is without watermark) is unique in the book. These points would suggest that the sheets were once independent of the sketch-book. On the other hand, style and type of ink used on the studies of German head-dresses which appear on f° 21 together with two figures after Burgkmair correspond to the copies after de Succa in these respects. This would indicate their having been part of the original album. It is possible that the copies after Burgkmair on f°° 21 and 22 were done independently, probably shortly before 1600 and on one large sheet rather than two

separate leaves as they are now. Not having filled the sheet entirely, Rubens picked it up again after his return from Italy and added the studies of heads at approximately the same time as he made the de Succa copies. The fact that the sheet was carried over, so to speak, from the first Antwerp workshop might explain its uniqueness in size and paper, all other sheets having been added later at approximately the same time.

Thus Crozat's album probably contained 39 complete leaves of the original sketch-book plus one leaf composed of two fragments from two separate folios of the original sketch-book. That is, the original *Costume Book* probably consisted of all of the folios in the present book, except f° 25, plus at least the five related sheets now in other collections (Nos. 41–46) and the two folios from fragments of which f° 11 was composed. Since the *Costume Book* in its present form has two folios with drawings on both *recto* and *verso,* one of these being the questionable f° 25, by this reconstruction the original *Costume Book* must have had (at least) 45 folios with 46 drawings, as indicated below.

| Owner | Bound together | | Separated | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Leaves | Drawings | Leaves | Drawings |
| RUBENS | 45 minimum | 46 minimum | | |
| 4 leaves lost, 1 leaf (recto and verso) not in original bound in with others, fragments of 2 leaves joined into 1 | | | | |
| CROZAT | 41 | 43 | 4 | 4 |
| 2 leaves torn out | | | | |
| BRITISH MUSEUM AT PURCHASE | 39 | 41 | 6 | 6 |
| 1 leaf added | | | | |
| BRITSH MUSEUM NOW | 40 | 42 | 5 | 5 |

*Costume Book* History

On the basis of colour of ink, technique and style the drawings have been classified by Burchard and d'Hulst in two groups: Group I, drawn in outline with a fine pen in brown or greyish-brown ink with little hatching, the shadows and modelling indicated in brown, greyish-brown or grey wash (f⁰ˢ 3–7, 11 (upper half), 13, 14, 20, 23, 24, 29, 31, 32 and Nos. 41 and 42; to these should be added Nos. 45 and 46);[48] Group II, drawn with a broader pen in dark brown ink, the shadows and modelling done by hatching (f⁰ˢ 1, 2, 11 (lower half), 12, 15–19, 21, 22, 25–28, 30, 33–40 and Nos. 43 and 44).[49] Six different watermarks can be discerned and there are many unmarked sheets.[50] These last are all single sheets with the exception of f⁰ 30 which is double. All other double sheets show the watermark on one half while the other half is either plain or bears a mark resembling a monogram. Thus plain single sheets originally may have formed double folios with marked single sheets. That this is not a wild speculation is born out by the single f⁰ˢ 33 (no watermark) and 36 (*Briquet*, No. 7703) having once formed a double sheet, as can be seen from the drawing of a head, part of which appears on each folio.

Unfortunately, none of the other sheets can be fitted together as conveniently. However, a study of drawing technique, style, quality of paper, watermarks and subject matter leads to the tentative reconstruction of several more sheets. Within Group II, the following pairs of single leaves might have formed double folios: 16 and 19, 17 and 18 and, less convincing, 1 and 15. Besides their reconstruction based on the technical points mentioned above, all these sheets contain copies after the existing part of de Succa's *Mémoriaux*. Thus Rubens's principle of selection also has been considered.[51] Further leaves within this group which might have formed double sheets are f⁰ˢ 11 (lower half) and 12, primarily based on closely related subject matter (see also under the individual entries), f⁰ˢ 34 and 35 and, possibly, f⁰ˢ 6 and 20. To these should be added f⁰ˢ 21 and 22, discussed above. Within Group I, f⁰ˢ 8 and 13 may have formed

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[48] F⁰ˢ 6 and 20 and Nos. 45 and 46 are done in pen and ink only. Stylistically, however, they are more closely related to this group than to Group II.

[49] Burchard and d'Hulst do not include f⁰ˢ 21, 22 and 25 in this group. F⁰ˢ 22 and 25 and part of f⁰ 21 are done with an even coarser pen and in darker brown ink.

[50] Individual watermarks are given under each entry. The seven watermarks mentioned by Burchard and d'Hulst include the mark to be found on f⁰ˢ 2 (right half), 15, 18, 19, 27 (right half), 28 (left half) and 37 (bottom half) which I believe to be a monogram found in conjunction with near *Briquet*, No. 7867 rather than a watermark.

[51] Cf. p. 38, note 24. For the original order of the *Mémoriaux* see pp. 35, 36, note 17.

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one large sheet, both showing the same colour of ink and wash and containing copies from the *Recueil d'Arras*. None of the remaining sheets can be construed as convincingly. F° 4 and the upper part of f° 11 are drawn with the same ink and shade of wash, whereas f°ˢ 4 and 7 are related in subject matter. F° 10 could be joined with f° 9 as well as with f° 5. It is possible that the remaining single leaves (f°ˢ 3, 14, 20, 23, 24 and Nos. 41–46) originally were also halves of double sheets, but these cannot be reconstructed now. Of these f°ˢ 20 and 23 are closely related stylistically as well as in subject matter. Neither sheet bears a watermark. However, as there is one double folio without mark in the present album (f° 30), it is possible that these two single leaves once formed a double folio.

When we come to the make-up of the original album we have to ask ourselves whether it was, in fact, a bound book at the time Rubens made his drawings or whether he drew on loose sheets. There are four double folios in the present album which might indicate binding because of figures not extending over the centre fold (f°ˢ 2, Fig. 7; 27, Fig. 143; 38, Fig. 214; 40, Fig. 225). While on two of these sheets (f°ˢ 2 and 27) Rubens succeeded in fitting his figures into the halves provided by the centre fold, on the remaining folios (38 and 40) he actually was prevented from completing some of his sketches (note the bunch of feathers on the head-dress worn by the Sultana on f° 38, Fig. 214 and the left arm of the seated young man on the left of f° 40, Fig. 225) and, in one instance, was forced to interrupt the line indicating a tree branch which he continued, slightly offset, on the other half of the sheet (see Fig. 225). This would indicate that the folios in question formed the centre of a section in a bound volume. However, the majority of the double folios shows figures extending over the centre fold without any interruption, a practice not common in a bound volume where the slight depression caused by the folding and binding usually forces the artist either to interrupt his line or leave the sketch incomplete. I believe, therefore, that Rubens drew on loose folio leaves (and possibly also on some single sheets) which were later folded and bound for use in the studio. Whether some of the large sheets were cut at the time remains an open question. As we have seen, Rubens used most of the double leaves unfolded. The two sheets which show incomplete figures and interrupted scenes (f°ˢ 38 and 40) must have been already folded when Rubens made his drawings. Since the details not completed are of no importance, Rubens did not bother to unfold the sheet, but rather turned it vertically and continued on the other half.

The attribution of the sketch-book to Rubens, already found in Mariette's description, has generally been accepted. Hind's suggestion that in some cases the hand may be that of pupils has been rightly rejected by Burchard and d'Hulst. [52] A certain amount of sketchiness and brevity is to be expected in this type of drawing (see especially f[os] 12, Fig. 50; 16, Fig. 81; 17, Fig. 82; 19, Fig. 96 and Nos. 43, Fig. 228; 44, Fig. 231). However, the spontaneity, confidence and freedom with which these sketches are done are thoroughly Rubens's work. His draughtsmanship is especially noticable in the fluid rendering of eyes and mouths and the drawing of the hands with slightly upturned finger-tips (see especially f[os] 3–5, Figs. 19–21; 7–10, Figs. 29, 34, 38 and 42; 29–31, Figs. 160, 164 and 168).

When it comes to the dating of these drawings art historians have differed widely in their opinions. Burchard and d'Hulst placed them in the years before Rubens's journey to Italy in 1600, [53] whereas Held dated them in the middle years of the 1610's. [54] Other scholars have stated that the *Book* was done over an extended period of time, i.e., begun during Rubens's last years with Otto van Veen and during the time of his first Antwerp workshop and continued after his return from Italy. [55] As discussed previously, there is documentary evidence that at least the copies after de Succa were done after 1608. Although stylistically these drawings are quite close to the copies of German and Netherlandish prints Rubens had made a decade earlier, they display a degree of freedom and

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[52] For a discussion of Hind's attribution of f° 25 to Van Dyck, see under that entry.

[53] *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 12. 13, under No. 1. This view was supported by van Regteren Altena (*van Regteren Altena*, p. 8) and by the reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement* (London), March 17, 1966, p. 222. Burchard and d'Hulst connect the Lalaing portraits with the short period in 1591 when Rubens served as a page in the household of Marguerite de Ligne, though they are hesitant in assigning them categorically to that year when Rubens was only fourteen years old.

[54] *Held*, I, p. 160. In support of this late dating, see also M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman* (review of J.S. Held, *Rubens, Selected Drawings* and L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*), *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 375, 376; D. Rosand, *Rubens Drawings*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, p. 239; *Stechow, Portraits*, pp. 30, 31.

[55] J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens, Selected Drawings, by J.S. Held*, *Kunstchronik*, XV, 1962, p. 104 and *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, note 25 (p. 83). This view was supported by *Eisler* (p. 47). *Ingrams* (p. 190 and note 3, quoting Michael Jaffé's opinion) also suggests that the album was done over an extended period of time, but does not refer to specific dates, such as before and after Italy.

confidence not inconsistent with Rubens's development as a draugthman. Stylistically related to this group of drawings are the studies of Near Eastern costumes which were probably done at approximately the same time. The predominantly Flemish inscriptions, a language Rubens preferred in his early youth, do not justify the placement of these drawings in that period since there are also notations in Italian (see f° 35). Whereas Flemish was employed by Rubens throughout his life,[56] the use of Italian is restricted to his post-Italian years. Among the group of drawings done with a fine pen, sometimes with the addition of wash (Burchard and d'Hulst's Group I), the so-called Arras-portraits must also have been done after 1608 if they were copied from de Succa, as I believe they were. Closely related to this group are the full-length portraits of members of the Lalaing, Croy and Baux families. Although we do not have as convenient a point of reference for their dating as we have in the case of the unquestioned de Succa copies, their stylistic affinity to as well as their grouping with the Arras-portraits would seem to point to the same date.

The studies of German costumes (f°ˢ 20–23 and 25, Figs. 102, 105, 107, 113, 119 and 128) remain problematic with regard to their date. It has been suggested that they formed the beginning of the *Costume Book* and that they stem from Rubens's pre-Italian years when he copied from German printed books.[57] I believe this to be true for the Burgkmair and Weiditz copies, at least as far as their early dating goes. As discussed above, I do not believe that they formed the beginning of the *Costume Book* as such. While the sheet with drawings after Weiditz was unlikely ever to have had any connection at all with the original sketch-book, the two folios with copies from Burgkmair's prints were probably made independently of such a project and only used for it after Rubens added the studies of German head-dresses on f° 21 (Fig. 105). These, together with the full-length figures on f° 20 (Fig. 102) I believe to have been done after 1608. The dance scene on f° 23 (Fig. 113), copied from Israhel van Meckenem, is more problematic as regards its date. It lacks the quality of the later, post-Italian Rubens. However, because of its close affinity with f° 20 I would nevertheless like to suggest such a late date (for a more detailed discussion, see under No. 23). Thus, in my view, the *Costume Book* as such originated after Rubens's return from Italy, probably from *c.* 1609 until

[56] See, e.g. the drawing of *Robin the Dwarf* in Stockholm (Nationalmuseum. Inv. No. 1913-1863) : *Held*, I, No. 101; II, pl. 113.
[57] *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 83, note 25.

*c.* 1612, with the exception of (1) f° 25 which never was part of the original sketch-book, (2) the Burgkmair copies on f°ˢ 21 and 22 which were carried over from Rubens's firſt Antwerp workshop to be completed and incorporated into a book of coſtume ſtudies after his return from Italy and, possibly, (3) the dance scene after van Meckenem on f° 23 which, ſtyliſtically, cannot be placed convincingly in Rubens's poſt-Italian years. In support of such a late date for the *Coſtume Book* is the charaĉter of the handwriting which Hind correĉtly placed in the firſt decade after Rubens's return from Italy. [58]

## V. PURPOSE AND LATER USE

What was Rubens's purpose when he made his ſtudies of local hiſtorical and Near Eaſtern coſtumes? The album itself has been inscribed on the fly-leaf that it was done by Rubens "pour son hiſtoire des Comtes de Flandre". While Rubens may have been commissioned by Albert and Isabella to execute a dynaſtically oriented series of portraits, as suggeſted by Stechow, [59] I do not believe that the *Coſtume Book* was compiled in preparation for such a programme. [60] The not infrequent inſtances where Rubens failed to identify his figures, although identifications were supplied by his models, do not agree with a genealogical projeĉt. Furthermore, the *Coſtume Book* contains a great deal of material that has nothing to do with a genealogy, such as hunting scenes (f°ˢ 14, Fig. 68; 24, Fig. 115), dancing couples (f° 2, Fig. 113), men in grotesque hats (f° 6, Fig. 23) and German *Bürgerfrauen* (f°ˢ 20, Fig. 102; 21, Fig. 105); not to mention the sheet with Spanish coſtumes (f° 32, Fig. 179) and the series of Near Eaſtern figures (f°ˢ 33–40, Figs. 180, 182, 187, 192, 193, 214, 224 and 225) which have no place whatever in such a projeĉt. Mariette probably came nearer to the truth when he described the volume as a series of drawings which shows "avec quel soin Rubens faisoît des recherches,

[58] *Hind*, II, p. 38.
[59] *Stechow, Portraits* (pp. 32–44) in a discussion of the double portrait incorreĉtly known under the title of *Pippin and Bega* and the portraits of Maximilian I and Charles the Bold (all in Vienna) which he suggeſts to have been part of such a series. Stechow also believes that the *Coſtume Book* might be conneĉted with a genealogical projeĉt on the counts of Flanders. The only evidence we have for Rubens's participation in such a projeĉt are his designs for the title-page for the two volumes of F. Verhaer's *Annales Ducum Brabantiae*, published in 1622 and 1623 (see *Evers, 1943*, pp. 179, 180, figs. 91 and 95) and, indireĉtly, the use of the Vienna *Pippin and Bega* in Jan Meyssens's *Les Effigies des sovverains princes et dvcs de Brabant*, published at Antwerp in the 1660's (see also *Stechow, Portraits*, p. 31).
[60] See also *Hind*, II, p. 37 and *Held*, I, p. 55.

pour être en état d'observer le Coſtume dans ses tableaux" (see pp. 32, 33, note 1). It is, indeed, primarily a book of coſtume ſtudies and thus differs from de Succa's genealogical and documentary colleƈtion as well as from the *Recueil d'Arras* and similar portrait series. [61]

It is well-known that Rubens was intereſted in the ſtudy of coſtumes and often incorporated the fruits of his researches into his paintings. Thus we can observe his knowledge of oriental fashions in his many versions of the *Adoration of the Magi,* in his series of exotic hunting piƈtures, as well as in paintings such as *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier,* his *Portrait of Nicolas de Respaigne in Oriental Dress* in Kassel and in the Boſton *Tomyris and Cyrus,* discussed below. His familiarity with the dress of the ancients is demonſtrated repeatedly. It can be observed, for example, in Philip Rubens's *Eleƈtorum libri II,* a book on ancient cuſtoms and coſtumes, published in 1608 with illus- trations based on drawings by his brother Peter Paul. [62] When Rubens painted scenes from Roman hiſtory he was careful to be accurate in the clothing of his figures. This was already admired by the French archaelogiſt Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc. In a letter of December 1, 1622, which Peiresc wrote to the painter after introducing members of the French court to the *modelli* Rubens had made for the tapeſtries depiƈting the *Hiſtory of Conſtantine* we find the

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[61] That Rubens was primarily intereſted in coſtumes is, for inſtance, demonſtrated by the faƈt that he copied from the *Recueil d'Arras* only portraits which are shown with head-dresses although the album contains many bare-headed ones. It is to be assumed that de Succa, considering the purpose of his projeƈt, did not make this diſtinƈtion.

[62] For Rubens's intereſt in ancient coſtumes, see also the so-called Ms. Johnson in the colleƈtion of Count Seilern, London, a series of copies made from the loſt *Pocketbook* by Rubens. For the Seilern manuscript, formerly in the colleƈtion of Chriſtopher Marsden, see M. Jaffé, *Van Dyck's Antwerp Sketchbook,* London, 1966. For Rubens's intereſt in oriental dress, see the five drawings of Jesuit missionaries in Chinese coſtume in the colleƈtions of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Inv. No. III, 179); Lady du Cane, London; Wolfgang Burchard, Farnham, Surrey; Sir Arthur Hobhouse and the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. All five drawings have been discussed by C. S. Wortley, *Rubens' Drawings of Chinese Coſtume, Old Maſter Drawings,* IX, 1934, pp. 40–47, figs. 41–45. For individual sheets, see also *Held,* I, pp. 137, 138, No. 105; II, pl. 123 (New York drawing) and *Burchard-d'Hulſt,* 1963, I, pp. 230–232, No. 147; II, pl. 147 (Hobhouse drawing). Sketches of contemporary dress can be found on the sheet with *Two Studies of a Peasant Woman* in the Berlin Print Room (Inv. No. 1223: *Glück-Haberditzl,* p. 55, No. 190) and in the ſtudy of *Robin, the Dwarf* in the Stockholm Museum (Inv. No. 1913–1863: *Held,* I, No. 101; II, pl. 113), both with coſtume notations in Flemish similar to those found in the *Coſtume Book.* For Rubens's intereſt in head-dresses, see also the sheet with ſtudies after Titian (*Burchard-d'Hulſt,* 1963, I, pp. 244, 245, No. 158; II, pl. 158).

following remark: "... se ben gli altri sapevano in generale che erano della Vita di Constantino, nulladimeno non sapevano il particolare di ciascheduna historia ch'io gli andai esponendo, non senza admiratione dell' esatezza di V.S. in esprimere gli habiti antiqui, sino alle clavi delle calighe ch'io vidi con grandissimo gusto, sotto il piede d'un cavaliere sequitante Maxentio". [63]

Just as Rubens dressed figures from Roman history in garments he had copied from ancient works of art, he depicted rulers of medieval times in costumes established as authentic by earlier Northern works of art. Thus he aptly used his knowledge of the fashions of fifteenth-century Germany and Burgundy when he illustrated the wedding scene of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy on the *Arch of Philip* in the series of triumphal porticos which he designed for the entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp. Maximilian's short tunic over tightly fitted hose, his father's jewelled cap and fur-trimmed cloak and Mary's high-waisted dress and veiled hennin are contemporary with the event (cf. Nos. 1, 8, 11, 22 and 24). [64] In fact, the relationship between this composition and Rubens's costume studies may be even more specific than the application of his historical knowledge in general: Rubens might have based the figures of Mary and the page who carries her train on two figures he had copied in his youth from one of the tournament books of Louis of Bruges. [65]

However, we must not overestimate Rubens's historical sense. While he did distinguish between antiquity, the middle ages and his own time, he did not consider the successive epochs within these periods. [66] To him the culture of the late Gothic was representative of the entire middle ages. Thus rulers of Merovingian times are dressed in Burgundian costumes and Maximilian armour, as can be seen, for example, in the London and Ghent paintings of *The Conver-*

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[63] "... whereas the others knew that the subjects deal in general with the Life of Constantine, they nevertheless did not know the details of each story, which I have explained to them, not without admiration for the exactitude with which you have rendered the antique dresses, even, as I noticed with great pleasure, the nails of the boots worn by one of the riders behind Maxentius" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, III, pp. 85, 90).

[64] For further examples showing Rubens's use of late-medieval costumes and armour in subjects contemporary with the clothes, cf. Nos. 4, 8 and 22.

[65] The drawing is in the Berlin Print Room (Inv. No. 17792, as *Rubens school*). Rubens's authorship is highly doubtful. However, the drawing may be based on a copy by Rubens; see, e.g., the sheet in the Hamburg Print Room (Inv. No. 1957-145) with head-studies on the *verso* copied from f° 6 of the *Costume Book* (Fig. 24) and sketches of horses on the *recto* copied from a lost Rubens drawing after Amman. For the Berlin drawing, see p. 125, note 6, with literature and references to reproductions.

[66] On this see also *Held*, I, p. 56.

*sion of St. Bavo* and the double portrait in Vienna incorrectly known under the name of *Pippin and Bega,* all of which include adaptations of drawings found in the *Costume Book.* [67] To this group should be added a rather curious painting in Vienna, formerly known under the title *The Banquet of Ahasuerus,* which recently has been renamed more correctly *Alboin and Rosamond* (Fig. 45). [68] Indeed, the Book of Esther does not refer to a scene as depicted on the panel. Furthermore, as discussed below, Rubens's 'historical' consciousness would not have permitted him to use medieval costumes for Old Testament figures. Therefore the new title assigned to the painting is more appropriate. The scene depicted is the moment when the Lombard king Alboin forces his wife Rosamond to drink out of a cup made from the skull of her father whom Alboin had slain. In accordance with his practice to dress figures from medieval times in Burgundian costumes, Rubens (or a Rubens pupil) shows the participants of this sixth-century scene in the clothes of the fifteenth century (for more specific correspondences between the painting and Rubens's costume studies, cf. Nos. 8, 13, 17 and 31). It should be noted here that, except for the lady standing on the left of the painting whose figure was taken from an engraving by Israhel van Meckenem, [69] none of the ladies and gentlemen can be specifically related to Rubens's costume studies. This is true of all paintings where Rubens introduced figures in medieval costumes. In his designs for the *Pompa Introitus*

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[67] For the two *Conversions of St. Bavo,* cf. Nos. 1, 2, 14ʳ, 21, 22, 24 and 31. The fact that there is a large number of medieval costumes in the London *Conversion* which has been convincingly dated *c.* 1611–12 (*Martin, Cat. National Gallery,* p. 129) would seem to support my dating of the *Costume Book c.* 1609–12. For the Vienna double portrait see No. 17. For a discussion of the portrait, including the correct identifications of its sitters, see *Stechow, Portraits,* pp. 32–40. For a further example showing Rubens's use of late-medieval costume in a representation of the early middle ages, see also No. 12.

[68] The old title was suggested by an inscription on the panel which reads : *Lib. Esther c.* 7. The painting, formerly attributed to Frans Francken II (*Glück, 1933,* p. 205, fig. 114), was assigned to Rubens's hand by Burchard and d'Hulst (*Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, p. 22, under No. 8). Glück already questioned the subject matter and described the painting simply as *A Royal Banquet* with the suggestion that it might be connected with the legends of one of the Flemish saints. Burchard and d'Hulst accept while the old title. The new title can be found in the most recent catalogue (*Verzeichnis der Gemälde,* 1973, p. 149). In the same catalogue the attribution to Rubens is again questioned. The painting is ascribed to school of Rubens and in Vienna it is hung in the *Sekundärgalerie.*

[69] For Rubens's copy of the engraving which is in the Berlin Print Room (Inv. No. 3243) and its connection with the painting, see *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, pp. 21–23, No. 8; II, pl. 8.

*Ferdinandi,* a work which provided ample opportunity for the application of his earlier portrait drawings and costume sketches (e.g., portrait of Frederick III on f° 11 and the figure of Mary of Burgundy on f° 31), there is no direct use of the *Costume Book.* Nor is this fact without significance. In his recreations of the past Rubens did not follow his earlier drawings pedantically, but created new forms and images based on what he had learned from the old masters.

Rubens was not unique in his interest in exotic and picturesque costumes. Many artists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Lucas van Leyden, Jan Mostaert, Hubert Goltzius, Adam Elsheimer, Rubens's teacher Otto van Veen and, above all, Rembrandt, shared this interest. It is also apparent in the large number of costume manuals published during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the earliest being two sets of engravings by Enea Vico, which were followed by the first costume-book proper, the anonymous *Recueil de la Diversité des Habits,* printed at Paris in 1562. The last and most comprehensive book of the type is Cesare Vecellio's *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni,* published at Venice in 1590. Besides the contemporary dress of Europe most of these books also illustrate the exotic fashions of the Near East and Africa as well as examples of antique and local historical costumes, the latter primarily taken from fifteenth-century Burgundian court life and sixteenth-century Germany and Switzerland.

The fascination with the world of the Orient went back to the early Renaissance. The first artists who left records of their visits to Turkey were Gentile Bellini (1479–1481), Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1533), Melchior Lorichs (1556–1560) and Nicolas de Nicolay whose travels were published in 1568 illustrated with woodcuts. Jan Vermeyen, who accompanied the army of Charles V to Tunisia left a series of etchings devoted to subjects taken from the daily life of the Islamic world. [70] For the most part, however, knowledge of oriental costumes was acquired through second-hand sources, mostly from Nicolas de Nicolay. Along with the interest in the exotic fashions of the East arose, in the sixteenth century, a concern for one's own national past, including its costumes. [71]

[70] On this see O. Benesch, *The Orient as a Source of Inspiration of the Graphic Arts of the Renaissance,* in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler,* Berlin, 1959, pp. 242–253.

[71] It was apparently at the court of the Emperor Maximilian that this interest arose, witnessed by the various genealogical programmes commissioned by him, above all his tomb at Innsbruck with figures of his and Mary of Burgundy's ancestors, several of which show elements of fifteenth- and fourteenth-century clothes, e.g., the *chaperon* worn by Philip the Good. However, none are dressed consistenly in one style. On the

While in the middle ages figures and scenes from ancient and biblical times were shown in contemporary dress and surroundings, now artists applied their knowledge of late-medieval costumes to subjects from local history, non-classical antiquity (see Van Veen's and Rembrandt's Batavians discussed below) and even the Bible. A newly-awakened 'historical' consciousness, also evident in the many dynastic portrait galleries, chronicles and genealogies of the time, required that historical personages were dressed in 'historical' costumes. However, a correct judgment of the respective eras in history, let alone the successive epochs within one era, was not yet applied. What mattered even more than the 'historical' value of these costumes was the element of the fantastic that came with the extravaganzas of Burgundian court dress and the uniform of the German *Landsknecht*. Artists, Rubens included, were attracted by late-medieval fashions in much the same way as by the exotic costumes of the East. But unlike many of his contemporaries, including Rembrandt, who applied local historical costumes even for scenes from the Old Testament,[72] we have seen that Rubens's use of late Gothic fashions was restricted to paintings of medieval subjects, be they as distant as the sixth century.[73]

However, there is one exception. Along with medieval rulers Rubens also liked to depict ancient Near Eastern sovereigns in mid-fifteenth-century garments. Thus we find medieval costumes and head-dresses in the Boston *Tomyris*

tomb, see V. Oberhammer, *Die Bronzestandbilder des Maximiliangrabmales in der Hofkirche zu Innbruck,* Innsbruck – Vienna – Munich, 1935. On the use of historical costumes in general, see *Van de Waal,* I, pp. 25, 26 and 60–62.

[72] See, e.g., Rembrandt's use of the little statues which formerly surrounded the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon in St. Michael's at Antwerp (now Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) in the following Old Testament representations: *Jacob's Blessing* (for the figure of Asnath, Joseph's wife: *Bredius-Gerson,* No. 525), *The Wedding of Samson* (for the figure of Delilah : *Bredius-Gerson,* No. 507) and *Haman before Esther and Ahasuerus* (for the figure of Esther: *Bredius-Gerson,* No. 522). These examples were first pointed out by F. Schmidt-Degener (*Rembrandt imitateur de Claus Sluter et de Jean van Eyck, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* XXXVI, 1906, pp. 89–108). See also O. Benesch, *Rembrandt and the Gothic Tradition, Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6th series, XXVI, 1944, pp. 285–304 (also listing other examples of medieval elements in Rembrandt's works) and *Van de Waal,* II, pl. 25, figs. 3 and 4. For the Amsterdam statuettes, see *Leeuwenberg, Cat. Amsterdam,* pp. 40–45, No. 10, with illustrations. For similar examples illustrating elements of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century costumes in Biblical and ancient themes, see *Van de Waal,* II, pl. 24, fig. 1; pl. 42, fig. 2 and pl. 43, fig. 2.

[73] See also *Evers, 1943* (pp. 147, 148) who, I believe, was the first to draw attention to Rubens's efforts at making costumes historically correct, specifically in the London *St. Bavo* and the Vienna *Pippin and Bega.*

*and Cyrus,* especially in Pontius's engraving and Rubens's preparatory draw-
ing for it (cf. Nos. 10, 22 and 31). I do not know why Rubens preferred to dress
some of the participants, including Queen Tomyris, in fifteenth- and early six-
teenth-century garments rather than in Near Eastern costumes which also appear
in the painting along with Eastern European dress, unless he wanted to create
something new. Simply to have reproduced the Persian costumes in the *Costume
Book* would have shown his erudition, but it would have taken none of the
imagination and originality that Rubens displayed in all other respects. His
preference for adapting and transforming the most diverse influences can be
seen throughout his work. Just as he combined mythological, allegorical and
historical elements into one harmonious whole (see especially the Medici cycle,
Whitehall ceiling and his decorations for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*), he
united costumes from various countries and centuries to create an overall exotic
effect. [74]

While there is no apparent reason for Rubens's use of medieval fashion in
an ancient Near Eastern subject, the juxtaposition of classical and late-Gothic
costumes in Rubens's *Continence of Scipio Africanus* might have a more specific
significance. (The painting was destroyed by fire. For the engraving by Schelte
a Bolswert, see Fig. 139.) Whereas Scipio and his entourage are shown in
Roman dress, the young bridegroom wears a short tunic with slashed sleeves
and a feather beret as found in early sixteenth-century German woodcuts.
Among the women following the bride one is represented in a stiff veil inspired
by the late-medieval wimple, while another is shown in a gown whose exces-
sively long sleeves are reminiscent of Burgundian court dress. In the represen-
tation of a subject introducing Romans and Ibero-Celtic locals (the story takes
place in Spain), the latter obviously could not be dressed in Roman garments. [75]

[74] For the use of medieval head-dresses in representations of ancient Near Eastern
subjects, see also Paolo Veronese's *Family of Darius Before Alexander* in the National
Gallery where the lady in the centre background wears a hennin (C. Gould, *London,
National Gallery : The Sixteenth Century Italian Schools,* London, 1975, pp. 320–322).
Rubens's use of Roman armour and weapons in non-classical subjects as well as his
mixture of elements from antique and sixteenth-century armour in one representation
was pointed out by H. D. Rodee (*Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armour, The Art
Bulletin,* XLIX, 1967, pp. 223–230).

[75] On the use of Roman and late-medieval costumes in this composition see also C. Van
de Velde, *Rubens als schilder van historische taferelen, Spiegel Historiael,* XII, 1977,
p. 350.

In using late-medieval costumes for these so-called barbarians (i.e., non-Romans), Rubens followed a tradition established by the dynastically oriented works of the sixteenth century in which legendary and non-classical ancient rulers were portrayed in medieval dress. [76] This practice was also applied by Rubens's teacher Otto van Veen in his series of paintings illustrating the war between the Batavians and the Romans (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), in which the Batavians are dressed in fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century costumes. [77]

The relatively infrequent use Rubens made of his costume studies seems to indicate that he did not make them with the specific purpose in mind of using them in his later paintings. Since most of the Flemish and Burgundian drawings seem to have been copied from one source, Antonio de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, it was probably the encounter with de Succa's work rather than a planned programme that prompted him to compile the major part of his collection. This done, other drawings were added to it (the Near Eastern section might be of slightly later date) and, possibly, earlier sketches incorporated into it (e.g., some of the German costumes). Thus the primary function of these drawings seems to have been as models for the study of local historical, of exotic and at the same time picturesque costumes. However, we must not forget that Rubens, his antiquarian and ethnological interests notwithstanding, was the master of an active workshop for which drawings represented the most important working material. For Rubens the value of a drawing was essentially related to its practical function. [78] Therefore Hind is probably correct in assuming that Rubens, when he compiled the *Costume Book*, also had in mind its possible usefulness as source material in the studio. This is supported by his method of classification. In many instances Rubens grouped together certain figure types or details of costume, arranging them in pattern-book fashion across the page.

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[76] See, e.g. Pieter Baltens's illustrations to Cornelius Martin's *Généalogies et anciennes descentes des forestiers et comtes de Flandre*, first published at Antwerp in 1578 (cf. under No. 2, note 9) and the representations of the legendary king Suevus illustrated by *Van de Waal*, II, pls. 50 and 51.

[77] See *Van de Waal*, I, pp. 214, 215 and II, pl. 47, fig. 1; pl. 73, fig. 1; pl. 74, fig. 1; pl. 75, fig. 2; pl. 77, fig. 2; pl. 78, fig. 1; pl. 83, fig. 2 and pl. 88, fig. 2. For Rembrandt's use of late-medieval costumes in *Claudius Civilis*, see L. Münz, *Claudius Civilis, sein Antlitz und seine aüssere Erscheinung, Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, XXV, 1956, pp. 58–60.

[78] On this see *Held*, I, pp. 16, 17.

Thus we find pages filled with only male (Nos. 4 [79], 5, 19, 26 upper half, 27 and 37) or female figure (Nos. 7, 8, 16 [80], 17, 20, 26 lower half, 28 and 38), with medieval armour (Nos. 1, 2 and 22) or picturesque head-dresses (Nos. 6, 13, 21, 45 and 46). This classification system indicates that Rubens must have had later application in mind when he collected his studies of costume. It would certainly facilitate the collection's usefulness as a working tool.

By compiling a book of costume as model for study, as reference tool in the studio and, possibly, also for the instruction of pupils, [81] Rubens followed the long tradition of model-books in European art, from the middle ages through the Renaissance. However, unlike the medieval model-book and its successor, the printed *Kunstbüchlein*, Rubens's book was not primarily meant as a tool in the workshop, nor was it meant for publication. Its sketch-book-like character, witnessed by the many incomplete drawings, the profusion and overlapping of figures, in short, the spontaneity and fluidity of the drawings do not suggest such a project. The book combines the private character of a sketch-book by an artist motivated by the new topographical, ethnological and local antiquarian interest of the time with, possibly, some of the workshop functions of a model-book. [82]

We have seen so far that Rubens's *Costume Book* was not compiled in preparation of a genealogical project, nor was it meant as a model-book as such, but was produced primarily for the study of costume with the possibility of later

[79] One of the two men on this folio is Jean de Croy whose wife, Marguerite de Craon, is shown on f° 7. It seems likely that Rubens's source represented them together, wheareas he preferred to group them according to their sex, a further point in support of Rubens's being primarily interested in costume rather than genealogy.

[80] The female figures on this folio and the male figures on f° 10 represent eight of the twenty-four *pleurants* from the tomb of Louis de Mâle at Lille. All twenty-four were copied by de Succa in what was probably the order found on the tomb, with no classification in mind.

[81] The Vienna *Alboin and Rosamond* discussed above was probably done by a pupil who had access to the *Costume Book* as well as to the drawing after Van Meckenem's *Knight and His Lady* (Berlin, Print Room, Inv. No. 3243) which Rubens had done in his early youth. Note the lady standing on the left of the painting, as pointed out by *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, 1, p. 21, under No. 8. On Van Dyck's knowledge of the *Costume Book*, see No. 40, note 3.

[82] Rubens's interest in model-books is demonstrated by Nos. 6, 45 and 46. An indirect confirmation of Rubens's interest in Jost Amman's *Kunstbüchlein* is a sheet with copies of head-studies by Deodat Delmont in Munich (see J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens, Selected Drawings, by J.S. Held, Kunstchronik*, XV, 1962, pp. 103, 104 and p. 97, fig. 1).

application in mind. However, an additional factor must be taken into consideration. When Rubens compiled his collection of costume studies he was not solely motivated by archaelogical curiosity, but also by an interest in the historical personages of his country. This is indicated by the inscriptions which identify many of his figures, in several cases even including such details as their death-dates. Thus the many 'portraits' in the *Costume Book* of former sovereigns of the Netherlands and members of the Flemish and Burgundian nobility, although primarily recorded for the costume and head-dresses they wear, perhaps should also be regarded as the beginning of Rubens's interest in historical portraiture, an interest which culminated in his splendid recreations of Charles the Bold and Maximilian I in Vienna. [83] By recording former Flemish and Burgundian rulers Rubens was undoubtedly inspired by the general increase in national consciousness already referred to. However, in addition to the antiquarian's interest in the past, he was perhaps also motivated by his deep desire for a renewed unity of the Netherlands, a unity which had been established successfully under Burgundian rule. [84] Thus the *Costume Book*, although in the most part copied from such dynastic and antiquarian enterprises as de Succa's *Mémoriaux* and, indirectly, the *Recueil d'Arras*, as well as from costume manuals and model-books differs from them, quite apart from its superior artistic quality. In collecting his material Rubens created a highly personal and private record of his interest in and concern for his country's past, issues which occupied him throughout his career as painter and diplomat to the archdukes.

[83] See also *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 36, 38.
[84] See *ibid.*, pp. 76–78.

# CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

The catalogue consists of entries for each individual folio as it appears in the present sketch-book, followed by the entries for six related sheets which are no longer bound with the book but which I believe to have been part of it originally. Catalogue numbers coincide with folio numbers.

The individual sketches on each folio are designated by capital letters. When there are more than two figures which are not arranged in one row a diagram is supplied in the catalogue entry designating the position of each with a capital letter. When there is no diagram, the individual figures are read from left to right, or from top to bottom, in alphabetical order. These individual figures are referred to in the text by the capital letter in parentheses, e.g. (A).

French and Italian inscriptions which consist of colour notations or simple descriptions of costume are generally not translated into English. Flemish inscriptions are translated, except in the case of the most common notations referring to colour or material of costume only. A list of these Flemish terms is given here with their English translations:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Blauw, blau* or *blaw:* | blue | *bont:* | fur |
| *bruyn* or *bruin:* | brown | *doeck:* | cloth |
| *geel* or *gel:* | yellow | *flouweel:* | velvet |
| *goud* or *gout:* | gold | *laken:* | fabric |
| *grauw:* | grey | *perlen:* | pearls |
| *groen:* | green | *vel:* | fur |
| *purpe* or *purper:* | purple | *zijde:* | silk |
| *root* or *rot:* | red | | |
| *swart:* | black | | |
| *violet:* | violet | | |
| *wit:* | white | | |

Forty leaves (twenty-eight single leaves and twelve double leaves folded in the centre) mounted in passe-partout in an album, bound in an early eighteenth-century leather binding inscribed on the spine ANCIENN / MODES. The page measures approximately 391 : 248 mm. (the dimensions of the drawings are given under each catalogue number). Most sheets have been cut before mounting (see under each catalogue number). The endpapers are of marbled paper. The *verso* of the fly-leaf is inscribed in pencil in an eighteenth-century hand: *Un Volume d'études dessinées Par P.P. Rubens Pour son histoire des Comtes de flandre. Contenant environ deux cent dix costumes différens sur trente neuf feuilles, dont plusieurs sont dessinées au Recto et au Verso.* The first leaf after the fly-leaf is inscribed on the *recto* in pencil in a modern hand: *From the Crozat Collection, see Catalogue page 97, No. 845. It appears at that time to have contained 43 leaves from the description. When purchased for the British Museum it contained only 39 leaves. 1 has since been recovered and is placed between pages 5 & 6 where a leaf has been inserted.* Thirty-nine folios are numbered on the mount in the upper right in dark brown ink in an old hand. On f<sup>os</sup> 6–39 the numbers have been crossed out and have been replaced by pencilled numbers 7–40 in a modern hand (same as on the *recto* of the first leaf) after f° 6 was inserted, the latter being numbered in pencil only. The drawings are in pen and brown ink with occasional use of brown or grey wash, in two instances (Nos. 3 and 31) with touches of white (now oxidized) and in one instance (No. 32) with touches of black, yellow and red chalk. On the *versos* of each leaf mark of the British Museum (*L*. 301) and accession number (the latter not to be found on f° 6).

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.* Inv. No. 1841·12·11·8 (f<sup>os</sup> 1–5, 7–40), f° 6 added later.

PROVENANCE: Roger de Piles (Paris, 1635–1709, probably acquired from Rubens's heirs); Pierre Crozat (Paris, 1665–1740), sale, Paris, 10 April–13 May 1741, lot 845; P.-J. Mariette (?) (Paris, 1694–1774); Nos. 1–5 and 7–40 acquired 11 December 1841 (according to Waagen from a Mr. Boon) and No. 6 acquired later.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, Nos. 2, 4, 6, 7, and 8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, I, pp. 237–239; J.W. Comyns Carr, *Les dessins de Rubens au British Museum, L'Art*, III, 4, 1877, p. 272; *Hind*, II, pp. 36–44, 159, 160, No. 119, pls. XVIII–XXI; *Devigne*, col. 234; A.E. Popham, *A Handbook to the Drawings and Watercolours in the Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum*, London, 1939, p. 63; *Held, 1951*, pp. 287, 288; *Held*, I, pp. 54, 55 and 159, 160, under No. 163; J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens, Selected Drawings, by J.S. Held, Kunstchronik*, XV, 1962, p. 104; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 11–14, under No. 1; *Müller Hofstede, Early Drawings*, p. 15, note 2; M. Jaffé, *Rubens as a Draughtsman* (review of J.S. Held,

*Rubens, Selected Drawings* and L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, *Rubens Drawings*), *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1965, pp. 375, 376; J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens Drawings, by L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 438, No. 1; D. Rosand, *Rubens Drawings, The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 239, 240; *The Times Literary Supplement*, March 7, 1966, p. 222; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, pp. 36, 38 and 77, 78 and notes 25 (pp. 83, 84) and 198–202 (p. 95); *Eisler*, pp. 47, 54, 55; *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p. 130, under No. 57; *van Regteren Altena*, pp. 7, 8; *Stechow, Portraits*, pp. 30, 31 and 38–40; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 105, under No. 71; *Ingrams* (discussion of *Costume Book* as such on p. 190); *Cat. de Succa*, I, pp. 46, 47 and 50, 51; *Rowlands*, pp. 23–25; *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*, pp. 312, 313.

For a discussion of authorship and dating, see above, pp. 48–50.

1. LOUIS DE MALE AND BALDWIN V OF FLANDERS; TWO HELMETS BEARING CRESTS (Fig. 1)

Single folio; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867; pen and brown ink; 315 : 199 mm.; cut at bottom (irregularly) and right, possibly also at left; captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Louis dAumale Conte de flandr[e]s obyt 1383;* [1] (B) *Boudewin le debonnaire Conte de fland[res] obyt an° 1067.* [2]

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 38, No. 119 (1) and p. 159, correction to p. 38 (1).

Both men are dressed in medieval armour, each carrying a dagger and a sword from a low-slung belt and a shield in the left hand. Louis de Mâle is represented as an older man with a short beard and a flat, narrow-brimmed hat over his shoulder-length hair. He wears a shirt of chain mail reaching above the knees with continuous sleeves and hose and pieces of plate armour on arms and legs for additional protection. His shield and surcoat, a sleeveless, tight-fitting garment reaching just below the hips, are decorated with the Netherlandish lion. His right hand, which is about to grasp the pommel of his sword, shows some *pentimenti* in lighter brown ink which indicate that it was first drawn narrower. Rubens then enlarged it with broader strokes in darker brown ink. On the left of Louis's legs, partly overlapping the edge of his shirt, Rubens drew a crowned helmet surmounted by a winged lion's head.

Baldwin V is represented as a bare-headed young knight with a narrow band holding back his long locks. Beneath his coat armour, a tight-fitting, short gar-

ment ornamented with the gyronny of the old counts of Flanders,[3] is visible the hem of the surcoat, cut shorter in front than at the back, and the mail shirt, reaching just above the knees. His legs are protected by greaves and on his feet he wears spurs. Baldwin's left hand holds a shield, also decorated with the *écu gironné*, while his right hand rests on the back of his hip, a gesture much favoured by Rubens throughout the *Costume Book*. In the lower right Rubens drew a shield surmounted by a crowned helmet and a little bird.

All figures were copied from Antonio de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, i.e., Louis de Mâle and his crested helmet from f°s 77 and 76[v], respectively (Figs. 2 and 3), Baldwin V from f° 77[v] (Fig. 6) and the remaining helmet from f° 85[v] (Fig. 4). De Succa informs us that he made his drawings of Louis de Mâle and his helmet from the latter's tomb in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter at Lille which he visited in 1602.[4] He copied not only the recumbent figure of the Flemish count, but also those of his wife, Margaret of Brabant, and his daughter, Margaret of Flanders, which were placed on either side of it, as well as the twenty-four *pleurants* which surrounded the tomb (cf. Nos. 16 and 19). As illustrated and described by de Succa (cf. Fig. 3), Louis de Mâle's crested helmet was carried by two angels and placed at the head of the effigy.[5] The abbeychurch of St. Peter was also the burial place of Baldwin V, whose tomb provided the model for de Succa's drawing of the count on f° 77[v] (Fig. 6). The model for the helmet copied by de Succa on f° 85[v] (Fig. 4) was a drawing by the Ghent painter Arent van Wijnendaele (died 1592) (Fig. 5). It is included in a collection of this artist's works, formerly in the possession of Christoph van Huerne, a distinguished historian, genealogist and antiquarian of Ghent, and now in the Ghent City Archives. De Succa copied from it extensively on his visit to van Huerne's house in February of 1603 (cf. Nos. 17 and 28).[7] The shield and crested helmet are identified as those of Simon de Mirabello from his tomb in St. Pharailde at Ghent.[8]

As pointed out by Gregory Martin, the jewelled head-band worn by King Dagobert on the right wing of the London *Conversion of St. Bavo*[9] might have been inspired by the drawing of Baldwin V.[10] The figure of Charles the Bold in the marriage scene of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy on the *Arch of Philip* in the *Pompa Introitus* is an even later echo of Rubens's early drawing.[11]

[1] Louis II, called *de Mâle*, Count of Flanders; born 1330, died 1384 (E. Van Arenberg in *Biographie Nationale*, XII, Brussels, 1892–93, cols. 426–466; D. Nicholas and M. Vandermaesen in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, II, Brussels, 1974, cols. 575–585).

2 Baldwin II, Count of Flanders; died 1067 (J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 800–802).

3 A gyronny is an heraldic design of several triangular forms whose apexes meet in the exact centre of the escutcheon and whose sides extend to its edges. Philip of Alsace was the first Flemish count who, in 1170, changed from the *écu gironné* to the climbing lion: cf. E. de Busscher, *Les Armoiries des comtes de Flandre, Bulletin des Commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie*, XI, 1872, pp. 381–421.

4 See inscription on f° 81ᵛ. This tomb, erected by Philip the Good in 1455, was destroyed during the French Revolution. It is known to us from old drawings (including de Succa's) and engravings. It was repeated, with the *gisants* changed but most of the *pleurants* more or less unaltered, first, in the tomb of Joanna of Brabant (completed in 1458–59 and also known to us through later reproductions), and, second, in the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon in the Abbey of St. Michael at Antwerp (completed 1476, the effigy of Isabella preserved in Antwerp Cathedral and ten of the *pleurants* in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam): cf. E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, pp. 475–477; [*Cat. exh.*] *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, Detroit, 1960, pp. 264–267, Nos. 101, 102; *Leeuwenberg, Cat. Amsterdam*, pp. 40–45, No. 10, the latter two with reviews of previous literature. On the drawings and engravings after the Lille tomb, cf. *Lindeman*, pp. 49–58, 97–105, 161–168, 193–219; *Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, pp. 13–57. The connection between Rubens's and de Succa's drawings was already recognized by Hind.

5 See also the engravings in B. de Montfaucon, *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Françoise*, III, Paris, 1731, pl. XXIX and A.-L. Millin, *Antiquités Nationales ou Recueil de Monumens*, V, Paris, 1795, chapter LIV, pl. 5.

6 This tomb was also destroyed during the French Revolution.

7 See van Huerne's inscription on f° 81 of the *Mémoriaux* which verifies de Succa's visit. On Christoph van Huerne see E. Van Arenbergh in *Biographie Nationale*, IX, Brussels, 1886–87, col. 622. On van Wijnendaele's drawings and some of the copies after them, cf. K.G. Van Acker, *Iconografische beschouwingen in verband met de 16e eeuwse gegraveerde "portretten" der graven van Vlaanderen, Oud Holland*, LXXXIII, 1968, p. 109 and note 25.

8 On Simon de Mirabello, see N. de Pauw in *Biographie Nationale*, XIV, Brussels, 1897, cols. 871–877; P. Rogghé in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, I, Brussels, 1964, cols. 709–711. According to van Wijnendaele's inscription, Simon was married to Elisabeth, natural daughter of Louis de Nevers. De Succa changed this to Louis de Mâle. In fact, Simon was married to Elisabeth de Lierde, natural sister of Louis de Nevers. He died in 1346.

9 *K.d.K.*, p. 272.

10 *Martin, Cat. National Gallery*, p. 130, under No. 57. See also *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, p. 105, under No. 71, fig. 122.

11 *Martin, Pompa*, fig. 21.

2. WILLIAM OF NORMANDY, COUNT OF FLANDERS, ARNULF II OF FLANDERS AND EIGHT OTHER NOBLEMEN (Fig. 7)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867 (on the left half, the right half bearing a mark that possibly represents a monogram, cf. *Briquet*,

No. 1890); pen and brown ink; 322 : 399 mm.; ink stains upper centre; cut at bottom; captions in Latin, notes in Flemish and French.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) – (C) no inscriptions; (D) *dore* (pointing to the helmet), *blanc* and *la fleur dor* (on the tunic); (E) *Guilhelmus Normannus Comes flandriae filius Roberti Ducis Normannia Obyt An° domini M.C.XXVII;* [1] (F) *cotte darmes* (on the breastplate); (G) *Arnulphus Balduini filius:* [2] *root* (on the left leg), *riemen geel* (yellow strap, pointing to the left shoe); (H) *Balduinus Barbatus F Arnulphi Comes flandria Obyt 1035;* [3] (I) *ad henna* (meaning (?) on the skirt of the tunic); (J) *wit bont* (pointing to the collar), *verd* (on the tunic).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 38, No. 119 (2) and p. 159, correction to p. 38 (2); *Held,* I, fig. 26 (detail).
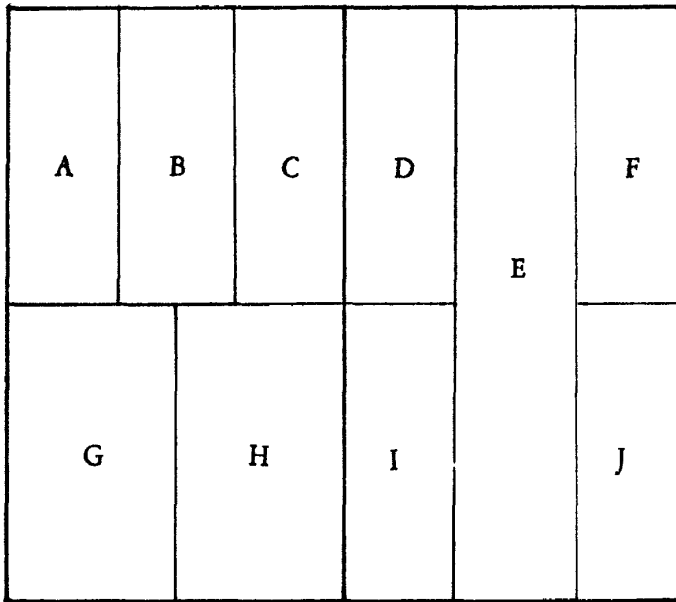


Of the ten figures five are shown full-length, three three-quarter-length, one half-length and one bust only. All but one (G) wear full suits or parts of medieval armour, mostly of mail. The hoods, which are attached to the shirts, are either pulled up, covering head, neck and chin (A, B, C, E and J), or draped around the shoulders (I). When pulled up, they are worn with helmets for additional protection and, in one instance, also with face-guard (E). The mail armour is of two kinds and dates: the thirteenth-century hauberk of knee-length with continuous hose, shoes and mittens (E and I, the latter with gloves dangling

loosely from the wrist), and the trunk hose which, with the introduction of plate armour in the fourteenth century, was worn in combination with plate on arms and legs (A, B and C). (F) seems to be wearing a suit entirely made of plate, of which only the helmet with raised visor and the gorget are visible. Most of the men wear sleeveless cloth surcoats over their armour, either as tunics which hang loosely from the shoulders (D, I and J, in the latter drawn together at the waist by a narrow belt), or as short, close-fitting coat armour (A, B and C), decorated with armorial bearings (A and B). These surcoats are worn with broad hip belts to which are attached sword and dagger (A and B). Arnulf II (G) and Baldwin IV (H) wear the fashionable *houppelande à mi-jambe*,[4] the latter with greaves and gauntlets. His *houppelande* has bag sleeves with elbow-slits through which he puts his arms. Skirt and sleeves are bordered in fur. As his name implies, he is shown with a long beard. His hair is covered with a skullcap over which is placed a padded circlet of pinked material recalling a wreath of leafage with tags hanging down the back. Arnulf II (G), the only figure not in armour, is dressed in an unusually short *houppelande* with wide, pinked sleeves lined in ermine. With it he wears close-fitting hose, pointed shoes, a necklace and a cap with a flattened, bulbous crown. Most of the men carry various combinations of sword, dagger and shield, the latter decorated with armorial bearings. Thus Baldwin's shield shows the gyronny of the old counts of Flanders, while that of the man next to him (1) carries the climbing lion of the later Flemish and Burgundian rulers.

As in the previous folio, the models for the figures on this sheet can be found in de Succa's *Mémoriaux,* i.e., (B) and (C) on f° 89 (Fig. 10), copied by de Succa from fourteenth-century tombs at the Chartreuse de Gosnay, near Béthune,[5] (A) on f° 100 (Fig. 8), (D) on f° 98 (Fig. 9), (E) on f° 96 (Fig. 11), (F) on f° 98ᵛ (Fig. 12), (I) on f° 99 (Fig. 16) and (J ) on f° 99ᵛ (Fig. 15), all copied in the abbeychurch of St. Bertin at St. Omer,[6] mostly from four-teenth- and fifteenth-century tombs, such as those of William of Normandy (Fig. 11)[7] and Jean de Croy (Fig. 12).[8] The models for (G) and (H), to be found on f°ˢ 84 and 83ᵛ, respectively (Figs. 13 and 14), were copied from a painting in the abbeychurch of St. Peter at Ghent.[9] Since this is one of de Succa's few extant models, details of the relevant figures from it are here illustrated for comparison (Figs. 17 and 18). The panel shows six idealized, full-length 'portraits' of counts of Flanders and members of their families who were buried in the church. De Succa copied all six figures of

which Rubens chose only four (for Rubens's other two figures, see No. 18).

In his drawings Rubens followed de Succa rather closely, even repeating such details as Arnulf's right foot. In most cases he reproduced the figures in the same lengths as found in the *Mémoriaux*, the main exception being (F), where Rubens copied only the upper part of de Succa's full-length figure. Except for one instance, discussed later, Rubens's inscriptions can be deduced from de Succa's. Descriptions of costume are abbreviated, and of de Succa's six identifications Rubens only copied three. In regard to the costumes of Arnulf and Baldwin, the notes describing the colours of Arnulf's hose and shoe strap are the only ones given by de Succa verbally. For the description of all other parts of their garments de Succa used a number code which Rubens could not, or did not care to decipher. As mentioned above, there is one instance where Rubens added a colour note not found in de Succa: the collar of the surcoat worn by (J) is described not only as fur (de Succa: *four[rure]*), but as white fur *(wit bont)*. Besides translating de Succa's French into Flemish, Rubens augmented his model's vague description in a most suitable way. A white fur collar between the iron grey of helmet and neck piece and the green of the surcoat is, indeed, most attractive.

Reminiscences of (A), including its pose, can be found in Rubens's oil sketch for the Statue of the Emperor Albert I on the *Portico of the Austrian Caesars* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, [10] although Albert's cuirass and helmet with its raised visor are of much later date and are more closely associated with the armour worn by the mounted knight on f° 22. Vestiges of the costume worn by Baldwin IV might possibly be detected in the man in the lower right of the centre panel of the London *Conversion of St. Bavo* whose hat, decorated with trimmings and long streamers, and short, fur-lined mantle with slits for the arms are reminiscent of Baldwin's dress. [11]

1 William of Normandy, Count of Flanders; died 1128 (Général Baron Guillaume in *Biographie Nationale*, VIII, Brussels, 1884–85, cols. 434, 435).

2 Arnulf II, Count of Flanders; died 989 (J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 443, 444).

3 Baldwin IV, also called *Baudouin le Barbu* or *la belle Barbe*, Count of Flanders; died 1036 (J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 799, 800). For his wife, see Nos. 17 (C) and 18 (A).

4 A mantle with wide sleeves and often a high collar. Worn by men from the end of the fourteenth century and later also by women. At first it was very long, but later was cut to the knee.

5 See de Succa's inscription on f° 92ᵛ. The chartreuse is now destroyed.

6 See the inscription on f° 96. On the church and its monuments, destroyed during the French Revolution, cf. E. Wallet, *Description de l'ancienne abbaye de St. Bertin à St. Omer, en Artois*, I–II, Paris, 1834.

7 This tomb was well-known. Other drawings made after it are reproduced in O. de Wree, *De Seghelen der Graven van Vlaenderen ende Voorschriften van hunne Brieven historiwys uyt-ghelegt*, I, Bruges, 1640, p. 9, and E. Wallet, *op. cit.*, II, pl. VIII, fig. 1.

8 Died at Agincourt in 1415. He was buried at St. Bertin together with his wife Marguerite de Craon: cf. E. Wallet, *op. cit.*, I, p. 34. For representations of Jean and his wife derived from different sources, see Nos. 4 and 7.

9 The painting is now in the Bijloke Museum at Ghent (Inv. No. 779; A. De Schrijver and C. Van de Velde, *Stad Gent, Oudheidkundig Museum, Abdij van de Bijloke, Catalogus van de schilderijen*, Ghent, 1972, pp. 186–188, No. 142, fig. 3, with literature). The discrepancy between de Succa's *Arnulphus Junior* and the panel's *Arnulphus maüs* could have been caused by later restoration: cf. K.G. Van Acker, *Iconografische beschouwingen in verband met de 16ᵉ eeuwse gegraveerde 'portretten' der graven van Vlaanderen, Oud Holland*, LXXXIII, 1968, p. 109, note 27. The Ghent portraits of Arnulf II and Baldwin IV also inspired Pieter Baltens's series of counts and countesses of Flanders, first published in Antwerp in 1578, with text by Cornelius Martin: cf. *Van Someren*, I, p. 105. The first edition listed by *Hollstein* (I, p. 86, No. 24) is Antwerp 1584. The connection between Rubens's drawings and the Ghent painting was already noted by Hind who, not being familiar with all of de Succa's drawings, believed that Rubens copied the painting. The connection with de Succa was first pointed out by Held (*Held*, I, figs. 26 and 27).

10 Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 510; *K.d.K.*, p. 366; *Martin, Pompa*, fig. 46.

11 *K.d.K.*, p. 272; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 122.

## 3. ANTHONY OF BURGUNDY (Fig. 19)

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1368; pen and brown ink and greyish-brown wash, heightened with white (now oxidized); 305 : 180 mm.; cut at bottom (irregularly) and at right; caption in Latin, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTION: *Antonius Dux braba[ntiae]*. 1

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 38, No. 199 (3), pl. XVIII; M. Konrad, *Meisterwerke der Skulptur in Flandern und Brabant*, Berlin, 1928, p. 32; *Eisler*, p. 55; M. Jaffé, *Rubens Drawings in the Warsaw University Library, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, XVII, 1976, No. 3, pp. 90, 93, fig. 8.

Anthony of Burgundy is represented in a long, opensided mantle similar to the ceremonial cloak worn by the knights of the Golden Fleece. On his head he wears a high cap with a piece of cloth coming down over his ears, and in his right hand he holds a long staff. His face is that of a man older than 31, an age Anthony never surpassed. He is shown half turned to the right, a pose emphasized by his left arm being bent backward, while his right arm and leg are thrust forward. This movement is counteracted by the position of the head

which is turned toward the beholder. Two patches of shadow on the right of the figure indicate that the light is coming from the upper left and that the figure is placed in front of a wall.The overall effect of stateliness and plasticity, no doubt formerly enhanced by the white heightenings which have now turned black, is not diminished by the left arm being drawn somewhat too short.

No model for this drawing is known to me. Konrad suggested that it was derived from one of the statues (the so-called Philip the Good) which formerly surrounded the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon in the Abbey of St. Michael at Antwerp. [2] There are, indeed, similarities between the two figures, such as the long cloak and the position of the right arm and hand which, in the Amsterdam statue, formerly held a long staff. But, apart from the fact that Anthony of Burgundy was not represented on this tomb, a fact Konrad could not have known, [3] the reversed position of the legs and the variations of costume in the drawing make a dependence on the statue unlikely. However, Konrad might have been correct in suggesting a tomb sculpture as Rubens's model. The general similarities with the Antwerp *pleurant* as well as the shadow behind the figure which indicates a wall, support this assumption, although the latter might have been added by Rubens regardless of his model. The related tomb of Joanna of Brabant, formerly in the church of the Carmelites at Brussels, showed similar *pleurants* in reversed positions (as did the original tomb of Louis de Mâle at Lille) and did, in fact, include a statue supposedly representing Anthony of Burgundy, modelled on the Lille figure of Philip the Good. [4] It is possible that this figure served Rubens as a model. [5]

Rubens's interest in fifteenth-century *pleurants* can also be observed in a sheet with four studies of men in long robes by an anonymous Netherlandish artist, with heads and feet redrawn by Rubens. [6] These drawings can be compared to f° 3 only as regards subject matter. [7] Colin Eisler's stylistic comparison of the two drawings, which leads him to suggest that the sheet with the four *pleurants* was possibly part of the original *Costume Book,* only demonstrates that it is, for the most part, not by Rubens and, consequently, could never have formed part of the original sketch-book. Stylistically No. 3 is most closely related to Nos. 41 and 42. No. 41 illustrates the full-length figure of Philip the Fair in a similar robe and pose, with the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece. In later years Rubens drew a full-length portrait of General Ambrogio Spinola as a knight of the Golden Fleece. [8] As Jaffé points out (by comparing the Warsaw drawing with f° 3), this portrait is surely a conscious recollection, both in pose and in dress, of his early costume study.

1 Anthony of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg and Luxembourg, second son of Philip the Bold of Burgundy and brother of John the Fearless; born 1384, died at Agincourt 1415 (A. Mathieu in *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 345–348; R. van Uytven in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, I, Brussel, 1964, cols. 36–43). See also No. 19 (A).

2 Although Konrad neither specified the folio number nor the statue, it can be deduced from his reference to *Hind*, II, pls. XVIII and XIX (i.e., f⁰⁸ 3, 8, 6, 24 and 30) that this folio must have been meant. For the statue, which is now in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (Inv. No. Am. 33–C), see *Leeuwenberg, Cat. Amsterdam*, p. 41.

3 The identifications of the *pleurants* were only recently discovered: cf. *Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, pp. 21, 22.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 17. On the tomb in general, see the literature cited in No. 1, note 4. The tomb was destroyed in 1695.

5 The drawing in Charles van Riedwijck's *Sigillographica Belgica* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 22.483c, f⁰⁸ 73ᵛ–74ʳ) shows two sides of the tomb with two figures distantly related to Rubens's figure. The drawing is discussed and reproduced in C.G. Dallemagne, *Le manuscrit de l'écuyer Charles van Riedwijck, Annales de la Société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles*, XLVI, 1942–43, pp. 83, 84, pl. IX. The print in *Butkens* (I, p. 526) is based on this drawing.

6 London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. Sloane 5237–92, 93 (*recto* and *verso*): *Hind*, V, p. 63, No. 7, pl. XXI (*recto*). The attribution of the entire drawing to Rubens made by Michael Jaffé (*Rubens as a Collector of Drawings*, II, *Master Drawings*, III, 1965, p. 35, note 42 and on the mat of the drawing) is here rejected.

7 Already observed by *Hind*, II, p. 159, correction to p. 36, No. 119.

8 Warsaw, University Library. Inv. No. T. 174, No. 367; M. Jaffé, *Rubens Drawings in the Warsaw University Library, Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie*, XVII, 1976, No. 3, pp. 83–97.

**4. JEAN II DE CROY AND JOSSE DE LALAING (Fig. 20)**

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1383; pen and greyish-brown ink and grey wash; 297 : 195 mm.; cut at left and right; captions in French (in brown ink), no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Jehan Sire de Croy e de rentij mort a Azincourt lan 1415;*[1] (B) *Josse de lalaing.*[2]

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, pp. 38, 39, No. 119(4).

The figures are arranged on a diagonal from lower left to upper right. They are seen in three-quarter view turned to the left. While Jean de Croy looks straight ahead, Josse de Lalaing turns toward the beholder. Each rests his right hand against his hip, while the left hand is brought forward. Two spots

of shadow (in wash) indicate the ground.

Jean de Croy is dressed in the fashion of the first decade of the fifteenth century: an exceedingly long *houppelande,* belted in the waist, with a high, fur-lined collar and funnel-shaped sleeves dropping from tight wrists prolonged over the knuckles and buttoned at the sides. On his head he wears a turban-like cap, one end of which falls over the forehead in a bunch of folds, thus creating the effect of a cock's comb. [3] Josse de Lalaing is dressed in the clothes of almost a century later, a tunic with a full skirt and a loose coat reaching mid-calf with a broad, flat collar and wide elbow-sleeves whose openings are tied with little bows of ribbon. Over shoulder-length hair he wears a hat with an upturned brim. The pointed shoes of earlier centuries have been replaced by broad, flat shoes. Around his neck he carries the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which he became a member in 1478.

The models for this folio are not known to me. Possibilities are discussed before (pp. 42, 43), together with the other Croy and Lalaing portraits.

When Rubens drew the figure of King Ferdinand of Aragon on the rear face of the *Arch of Philip* for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* [4] he aptly remembered the costume worn by Josse de Lalaing. Even Ferdinand's gesture and pose recall this early drawing.

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[1] Jean II, sire de Croy et d'Araines, baron de Renty et de Seneghem; died at Agincourt 1415 (*de Vegiano,* I, pp. 568, 569, No. IV). Also identified by Hind. For his wife, see No. 7 (B). On the Croy family, see also *Scohier.*

[2] Son of Simon de Lalaing and knight of the Golden Fleece; died at the Siege of Utrecht in 1483 (*de Vegiano,* II, p. 1163, No. VIII). Also identified by Hind. For his wife, see No. 8 (D); for his mother, see No. 9 (D), for his sister, No. 8 (C).

[3] Towards the end of the fourteenth century it became fashionable to arrange the hood, which had detached itself from the cape and whose point had developed into a long tail, or liripipe, as a kind of cap, the collar, or gorget, which formerly covered chin, neck and shoulders (e.g., No. 18 (D)) and liripipe projecting in front and back, or sideways (e.g., No. 10 (B)). The edge of the 'cap' was usually rolled up to form a brim, and the gorget and liripipe were often decorated with elaborate trimmings or pinked edges (e.g., Nos. 16 (D), 29 (C) and 31 (B)). As in our figure, the liripipe could be twisted turbanwise round the temples, the gorget projecting over the edge (see also Nos. 9 (B) and 13 (H)). From c. 1430 on a new, 'ready made' form evolved, the so-called *chaperon.* It consisted of a padded circlet to whose inner circumference were sewn a long streamer and a bunch of gathered folds, a so-called skirt, modelled, respectively, on the liripipe and the gorget of the hood (e.g., Nos. 5 (E), 19 (A) and 29 (C)). The 'skirt' was sometimes omitted, in which case the liripipe was usually wound round the head vertically (e.g., Nos. 5 (C) and 19 (D)). Sometimes a multitude of pendant trimmings of various lengths took the place of 'skirt' and liripipe (e.g., No. 6 (D)). On the transformation of the medieval hood to *chaperon,* see P. Post,

*Die französisch-niederländische Männertracht einschliesslich der Ritterrüstung im Zeitalter der Spätgotik, 1350 bis 1475*, Inaug.-Diss., Halle-Wittenberg, 1910, pp. 53–55; A. Harmand, *Jeanne d'Arc, ses costumes, son armure*, Paris, 1929, pp. 51–72; F.M. Kelly and R. Schwabe, *A Short History of Costume and Armour, Chiefly in England*, I, London, 1931, pp. 8, 19 and 30.

4 *Martin, Pompa*, figs. 30, 31.

5. JEAN DE CROY AND FIVE OTHER NOBLEMEN (Fig. 21)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 314 : 208 mm.; cut at right and possibly at top; caption in French, notes in Italian and French.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) – (E) no inscriptions; (F) *Jan de Croy Siigneur du Reux fils de Anthoine Conte de Portien:* 1 *Tela doro col fior[i] azur fodrat[a] di pell[e] scure* (gold cloth with blue flowers lined with dark fur, pointing to the sleeve), *sable* (twice, on and pointing to the left shoe).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 39, No. 119 (5) and p. 159, correction to p. 39 (5).
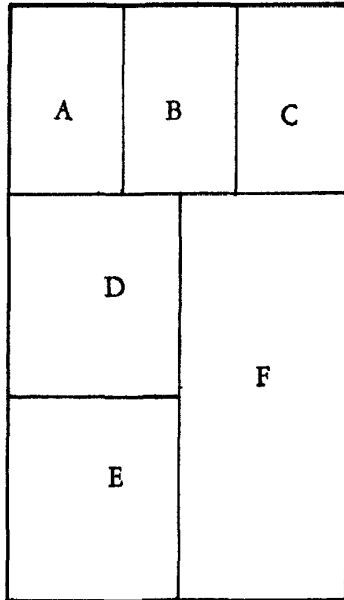


Of the six figures on this sheet that of Jean de Croy, the only full-length one, stands out as a more finished study, with strong modelling and shading done in wash, an identifying inscription and colour and costume notations. The other

figures, shown three-quarter-length, half-length or bust only, are arranged above and on the left of it. They are more quickly sketched, almost in outline only, and lack all identifying and descriptive notes.

Jean de Croy, who is represented in three-quarter view turned left, is dressed in a long mantle with a high collar and wide, fur-lined sleeves. A collar shaped like a belt, with a clasp and a loop, lies loosely round his neck. His *chaperon* has an elaborately pinked liripipe hanging down the back, while the equally pinked 'skirt' overshadows part of his face. Rubens paid special attention to the elongated, pointed shoes whose black colour he described twice. A thin line leading from the lining of the sleeve to the edge of the paper was probably meant to be followed by a descriptive note. The reason Rubens did not add this note may perhaps be in the notation above which already includes a description of the sleeve's lining. (For this practice, see also No. 12 (B).) It is unlikely that a note was later cut off. Since Rubens always wrote his notations immediately next to, above or below the pointing line, parts of such a note should still be visible, even though the sheet was cut at the right. Four of the other men on this folio wear hood and *chaperon,* their liripipes draped across the shoulders or wound round the head (A and C), or narrow-brimmed fur hats (B and D). (C) is identified as a knight of the Golden Fleece by the chain around his neck. The man in the lower left (E), shown in three-quarter-length and in profile turned left, is dressed in a wide-brimmed hat and a cape similar to those worn by one of the falconers in a mid-fifteenth-century tapestry in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts (cf. No. 14ᵛ; Fig. 69). He carries a falcon on his left hand which is protected by a gauntlet.

The models for these drawings are not known to me. The costume of the man upper right (C) is similar to that of the *pleurant* identified by de Succa and Rubens as Louis, Duke of Savoy, from the Lille tomb (see No. 19 (D); Fig. 96). It is shown without the Golden Fleece. A copy of this figure which once adorned the tomb of Isabella of Bourbon at Antwerp was used by de Succa for his design of the figure of Anthony of Burgundy in Hadrianus Barlandus's *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica* (p. 61; Fig. 22). [2] Rubens's head, which is reversed, is sufficiently similar to the print as to consider a direct connection with de Succa's drawing or the sculpture itself. That Anthony of Burgundy is wearing a collar with a rosette instead of the Golden Fleece is no counter-argument, since the illustrations in Barlandus which were derived from the Antwerp *pleurants* differ considerably from their models in details of costume,

as can be seen by comparing some of them with the surviving statues in Amster-
dam. However, as the five smaller sketches on this sheet give the impression of
having been copied from one source, and as the remaining four sketches can be
connected neither with the Antwerp tomb nor the Barlandus illustrations, a
dependance on either of them is unlikely. It has been pointed out many times
that the Lille tomb figures were made from older painted portraits. [3] It is,
therefore, likely that the model for the Lille Louis of Savoy and, consequently,
Barlandus's Anthony of Burgundy was an earlier painted portrait representing
a knight of the Golden Fleece, a copy of which, possibly among the missing
part of de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, provided Rubens's model. [4]

Stylistically and compositionally this folio is closely related to Nos. 8 (Fig. 34),
9 (Fig. 38) and 10 (Fig. 42), each of which shows one full-length figure care-
fully outlined in pen and ink with modelling and shading done in wash and
several pen sketches of three-quarter-length, half-length or bust figures with little
modelling indicated by hatching. The full-length portrait is always set to one
side and framed on one or two sides by the smaller figures, which it gives the
appearance of partly overlapping. Thus the effect of two-dimensionality, created
by contrasting an elaborately executed and strongly modelled figure with almost
pure outline drawings, is further emphasized. [5] In two of these folios (Nos. 8
and 10) the pen and ink portraits were copied from de Succa's tracings of the
*Recueil d'Arras*. This might possibly support my previous suggestion that at
least the smaller sketches on this sheet were also copied from missing parts of
the *Mémoriaux*.

[1] Jean de Croy, comte de Château-Porcéan, second son of Antoine II de Croy and Mar-
guerite de Lorraine. He was born after 1432, the year of his parents' marriage, and
was the originator of the branch of the Seigneurs de Roeux (*Scohier*, pp. 11 and 15).
Also identified by Hind. For Jean de Croy's mother, see No. 31 (A).

[2] On de Succa's illustrations for this book, see p. 35. On the connection between the
Antwerp *pleurants* and the illustrations in Barlandus, see *Lindeman*, especially pp.
103–105; *Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, pp. 27–29.

[3] See, e.g., *Lindeman*, pp. 196–206; E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Its
Origins and Character*, I, Cambridge, Mass., 1953, p. 291 and note 4 (pp. 475–477);
*Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, pp. 30–34.

[4] The prototype, or yet another copy of it, was also known to the Ghent painter Lucas
de Heere who used it for one of his illustrations in his *Théatre de tous les peuples*
(Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, No. 2466, f⁰ 46). On the *Théatre*, see also Nos. 18,
26 and 30.

[5] See especially this sheet, Nos. 8 and 9.

**6.** MARGARET OF ALSACE, BALDWIN V OF HAINAULT AND NINE STUDIES OF HEAD-
DRESSES (Fig. 23)

Single folio; fully mounted; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1368; pen and brown ink;
197 : 308 mm.; cut at right; caption in Flemish, notes in Italian.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) and (B) no inscriptions; (C) *Margerita f diderick van helsaten:* [1]
*roso* and *rosso* (pointing to the head-dress), *verde* (on the gown); (D) *tutto il chiapperon*
*v[erde]* (?) (the entire *chaperon* green (?), pointing to the head-dress), *broccate* (on the
mantle); (E) – (K) no inscriptions.

PROVENANCE: Purchased after 1841 by the British Museum and inserted in the *Costume*
*Book.*

COPY: Partial drawing (*verso* of Studies of horses, after Amman), Hamburg, Kunsthalle,
No. 1957-145; pen and brown ink over outline in pencil (six figures on the left) and
faint outline in pencil (three figures in the upper right); 205 : 316 mm. (Fig. 24); lit.:
W. Stubbe, *Erwerbungen der Kunsthalle: Zeichnungen, Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunst-
halle*, III, 1958, p. 194, under fig. 3 (as *Amman*); C.-L. Küster, *Eine Kopie nach einem
verschollenen Skizzenbuchblatt des Rubens, Jahrbuch der Hamburger Kunstsammlungen*,
VIII, 1963, pp. 25, 26, repr. (as *Anonymous copy after Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 39, No. 119 (6) and p. 159, correction to p. 39 (6), pl. XIX;
*Lindeman*, p. 195; *Held*, I, p. 159, under No. 162; J.S. Held, *Rubens' Designs for
Sepulchral Monuments, The Art Quarterly*, XXIII, 1960, p. 266.

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┌─────────┬───────┬───────┬───────┐
│  A      │  B    │       │       │
│      ┌──┤       │  C    │  D    │
│  E   │  │  F    │       │       │
│      │  ├───────┼───┬───┤       │
│  G   │ H│   I   │   │ K │       │
│      │  │       │ J │   │       │
└──────┴──┴───────┴───┴───┘
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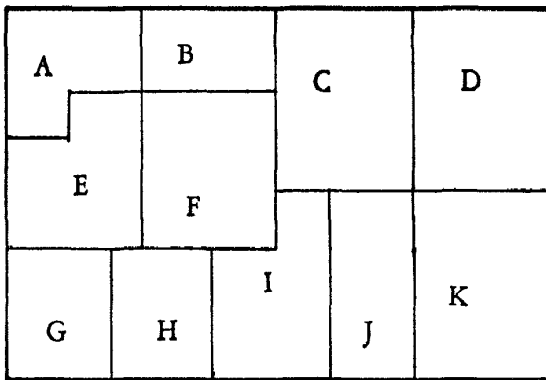
This sheet was purchased by the British Museum after the acquisition of the
*Costume Book* and inserted in the book between the old folio numbers 5 and 6.

It was given the number 6 and all following numbers were changed accordingly.

The drawing illustrates a rich variety of picturesque head-dresses worn by ten men and one woman. Stress is laid on the heads, but in some cases shoulders are also shown. (C) and (D) are the only figures represented in half-length. They are further distinguished by identifying and descriptive notes. The last word of the notation referring to the *chaperon* of the man was cut off. It probably described a colour without which the note does not make sense. Part of the first letter, possibly a *v*, is still visible. The word might have been *verde*. [2] The couple is dressed in Burgundian courtly fashion of the first third of the fifteenth century, the woman wearing a veil decorated with trimmings in scale-like rows over a horned cap, the man an extravagant *chaperon* with a fringe of finely pinked tags of various lengths. [3] The other figures wear hats and caps as can be found in early sixteenth-century works of art. [4] They have no inscriptions.

Hind discovered resemblances between (I) and the supposed portrait of Hieronymus Bosch, as can be found, for example, in the *Recueil d'Arras*. [5] The heavy use of hatching rather points to an engraving as its source, but the similarities with Lampsonius's portrait of Bosch, based on the same prototype as the Arras drawing, are too few to justify a dependence on it, quite apart from the reversed position. [6] Rubens's portrait probably does not represent Bosch at all. (J) shows a cap similar to that worn by Jan van Egmond in the portrait attributed to the Master of Alkmaar in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. [7] Variations of the hat worn by (A) can also be found in Netherlandish paintings: e.g., Jan Mostaert's portrait, supposedly of Charles V, in the Prado. [8] However, the caricature-like quality of some of the heads and the slightly exaggerated grotesqueness of their hats points to a pattern-book as a more likely source. Indeed, as stated by Held, [9] the head-dress of the man in the lower right is very similar to one found in Heinrich Vogtherr's *Kunstbüchlin*, a book of models published for the first time in Strasbourg in 1537 and later in a number of editions in various languages, the last known being of 1610 (Fig. 25, upper row, centre). [10] However, variations of costume in Rubens's drawing, such as the oval-shaped brooch in the centre of the hat, the band threaded through the brim and the fur collar indicate that he did not copy Vogtherr's figure directly. Rubens and Vogtherr probably went back to the same source, most likely a pattern-book or sketch-book of Netherlandish origin. [11]

The couple in the upper right was either copied from painted portraits or from drawn copies which included colour notations, such as de Succa's. Indeed,

corresponding images can be found in the *Mémoriaux* (f$^{os}$ 82$^v$ and 83; Figs. 27 and 28). There the man is identified as Baldwin V of Hainault, Count of Flanders and husband of Margaret of Alsace. De Succa made his copies in St. Peter's Abbey at Ghent. [12] He drew Margaret twice, apparently from two different paintings: (1) alone and in the same direction as in Rubens's portrait (Fig. 27), (2) in a double portrait together with her husband, reversed from Rubens (Fig. 28). The numerous similarities between de Succa's and Rubens's double portraits make it very tempting to suggest a direct derivation. However, it is unlikely that Rubens would have reversed the figures. Neither is it probable that he would have copied de Succa's single portrait of Margaret and then added the figure of her husband from the double portrait in reversed position. We must, therefore, look for different sources. Although Lindeman's suggestion that the figure of Baldwin was copied from that of Frank van Borselen in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f° 38) is obviously wrong, a portrait of Jacqueline of Bavaria's fourth husband undoubtedly served as the prototype for Rubens's drawing. Many versions of this portrait exist, the best-known of which, a sixteenth-century copy after a lost original of *c.* 1433, is in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam. [13] It is in the same direction as Rubens's drawing, as are all other known versions. It is, therefore, probable that Rubens's drawing was taken from another representation of Baldwin V, identical to the Ghent portrait copied by de Succa in all details but its position. In this respect it must have been closer to its prototype, the portrait of Frank van Borselen.

It seems likely that the figure of Margaret of Alsace was derived from a portrait of Jacqueline of Bavaria. In support of this position are the collar of the order of St. Anthony worn by Margaret in both de Succa drawings (abbreviated by Rubens) [14] and the juxtaposition of her figure with one derived from van Borselen's portrait. [15] Rubens's drawing and de Succa's single portrait are identical to the top half of a full-length drawing of a lady playing a little portable organ in the Louvre, dated by Lugt *c.* 1420–30 and tentatively attributed by him to an artist of the Northern Netherlands who travelled to Burgundy (Fig. 26). [16] It is probable that this drawing was derived from a portrait of Jacqueline of Bavaria, as were Rubens's drawing and the Ghent portraits which de Succa copied as representations of Margaret of Alsace.

This folio is closely related to Nos. 45 and 46 (Figs. 232 and 240). All illustrate primarily early sixteenth-century head-dresses. They are further related by their more or less parallel arrangement of figures, their drawing

technique (frequent use of hatching) and their lack of notations (with the exception of the couple in the upper right of this sheet), which would support my suggeftion of a sketch-book or pattern-book having served Rubens as a source.

1 Margaret of Alsace, Countess of Flanders and Hainault, wife of Baldwin V of Hainault, Count of Flanders; died 1194 (A. Wauters in *Biographie Nationale*, XIII, Brussels, 1894–95, cols. 579–582).

2 Cf. de Succa's portrait, Fig. 28.

3 For similar coftumes see, e.g., the drawing of *A Fishing Party* in the Louvre (Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.674; *Lugt, Louvre, Anciens Pays-Bas*, pp. 5, 6, No. 10, pl. 6).

4 Cf. C.H. De Jonge, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de kleederdracht in de Nederlanden in de XVIe eeuw, Oud Holland*, XXXVI, 1918, pp. 7–9 and pl. 1.

5 F° 275, reproduced in [*Cat. exh.*] *Jheronimus Bosch*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1967, p. 207, No. 80.

6 D. Lampsonius, *Piftorum aliquot celebrium Germaniae inferioris Effigies*, Antwerp, 1572, pl. 3. The prototype of this so-called Bosch portrait seems to be a painting, formerly in the V. Spark collection, New York, now at Amherft College, Amherft, Massachusetts; cf. the 1967 Bosch exhibition catalogue, p. 207, No 82.

7 *Friedländer*, X, pl. 38.

8 *Ibid.*, pl. 19.

9 J. Held, *Rubens' Designs for Sepulchral Monuments, The Art Quarterly*, XXIII, 1960, p. 266.

10 J. Schlosser, *La letteratura artiftica*, 2nd (Italian) edition, revised by O. Kurz, Florence, 1956, p. 279. This head-dress also appears, in reverse and with slight variations, in the lower left of No. 46.

11 See also Nos. 45 and 46.

12 See inscription on f° 83.

13 Catalogue, 1960, p. 9, No. 131, with lifting of other versions. The portrait has often been reproduced, e.g., *Van Luttervelt*, p. 143, fig. 30. An underlying 'Eyckian' model has been suggefted for this portrait: see *ibid.*, p. 143, note 45; *Lindeman*, p. 198; *Stechow, Portraits*, p. 37, the latter two in connection with the print inscribed *Ansegisus et Begga Brab. Duces* in Barlandus's *Chronica* in which the figure of Ansegisus is based on the portrait of Frank van Borselen.

14 A tau-shaped cross with a little bell attached. The bell is indicated only in Fig. 28. The order was founded (in 1382?) by Albert of Bavaria, Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault: cf. *Kurz*, pp. 119, 120, with examples and literature (notes 10 and 11).

15 The coftume in the Amfterdam portrait accompanying that of Frank van Borselen differs considerably from that worn by Margaret of Alsace (Rijksmuseum, Catalogue, 1960, p. 9, No. 130; reproduced, e.g., in *Rijksmuseum Amfterdam. Album vaderlandse geschiedenis in beeld*, 1950, pl. 1). More closely related to Rubens's and de Succa's drawings is the well-known portrait by Jan Moftaert in Copenhagen (Statens Museum for Kunft, Inv. No. 105), firft identified and attributed to Moftaert by G. Glück (*Über einige Bildnisse von Jan Moftaert, Beiträge zur Kunftgeschichte, Franz Wickhoff gewidmet*, Vienna, 1903, pp. 64–72, reprinted in *Glück, 1933*, pp. 32–41; also reproduced in *Friedländer*, I, pl. 61). According to van Mander it was formerly

accompanied by a portrait of her husband: see Carel van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck,* Haarlem, 1604, f° 229ᵛ.

¹⁶ Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.676; *Lugt, Louvre, Anciens Pays-Bas,* p. 2, No. 2, pl. I.

7. WALBURGA DE MEURS AND MARGUERITE DE CRAON (Fig. 29)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 278 : 204 mm.; cut at right; stain lower left; captions in French, notes in Italian.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Valburge de Meurs femme de Philippe de Croy Conte de Chimaij;* ¹ (B) *Margerite de Craon Dame de Tour sur Mar[ne]:* ² *oro* (twice, on the sleeve and on the skirt), *r[o]s[so]* (?) (twice, on the cape).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 39, No. 119 (7).

This sheet is closely related to No. 4 (Fig. 20). The diagonal arrangement of the figures from left to right and their position within the picture plane are identical. As in No. 4, Rubens avoided the monotony of repetition by showing one figure in pure three-quarter view to the left, while the other is seen only slightly turned left and looking at the beholder. The relationship between the two folios even extends to their sitters: Marguerite de Craon was the wife of Jean de Croy who is represented on f° 4.

The costumes are of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Walburga de Meurs wears a trailing gown bordered in fur. With her left hand she lifts the front of her skirt, thus exposing the hem of her undergarment and the pointed tips of her shoes. Her hair is confined above the ears by a net over which is thrown a veil edged by fluting. Pose and costume (except for the more old-fashioned tight sleeves, extending over the knuckles) are very close to those of Giovanna Cenami in Van Eyck's famous painting of her wedding to Giovanni Arnolfini. Marguerite de Craon is dressed in the style of the late fourteenth century. She wears a cape tied at the breast over a closely fitted gown whose bodice and hem are of fur. Her face is framed by braids and an elaborately ruffled veil whose plain, straight edge is spread over her shoulders like a fan. With her hands she playfully holds up one corner of her cape.

Possible sources for these 'portraits' are discussed before (pp. 42, 43). That these portraits are not actual likenesses, but were modelled on earlier prototypes, can be demonstrated by the many resemblances between the figure of Marguerite de Craon and those of Margaret of Brabant and Margaret of

Flanders, wife and daughter of Louis de Mâle, respectively, copied by de Succa from the Lille tomb (cf. Fig. 2). While Rubens's head-dress is closer to that worn by Margaret of Brabant, the gown and cape correspond to those of Margaret of Flanders. The resemblances are even more striking with portraits of the same personnages in the *Recueil d'Arras*, apparently derived from paintings (f°ˢ 55 and 53; Figs. 30 and 31).[3] It is probable that the prototype for Rubens's Walburga de Meurs also was an older painting, possibly van Eyck's Giovanna Cenami.

[1] Walburga de Meurs, wife of Philippe de Croy, comte de Chimay; he died 1482 (*de Vegiano*, I, p. 577, under No. VI). Also identified by Hind.

[2] Marguerite de Craon, wife of Jean de Croy whom she married in 1384; he died at Agincourt 1415 (*Ibid*, p. 569, under No. IV; *Van Someren*, II, p. 210, No. 1286). On her husband, Jean de Croy, Baron de Renty et de Seneghem, see No. 4 (A). Jean de Croy, originator of the branch of Chimay, was her son and not her husband, as stated by Hind.

[3] A painted portrait of Margaret of Brabant was also copied by de Succa (*Mémoriaux*, f° 69; reproduced in *Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, p. 40, fig. 6). Whether these paintings were actual portraits is impossible to judge from de Succa's and Leboucq's inferior drawings. The representations of Margaret of Flanders have nothing in common with Sluter's famous portrait at the portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol.

**8.** JACQUELINE DE LUXEMBOURG, ANNE DE JAUCHE, PHILIPPA DE LALAING AND BONNE DE VIEUVILLE (Fig. 34)

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1368; pen and brown ink and greyish-brown wash; 307 : 209 mm.; stain upper left; irregularly cut at right; captions in French, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *De Jaqueline de Luxembourg:*[1] *root* (pointing to the hennin), *bruyn bont* (pointing to the collar), *bruyn bont | het ghetreck op het gouwen laken blauw | den gront vanden riem gout ender met gouden beslach en groep strepen | die Zizerande (?) om den hals van gout en silver a part | op die borst wit dun douck | den borslap swart flouweel | aenden hals bruijn bont | Den turbant oft root Incarnadin den gront met wit vlouers ouertrocken* (brown fur, the design on the golden cloth is blue. The blackground of the belt golden and with gold fittings and green stripes. The necklace (?) around the neck partly of gold and partly of silver. On the breast a white, thin cloth. The modesty vest of black velvet and at the neck brown fur. The turban or hat of incarnadine colour, the background of white velour); (B) *Anne de Jause dame de Gonregnies;*[2] (C) *Phles de Lalaing fille de Josse;*[3] (D) *bonne de la Vienelle.*[4]

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 39, No. 119 (8) and p. 159, correction to p. 39 (8), pl. XVIII.
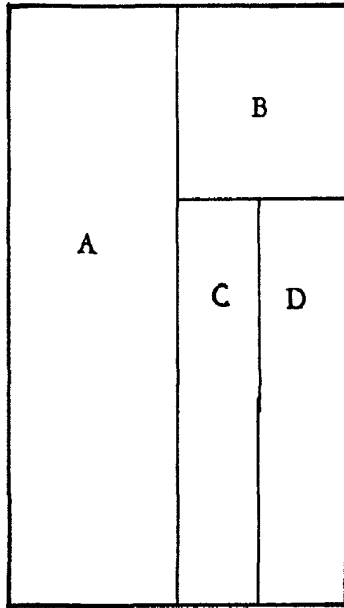
The most prominent figure on this sheet is that of Jacqueline de Luxembourg, elaborately drawn and shown in full-length, beside which the other figures, seen in three-quarter-, half- or bust-length only, seem to recede into the background. While these portraits are quickly drawn, with hardly any corrections, little use of hatching and almost no indication of surface texture, the figure of Jacqueline shows additions of wash and carefully drawn fabrics and patterns. Moreover, *pentimenti* indicate that the skirt was first shorter and the corner of its trail more to the right. Jacqueline's costume is further distinguished by colour notes and a long descriptive text which Rubens wrote below the drawing. Indeed, her sumptuous dress of brocade, trimmed with fur and enriched by a filigree necklace, justly merits such attention. Low-cut and belted high under the breast, it opens into a full, trailing skirt, under which peer the tips of her elongated, pointed shoes. Into the *decolleté* is set a modesty vest above which is placed a piece of transparent fabric. Her hair is covered by a hennin, [5] whose abundant veil flutters behind her like a sail. A hennin of more modest nature is worn by the woman furthest to the right (D). Its veil whose edge hangs over the forehead falls back in straight folds. Unlike his fifteenth-century models which wore these head-dresses over hair scraped back and probably shaved from the forehead, Rubens returned to the normal hairline. In accordance with his

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beauty canon, he even shows a few strands of hair at the temples. Likewise, Jacqueline's fluttering veil adds a touch of baroque exuberance which is entirely Rubens's creation.

The costumes of the remaining two figures, (B) and (C), are of the early and late fifteenth century respectively. (B) wears a high-waisted gown with a V-shaped neckline faced in fur and full sleeves slit vertically along the inner sides (indicated on the right sleeve only). The hair is held by a net in two masses above the ears and covered with a linen head-dress with a goffered edge. [6] The dress worn by (C) has wide sleeves and cuffs, a *decolleté* cut in the shape of a *W*, a plain bodice and a full skirt belted in the waist with a cord tied in the front. The hair is covered by a cap with curved sides over which is placed a short veil.

The models for (B) and (C) can be found in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f$^{os}$ 213 and 122; Figs. 32 and 33). [7] As discussed before (p. 41, 42), the reversion of (C) is probably due to de Succa's having traced the Arras portraits. In all likelihood, it was also he who supplied, rightly or wrongly, those genealogical details which we find in Rubens's drawings as additions to the information given in the *Recueil d'Arras*. Thus, Anne de Jauche is correctly identified as dame de Gomignies, but Philippa de Lalaing's relationship to her brother Josse wrongly stated as filial. [8] In all other details Rubens's drawings resemble the Arras portraits closely. Despite the conflicting identifications, I believe that the portrait of Bonne de Viefville (D) was also copied from the *Recueil d'Arras* (drawing of Bonne d'Abbeville, wife of Michel, baron de Ligne et de Barbançon on f° 184; Fig. 35). The head-dresses are identical. The correction of the perspective and the transformation of the awkward head into a profile portrait of classical beauty are not surprising to anybody familiar with Rubens's copies. The beginning of the Arras inscription, which reads *Bonne dabbeuille* is close enough to Rubens's *bonne de laVienelle* as to suggest a misreading on his part, especially if we believe that a drawing by de Succa with an inscription in his deplorable handwriting served as the intermediary.

No model is known to me for the figure of Jacqueline de Luxembourg. Stylistically, it is related to the full-length portraits of members of the Croy, Lalaing and Baux families which are collectively discussed before (pp. 42, 43). As she is either wife of Philippe de Croy or of Charles de Lalaing she also belongs to this group thematically. The model for her figure was ultimately based on a portrait of Isabella of Bourbon, wife of Charles the Bold. A half-

length portrait of her which corresponds to Rubens's in every detail save the fabric of the dress which is not patterned and, naturally, the format, is included in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f° 65; Fig. 36). [9] A full-length representation of Isabella in a richly patterned dress similar to Rubens's (although in red and gold instead of Rubens's blue and gold) can be seen in a book of hours in Copenhagen (Fig. 37), formerly supposed to be of Charles the Bold, now ascribed to W. Vrelant. [10]

The beauty of this folio was already acknowledged by Waagen [11] who, in his brief discussion of the *Costume Book,* gave the figure of Jacqueline special mention, and by Hind, who included it among his few reproductions. Seeing Rubens's drawings side by side with their models, we can appreciate his achievement even more fully. The awkward heads of the *Recueil d'Arras* have been transformed into graceful young women of Rubenesque beauty. The combination of classical and medieval elements, so typical for Rubens in his later years (e.g., *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*) can already be observed in the figure of Bonne de Viefville who carries her hennin on a head which betrays Rubens's knowledge of classical sources. This would reinforce a post-Italian date for the *Costume Book.* A comparison of this head with, for example, that of the lady copied by Rubens in his early youth from a print by Van Meckenem, [12] clearly demonstrates both his knowledge of classical sources and his development as a draughtsman.

Rubens aptly remembered his early studies of fifteenth-century head-dresses when he introduced a woman wearing a hennin into the background on the right in the Munich oil sketch of *The Miracles of St. Francis of Paola.* [13] A hennin also appears among the collection of medieval head-dresses worn by the women on the right of the Pommersfelden *Madonna and Saints* (Fig. 41). [14] Reminiscences of Jacqueline de Luxembourg's head-dress and richly patterned gown with its broad ermine hem can be found in the costumes worn by Queen Rosamond in the Vienna painting of *Alboin and Rosamond* (Fig. 45) [15] and by Mary of Burgundy in her wedding scene on the *Arch of Philip* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi,* executed by Jordaens after Rubens's design. [16] Both women wear their hennins high on the forehead revealing plenty of hair. As discussed above, the practice of combining historical exactitude and contemporary ideas of beauty can already be observed in the drawings on this folio.

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[1] Either, daughter of Louis de Luxembourg, comte de St. Paul, Ligny, Brienne, etc. and Jeanne de Bar, married Philippe de Croy, comte de Château-Porcéan, Knight of the

Golden Fleece, who died 1511 (E. van Arenbergh in *Biographie Nationale*, XII, Brussels, 1892–93, col. 617), or, daughter of Jacques de Luxembourg and Marie de Berlaymont, married Charles, Baron de Lalaing et d'Escornaix, Knight of the Golden Fleece, who died 1525 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1165, under No. IX and p. 1262, under No. III). Also identified by Hind.

2 Anne, or Jeanne, de Jauche, dame de Gomignies, Buvrages, etc., married as second husband Jean de la Hamayde, sire de Condé et Renaix; died 1410 (*Butkens*, II, p. 134 (as Anne, death-date 1410); *de Vegiano*, I, p. 938, under No. 11 (as Jeanne, death-date 1396)). Not identified by Hind. For her husband, see No. 13 (E).

3 Philippa de Lalaing, daughter of Simon de Lalaing. She was sister, not daughter, of Josse (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1163, under No. VII). Not identified by Hind.

4 Bonne de la Vieuville, or Viefville, wife of Josse de Lalaing who died 1483 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1163, under No. VIII; J. Nève in *Biographie Nationale*, XI, Brussels, 1890–91, cols. 112, 113 (under Josse de Lalaing)). Also identified by Hind. For her husband, see No. 4 (B).

5 This term is now generally, if erroneously, applied to the high, conical head-dress so popular in the fifteenth century.

6 E.g., *Portrait of Margaret van Eyck*, Bruges, Museum (*Friedländer*, I, pl. 28).

7 The connection between (B) and f° 213 of the Arras album was first pointed out by Hind.

8 L. Campbell suggests that Rubens may have misread de Succa's handwriting which is execrable: see *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*, p. 313.

9 A bust portrait in the Museum at Ghent (Inv. No. S–99) shows her in a similar costume, but in reverse position: see Catalogue, 1938, pp. 143, 144, reproduced in [*Cat. exh.*] *Marguerite d'York et son temps*, Brussels, 1967, p. 25, No. *Portraits*, 1.

10 Kongelige Bibliothek, No. Gl. kgl. Saml. 1612; K. Olsen and C. Nordenfalk, [*Cat. exh.*] *Gyllene Böcker*, Stockholm, 1952, p. 74, No. 147. I am obliged to Dr. Tue Gad, Copenhagen, for this information.

11 *Waagen, Treasures*, I, p. 238.

12 Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen, Inv. No. 3243; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 21–23, No. 8; II, pl. 8.

13 *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, fig. 2.

14 Schloss Weissenstein. Copy: see T. von Frimmel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde in gräfl. Schönborn-Wiesentheid'schem Besitze*, Pommersfelden, 1894, p. 145, No. 431 (as *Erasmus Quellinus*). The original has been attributed to Rubens by *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, p. 22 under No. 8 and by J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens Drawings by L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 438, to No. 8. F. Grossmann doubts Rubens's authorship of the original composition (in my view correctly) and suggests that it is a *pasticcio* of various Rubens-motifs (oral communication). The painting will be discussed more fully in connection with Rubens's drawing of a *Knight and His Lady*, after Van Meckenem (see above, note 12), in the volume on copies after Northern works of art.

15 On this painting and its subject matter, see p. 53.

16 See *Martin, Pompa*, figs. 21, 22.

**9.** RAAS VAN GAVERE, ANTOINETTE DE BAUX, JEANNE D'ESCORNAIX AND TWO
UNIDENTIFIED WOMEN (Fig. 38)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 312 : 207 mm.; cut at
top and right; captions in French, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) no inscription; (B) *Rasse de gaure 2 mari de Idon de Chievre;*[1]
(C) *Anthonette de Baulx Roine de Trinacly femme a Guillaume duc dandre;*[2] (D) *Jenne
dame descornaiz femme de Simon de Lalaing;*[3] (E) *wit vel* (pointing to the bodice),
*Goude lake[n]* (pointing to the sleeve).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, pp. 39, 40, No. 119 (9) and p. 159, correction to pp. 39, 40 (9).
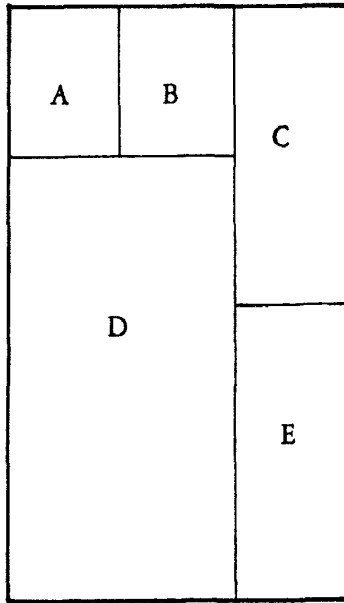
This sheet is closely related to f°s 5 (Fig. 21), 8 (Fig. 34) and 10 (Fig. 42)
which are discussed as a group under No. 5 as regards style and arrangement
of figures. Compositionally it is almost a mirror image of f° 5. The full-
length figure, identified as Jeanne d'Escornaix, is seen in frontal view, the head
turned slightly to the left. Jeanne wears a full-cut gown, belted under the
breast, with wide sleeves and a train. Collar, cuffs and hem are of fur. Into the
V-shaped *décolleté* is set a modesty vest above which hangs a necklace with a
triangular pendent. The hair is dressed in a horned hairnet over which is placed

a padded roll raised to form a *U* over the forehead (a so-called *bourrelet*).[4]
It is decorated with attached lappets and a liripipe edged in fur.

The other figures display a variety of costumes ranging from the late four-
teenth to the late fifteenth century. While (C) wears the more moderate clothes
of the late fourteenth century, a toque-like cap worn over braids wound round
the head and a dress with short puffed sleeves not unlike the modern *Dirndl-
dress*, (A) and (B) display the extravagant head-dresses of the fifteenth century,
i.e., the fashionable hennin and the poppish *chaperon à la coquarde*. The cos-
tume worn by (E) is of the later part of the century. A square-necked, sideless
bodice of fur is placed over a tight-fitting gown with long sleeves and wide cuffs.
It is joined in the waist by a very full skirt and has a train attached at the back
which is draped across the right arm. The long, flowing hair is covered by a
jewelled caul and a coronet.[5]

The sources for these drawings are not known to me. The model for the figure
of Antoinette de Baux (C) was certainly derived from the same prototype as the
little statue, formerly on the tomb of Louis de Mâle, which de Succa copied as
Agnes of Bourbon (*Mémoriaux*, f° 79ᵛ; Fig. 39),[6] or from the statue itself.
Another version is included in the *Recueil d'Arras* as Marguerite de Clisson
(f° 47; Fig. 40).[7]

When the anonymous artist of the Pommersfelden *Madonna and Saints* drew
the woman standing next to the pillar in the background on the right, he
closely followed Rubens's drawing of Jeanne d'Escornaix (D). Pose and
costumes, especially the head-dresses, are almost identical (see Fig. 41; for a
discussion of the painting, see p. 86, note 14).

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[1] Raas III van Gavere, married Ida de Chièvres in 1138, died 1150 (E. de Borchgrave in
*Biographie Nationale*, VII, Brussels, 1880–83, cols. 529–534 (as Rasse IV, sire de
Gavere, comte d'Everghem); E. Warlop in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, II,
Brussels, 1966, col. 234 (as Raas III van Gavere)). Not identified by Hind. For his
wife, see No. 29 (E).

[2] Antoinette de Baux, daughter of François de Baux, seigneur de Berre, Duke of Andria
and Monte-Scaglioso and Marguerite d'Anjou-Tarente, Empress of Constantinople. She
married Frederick III of Aragon, King of Sicily, in 1370 and died in 1374. She was
sister, not wife of Guillaume de Baux, Duke of Andria (*Barthélemy*, genealogical table
following p. 662; *Isenburg-Loringhoven*, II, pl. 45). Identified by Hind who is also
credited with the reference to *Barthélemy*.

[3] Jeanne de Gavre, called d'Escornaix, dame de Bracle et de Salardinghe, wife of Simon
de Lalaing and mother of Josse; died 1478 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1163).

4 Supposedly introduced in the late fourteenth century, it became extremely popular in the firSt half of the fifteenth century until *c.* 1460; cf. *Evans*, pp. 50, 51, 55, 56, figs. 41, 44 and 51a; *Beaulieu-Baylé*, pp. 84, 85, pl. 11b.

5 See, for inStance, the drawing of a female saint, attributed to Hugo van der Goes, in the colleƈtion of Count Seilern (*Seilern, Addenda*, pp. 39–42, No. 314, pls. XXVI and XXVII; *Friedländer*, IV, pl. 45).

6 The dependence on an older portrait for the Lille Statue was also pointed out by Lindeman, who argues that the coStume is of earlier date than Agnes of Bourbon (died 1476): see *Lindeman*, p. 199.

7 On further conneƈtions between the Lille tomb and some of Rubens's portraits of members of the Baux family, see No. 29.

10. YOLANDE DE BARBANÇON, GUILLAUME DE JAUCHE AND THREE OTHER FIGURES
(Fig. 42)

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1368; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 304 : 105 mm.; cut at top and right (slightly irregularly); captions in French, no colour or coStume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Jolant de Barbanson femme de Otto Seig<sup>r</sup> de Lalaing;*[1] (B) *Guillaume de Jausse sr de MaStain;*[2] (C) *Caterine heritiere de Molenbais femme de Guillebert de santes;*[3] (D) *Margerite de briffey femme de Guillaume de Jausse;*[4] (E) no inscription.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 40, No. 119 (10) and p. 159, correƈtion to p. 40 (10).
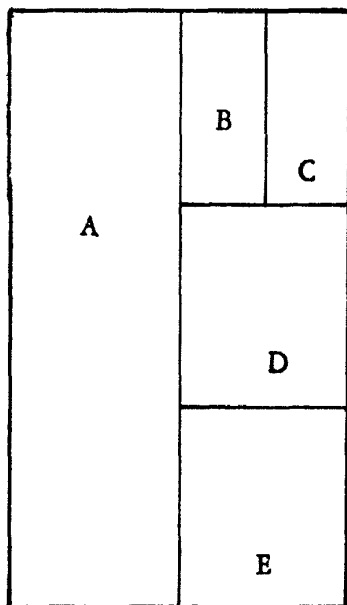
Like Nos. 8 and 9, this sheet belongs to the group of folios whose stylistic and compositional characteristics are collectively discussed under No. 5. In its use of strong wash-tones on the full-length figure it resembles f° 5 most closely (Fig. 21). However, the smaller figures show greater emphasis on surface texture and stronger modelling, indicated by hatching, than those on the other sheets.

The women wear various types of veils, the men hood and *chaperon*. Yolande de Barbançon's (A) short, starched veil, overshadowing part of her face, resembles the butterfly head-dress of the mid-fifteenth century. A multi-layered veil of much larger dimension, but generally similar shape, is worn by Marguerite de Brifeul (D). It is attached to a semi-circular roundlet set deep on the forehead. The hair is taken up in horns, the characteristic fashion of the first half of the fifteenth century. Both women wear high-waisted dresses with deep, pointed necklines bordered in fur and with sleeves gathered at the shoulders. The horned hairstyle can also be seen in the portrait of Catherine de Molembais (C), here worn with a long veil of soft fabric falling over the shoulders and a string of pearls with a large jewel in the centre placed on the forehead. Her dress has a little round fur collar and wide sleeves with fur cuffs. Two strings of pearls are wound round the neck. Guillaume de Jauche (B) wears a hood arranged in such a way that liripipe and gorget hang down on either side of the face. The gorget has an elaborately pinked edge and is further decorated with a brooch. A large necklace is placed around the high-collared *houppelande*. The head-dress in the lower right (E) is a *chaperon* with the folds of the skirt falling over the side of the brim. The effect is similar to that produced by the turban worn by Jean de Croy on f° 4 (Fig. 20). A similar type of head-dress can be seen in the well-known little watercolour portrait of Louis II of Anjou whose profile Rubens's figure resembles so closely as to suggest a common identity of sitters. [5]

Three of the smaller figures were copied from the *Recueil d'Arras*, i.e., (B) from f° 209 (Fig. 43), (C) from f° 119 (Fig. 44) [6] and (D) from a portrait which, although no longer among the Arras drawings, has left a slight impression on the *verso* of f° 209 which formerly preceded it. The name of the sitter, Marguerite de Brifeul, appears also in the index at the beginning of the album. [7] The figure of Yolande de Barbançon (A) is similar to Rubens's 'Duchesse de botfort' (No. 16 (C); Fig. 81), copied from de Succa's drawings of the tomb of Louis de Mâle. The ultimate source for Yolande's 'portrait' might

well have been the Lille statue or its model. Similarly, the resemblances between the supposed portrait of Marguerite de Brifeul (D) and Rubens's Catherine de Baux on f° 29 (F; Fig. 160) are so close as to suggest a common source. That the models for the Arras drawings of Marguerite de Brifeul and her husband, Guillaume de Jauche (B), were not actual portraits is evident from the costumes which postdate their wearers by about thirty years.

Reminiscences of the veil worn by (D) can be seen in the head-dress of the woman standing next to Queen Tomyris in Pontius's engraving and Rubens's preparatory drawing for it, based on the Boston painting.[8] The question of Rubens's use of a medieval costume for a protagonist in a scene from ancient times (the story is told by Herodotus) is discussed before (p. 56). A similar veil is also worn by the woman in the centre behind the table in the Vienna painting of *Alboin and Rosamond* (Fig. 45).

[1] Yolande de Barbançon, dame de Montigny-Saint-Christophe, daughter of Jean, seigneur de Barbançon and Yolande de Gavre; married Othon II, sire de Lalaing, grand bailli of Hainault from 1398–1400 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1161, under No. VI). Also identified by Hind.

[2] Guillaume de Jauche, seigneur de Mastaing et de Gomignies, husband of Marguerite d'Antoing (D); died 1374 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1109, No. V). Also identified by Hind.

[3] Catherine, dame de Molembais, wife of Guilbert de Lannoy, seigneur de Santes et de Beaumont, mother of Baudouin de Lannoy; died 1433 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1181 under No. IIIᵇⁱˢ; *Lannoy*). Also identified by Hind. For her husband and son, see No. 13 (H) and (I).

[4] Marguerite d'Antoing, called *de Brifeul*, wife of (B) (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1109, under No. V).

[5] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes; reproduced in M. Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry*, II, London, 1967, fig. 505.

[6] The connections with the *Recueil d'Arras* were first pointed out by Hind, who, however, cited the wrong folio number for (B).

[7] F° 3: *Marguerite de Briffoeul*. See also *Campbell, Recueil d'Arras*, p. 312, note 141. Unfortunately, the impression on the *verso* of f° 209 is so slight that it does not show up in a photograph. It is therefore not reproduced.

[8] *Rooses*, IV, pl. 252. For the drawing, see J. Müller Hofstede, *Beiträge zum zeichnerischen Werk von Rubens*, *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, XXVII, 1965, pp. 344–346, fig. 244. In the painting this woman does not wear such a head-dress (*K.d.K.*, p. 175).

11. GUILLAUME DE BRETAGNE AND EMPEROR FREDERICK III (Fig. 46)

Single folio composed of two pieces of paper joined horizontally; watermark: upper part none, lower part near *Briquet*, Nos. 9320–29; upper part: pen and greyish-brown ink and

grey wash, lower part: pen and brown ink; upper part: 130 : 162 mm., lower part: 190 : 164 mm.; upper part: caption in French, no colour or costume notes, lower part: caption in Latin, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Guillaume de bretagne Conte de pontievre sr davesnes;* [1] (B) *federicus Imperator 1122:* [2] *werschijn blau met wit hoochsel* (reflection blue with white highlights, pointing to the fabric of the cap), *diamant* (pointing to the brooch in the centre), *gout en perlen* (pointing to the clasps), *bruin bont* (pointing to the collar), *goude laken met root ghevroch* (gold cloth worked with red, on the mantle).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 40, no. 119 (11) and p. 159, correction to p. 40 (11); A. Scharf, *A Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings from the Collection of Sir Thomas Merton, F.R.S. at Stubbings House, Maidenhead,* London, 1950, p. 66.

This folio is made up of two fragments, probably joined by a later hand. They differ considerably in paper, style and technique. The upper drawing, done on almost white paper, corresponds to Rubens's so-called Arras portraits and to the full-length drawings of members of the Croy, Lalaing and Baux families, especially to f° 4 (Fig. 20) in its use of greyish-brown ink and grey wash and to f°ˢ 13 (Fig. 54) and 31 (Fig. 168) in its complete lack of hatching and delicate use of wash. Thematically, it fits into either of these groups. Portraits of the counts and countesses of Blois make up a considerable part of the *Recueil d'Arras* (f°ˢ 40–51). Although not among the present-day drawings, a model for Rubens's Guillaume de Bretagne could once have been included. However, our figure is larger than those derived from the Arras album. Its size, which corresponds to that of the full-length portraits, indicates an affinity with this group. If, due to a genealogical error or a misreading, Guillaume de Bretagne is, indeed, meant to represent his brother Ollivier, such affinity would also be justified thematically, since Olivier was connected with the Lalaings by marriage. It is, therefore, possible that Rubens's three-quarter-length figure is a fragment of a full-length portrait which belongs to that group of portraits whose possible sources have been collectively discussed before (pp. 42, 43).

The lower fragment with the portrait of Frederick III is of the same yellowish paper and ink as those sheets which were entirely or partially copied from de Succa's drawings (cf. Figs, 1, 7, 50, 73, 81, 82, 89, 96, 143 and 151). [3] Stylistically and thematically, the portrait of Frederick III is most closely related to that of Anna of Hungary, wife of Frederick's great-grandson Ferdinand I on f° 12 (Fig. 50), with which it might have formed a double folio at one time. Joined vertically, the sheet would be approximately of the same length

as the double folios, with about 110–120 mm. in height unaccounted for.

Frederick is seen in profile to the right. He wears a wide coat of brocade with a broad fur collar and an imperial cap decorated with jewels and bands studded with pearls joined in the front by a large diamond.[4] He is shown as an older man with a fleshy neck and heavy-set face. He has the prominent chin and large nose of the Habsburgs, although Rubens did not make the nose crooked.

Frederick's profile with a cap has been represented a great number of times. The prototype, now lost, was probably a portrait of 1470–80.[5] None of the known versions was Rubens's model. However, several of them supply sufficient clues for the reconstruction of such a model. A cap identical to Rubens's can be seen in several South German and Austrian bust portraits, one of which, somewhat arbitrarily introduced in an *Adoration of the Magi* by the Master of the Habsburgs, is here illustrated (Fig. 47).[6] Rubens's brocade mantle with its brown fur collar, on the other hand, is reminiscent of the cloak worn by Frederick in an *Adoration of the Magi,* supposedly a copy after an original attributed to the Master of Frankfort, in the Stuttgart museum (Fig. 48).[7] Rubens's heavy-set face also resembles this portrait. Unlike the German and Austrian masters who, no doubt inspired by Frederick's alleged meanness, represented him as a lean and bony old man of exaggerated ugliness, their Netherlandish colleagues, especially the Master of Frankfort and his workshop, preferred to portray him with a fleshy and slightly flabby face, heavy jowls and a double chin. This is also true of Rubens's Frederick whose features resemble most closely a portrait of the emperor in yet another *Epiphany,* attributed to the Master of Frankfort, in the museum at Antwerp (Fig. 49).[8] Rubens's model, then, was probably a painted portrait of the aged emperor with the heavy face found in portraits by, or from the workshop of, the Master of Frankfort, wearing the imperial cap seen in the German and Austrian portraits and a coat of brocade similar to the one worn by Frederick in the Stuttgart *Epiphany.* This model might have been a representation of Frederick as a wise man, in which case Rubens changed the position of the praying hands. However, independent half-length portraits of Frederick with hands existed already at the beginning of the sixteenth century, e.g., a portrait in the museum at Nantes, with raised hands, the right one in a position similar to Rubens's[9] and the so-called Massys-portrait discussed in note 3.

Much later, in his decorations for the entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, Rubens represented the Emperor Frederick twice, on the *Portico of the Austrian*

*Caesars*[10] and in the marriage picture of his son Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy on the *Arch of Philip*. [11] Neither representation shows a direct connection with the portrait drawing. However, the jewelled cap and fur-trimmed cloak of brocade worn by Frederick in the painting of the marriage scene were possibly inspired by the early drawing. [12]

1 Either, Olivier de Blois, called de Bretagne, comte de Penthièvre, vicomte de Limoges, seigneur d'Avesnes; married (1) Isabella of Burgundy, daughter of John the Fearless, (2) Jeanne de Lalaing; died 1433 and was buried at Avesnes, where his tomb and epitaph existed in the eighteenth century; or, his younger brother, Guillaume de Blois, called de Bretagne, vicomte de Limoges, seigneur d'Avesnes, but *not* comte de Penthièvre; died 1455 (Père Anselme, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France ...*, 3rd ed., VI, Paris, 1730, pp. 104, 105). For this reference I would like to thank Dr. Lorne Campbell. The portrait was also identified by Hind.

2 On the basis of the date first identified by Hind as Frederick Barbarossa (1121–1190). The portrait, however, represents Emperor Frederick III (1415-1493), father of Maximilian I, as corrected by Hind.

3 It was not copied from de Succa's portrait of Frederick III on f° 28 of his *Mémoriaux* which is based on a painting in the collection of Sir Thomas Merton at Stubbings House, Maidenhead, wrongly attributed to Quentin Massys (A. Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 66, pl. XXVII).

4 In German, this cap has been referred to as *Schaube* (M. Herrgott, *Pinacotheca Principum Austriae*, II (His *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austriacae*, III), Freiburg i. Br., 1760, p. 137) or *Spangenkrone* (H. Dornik-Eger, *Friedrich III. in Bildnissen und Darstellungen seiner Zeit, Alte und moderne Kunst*, XI, 1966, No. 86, p. 8). My term "imperial cap" has been suggested by Dornik-Eger who considers the cap a kind of private crown of a monarch who tried to combine contemporary fashion with the representational functions of his position: H. Eger, *Ikonographie Kaiser Friedrichs III.*, Phil. Diss., Vienna, 1965, p. 99.

5 H. Dornik-Eger, *op. cit.*, p. 7. On the iconography of Frederick III, see A. Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 66; H. Eger, *op. cit.;* H. Dornik-Eger, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–9; [*Cat. exh.*] *Friedrich III.*, Vienna, 1966, pp. 64-86, especially pp. 79–81.

6 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. No. 127 A. Exhibited in the Österreichische Galerie im Unteren Belvedere. For discussions and reproductions of most of the other portraits, see H. Dornik-Eger, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

7 Inv. No. L27. Another copy is in the collection of Dr. William S. Serri in Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A.: *Friedländer*, VII, p. 75, No. 125, pl. 94. Frederick III wearing the imperial cap and a fur-collared cloak is also included among his portraits in M. Herrgott, *op. cit.*, I, pl. XXXIII, No. 6.

8 *Catalogue descriptif, Maîtres anciens*, 3rd ed., Antwerp, 1970, p. 142, No. 168. The painting has also been affiliated with the Master of Watervliet (P. Vanaise, *De Meester van Watervliet en zijn Nood Gods, Bulletin de l'Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, IX, 1966, pp. 22, 23).

9 Inv. No. 595. Reproduced in H. Dornik-Eger, *op. cit.*, p. 8, fig. 5.

10 Neither the statue nor Rubens's oil sketch is preserved, the one destroyed by fire in 1731, the other apparently lost. There is, however, an etching by Theodore van Thulden

after the statue: *Martin, Pompa,* fig. 40. It should be noted that Rubens referred to Frederick III as Frederick IV. Naturally, in a glorification of Habsburg rule the disputed and finally successfully contested reign of Frederick III, called 'the Fair' (1314-1322), could not be ignored. However, it is now generally accepted to refer to Maximilian's father as Frederick III.

11 *Martin, Pompa,* fig. 21.

12 See the copy, formerly in the Oscar Huldschinsky collection, Berlin, reproduced in *Martin, Pompa,* fig. 22.

## 12. MARY OF CLEVES AND ANNA OF HUNGARY (Fig. 50)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink; 204 : 217 mm.; caption in Latin, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) no inscriptions; (B) *Anna Vladislai Regis Hungariae filia uxor ferdinandi Prim. Imp.:* 1 *perlen, robijn, effen goude laken* (pearls, ruby, smooth gold cloth, all pointing to the hat), *wit met gout gevroch* (white worked with gold, pointing to the stomacher), *Carquart* (?) (pointing to the collar worn around the shoulders), *goude laken* and *wit doortrocken* ('gold cloth' and 'white pulled through', pointing to the sleeve).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 40, No. 119 (12); *Held, 1951,* p. 288, fig. 4 (detail); K. Löcher, *Jakob Seisenegger, Hofmaler Kaiser Ferdinands I. (Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien),* Munich–Berlin, 1962, p. 100, under No. 105.

The figure on the left, shown in full-length facing front, with a slight twist of the body to the left, is a rapidly sketched costume study with little attention paid to the rendering of face and hands. The portrait on the right, identified as Anna of Hungary, is represented in little over half-length, turned to the left. Unlike its companion, it testifies to meticulous study of costume as well as interest in portraiture. Anna's slightly bulbous eyes and double chin can be seen in several portraits of her, especially those showing her, like in Rubens's drawing, as an older woman, e.g., two paintings formerly in the collection of archduke Ferdinand at Schloss Ambras, one of which still is in that location, 2 the other in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna. 3

The costumes illustrate examples of early fifteenth-century Burgundian and sixteenth-century German court dress. The Burgundian lady wears a gown girded high under the breast, with extravagantly wide and long sleeves with pinked tabs and the fashionable *coiffe à deux lobes* or *Zweihörnerhaube,* a starched veil arranged to form horns over the temples. 4 This towering head-

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dress finds its counterpart in the wide-brimmed, platter-like beret as worn by Anna. Decorated with jewels, it is set on an embroidered cap covering the back of the scalp. Anna's dress, worn over an embroidered undershirt gathered into a high neck-band, has a square-cut bodice and slashed sleeves, the linen of the chemise bulging through the openings. A jewelled collar and pendent and a necklace of gold add to the splendour of the outfit.

As illustrated by Held, [5] Rubens copied the Burgundian lady from one of de Succa's drawings of the *pleurants* which formerly surrounded the tomb of Louis de Mâle (cf. Nos. 16 and 19). She is identified as Mary of Cleves, daughter of John the Fearless. [6] Rubens drew the same figure from a different angle on f° 26 (Fig. 142). The portrait of Anna of Hungary is very similar to a bust portrait of her in Budapest, there tentatively attributed to Jakob Seisenegger (Fig. 53). [7] This connection was also noted by Müller Hofstede, as cited by Löcher. The latter rightly considers the Budapest portrait a copy, the original or yet another version of which served Rubens as a model. Rubens's drawing corresponds to the Budapest picture in all details except size and position of hands. In this respect, it is closer to an anonymous woodcut portrait of Anna in which she is seated next to her husband, her crossed hands resting on a pillow placed on a balustrade in front of her. The figures are framed by two pillars carrying an arch (Fig. 52). A related portrait of Anna in the museum at Innsbruck, similarly compressed into an arched frame on whose base she is resting her hands, shows her in the same dress, but with a slightly different beret. [8] Thus, we may reasonably assume that the prototype of Rubens's drawing was a half-length portrait of Anna, possibly set in a similarly constructed architectural framework as in the Innsbruck and woodcut versions. Rubens, by enlarging the figure slightly and liberating it, so to speak, of its rigid confinement, created a figure which is free in space: in short, a Baroque portrait. [9]

Style, ink and technique of the two sketches and that of Frederick III on the previous folio suggest that they were done at the same time and from the same source. Since the figure of Mary of Cleves was copied from de Succa, it would, of course, be tempting to designate the *Mémoriaux* in its former, complete state as that source. While there is some evidence that de Succa did include in his genealogical collection a series of Habsburg portraits (see Frederick III on f° 28 of the *Mémoriaux* and No. 41), no portrait of Anna of Hungary by de Succa survives. We can, therefore, only try to reconstruct prototypes which served either Rubens or de Succa as models.

In later years Rubens returned to the subject of his early drawing when he painted a portrait of Anna of Hungary after a picture by Hans Maler. [10] In this beautiful painting Anna is shown as a young girl wearing a dress and beret similar to those in the drawing of the older woman. When Rubens introduced two women in Burgundian head-dresses in the background on the right in the Munich sketch of the *Miracles of St. Francis,* he applied his knowledge of horned hairstyles and veils for his free interpretation of the *Zweihörnerhaube* worn by the woman on the left. [11]

1 Anna, daughter of Vladislas, King of Hungary, wife of the Emperor Ferdinand I; 1503–1547. The *Prim. Imp.* was added by Rubens, possibly later, in a darker brown ink. It is, strictly speaking, not correct since Anna died before Ferdinand became emperor in 1556.

2 Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 4385; see K. Löcher, *op. cit.,* p. 96, No. 80, fig. 33.

3 Inv. No. 4667; see F. Kenner, *Die Porträtsammlung des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* XIV, 1893, p. 143, No. 152, pl. X, fig. 152.

4 Cf. *Beaulieu-Baylé,* p. 86; *Enlart,* p. 207; G. Troescher, *Burgundische Malerei,* Berlin, 1966, I, p. 229; II, pl. 17, fig. 383.

5 *Held,* 1951, p. 288, fig. 3.

6 *de Succa,* f° 80ᵛ; Fig. 51.

7 Inv. No. 7567; see A. Pigler, *Budapest, Museum der bildenden Kunst, Katalog der Galerie alter Meister,* I, Budapest, 1967, p. 636, No. 7567.

8 Inv. No. 115. Part of a diptych, the other side showing Ferdinand I: see W. Hilger, *Ikonografie Kaiser Ferdinands I. (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Geschichte Österreichs,* III), Vienna, 1969, pp. 146, 147, No. 14; reproduced in E. von Ybl, *Das Porträt der Königin Anna, Az Országos Magyar Szépművészeti Múzeum Évkönyvei,* IX, 1937–39, Budapest, 1940, p. 152, fig. 2. Hilger believes the Innsbruck and woodcut portraits to be based on originals by Vermeyen. This may be true for Ferdinand, but, in my opinion, does not prove correct for Anna. I am rather inclined to attribute the model for all four portraits, including Rubens's, to Seisenegger.

9 See also Rubens's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione,* after Raphael, in the collection of Count Seilern (*Seilern,* pp. 48, 49, No. 24, pls. LVII, LVIII).

10 Rubens's portrait is in the collection of Mr. Robin Bagot, Levens Hall, England; see [*Cat. exh.*] *Works of Art from Private Collections in the North West of England and North Wales* (catalogue entry by F. Grossmann), Manchester, 1960, pp. 23, 24, No. 75; B. Nicolson, *Old and Modern Masters at Manchester, The Burlington Magazine,* CII, 1960, p. 461, fig. 51. Maler's portrait is in the collection of Mrs. S. Guggenheim, New York (see H. von Mackowitz, *Der Maler Hans von Schwaz (Schlern-Schriften,* No. 193), Innsbruck, 1960, pp. 42, 81, No. 15, fig. 21).

11 *Vlieghe, Saints,* II, fig. 2.

**13.** GUILLAUME DE LIGNE, ADRIENNE DE HALLEWYN AND SEVEN OTHER NOBLE PERSONNAGES (Fig. 54)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and greyish-brown wash; 320 : 211 mm.; cut at top and right (irregularly); captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Guillaume de ligne Sr de barbanson;* [1] (B) *Adrienne sa femme de hallewin;* [2] (C) and (D) no inscriptions; (E) *Seig<sup>r</sup> de la hamaide et de Conde;* [3] (F) *Margerite dame de mingoual feme de hu[gues] Sr de Lann[oy];* [4] (G) *Colart dict Lestourdi Sr doygnes;* [5] (H) *Guillebert de Lannoy sr de beamont et santes;* [6] (I) no inscription.

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, pp. 40, 41, No. 119 (13) and p. 159, correction to p. 41 (13).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A | B | C |
| D | E | F |
| G | H | I |

The figures are seen in bust or half-length, some of the latter slightly extended with a few strokes indicating a continuity in space so characteristic of Rubens. Stress is laid on the head-dresses which display almost the whole range of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century fashion. The women wear the modish horned veil (also known as *chapeau à ailes* or *Zweiflügelhaube*) as can be seen, for example, in the May picture of the calendar illustrations in the *Chantilly Hours* (F), the popular hennin (D) and the veiled bonnet with curved sides (B), familiar from numerous late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century

portraits. As regards variety of head-gear, the men even surpass the ladies. We see a circlet of leafage with a jewel in front (E), a hood worn as a turban (H), a wide-brimmed fur hat (I) and caps of various shapes and sizes (A, C and G).

All figures were derived from the *Receuil d'Arras,* i.e., (A) to (I) from f°s 185, 186, 58, 177, 212, 112, 223, 118 and 109, respectively (Figs. 55–62, 64).[7] The portraits not inscribed by Rubens are there identified as follows: (C) as Jean de Flandres, seigneur de Drinckham,[8] whose portrait goes back to Memlinc's painting of the Grand Bâtard, Anthony of Burgundy,[9] (D) as Marie, dame de Ville, wife of Jacques de Luxembourg and (I) as Baudouin de Lannoy, whose stern-faced countenance was copied from Van Eyck's famous painting in Berlin (Fig. 63). As discussed previously, Rubens's drawings were most likely copied from de Succa's transferred tracings, which could explain the reversion of (A), (E) and (G). Apart from changes caused by the omission or simplification of costume details (e.g., in (E) and (H)), Rubens's sketches are faithful, yet beautiful copies of the mediocre Arras drawings. As always, Rubens transformed dull and awkwardly drawn figures into convincing and lively representations of human beings.

In two instances Rubens added details not provided by his models. Nothing in the Arras drawings indicates that the collar of (A) and the cuffs of (F) are made of fur, nor is it likely that de Succa, the faithful and singularly unimaginative copyist supplied these details. We must, therefore, credit these changes to Rubens's sense of decorousness and knowledge of costume.

A head-dress similar to the wreath of leafage worn by Jean de la Hamayde (E) can be seen on the man seated behind the table, on the left, in the Vienna painting of *Alboin and Rosamond* which combines so many of Rubens's early costume studies (see Fig. 45).

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[1] Second son of Michel de Ligne, baron de Barbançon, and Bonne d'Abbeville (*de Vegiano,* II, p. 1225, No. xIII^bis). Also identified by Hind.

[2] Adrienne de Hallewyn, wife of (A).

[3] Jean de la Hamayde, sire de Condé et Renaix, married as her second husband Anne (or Jeanne) de Jauche; died at Agincourt 1415 (*de Vegiano,* I, p. 938, No. 11; *Butkens,* II, p. 134). Also identified by Hind. For his wife, see No. 8 (B).

[4] Marguerite, dame de Maingoval, wife of Hugues I de Lannoy who died 1349 (*de Vegiano,* II, p. 1179, under No. 11). Also identified by Hind.

[5] Colard d'Ongnies, called "the Madcap", married Marie de Molembais; died 1414 (*de Vegiano,* II, p. 1467, No. 11; J. Gaillard, *Bruges et le Franc,* I, Bruges, 1857, p. 368). Also identified by Hind. For his wife, see No. 31 (C).

**6** Guilbert de Lannoy, seigneur de Santes et de Beaumont, third son of Hugues de Lannoy and Marguerite de Maingoval (F), married Catherine de Molembais; died apparently in 1424 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1181, No. IIIbis, 3°; B. de Lannoy, *Hugues de Lannoy, le bon seigneur de Santes*, Brussels, 1957). Also identified by Hind. For his wife, see No. 10 (C).

**7** The connection between the *Recueil d'Arras* and six of Rubens's drawings was already noted by Hind.

**8** He was the natural son of Louis de Mâle and Péronne de la Val (*de Vegiano*, I, p. 687, No. 1).

**9** Preserved in copies in Dresden (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen) and Chantilly (Musée Condé): *Friedländer*, VIA, pl. 127.

## 14ʳ. JEAN DE HAINAULT AND HIS WIFE (Fig. 67)

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1383; pen and greyish brown ink and grey wash; 200 : 310 mm.; cut at top and bottom; top of *recto* coincides with bottom of *verso*; captions in French, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Jan Conte de hainault:*¹ *wtghenomen het wit bont al root flou- weel* (except for the white fur everything red velvet); (B) *sa femme:*² *goude laken* (pointing to the sleeve), *root flouweel* (pointing to the skirt, on the right), *wit bont* (pointing to the skirt, on the left).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 41, No. 119 (14); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 14, under No. 1, and pp. 132, 133, under No. 79.

Jean, Count of Hainault, and his wife are dressed in the courtly fashion of the late fourteenth century. Jean, shown half turned to the right, wears a full-cut, short-sleeved mantle, belted in the waist, with an ermine-lined hood draped around the shoulders. His short, wavy hair is held by a jewelled head-band. With his left hand he grasps the hilt of his sword. His wife, seen slightly turned to the left and looking at the beholder, wears a gown with close-fitting bodice and tight sleeves extending as far as the knuckles. Over this is placed a sideless surcoat whose front (or stomacher) is of ermine. A full skirt falls in broad folds from the band of fur placed across the hips. The front of the surcoat is decorated with a jewelled band running down its entire length. The hair, dressed in two masses above the ears, is covered by a jewelled, square-shaped crown. On her right hand she carries a little bird.

The sources for these drawings are not known to me. A bust portrait of Jean de Hainault in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f° 27; Fig. 65) showing him in a less detailed version of Rubens's costume undoubtedly goes back to the same original. The prototype for the figure of his wife probably was a portrait of Margaret of

Flanders, wife of Philip the Bold, such as preserved in a late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century copy in the museum at Lille (Fig. 66).[3] The dresses are identical (as far as can be judged from a bust portrait), the crowns similar; only the hair-style varies. Rubens's model probably formed part of a series of full-length portraits of the counts and countesses of Holland, in which, lacking authentic descriptions as well as imagination, the artist had turned to more recent models for his depictions of ancient rulers.[4]

As stated in No. 1, Rubens might have used his drawings of young medieval knights, such as Jean de Hainault and Baldwin V, when he painted King Dagobert on the right wing of the National Gallery *Conversion of St. Bavo* with a jewelled head-band around his long, wavy hair.[5] The cape worn by Dagobert with its layers of folds draped across the shoulders is also reminiscent of Jean de Hainault's hooded mantle.

[1] Probably Jean II d'Avesnes, Count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland; died 1304.
[2] Philippine de Luxembourg; died 1311. For husband and wife, cf. A. Wauters in *Biographie Nationale,* XX, Brussels, 1888–89, cols. 292–304. Also identified by Hind who, however, gives a different death-date for the wife.
[3] Inv. No. 937; Catalogue, 1893, p. 322, No. 937.
[4] Such a genealogical portrait series of the late fifteenth century is still preserved in the Town Hall at Haarlem: cf. *Van Luttervelt,* repr. pp. 80–84.
[5] *K.d.K.,* p. 272; *Vlieghe, Saints,* I, fig. 122.

14ᵛ.    HAWKING SCENE (Fig. 68)

Pen and brown ink; 200 : 310 mm.; no captions, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *blauw, root* (three times); (B) *root, wit, blauw;* (C) *Capruyn bruin lacke* (cap of brown cloth), *root* (twice, pointing to the 'skirt' of the *chaperon* and to the hose), *den casack vermilloen root* (the tunic vermilion, pointing to the tunic); (D) *wit* (pointing to the head-dress), *blauw het heel cleet* (the entire dress blue).

LITERATURE: See above, under No. 14ʳ.

*Verso:* The scene depicts four activities of hawking. On the left a man swings a lure as was used for reclaiming a falcon still in the air. Next to him a lady is seated beside a falcon which has brought down a heron, while a second man, carrying a hawk on his left fist looks down on this scene.[1] The lady on the right has just released her falcon which is flying off into the air. A sketchily drawn tree in the background suggests a forest scenery appropriate for the hunt.

The costumes illustrate mid-fifteenth-century fashion, the ladies wearing high-waisted dresses with wide, square-cut collars and long trains, the men hose and

loose, belted tunics, in one instance worn with a pouch hanging from the belt (C). The head-dresses of the ladies are the *bourrelet* (B; cf. No. 9) and the *Zweiflügelhaube* (D; cf. No. 13), those of the men a hood twisted into a soft-crowned cap with a stiffened brim and a long piece of dangling material falling over one shoulder (A) and the *chaperon* with liripipe and skirt hanging down on either side of the face (C). Shoes are pointed, but not so extreme as in the periods before and after.

L. Burchard suggested that the drawing might have been copied from a miniature. However, I have not been able to find correspondences with manuscript illustrations. As regards composition and costumes, the drawing is related to a mid-fifteenth-century tapestry fragment in the Minneapolis Art Institute depicting a falconry scene(Fig. 69).[2] The group in Rubens's drawing formed by the gentleman and the two ladies appears almost exactly in the tapestry. Here, as in the drawing, the man carries a hawk on his fist and turns toward the seated lady. The motifs of falcon attacking heron and man waving a lure can be seen in the upper centre and upper right of the tapestry, respectively. Furthermore, a skyline of foliage, such as in the tapestry, probably served Rubens as a model for his single, quickly sketched tree. The Minneapolis fragment has been related to the set of four hunting tapestries in the Victoria and Albert Museum, known as the *Devonshire Hunting Tapestries*, two of which deal, entirely or partly, with falconry.[3] Indeed, some scholars have suggested that it once belonged to the same set.[4] Rubens's man with the lure who, of all figures, differs most strongly from his Minneapolis counterpart finds a corresponding model in the Victoria and Albert *Falconry* (Fig. 70). The motif of a lady releasing a falcon can be seen in the *Deer Hunt* (Fig. 71). It is, therefore, possible that Rubens copied a fragment of a tapestry which was based on a cartoon similar to, if not derived from that used for the Minneapolis and/or Victoria and Albert tapestries, designed in Arras or Tournai in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[5]

Rubens, who seems to have been primarily interested in costumes, as witnessed by his numerous colour notations, nevertheless paid careful attention to the details of the hunt. His rendering of the birds and the activities connected with them is accurate and convincing. Among the drawings in the *Costume Book* this sheet is one of three which reproduces a scene rather than a collection of individual figures, the others being f° 23 (Fig. 110) and f° 24 (Fig. 115), of which the latter also represents a hunt.

Burchard and d'Hulſt point out that the falcon and heron, especially their position in the composition, are similar to those in a grisaille sketch of a *Hawking Party* (formerly P. Norton Collection), previously attributed to Van Dyck, but considered to be Rubens's by these authors. Although I am not convinced of Rubens's authorship, the sketch is here illuſtrated (Fig. 72) since Van Dyck may well have been familiar with Rubens's early coſtume ſtudies (see also No. 24). For Rubens's later intereſt in the subject of falconry, see the drawing of a *Hawking Party* formerly in the collection of Mrs. Thormählen, Cologne, [6] the drawing of a *Hawking Party* by Van Orley in the British Museum, added to and reworked by Rubens, [7] and the Metropolitan Museum *Wolf and Fox Hunt*, [8] where the lady on the right carries a falcon.

[1] An attempt has been made to differentiate between falcon and hawk, although hawk, a word of indefinite meaning, is often used to include all diurnal birds of prey used in falconry. In its more reſtricted sense it refers to the short-winged, long-tailed hawk, also known as 'hawk of the fiſt', one that flies directly off and on the fiſt. The name falcon is applied to the long-winged birds of prey which take their quarry as it moves, usually plunging down on it from above. They are also known as 'hawks of the lure', since they are recalled by the lure. On this and subsequent details concerning falconry, see the entry in the *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, 11th ed., Cambridge, 1911.

[2] Inv. No. 15.34; [*Cat. exh.*] *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization*, Detroit, 1960, pp. 318–320, No. 149.

[3] See *Digby*, especially pp. 1 (2) and 2 (4) and pls. II and IV. On the Minneapolis fragment, see *ibid.*, pp. 38, 39.

[4] See [*Cat. exh.*] *Detroit*, pp. 318–320, with review of previous literature.

[5] According to *Digby* (p. 35), cartoons were circulated among workshops, where they were rehandled and refurbished.

[6] *Burchard-d'Hulſt, 1963*, I, pp. 132, 133, No. 79. The drawing may have been done in preparation for an oil sketch, formerly in the R. Cosway and H. Munro collections, described in *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, III, p. 104, No. 367 (as *Van Dyck*).

[7] Department of Prints and Drawings, Inv. No. Sloane 5237–77: *Hind*, II, p. 16, No. 32 and p. 158, correction to p. 16, No. 32, pl. V (as *entirely by Rubens*); A. E. Popham, *An Orley drawing Retouched by Rubens, Old Maſter Drawings*, I, 1926–27, pp. 45–47, pl. 53 (as *Van Orley, reworked by Rubens*).

[8] *K.d.K.*, p. 112.

15. EUSTACHE DE MORCAMP AND HIS WIFE, WILLEM VAN DER BIE, HIS WIFE AND CHILDREN (Fig. 73)

Single folio; watermark (possibly a monogram) same as Nos. 2 (right half), 18, 19, 27 (right half), 28 (left half) and 37 (bottom); pen and brown ink; 203 : 323 mm.; on the right, creases caused by mounting; irregularly cut at top and bottom; captions in Latin, notes in French.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) and (B) no inscriptions; (C) *pater familias: chiapperon blanc* (pointing to the hood), *bleu* (pointing to the cape); (D) *mater familias: blanc* (pointing to the kerchief), *manteauw bleu* (pointing to the cape), *robbe verde* (pointing to the dress); (E) *filius natu maior: chapperon blanc* (pointing to the hood), ... (?) *Tanne* (pointing to the cape); (F) *F[ilius] secundus: bleu* (pointing to the cloak); (G) *[Filius] minor: bleu* (pointing to the cloak); (H) *filia maior;* (I) *F[ilia] minor.*

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 41, No. 119 (15).
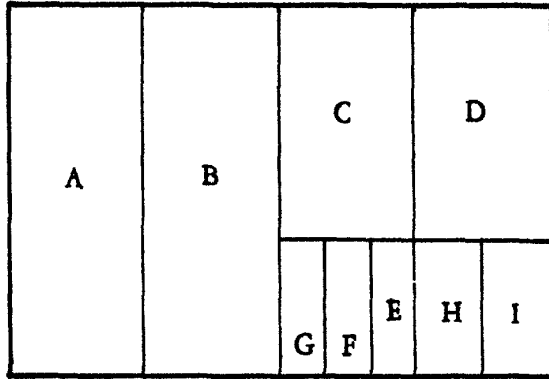


As suggested by Hind, the couple on the left was derived from fourteenth-century tomb sculpture. For once, Rubens retained the immobile, statuelike character of his models, especially in the figure of the woman who is seen in strict frontal view, her hands calmly placed above her stomach. The statuesque quality is enhanced by the vertical folds of the long cape and flowing robe. The hair is braided and arranged in loops over the ears above which is placed a flowered head-band. The man, although shown with praying hands, imparts a more animated impression caused by a twist of the body to the right and a slight indication of *contrapposto*. He wears a cape-like mantle with slit sides, buttoned on the right shoulder, over hose and a very short undertunic, and carries a sword on his belt. Both his and his wife's capes have hoods which can be buttoned tight at the throat (here worn thrown back), a style seen in the last quarter of the fourteenth century.

The group on the right represents a donor and his family of slightly earlier date, as indicated by the costumes. The parents and oldest son wear hooded cloaks over long-sleeved, flowing robes, the daughters simple dresses. Father and sons are bare-headed, while the mother wears a kerchief secured with pins, and the daughters head-bands.

All figures were copied from de Succa's *Mémoriaux,* the group on the left from f° 93ᵛ (Fig. 74), drawn by de Succa from the tomb of Eustache de Morcamp and his wife Peronne de Wallon-Cappelle in the abbeychurch of St. Bertin at St. Omer, the group on the right from f°ˢ 94, 94ᵛ and 95 (Figs. 75–77), copied, so de Succa informs us, in the same church from a stained glass window representing Willem van der Bie with his wife and children. Besides the parents, which he drew in full-length, Rubens made partial copies of all three sons, the younger ones very small and briefly sketched, but only copied two of the four daughters, the oldest and one of the two youngest ones. Rubens's colour notes can be found in de Succa's text, the Latin inscriptions, however, are his addition.

16. MARY OF SAVOY, MARGARET OF SAVOY, ANNA OF BEDFORD AND JOHN IV OF BURGUNDY (Fig. 81)

Single folio; watermark: near *Briquet,* No. 7867; pen and brown ink; 202 : 316 mm.; captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *duchesse de Savoye;* [1] (B) *Roine de Scicile (?) fille de la duchesse de Savoye;* [2] (C) *Duchesse de Montfort (Montfort* erased and corrected with *botfort) fille de Jan ducq de bourgogne;* [3] (D) no inscription.

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 41, No. 119 (16) and p. 159, correction to p. 41 (16).

The women are seen in full-length, the man in three-quarter-length turned left. The costumes are of the first half of the fifteenth century. Mary of Savoy (A) wears a long cape and a tight-fitting dress with a trailing skirt as were fashionable in the beginning of the century. Her head-dress consists of a padded circlet with a veil hanging down to the back of the neck, similar to the male hat style to be seen, for example, on f° 24 (Fig. 115). The hair is arranged in cauls above the ears. Margaret of Savoy's (B) short, belted *houppelande* with wide sleeves slit vertically is of slightly later date, as shown by a similar robe worn by Giovanna Cenami in Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding Portrait.* Margaret wears hers over a long underdress with puffed sleeves. Her hair is covered by a crown held by a shawl draped under the chin. Anna, Duchesse of Bedford (C) is dressed in mid-fifteenth-century 'butterfly' veil and a V-necked, fur-trimmed gown belted high under the breast. The skirt is slightly lifted, revealing the

hem of the underdress and the pointed shoes. Rubens experimented with the position of the feet, of which he drew three in succession. The man, not identified, wears a fur-lined cloak with arm slits similar to the *cappa clausa* worn by Cardinal Albergati in Jan van Eyck's portrait in Vienna. His hood is arranged as a cap, its liripipe and gorget hanging down on either side of the face.

All figures were copied from de Succa's *Mémoriaux,* the women, as Hind suggested, from drawings of the Lille *pleurants* on f°s 79[v] (Fig. 79) and 80 (Fig. 80), the man from a half-length portrait of John IV of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant (1403–27) on f° 11 (Fig. 78). John of Burgundy was the eldest son of Anthony of Burgundy (see Nos. 3 and 19 (A)) and second husband of Jacqueline of Bavaria. [4] De Succa made his drawing from a painted portrait in the collection of Denis de Villers, chancellor of the cathedral of Tournai and a distinguished scholar and collector, whose house de Succa visited on December 5, 1601. [5] A painted copy of this portrait, or its prototype, existed at Louvain until 1914 (Louvain University). [6] According to an inscription on the back of the panel, it was painted in 1629 after an original of 1422. Hind, not being familiar with de Succa's drawing, assumed that the original served Rubens as model.

It has been suggested that the original portrait of John of Burgundy was painted by Jan van Eyck. [7] The date given on the back of the Louvain panel coincides with Jan's service for John of Bavaria at the Hague (1422–24). By 1422 the disagreements between John of Bavaria and John of Burgundy over the provinces of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault, which had arisen during the latter's marriage to Jacqueline of Bavaria, were temporarily settled. It is, therefore, not impossible that at this particular date Jan van Eyck was able to paint his patron's former enemy. Even allowing for a later date (as late as 1427, John of Burgundy's death date), Jan van Eyck would still be a likely author as painter to the Burgundian court. However, such an attribution cannot be made solely on the basis of the existing copies. It must be remembered that no dated work by Jan is known from before 1432. Thus it can only be said, as in the words of Hulin de Loo who discussed de Succa's portrait drawing of John of Burgundy together with those of his brother, Philippe de Saint-Pol, and Michèle de France on the same folio of de Succa's *Mémoriaux* and that of Bonne d'Artois in the *Recueil d'Arras :*

"Je n'oserais aucunement affirmer que les quatre derniers portraits émanent de l'un des frères d'Eyck, mais ils sont du temps de leurs œuvres les plus

anciennes et de composition analogue à ceux que Johannes peignit dans la suite. Ils sont issus du même mouvement artistique." [8] (I would not dare to state that the last four portraits emanate from one of the Van Eyck brothers, but they are of the same time as their earliest work and of similar composition as those which Jan painted later. They originate from the same artistic movement.)

That the original portrait was a well-known painting is demonstrated not only by the seventeenth-century copies (and, possibly, Rubens's lack of identification), but also by fifteenth-century versions. It was probably used for the design of the little statue representing John of Burgundy on the tomb of Louis de Mâle (cf. No. 19 (B)), and certainly served as the model for his portrait in the centre panel of the Melbourne triptych with the *Miracles of Christ*. [9]

In accordance with his idea of portraiture, Rubens enlarged de Succa's half-length portrait to three-quarter-length, thus giving his model a more stately appearance. This effect is enhanced by the changes Rubens undertook on his sitter's face. In de Succa's drawing and the Louvain panel John of Burgundy is portrayed as a young, somewhat sly person. He is known to have been a weak and ineffectual man vacillating between allegiance to his wife, Jacqueline of Bavaria, and the demands of the more dominant and powerful John of Bavaria. Rubens changed the face into that of an older, sincere and rather stern looking man. Like most of the figures in the *Costume Book,* and certainly all copied from de Succa, this drawing is primarily a costume study based on de Succa's portrait, with no attempt at reproduction of likeness.

[1] Mary, daughter of Philip the Bold of Burgundy, wife of Amadeus VIII, Duke of Savoy; born 1380, died 1422 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven,* ii, pl. 26).

[2] Margaret of Savoy, daughter of (A), wife of (1) Louis III of Anjou, King of Naples, 1403–34, (2) Louis IV, Elector of the Palatinate and (3) Ulrich V of Württemberg (*ibid.,* pl. 112).

[3] Anna, daughter of John the Fearless, wife of John, Duke of Bedford; born 1404, died 1432 (*ibid.,* pl. 26). (A) – (C) were also identified by Hind.

[4] From 1418 until 1420; for her portrait see No. 17 (A), Fig. 82; for another representation of John, see No. 19 (B).

[5] See de Succa's inscription on f° 11 and de Villers's verification of that visit on f° 7 of the *Mémoriaux.* On Chancellor de Villers, see *Devigne, Collection.*

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 356. The painting was published by P.-F.-X.De Ram, *Note sur un portrait du duc de Brabant Jean IV ayant appartenu à la gilde des arbalétriers de Louvain, Compte rendu des séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, ou Recueil de ses bulletins,* 3rd s., i, 1860, pp. 295–306 and P.V. v[an] d[er] Meersch, *Portrait de Jean IV duc*

*de Brabant, Messager des sciences historiques, ou Archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique*, 1862, pp. 1–3, both with chromolithograph reproductions.

7 W.H.J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck*, London-New York, 1908, p. 181; J. Six, *De "Gravenbeeldjes" te Amsterdam, Onze Kunst*, XL, 1922, pp. 66, 67; *Bauch*, p. 91, note 27.

8 G. Hulin de Loo, *Exposition des "Primitifs français" au point de vue de l'influence des frères Van Eyck sur la peinture française et provençale, Bulletijn der Maatschappij van Geschied- en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, XII, 1904, p. 172.

9 National Gallery of Victoria. Inv. No. 131: U. Hoff and M. Davies, *The National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Les Primitifs flamands, 1, Corpus de la peinture flamande des anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux au quinzième siècle*, XII), Brussels, 1971, pp. 1–28, No. 131, pls. I–XLV. Hoff attributes the centre panel and left wing to Rogier van der Weyden's workshop, or rather to some continuation of it at Brussels.

**17.** JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA, ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL AND THREE OTHER NOBLE WOMEN (Fig. 82)

Single folio, watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867; pen and brown ink; 202 : 319 mm.; caption in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Dame Jacoba debauiere contesse dollande;* [1] (B)–(E) no inscriptions.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 41, No. 119 (17) and p. 159, correction to p. 41 (17).
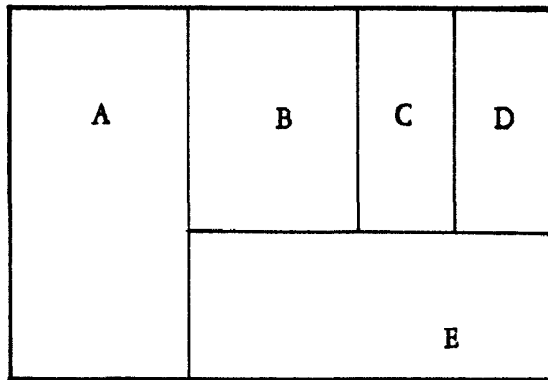


Represented are five portraits of women of which only one (A) has an identifying inscription. Four are shown in three-quarter-length, one in bust-length. The figures diminish gradually in size from left to right, thus effecting a recession in space.

The costumes illustrate various head-dresses from the fifteenth century. Jacqueline of Bavaria wears a veil with a ruffled edge over horned hair-style and

a fur-trimmed gown with bag sleeves girded high under the breast, as was fashionable in the first half of the century (cf. No. 8 (B); Fig. 34). The lower part of the figure and the right arm are left unfinished. The woman next to her is dressed in a similar robe with slightly narrower sleeves with fur cuffs in which she hides her hands. Hair, forehead and shoulders are covered by a large wimple, such as was worn by older women and widows. The costume dates from the third quarter of the century. The head-dress of the third lady (C) is of more extravagant style. A starched strip of cloth is arranged on top of the head in an undulating pattern, while a long veil falls down the back. The woman in the upper right (D) wears a jewelled net over hair shaped in two masses above the temples, the lady in the lower right (E) the already familiar *Zweiflügelhaube*.

All figures were copied from de Succa's collection of drawings, i.e., (A) and (B) from f° 7 (Fig. 83),[2] (C) from f° 83ᵛ (Fig. 84), (D) from f° 83 (Fig. 86) and (E) from f° 84 (Fig. 87). The four women not inscribed by Rubens are identified by de Succa as: (B) Isabella of Portugal, third wife of Philip the Good (1397–1472),[3] (C) Ogiva, daughter of Frederick I, Count of Luxembourg, first wife of Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders (died 1030),[4] (D) Margaret of Bavaria, wife of John the Fearless (1363–1423)[5] and (E) Mathilda of Saxony, daughter of Hermann Billung, wife of Baldwin III, Count of Flanders (died 1008).[6] The 'portraits' of the last three women were copied by de Succa at Ghent, those of Ogiva of Luxembourg and Mathilda of Saxony from drawings by Arend van Wijnendaele (Figs. 85 and 88),[7] that of Margaret of Bavaria from a painting in the abbeychurch of St. Peter's (see de Succa's inscription above his drawing).[8]

The drawings of Jacqueline of Bavaria and Isabella of Portugal were made from painted portraits in the collection of Chancellor de Villers at Tournai (see also the portrait of John of Burgundy on f° 16; Fig. 81). The originals have disappeared. Since in de Succa's inscription Jacqueline is referred to as the wife of John of Burgundy, the original must have been painted after their marriage in 1418 and before her departure, in 1420, to England where she married Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Thus, it is earlier than any other known portrait of her, all of which stem from the time of her fourth marriage to Frank van Borselen in 1432.[9] The fact that in de Succa's drawing Jacqueline is shown with praying hands (changed by Rubens in accordance with his preference for more natural gestures) makes it likely that the original was a

donor's portrait and that there was a male counterpart. This, however, could not have been the portrait of John of Burgundy copied by Rubens on f° 16 since he is turned in the same direction as Jacqueline and is shown without praying hands, even in de Succa's drawing.

The original portrait of Jacqueline has been tentatively attributed to Jan van Eyck [10] or Robert Campin. [11] While nothing is known of Jan van Eyck before 1422 when he entered the service of John of Bavaria, it is not impossible that he previously was in the service of Count William VI, Jacqueline's father, since it was customary for courtiers, on the death of their princely patron, to enter the service of his successor. [12] Thus, Jan van Eyck would have been the most likely author for the portrait of his patron's daughter. However, such speculations are completely fruitless, especially if based on such inferior copy as de Succa's which, moreover, may not have been done after the original, but after a copy.

While Jacqueline is represented as a young girl, Isabella of Portugal is shown as a mature woman, an impression which, although primarily indicated in her dress, is also evident in her face as drawn by Rubens. The damage on de Succa's drawing caused by rubbing makes statements about the lady's age, and for that matter, identity, difficult. [13] However, the identity of the sitter receives support from a donor's portrait of Isabella, based on the same prototype as de Succa's drawing, in an altarpiece at the church of Hesdigneul-les-Béthune (Pas-de-Calais), where she has been identified by her cloak bordered with the *châteaux d'or* of Portugal and by her patron saint Elisabeth of Hungary. [14] The original portrait has been associated with either Jan van Eyck [15] or Rogier van der Weyden. [16] As with the portraits of John of Burgundy on the previous folio and Jacqueline of Bavaria on this folio, such attribution cannot be made on the basis of de Succa's inferior and damaged drawing.

Stechow points out the similarities between Isabella of Portugal and Rubens's *Bega* in the Vienna double portrait, presumably copied after a painting by Jan van Eyck. [17] The ladies wear almost identical wimples. In the painting, however, Rubens softened the severity of the head-dress by showing the hair at the sides. The figure of Bega reappears in the Pommersfelden *Madonna and Saints* (see Fig. 41 and p. 86, note 14). Among the medieval head-gears in the Vienna *Alboin and Rosamond* (Fig. 45) can be seen a veil reminiscent of the one worn by Jacqueline of Bavaria and a tremendously high hat possibly inspired by the *Zweiflügelhaube* worn by (E) (see women seated behind the table in the painting).

1 Jacqueline of Bavaria, daughter of William VI, Count of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault, wife of (1) Jean de France, duc de Touraine, (2) John IV of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant (cf. No. 16), (3) Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and (4) Frank van Borselen; born 1401, died 1436. She was the last independent countess of Holland, Zeeland and Hainault before the provinces came under Burgundian rule (Ch. Piot in *Biographie Nationale,* x, Brussels, 1888–89, cols. 59–64).

2 The portrait of Jacqueline of Bavaria in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f° 36) mentioned by Hind as a possible source for Rubens's drawing is quite different; reproduced in *Friedländer,* I, pl. 61.

3 Already identified by Hind on the basis of de Succa's drawing.

4 J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale,* I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 799, 800; *Isenburg-Loringhoven,* II, pl. 9. See also No. 18 (A). For her husband, see No. 2 (H).

5 *Ibid.,* I, pl. 27. Also identified by Hind.

6 *Ibid.,* pl. 10. See also No. 18 (B).

7 On this painter and his collection of drawings, see No. 1, especially note 7.

8 A double portrait of John the Fearless and Margaret of Bavaria in the museum at Ghent (Catalogue 1938, p. 143, No. S–97) shows her in bust-length and in an almost identical costume. This painting also came from St. Peter's Abbey. It was probably based on the same model as de Succa's drawing.

9 On the iconography of Jacqueline, see E.W. Moes, *Iconographia Batava,* I, Amsterdam, 1897, pp. 480, 481, No. 3960; *Friedländer,* I, pp. 66, 67 and 73, with illustrations of the most well-known portraits on pls. 61 and 67; *Sonkes,* pp. 254–256, No. E22, with literature.

10 W.H.J. Weale, *Hubert and John van Eyck,* London-New York, 1908, p. 180.

11 *Bauch,* p. 114, based on the artist's supposed connection with Jacqueline in 1432 when, condemned for immoral conduct, he was saved from a rather severe sentence by the personal intervention of the reigning princess. However, as suggested by Martin Davies (*Rogier van der Weyden,* London, 1972, p. 191) and verified by Lorne Campbell (*Portrait-Painting,* p. 634, especially note 24), the benefactress was not Jacqueline of Bavaria but rather her mother, Margaret of Burgundy.

12 Cf. *Kurz,* p. 129.

13 Considering the poor quality of de Succa's drawing, it is surprising that Wilhelm Stein's identification of the lady in the portrait in the Strawbridge Collection, White Plains, New York (formerly in the Rockefeller Collection), attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, as Isabella of Portugal was based on de Succa's drawing: W. Stein, *Die Bildnisse von Roger van der Weyden, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen,* XLVII, 1926, pp. 11, 12, figs. 4 and 4a. (The information about the present location of the Rogier portrait is taken from *Campbell, Portrait-Painting,* p. 107, note 267, and p. 276. Dr. Campbell considers the portrait a copy after Rogier.) Although Stein's identification was later verified by a portrait of Isabella as donatrice in an altarpiece once at Batalha Monastery, Portugal, known from a nineteenth-century drawing (reproduced in *Sonkes,* pl. XXIIIb), I cannot see any resemblances between the Strawbridge portrait and de Succa's drawing, except for a few similarities of costume. On the iconography of Isabella of Portugal, see E.W. Moes, *op. cit.,* I, p. 474, No. 3926; *Devigne, Collection,* pp. 349–351; J. Cortez, *Infantes de Avis,* II: D. *Isabel duquesa de Borgonha, Belas Artes,* 2nd ser., 1953, No. 5, pp. 42, 43; *Bauch,* pp. 85–91. For a good bibliography, see E. Michel, *Musée national du Louvre. Catalogue raisonné des*

*peintures du moyen-âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes. Peintures flamandes du XVᵉ et du XVIᵉ siècle*, Paris, 1953, pp. 105, 106, No. 4104.

[14] Cf. *Devigne, Collection*, pp. 353, 354, note 1. The altarpiece was first published by Comte A. de Loisne (*Les tableaux de l'église d'Hesdigneul-les-Béthune, Bulletin archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1901, pp. 50–57, pl. XIV).

[15] L. Alvin, *Iconographie princière des Pays-Bas, Bulletin de l'Académie royale des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, XXXVII, 2nd ser., XXV, Brussels, 1868, p. 392; K. Westendorp, *Die Anfänge der französisch-niederländischen Porträttafel*, Inaug-Diss., Strassbourg, 1906, p.. 75, 76; W.H.J. Weale, *op. cit.*, p. 178; W.H.J. Weale and J. Brockwell, *The Van Eycks and Their Art*, London, 1912, p. 213; L. Van Puyvelde, *De reis van Jan van Eyck naar Portugal, Verslagen en Mededeelingen van de Kon. Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde*, Jan. 1940, pp. 17–27, all basing their attribution on the assumption that the original may have been the portrait of Isabella painted by Jan van Eyck at the palace of Aviz in 1429. However, as shown by Louis Dimier (*Un portrait perdu de Jean van Eyck, La Renaissance de l'art français*, V, 1922, pp. 541, 542), this portrait survives in a seventeenth (?)-century copy in a private collection in Germany and shows Isabella in completely different pose and costume. On this, see also *Bauch*, pp. 85–87, pl. XII, fig. 20 and pl. XIV, fig. 28; C. Sterling, *Observations on Petrus Christus, The Art Bulletin*, LIII, 1971, p. 18 and fig. 33. W. Stein (*op. cit.*, p. 11) assigned the prototype of de Succa's drawing to Jan van Eyck's later years and even Friedländer (*Friedländer*, I, p. 66) detected a "faint Eyckian touch" in de Succa's drawing.

[16] *Devigne, Collection*, pp. 354, 355. The attribution finds some support in the portrait of Philip the Good in the Hesdigneul altarpiece which is based on Rogier, *i.e.*, the portrait of Philip without head-gear, preserved in copies only (e.g., Antwerp Museum, see *Friedländer*, II, pl. 127).

[17] *Stechow, Portraits*, p. 38; *K.d.K.*, p. 106.

**18.** OGIVA OF LUXEMBOURG, MATHILDA OF SAXONY AND TWO SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN (Fig. 89)

Single folio; watermark (possibly a monogram) same as Nos. 2 (right half), 15, 19, 27 (right half), 28 (left half) and 37 (bottom); pen and brown ink; 200 : 314 mm.; cut at top; captions in Latin, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Oginia vxor Balduini;* [1] (B) *Mathildis vxor Balduini.* [2]

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 41, No. 119 (18) and p. 159, correction to p. 41 (18).

The costumes are of the beginning of the fifteenth century. Ogiva of Luxembourg (A) wears an ermine-lined cape over a long robe whose skirt she lifts with her left hand revealing the hem of the underdress. Mathilda of Saxony's (B) *houppelande*, worn over a long gown, has a fur collar and very wide sleeves with deeply pinked edges. Both women display the fashionable horned

hair-style and shoulder-length veils. The men are clothed in short, belted tunics, tight-fitting hose and pointed shoes. (D) wears the hood in its original form, with a deep collar draped across shoulders, neck and chin, and a long, knotted liripipe, (C) a foliated cap with a dangling piece of material hanging down the back.

Like the four previous folios, this sheet was copied from de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, i.e., (A) and (B) from f$^{os}$ 83$^v$ and 84 (Figs. 90, 93) and (C) and (D) from f$^o$ 85$^v$ (Fig. 94). De Succa's drawings were made at Ghent: the two ladies from the painting now in the Bijloke Museum (see p. 70, note 9), the gentlemen from a work not further specified, possibly Lucas de Heere's *Théatre de tous les peuples,* now in the University Library at Ghent (Fig. 95). [3] According to de Heere's inscription they represent noble Scotsmen.

As few of de Succa's models still exist, the Bijloke panel is of great importance in providing additional support for Rubens's dependence on de Succa rather than on the original works of art themselves. In comparing Rubens's drawings with the painting we can see that they were undoubtedly derived from the *Mémoriaux.* In de Succa's and Rubens's drawings of Ogiva of Luxembourg (see Figs. 90 and 89 (A)) the right side of the cape falls from her arm in three parallel folds while in the painting it only forms two folds (see Fig. 91). Furthermore, the anonymous Ghent painter drew Mathilda of Saxony with her right hand over her left hand (see Fig. 92) while de Succa and Rubens reversed this position. On the panel, this same lady wears a gown with a narrow fur collar and a chain placed across the shoulders. Rubens, in trying to clarify de Succa's confused representation, gave her dress a wider collar and left off the chain altogether. As in the drawings of Arnulf II and Baldwin IV on f$^o$ 2, Rubens, ignoring de Succa's number code, made no colour notations, which he might have done had he copied from the painting directly.

[1] Ogiva of Luxembourg, daughter of Frederick I of Luxembourg, wife of Baldwin IV, Count of Flanders; died 1030 (J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale,* I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 799, 800; *Isenburg-Loringhoven,* II, pl. 9). See also No. 17 (C). For her husband, see No. 2 (H).

[2] Mathilda of Saxony, daughter of Hermann Billung, wife of Baldwin III, Count of Flanders; died 1008 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven,* II, pl. 10). See also No. 17 (E). The figure was wrongly identified by Hind as Mahaud of Burgundy, daughter of Conrad I of Burgundy.

[3] Nothing is known of its provenance before the beginning of the nineteenth century when it was in the possession of the de Potter family in Ghent (cf. *Derolez,* p. 265). It is, however, possible that the manuscript, which seems to have been begun in England, was completed in Ghent during de Heere's brief stay from 1576–77 and that it remained there. For the *Théatre* see also p. 76, note 4.

**19.** ANTHONY OF BURGUNDY, JOHN IV OF BURGUNDY AND THREE OTHER NOBLEMEN
(Fig. 96)

Single folio; watermark (possibly a monogram) same as Nos. 2 (right half), 15, 18, 27
(right half), 28 (left half) and 37 (bottom); pen and brown ink; 190 : 320 mm.; cut
at right; captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Antoine duc de Lottrich brabant;*[1] (B) *Jan duc de Lottriche Bra-
bant;*[2] (C) no inscription; (D) *Louis ducq de Sauoye;*[3] (E) *Jan Conte deStampes fils du
Conte Phi[lippe] denevers.*[4]

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 42, No. 119 (19) and p. 159, correction to p. 42 (19).

The figures represent five of the male *pleurants* which formerly surrounded the
tomb of Louis de Mâle.[5] Cast and erected in 1455, their costumes illustrate the
fashions of the first half of the fifteenth century. Two of the men wear
*houppelandes,* one of which (B) displays the early century's preference for the
abundant use of cloth in its trailing skirt and extremely wide sleeves with hang-
ing cuffs and deeply pinked edges, while the other (C) shows the short skirt
and slit sleeves of slightly later date. The remaining three men are dressed in
mid-century costumes. Anthony of Burgundy (A) wears a short, open-sided
cloak over an undergarment with slashed sleeves. Louis of Savoy (D) and
John of Nevers (E) are clothed in tight-fitting robes bordered in fur. Louis's is
long, belted in the waist, with puffed sleeves, while John of Nevers's is of
knee-length, worn with a loosely slung belt. The latter figure is distinguished
by the collar of the Cleves Order of St. Anthony, a chain with three crosses of
which the middle one hangs from what has been described as the small figure
of a lion (not clear in the drawing).[6] Besides the popular *chaperon* (A and D)
or its predecessor, the hood arranged in *chaperon* fashion (B), can be seen a
flat, broad-brimmed hat (C) and a turban (E). On most of the men hose is
visible, in two instances worn with wooden sandals (C and E). These attracted
Rubens's special interest, for he repeated one in a separate and more detailed
study below and slightly to the left of (E).

    The models for (A) to (E) can be found in the *Mémoriaux* on f° 78ᵛ (Figs.
97 and 98), f° 80ᵛ (Fig. 99),[7] f° 79 (Fig. 100) and f° 78 (Fig. 101), respectively.
Apart from the pedestals (see Figs. 99 and 100) and, needless to say, John of
Nevers's third leg (see Fig. 101), both of which Rubens eliminated, he followed
de Succa's drawings and inscriptions closely, even repeating such details as the

separately drawn shoe. Some of de Succa's (and, consequently, Rubens's) identifications of the Lille *pleurants* have been shown to be wrong. [8] On the basis of a mid-fifteenth-century silverpoint drawing in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen at Rotterdam, inscribed *Le Duc de Savoye*, [9] it has been shown that de Succa's Anthony of Burgundy (Rubens's (A)) should be identified as Louis, Duke of Savoy, while de Succa's figure of the latter (Rubens's (D)) should be given the identity of the former. [10] Furthermore, de Succa's Jean de Nevers (Rubens's (E)) is believed to represent John, Duke of Cleves, for he wears the knightly collar of the order of St. Anthony founded by his father. [11] The confusion regarding the identities of the Lille *pleurants* was probably caused by their removal during the iconoclastic riots. When reinstalled, some of them seem to have been interchanged, while the pedestals with the coats of arms and inscriptions remained in their original places.

[1] Anthony of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, Lothiers, Limbourg and Luxembourg, son of Philip the Bold; born 1384, died 1415 (A. Mathieu in *Biographie Nationale*, I, Brussels, 1866, cols. 345–348; R. van Uytven in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, I, Brussels, 1964, cols. 36–43). See also No. 3.

[2] John IV of Burgundy, Duke of Brabant, son of (A); born 1403, died 1427 (Ch. Piot in *Biographie Nationale*, X, Brussels, 1888–89, cols. 275–280). Also identified by Hind.

[3] Louis, Duke of Savoy, married Anna, daughter of King John I of Cyprus; born 1402, died 1465 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven*, II, pl. 112). Also identified by Hind.

[4] John of Burgundy, second son of Philip of Burgundy, Count of Nevers; born 1415, died 1491 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven*, II, pl. 26). Also identified by Hind. See also No. 31 (B).

[5] This was recognized by Popham in his annotations to the British Museum Print Room's copy of *Hind*. Popham, however, excluded the figure in the centre; cf. note 7 below.

[6] Founded by Adolf of Cleves in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Contrary to the famous order of the same name founded by Albert of Bavaria (cf. No. 6), the Cleves Order is rarely represented in art: cf. P. Noordeloos, *Enige gegevens over broederschappen van S. Antonius, Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologique dans le Duché de Limbourg*, LXXXV, 1949, pp. 485, 486; F. Gorissen, *Der klevische Ritterorden vom h. Antonius, Kalender für das Klever Land*, 1963, pp. 29–49.

[7] Unlike the other, finished sketches, done in pen and ink, sometimes over a preliminary drawing in chalk, this figure is drawn in chalk only, most of which has since rubbed off. The faint outline of this unfinished drawing is easily overlooked, as was done by Popham.

[8] See *Lindeman*, pp. 164, 165, note 5; *Leeuwenberg, Plorannen*, p. 19, note 3, and pp. 28, 29.

[9] Inv. No. MB 1950/T 21. The drawing formed part of a set of four much discussed silverpoint drawings, two of which disappeared in the Second World War. For illustra-

tions and a survey of the literature, see *Sonkes,* pp. 242–248, Nos. E 15 – E 18, pls. LXIV and LXV.

10 This suggestion finds support in the illustration of Anthony of Burgundy in Barlandus's *Chronica* (see Fig. 22) which is obviously based on the same prototype as de Succa's Louis of Savoy.

11 Jean de Nevers was a knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece and would, most probably, have been represented wearing its collar instead; cf. No. 31 (B) (Fig. 168).

20. THREE FULL-LENGTH FIGURES OF WOMEN: ONE SEATED, TWO STANDING (Fig. 102)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink; 207 : 313 mm.; cut at left and right; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 42, No. 119 (20).

This drawing and the five succeeding sheets have no connection with the present or missing parts of de Succa's collection of drawings, or, for that matter, with any genealogical project. They represent either individual studies of costume and armour (predominantly from the German sixteenth century) or scenes of fifteenth-century courtly life. They lack inscriptions of any kind and, with the exception of No. 24 (Fig. 115), are done in pen and ink only, with frequent use of hatching. Most of these sheets were, or seem to have been copied from prints.

The three women on this folio are dressed in the fashions of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The lady on the left wears a full-cut gown girded high under the breast with a wide, V-shaped neckline bordered in fur and a veiled hennin, the late fifteenth-century courtly dress familiar from countless illustrations.[1] The two other women represent early sixteenth-century *Bürgerfrauen.* The woman on the right wears the Netherlandish dress as recorded, for example, by Dürer during his visit to Antwerp in 1521 (Fig. 104).[2] In Rubens's drawing the dress with its tight-fitting, square-cut bodice, wide cuffs and full skirt and the bonnet are almost identical to Dürer's costume, as are the poses of the figures. The horned hairnet worn by the woman in the centre is similar to the male scull-cap known from numerous German and Netherlandish pictures, e.g., Hans Holbein the Elder's portrait of Jakob Fugger and Dürer's drawing of Pirckheimer, in which the sitters wear close-fitting nets rather than cloth caps.[3] However, the horned net of Rubens's drawing, while undoubtedly

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derived from the hairstyles of the preceding century, seems to have been rather unusual, for I have not been able to find any other examples of it.

Stylistically and physically (i.e., same paper, ink and width of pen) this folio is most closely related to No. 23 (Fig. 113). Both sheets show careful shading and modelling of drapery with finely drawn parallel hatchings. This technique, which for f° 23 was probably inspired by van Meckenem's highly finished engraving, would suggest engravings as models for the present sheet as well. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any such models.

1 For similar pose and costume see, for example, *Mary of Burgundy at Prayer* by the Master of Mary of Burgundy in the *Vienna Hours* (Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1857, f° 14ᵛ), *A Woman Playing a Lute* by Wenzel Olmütz (*Lehrs*, VI, pl. 162, fig. 423) and Israhel van Meckenem's *Young Woman Playing a Harp* (*Lehrs*, IX, pl. 280, fig. 674). For a similar costume, see also No. 23 (Fig. 113).

2 Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art. Widener Collection, No. B–493: F. Winkler, *Die Zeichnungen Albrecht Dürers*, IV, Berlin, 1939, No. 820.

3 Both drawings are in the Kupferstichkabinett at Berlin, Inv. Nos. 2517 and 24623, respectively. For the Holbein drawing, see N. Lieb and A. Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere*, [Berlin], 1960, p. 108, No. 265, fig. 344, for the Dürer, see F. Winkler, *op. cit.*, II, No. 268. Such a sixteenth-century scull-cap of cloth rather than netting is worn by one of the followers of St. Bavo in the London *Conversion* (man seen from the back).

21. TWELVE STUDIES OF WOMEN'S HEAD-DRESSES; TWO MEN IN ARMOUR (Fig. 105)

Single folio; watermark: near *Briquet*, Nos. 13166 and 13201; pen and brown ink; 227 : 340 mm.; ink spot lower right, traces of vertical fold in centre; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 42, No. 119 (21); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, p. 13, under No. 1.
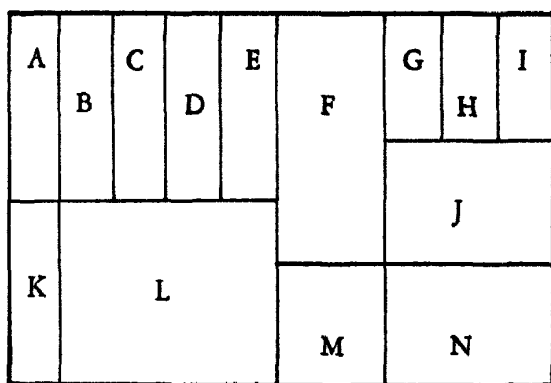
Although the women are shown in various lengths, ranging from head only to three-quarter length, there can be no doubt that Rubens made these sketches for the sake of the head-dresses. He paid more attention to the banded caps, veils and wimples than he did to the dresses, hands and sometimes even faces of his models. Four of the women in the upper left (A, C, D and E) seem to present different views of the same head-dress, if not the same figure, for the dress of (A) has a broad, rounded collar, while (E) wears a kerchief draped across the shoulders. The chin band, exceeding its original purpose, covers the entire lower half of the face—in Arab rather than in German fashion. The remaining woman in that group (B) wears the band of her bonnet wound round neck and chin, one of its ends hanging down to one side. A kerchief-like head-dress secured with a wide band of linen that passes under the chin covers the head of the young woman in the centre (F), repeated in a smaller and less finished sketch in (J). The old woman portrayed in (L) wears the great wimple and pleated, low-necked mantle of the church-going dress of Dürer's Nuremberg.[1] An incomplete sketch of the same head in the upper right (H) indicates a compositional change on Rubens's part. The two remaining figures in the upper right (G and I) illustrate an identical head-dress, a short, starched veil, from different angles. The type of veil worn by (K) is hard to recognize from the unfinished little sketch. It resembles the wimple as seen, for example, in one of Holbein the Elder's portrait drawings.[2] In the lower right Rubens drew with a coarser pen and darker ink two men in sixteenth-century armour: one head and shoulders only, the other in full-length, kneeling.

As stated by Hind, the two men were copied from a woodcut by Burgkmair in *Theuerdank* (pl. 102), first published in Nuremberg in 1517 (Fig. 103).[3] For most of the women (i.e., A, B, D, E and F and its repetition, J) corresponding images can be found among the congregation listening to John the Baptist in a painting by Jan Swart van Groningen in the Pinakothek at Munich (Fig. 106). Other works by this artist show related costumes. The head-dress worn by (C), which has no corresponding image in the Munich picture, appears from the same angle among the group of people standing next to the boat in the woodcut of *Christ Preaching on a Boat*[4] and in a painting, again with the sermon of John the Baptist, formerly on the Amsterdam art market (woman standing on the left).[5] It is entirely possible that Rubens copied his women from a painting or woodcut by Jan Swart. Since the repeated presentation of essentially the same figure from different angles is unique among the drawings in the *Costume*

*Book,* it is probable that Rubens, in drawing side and back views of one figure, followed models rather than his invention. We can see such models in the works of Jan Swart. However, none of Jan Swart's women wear ſtarched veils or wimples as Rubens's old woman and the women in the upper right. It therefore cannot be ruled out that Rubens, as did Jan Swart, used South-German sources, possibly prints by Dürer or his school. [6]

The sheet is related to No. 6 (Fig. 23) in its ſubjeĉt matter (both depiĉt primarily sixteenth-century head-dresses), its composition, lack of inscriptions and its drawing technique (pen and ink with frequent use of parallel and cross-hatching). The ink used for the sketches of the women is the same as that of the copies after de Succa, while the two men in armour are drawn with the coarser pen and darker ink also used for fᵒˢ 22 and 25. The relationship of this sheet to the reſt of the *Coſtume Book,* including Burchard and d'Hulſt's tentative proposal of its independence from the original album has been discussed before (pp. 44, 45).

As regards the use of these coſtume ſtudies in Rubens compositions, Gregory Martin aptly points out the similarity between the veil worn by St. Agletrude (?) on the left wing of the London *Conversion of St. Bavo* and the wimple of the old woman on this sheet. [7] A similar figure appears also on the left side of the Ghent *Conversion of St. Bavo.* [8] The same intereſt that inspired Rubens to copy these German head-dreses probably also led him to colleĉt and retouch such drawings as the sheet with three views of a woman in a ſtarched veil, attributed to Hans Süss von Kulmbach, formerly in the colleĉtion of Mrs. Leo van den Bergh, Wassenaar, [9] and the drawing of a woman in a bonnet, by an anonymous German artiſt, in the Louvre. [10]

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[1] *Winkler,* I, Nos. 224 and 232.

[2] Berlin, Print Room of the Staatliche Museen, Inv. No. 2573: N. Lieb and A. Stange, *Hans Holbein der Ältere,* [Berlin], 1960, p. 106, No. 252, fig. 329.

[3] Maximilian I, *Die geuehrlicheiten und einſteils der geschichten des loblichen ſtrytparen und hochberümbten helds und Ritters her Tewrdannckhs,* Nuremberg, 1517. See also No. 22.

[4] *Friedländer,* XIII, pl. 2.

[5] *Hoogewerff,* III, p. 435, fig. 230.

[6] On Dürer's influence on Jan Swart, see J. Held, *Dürers Wirkung auf die niederländische Kunſt seiner Zeit,* The Hague, 1931, pp. 48–53. It is possible that Rubens used a sketch-book of Jan Swart.

[7] *Martin, Cat. National Gallery,* p. 130, under No. 57. See also *Vlieghe, Saints,* I, p. 105, under No. 71, reproduced fig. 122.

8 *K.d.K.*, p. 275; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 123.

9 Present whereabouts unknown. The drawing was sold to Mrs. van den Bergh at auction in Amsterdam as entirely by Rubens's hand: *F. Müller & Cie, Catalogue, 27–29 April 1937*, p. 64, lot 614, with reproduction. It was attributed to Hans Süss by E. Schilling who considered the retouches to be by Rubens's hand (oral communication to L. Burchard). Although I have not seen the drawing, Schilling's view seems to me more convincing than that expressed in the sale catalogue.

10 Inv. No. 20.383: *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949*, p. 32, No. 1104, pl. XLIX (as *attributed to Rubens, after a sixteenth-century master*).

## 22. A KNIGHT ON HORSEBACK AND VARIOUS OTHER STUDIES OF HORSES, KNIGHTS AND ARMOUR (Fig. 107)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink; approximately 232 : 336 mm.; ink spot in centre of upper quarter; water stain near lower centre; traces of vertical fold in centre; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, No. 2 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 38, No. 119 and p. 42, No. 119 (22); *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, p. 13, under No. 1.

| A | B | C | D | E | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|   |   |   |   |   | G |
|   |   |   | H |   |   |
|   |   | I |   |   |   |
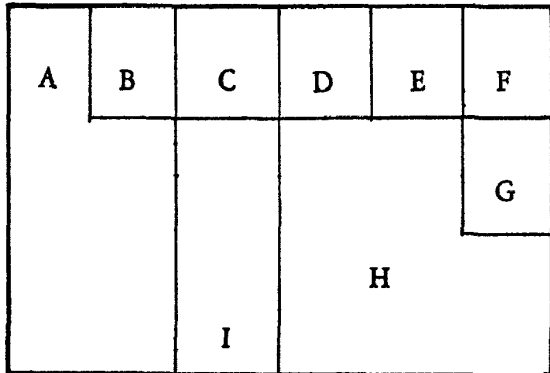
The knights wear sixteenth-century armour and plumed helmets, the horses carry bards equally embellished with plumes. As pointed out by Hind, the knight on the left (A) is copied from Burgkmair's *chiaroscuro* woodcut of *St. George* (Fig. 108; the hand holding a sword above it (B) is from the same figure), the large horse's head on the right (H) from his woodcut of *Maximilian* (Fig. 109). It should be added that the model for the knight upper right (E) can be found in one of Burgkmair's illustrations of *Theuerdank* (pl. 118; Fig.

110) and that the head of the man next to it (F) was copied from one of Leonard Beck's woodcuts in the same book (pl. 23; Fig. 111).[1] The other sketches seem to have been derived from similar sources, but models for them can be found neither in the sixteenth-century editions of *Theuerdank* nor in the *Weisskunig*. The horse's head in the lower centre is identical with the horse on the left in a tournament scene executed by Burgkmair after 1520 and included for the first time in the *Theuerdank* edition of 1679 (Fig. 112).[2] Rubens must have been familiar with an earlier impression, such as can be found in the Print Room of the British Museum.[3]

Burchard and d'Hulst's suggestion that this sheet may have been independent of the original sketch-book is discussed before (pp. 44, 45), as is its date. It was undoubtedly drawn together with the two sketches of armoured men on the previous folio, partly from the same source, partly from closely related sources. It is interesting that for the rider on the left and the horse's head on the right Rubens used two tones of brown ink, one of which is almost black, thus reproducing the effect of Burgkmair's *chiaroscuro* woodcuts.

Rubens applied his knowledge of sixteenth-century armour, partly acquired through these early copies of German prints, throughout his later *œuvre*. Knights on foot and on horseback, dressed in full armour, can be seen in many of his paintings:[4] e.g., King Dagobert on the right wing of the London *Conversion of St. Bavo*[5] as well as St. Bavo himself in the Ghent[6] and London paintings (wearing a Maximilian fluted breast-plate in the latter), the soldiers in the centre of the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus*[7] and in the Vienna *Miracles of St. Francis*,[8] whose cuirasses are supplemented by the little discs of metal, or palettes, worn for the protection of the armpits, which Rubens copied from one of Burgkmair's knights on f° 21 (Fig. 105). Late-medieval harnesses are also worn by the two mounted soldiers on the left of the Pommersfelden *Madonna and Saints* which combines many Rubens motifs (see Fig. 41 and p. 86, note 14). The rider on the extreme left wih helmet and raised visor is especially close to St. George on this sheet.

Rubens frequently represented former Habsburg rulers in full suits of armour reminiscent of those he copied from Burgkmair, as for example in his portraits of Maximilian I and Charles the Bold (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum),[9] his designs for the portraits of Maximilian I and Charles V on the *Arch of Philip*[10] and his oil-sketches for several of the statues of the emperors on the *Portico of the Austrian Caesars* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*.[11] Among

these representations of Habsburgs the suit worn by Maximilian in the portrait in the Kunsthistorisches Museum with its globose breast-plate, curved shoulder defenses with upright neckguards and full skirt most closely resembles that of Burgkmair's St. George. A similar cuirass worn in combination with a short skirt of cloth is also in the representations of Charles the Bold, in the Vienna portrait as well as in the marriage scene on the front of the *Arch of Philip*. [12]

There are many cases where Rubens combined elements of Roman and six-teenth-century armour. [13] St. George in the Madrid painting [14] and the Roman soldier on the left in the centre panel of *The Raising of the Cross* in Antwerp Cathedral wear cuirasses with typically fluted Maximilian breast-plates, either combined with Roman leather tasses and worn with antique boots and helmet (St. George) or joined with hip plates and thigh coverings more characteristic of European armour after 1550 but worn without leg or foot defenses to suggest a Roman cuirass in its briefness (soldier in the Antwerp altarpiece). The soldier on the right in the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* wears a sixteenth-century mail shirt and full suit of plate armour, whose breast-plate, however, is supported by shoulder straps as seen in Roman armour. [15] An especially interesting example of Rubens's knowledge of Maximilian armour is provided by an offset taken from one of Hans Holbein the Younger's designs for stained glass windows, representing *Christ Carrying the Cross*, which was retouched by Rubens. [16] The jerkin, probably of leather, worn by the soldier nearest to Christ was changed by Rubens into a globose, fluted breast-plate.

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[1] On the authorship of the *Theuerdank* illustrations, see S. Laschitzer, *Der Theuerdank, Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VIII, 1888, pp. 71–108.

[2] *Hollstein, German*, 429.

[3] See C. Dodgson, *Zwei verworfene Theuerdankillustrationen, Jahrbuch der königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXXIII, 1912, pp. 284–287.

[4] These full suits of armour should be distinguished from the Roman-type cuirass worn without arm or leg defenses which can be found in so many of Rubens's paintings as well as the half or three-quarter suits to be seen in his portraits of his contemporaries (cf. Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, Philip IV etc.). On Rubens's use of Roman armour, see H. D. Rodee, *Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armour, The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, pp. 223–230.

[5] *K.d.K.*, p. 272; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 122.

[6] *K.d.K.*, p. 275; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 123.

[7] *K.d.K.*, p. 175; *Goris-Held*, p. 39, No. 83, pl. 67.

[8] *K.d.K.*, p. 205; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, fig. 6.

[9] *K.d.K.*, p. 163.

10 Executed by Cornelis de Vos. Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste: *K.d.K.*, p. 368; *Martin, Pompa*, figs. 23 and 24.

11 I.e., Rudolph I, Albert I (see especially his raised visor and helmet), Albert II (with fluted breast-plate, tight in the waist and worn with a short skirt), Maximilian I, Charles V and Ferdinand I: *K.d.K.*, pp. 366, 367; *Martin, Pompa*, figs. 45, 46, 48–51. For further portraits of Charles V in armour, cf. *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian.*

12 *Martin, Pompa*, fig. 21.

13 On these hybrid forms, cf. H.D. Rodee, *op. cit.*

14 *K.d.K.*, p. 22; *Vlieghe, Saints*, II, fig. 17.

15 Cf. H.D. Rodee, *op. cit.*, pp. 224, 225. For more examples of hybrid forms involving sixteenth-century elements see *ibid.*

16 British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1846-9-18-5. The retouches were first recognized and attributed to Rubens by *Waagen* (*Treasures*, I, p. 236. The reference was communicated to me by Professor F. Grossmann). The sheet was published and reproduced by Michael Jaffé (*Rubens as a Collector of Drawings*, II, *Master Drawings*, III, 1965, p. 34, note 36, pl. 27). Holbein's drawings are in the Kupferstichkabinett at Basel (P. Ganz, *Die Handzeichnungen Hans Holbeins des Jüngeren*, Berlin, 1937, Nos. 169–178).

## 23. SIX FULL-LENGTH FIGURES: FOUR WOMEN AND TWO MEN (Fig. 113)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and touches of grey wash; 199 : 287 mm.; cut at top, bottom and left; no captions, no colour or costume notes; pencilled note (hand unknown) on lower mount: *From the dance of Herodias by Israel von Mecken.*

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, I, p. 238; *Hind*, II, p. 42, No. 119 (23); *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 23, under No. 8.

The scene depicts two couples and two women in a dance-like procession from left to right dressed in the elegant fashions of the latter part of the fifteenth century. Five of the figures are fully drawn, with modelling and shading indicated by parallel hatching supplemented in the first two figures (A and B) by very light wash. The man in the centre (C) is drawn in outline only. The dress and veiled hennin of the lady on the left (A) are familiar from f° 20 (Fig. 102). Her partner (B) wears hose and a doublet open down the breast over which it is laced. Its sleeves and the front of the shirt are decorated with slashing. In his left hand he holds a plumed cap. The couple next to him is clothed in slightly later style. The lady (D) wears a dress with sleeves that are very long and slit down the front seam so that they hang free behind the arms in a long train. From a loop formed by a string over her right hip hang a rosary and a little pouch. The gentleman beside her (C)

is dressed in a short, belted tunic and holds a dagger in his left hand. Both figures wear peaked caps as known, for example, from Dürer's famous self-portrait in Madrid. Rubens experimented with the position of this couple as indicated by the separately drawn corner of the lady's train in the lower centre and the faintly outlined and incomplete cap of the man and the head of the woman above the figures. The two ladies on the right (E and F) wear truncated hennins with short veils and full-sleeved, long gowns gathered at the waist into wide skirts. The lady seen in three-quarter view (E) reveals a band of linen placed over chin and neck.

As indicated on the mat of the drawing in an old hand and published by Waagen and Hind, the figures were copied from Israhel van Meckenem's engraving of *The Dance of the Daughter of Herodias* (Fig. 114).[1] In his characteristic fashion, Rubens picked out single figures or groups of two and, arranging them in his own manner, created a new composition.[2] The gentleman escorting the young lady in the centre was copied from the dancer furthest to the left in the engraving. In the drawing he looks at his lady with an expression that indicates disappointment at her indifference, for she is turning away from him. His failure is especially evident when compared with the tender affection displayed in the first pair. Thus Rubens, in his selection and rearrangement of figures, not only created a new composition but, by changing glances and gestures, introduced associations and alluded to relationships which are completely absent in the engraving.

As regards costumes, Rubens followed van Meckenem's figures rather closely. Such details as the patterned hem of the first lady's (A) underdress, hardly discernible in the print, show that he studied his model carefully. Even the changes he introduced imply meticulous observation of costume details. In the engraving, the right hand of the young woman in the centre is covered to the knuckles by her sleeve, while her left hand is bare to the wrist, which is all that can be seen of that arm. When Rubens clarified the position of this figure so that more of the left arm is visible, it was necessary for him to resolve this seeming discrepancy if he was to be faithful both to the costume and to the model. He managed this by showing the left sleeve turned up into a cuff at the wrist, thereby retaining fidelity to both model and costume, and resolving the ambiguity of van Meckenem's figure. Other changes performed by Rubens, if less inferential, are equally ingenious. Inspired by his sense of decorum and beauty, he transformed the plain cloth collar of the same model's dress into fur and placed her

hennin in such a way that strands of wavy hair frame her face (cf. No. 8).
When he copied the lady in the centre of his drawing (D) he omitted such
gothicisms as the billowing train of her dress.

In his brief discussion concerning the date of the *Costume Book*, Müller
Hofstede includes this drawing among those which he believes to have been
done before 1600. [3] The close relationship with No. 20 would, consequently,
suggest an early date for that folio as well. As discussed previously, I believe
that a post-Italian date is also possible. Stylistically both drawings can be
compared to f° 8 (Fig. 34) and the smaller figures on f° 10 (Fig. 42), for whose
proposed later date some evidence has been cited previously. That Rubens
copied from German prints even after his return from Italy is shown on f° 31
(Fig. 168) which includes the figure of Mary of Burgundy copied from *Theuer-
dank*.

Another drawing after an engraving by van Meckenem, *The Knight and His
Lady*, [4] is in the Berlin Print Room. [5] It shows less sureness of hand and freedom
of interpretation than the present sheet and was done in Rubens's early youth.
A comparison between the two drawings clearly demonstrates Rubens's develop-
ment as a draughtsman, but does not, I must admit, justify an interval of
approximately fifteen years. It is only compared with the rest of the *Costume
Book*, part of which evidence shows to have been done after 1608, that such a
late date can be suggested.

As regards costumes and arrangements of figures, the sheet is related to the
two drawings Rubens did after one of the tournament books of Louis of
Bruges. [6]

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[1] *B.*, VI, p. 206, No. 9.

[2] See also, e.g., the sheet after Goltzius in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfort (*Bur-
chard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 24, 25, No. 10; II, pl. 10) where the men surrounding Pilate
are copied from two different prints, and the sheet with *Fighting Soldiers*, after Jost
Amman, in the Print Room of the Royal Library at Brussels (see [*Cat. exh.*] *Rubens
en zijn tijd*, Antwerp, 1971, pp. 74, 75, No. 56, fig. 1) where Rubens grouped together
figures from many illustrations into one more or less homogenous scene of fighting
soldiers. Note especially the frieze of fallen bodies on the top, which is constructed of
figures taken from two of Amman's pages. An intelligent arrangement of individually
copied figures into groups of two or more, if not actual scenes, can be observed
throughout the *Costume Book*, e.g., Nos. 1, 19, 25, 34, 35, 36 and 40.

[3] See pp. 49, 50 and *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 83, note 25.

[4] *B.*, VI, p. 272, No. 182.

[5] Inv. No. 3243: *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, pp. 21-23, No. 8; II, pl. 8.

[6] Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 7792 (as *Anonymous*) and Berlin, Print Room, Inv. No.

17792 (as *Rubens school*). Both drawings were discussed and reproduced by Thöne as by Rubens (*Zu Peter Paul Rubens als Zeichner, Berliner Museen*, LXI, 1940, pp. 63–67). While the Vienna drawing seems to be by his hand, Rubens's authorship of the Berlin drawing is highly doubtful. The manuscript Rubens copied is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (ms. fr. 2692). It is one of two versions made for Louis of Bruges, based on the famous *Livre de Tournois* of René of Anjou which, incorrectly, was cited and illustrated as Rubens's source by Thöne. For a detailed discussion of all versions concerned, see L.M.J. Delaissé, *Les copies flamandes du 'Livre des Tournois' de René d'Anjou, Scriptorium*, XXIII, 1969, pp. 187–198, especially pp. 190–196. For illustrations of the scenes Rubens copied, see *René d'Anjou: Traité de la forme et devis d'un tournois* (introduction by E. Pognon), (*Edition Verve*, IV, 16, Paris, 1946, pp. 43, 65).

**24.** A BOAR HUNT (Fig. 115)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink and grey wash; 207 : 316 mm.; cut at top, bottom and right; framed on all sides by a single line in pencil by a later hand; inscribed below on the left in pencil (by same hand?): *P P R[u]bbens;* on the verso traces of vertical fold in centre; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 42, No. 119 (24), pl. XIX; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, p. 14, under No. 1, pp. 132, 133, under No. 79; C.A. Isermeyer, *Peter Paul Rubens (Die Jagd in der Kunst)*, Hamburg-Berlin, 1965, pp. 13 and 27, pl. 1.

The scene depicts ladies and gentlemen riding to hunt, the men straddle-legged, the women side saddle. One of the men carries a spear, another (on the extreme right) has a falcon. The three horses in the background on the left and one of the horses in the centre were left unfinished, as was the footman who leads one of these horses. Rubens briefly sketched his head and arms with the pen and outlined the front legs of his horse in light wash. In the foreground a boar is attacked and forced onto a sword by three dogs while a spearsman blows his hunting horn. In the background a kennelman leads a dog on a leash, accompanied by two running hounds. Another man carries off the dead prey.

The riders and the two spearsmen in the foreground are dressed in mid-fifteenth-century Burgundian court fashion, the ladies wearing low-cut, full-sleeved gowns gathered under the breast, the men short, belted tunics slit in the front or at the side so as to facilitate riding. The head-dresses of the ladies are variously shaped veils and *bourrelets,* those of the men *chaperons* and hats, such as a wide-brimmed fur hat worn by one of the hunters in the lower left and a plumed cap worn by the rider furthest in the background. The servants wear sleeveless or short-sleeved, hooded tunics.

Although Isermeyer suggests that the scene was copied from a miniature, I have found much closer parallels with tapestries, particularly a mid-fifteenth-century fragment of a *Boar Hunt* in the Burrell Collection at Glasgow (Fig. 116).[1] Rubens's central theme of a group of equestrian figures watching a boar being attacked by dogs and led onto a sword is here repeated. In the tapestry two dogs are shown instead of three, and they only lead the boar and do not attack it; a spear is used instead of a sword. Other elements in the drawing can be related to the *Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, especially to the *Falconry* and the *Boar and Bear Hunt*, the latter being so close to the Burrell fragment as to suggest the use of the same cartoon, or part of it.[2] The woman on horseback seen from the back in Rubens's drawing finds an equivalent in the *Falconry* tapestry where she shares the horse with a gentleman (Fig. 117). The man blowing his horn and holding a spear in his left hand takes the place of the man with the hunting horn in the *Boar and Bear Hunt* tapestry, there, however, seen from the back (Fig. 118). This tapestry also shows a boar led by two dogs onto a spear held by a man in the foreground, a scene almost identical to the Glasgow fragment. It is watched by a lady and a gentleman on foot, taking the place of the equestrian figures in Rubens's drawing and the Burrell tapestry. In the Victoria and Albert tapestry, this couple is followed by two men and one woman on horseback who could be compared to Rubens's three horsemen in the upper left. The costumes in the drawing most closely resemble those in the Victoria and Albert *Deer Hunt*, where most of the ladies wear *bourrelets* and high-waisted gowns with V-shaped necklines, while several of the men display *chaperons* and big, round hats as in the drawing.[3] Thus, it is most likely that Rubens copied a mid-fifteenth-century tapestry fragment associated with the Glasgow and Devonshire *Hunts*, possibly even derived from the same cartoons.

Unlike the falconry scene on f° 14ᵛ (Fig. 68), where Rubens's interest was primarily concentrated on the costumes, the *Boar Hunt* seems to have been copied for both costumes and action. Its liveliness was already noted by Waagen who distinguished this sheet for its "animation of the motives, and the light, delicate and exact execution".[4] This animation is partly achieved by the free use of wash, occasionally applied directly to indicate form as well as light and shade. Such confident handling of the brush, which can be observed in Rubens's drawings of his later Italian and subsequent early Antwerp periods would confirm a post-Italian date.

Burchard and d'Hulst point out that the lady on horseback, seen from the back, might have inspired the lady *a tergo*, riding with a huntsman on one horse, on the left in the grisaille sketch of a *Hawking Party*, formerly in the P. Norton Collection (see Fig. 72). They also discovered a relationship between the horse in the lower right corner of the drawing and the horse seen in profile in the centre of the grisaille sketch. [5] For Rubens's interest in the subject of boar hunting in general, see his paintings in Marseilles and Dresden. [6] Of these the Marseilles *Hunt* shows ladies and gentlemen on horseback dressed in late-medieval fashions: plumed hats (cf. rider in the background of the drawing) and garments decorated with slashed edges, including a short, belted tunic. This garment was frequently used by Rubens in his representations of 'medieval' scenes (e.g., Maximilian I in his wedding scene on the *Arch of Philip* and Frederick III on the *Portico of the Austrian Caesars* in the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi;* [7] the young boy following St. Bavo in the Ghent *Conversion of St. Bavo;* [8] the man disguised as Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, standing on the top of the steps in the *Miracles of St. Benedict*). [9] The short tunics and hunting horns worn by Rudolph of Habsburg and his companion in the painting in the Prado [10] are most closely related to the fifteenth-century hunting gear Rubens copied on this folio.

[1] Inv. No. 77; cf. *Digby*, pp. 35, 36 and 38.
[2] Cf. *ibid.* and No. 14.
[3] For a detail, see Fig. 71; for the whole tapestry, see *Digby*, pl. IV. Digby dates this tapestry a little later than the others, *c.* 1445–50 (*ibid.*, p. 14).
[4] *Waagen,Treasures*, I, p. 238.
[5] For authorship of this sketch, see under No. 14.
[6] *K.d.K.*, pp. 115, 116, 184.
[7] *Martin, Pompa*, figs. 21, 47.
[8] *K.d.K.*, p. 275; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 123.
[9] Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique: *K.d.K.*, p. 302; *Vlieghe, Saints*, I, fig. 125.
[10] *K.d.K.*, p. 183.

25ʳ. VARIOUS STUDIES OF FIGURES, INCLUDING AN ACROBAT AND A MAN BEING STABBED (Fig. 119)

Single folio; watermark indistinct; pen and brown ink; 198 : 312 mm.; cut on all sides; water stain lower right edge, black chalk spots upper left, small hole left of centre; traces of vertical fold in centre; top of *recto* coincides with top of *verso*; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, pp. 37 and 38, No. 119 and p. 42, No. 119 (25); *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, I, p. 13, under No. 1, and p. 18, under No. 5.

| A | B | C | D | E | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | |
| G | | | H | | I |

Various men and women, singly or in groups, are shown dressed in the ſtyles of sixteenth-century German burghers, artisans or peasants. They include a fool, or mocker, ſticking out his tongue and holding up the corner of his skirt to imply horns (A), an acrobat ſtanding on his hands (H) and a man being ſtabbed with a lance (F). The figures in the upper left are drawn on sligthly smaller scale than the reſt of the sheet.

As recognized by Hind, the sketches were copied from woodcuts attributed to Hans Weiditz (also called the Petrarch Maſter) which appear in the German edition of Petrarch's *De rebus utriusque fortunae,* published at Augsburg in 1532 in a two volume edition under the title of *Von der Artzney bayder Glück.* The models are entirely to be found in the second volume of this book, i.e., (A) on p. XXXII^v (Fig. 120), (B) and (D) on p. V (Fig. 121), (C) on p. XXIIII^v (Fig. 122), (E) on p. CVI (Fig. 123), (F) on p. CXLVII^v (Fig. 124), (G) on p. XXIII^v (Fig. 125), (H) on p. CIX^v (Fig. 126) and (I) on p. CXLVIII^v (Fig. 127). Rubens picked out single figures or groups of two or more from Weiditz's woodcuts and arranged them in his fashion (cf. No. 23). Thus, the two women in the upper row (C), copied from Fig. 122, and the man in front of them (D), copied from Fig. 121, form one group of speſtators, continuing the scene in the lower left (G), taken from yet a different source (Fig. 125). The man copied from Weiditz's woodcut illuſtrated in Fig. 123 (E), where he is a member of a trio of singers, has become a witness to the murderous scene in the upper right derived from Fig. 124. As aptly ſtated by Burchard and d'Hulſt, Rubens

separated the details chosen by him from Weiditz's closely-knit throng, whose figures seem to have grown together with their surroundings, as a surgeon isolates a muscle by dissection. His rapid sketches give essentials only. While concentrating on the costumes, faces, hands and feet are suggested by a few lines only, or omitted altogether. In his characteristic shorthand, Rubens indicated the assasin in the upper right with a quickly sketched outline, adding to, rather than reducing the impact of the original.

**25ᵛ.** VARIOUS STUDIES OF LADIES AND GENTLEMEN AND A CARDINAL (Fig. 128)

Pen and brown ink; 198 : 312 mm.; no captions, no colour or costume notes.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977,* No. 4.

LITERATURE: see under No. 25ʳ.

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+-------+----+----+------+------+------+------+
|       | B  |    |      |      |  F   |      |
|   A   +----+ D  |  E   +------+      |  I   |
|       | C  |    |      |      |      |      |
+-------+----+    +------+  G   |  H   +------+
|                 |      |      |      |      |
|       J         |      |      |      |      |
+-----------------+------+------+------+------+
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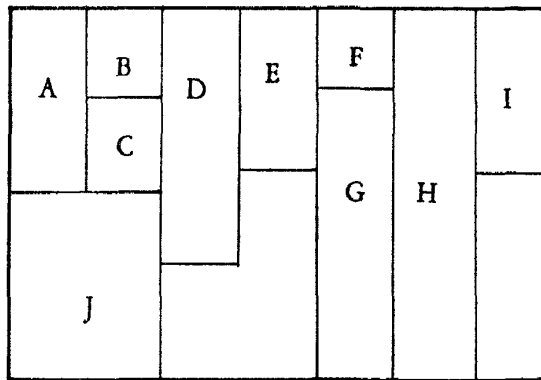
Unlike the *recto,* where Rubens mostly copied men and women dressed in the plain clothes of the burgher and artisan classes, the *verso* shows ladies and gentlemen in fancy gowns and plumed hats, *Landsknechte* in their extravagant gear (see especially (B)), two Orientals in turban and shaggy cap (F) and a cardinal (I). The models for these figures can be found in the first volume of Weiditz's Petrarch illustrations, i.e., (A) and (B) on p. CXIXᵛ (Fig. 130), (C) on p. LXXVIII (Fig. 129), (D) and (E) on p. LXXXII (Fig. 131), (F) on p. XXVIIᵛ (Fig. 132), (G) on p. LIᵛ (Fig. 133), (H) on p. XXIII (Fig. 134), (I) on p. CVIII (Fig. 135) and (J) on p. Xᵛ (Fig. 136). Again Rubens only chose those details which seemed significant to him. Thus he drew the head of the rider on the left (C) in some detail, but rendered his dress and sword with a few lines only, omitted his legs altogether and indicated the neck of the horse in one faintly

recognizable curved line. While he paid rather careful attention to the dress of the bride in the centre (D), he but barely suggested in one quick flourish the little boy who carries her train. [1] As on the *recto*, hands and feet are abbreviated or omitted.

Formerly tentatively connected with Van Dyck, the drawing was definitely assigned to Rubens by Burchard and d'Hulst along with the entire *Costume Book*. Although such features as the lean faces and pointed noses and chins are reminiscent of the early Van Dyck (see especially I on the *verso*), the plasticity of forms and the system of shading with parallel lines attached in little units to the silhouettes of the figures are typical of Rubens. [2] Furthermore, the practice of indicating eyes and brows by two broad strokes of the pen, as shown in (G) on the *verso*, is more common with Rubens than Van Dyck. [3]

It has been suggested that the sheet was done independently of the original *Costume Book* and inserted later when the book was rebound. [4] The paper differs considerably from all other drawings in the book; the ink corresponds to that used for the Burgkmair copies on f[os] 21 and 22, which, as we have seen, were probably also done independently (see pp. 44, 45). Physically and stylistically the drawing is most closely related to a sheet with warriors, also copied from Weiditz, in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen at Rotterdam. [5] The pre-Italian date assigned to the Rotterdam sheet, as to most of Rubens's copies after Northern prints, has been generally accepted, although the drawing differs considerably from those after Holbein, Amman, Stimmer, Goltzius and others. [6] This latter group, to which should also be added the very early sheet with copies after Weiditz mentioned in note 1 (Fig. 137), is characterized by the meticulous reproduction of shading by parallel and cross-hatchings found in the prints (compare the bride in Fig. 137 with the same figure in Fig. 128). Such neat thoroughness was abandoned in the present folio and the Rotterdam sheet with warriors in favour of greater economy of line, simplification of form and, in the Rotterdam drawing, a remarkable range of physiognomic expressions which cannot be found in any other of Rubens's early drawings (see especially the warrior at the centre of the table whose expressive face, indicated by a few lines only, is almost reminiscent of a Japanese woodcut). [7] Thus, the years shortly before Rubens's departure for Italy, i.e., 1598 to 1600, would be the most likely date for these Weiditz copies (the Rotterdam sheet with warriors being probably the last in the series), while, in my opinion, the *Costume Book* as such was not begun until after Rubens's return in 1608.

Rubens was probably attracted by the lively character of Weiditz's illustrations, of which such figures and scenes as the tumbler (H), the young mother whom Death's skeleton hand is pulling from her child by the corner of her skirt (I) and the murder (F) on the *recto* of this folio as well as the figthing soldiers on the Rotterdam sheet bear witness. However, at the same time Rubens paid careful attention to the costumes which, with their wimples, plumed helmets, high boots and elaborately slashed garments must have attracted his fancy as did the extravaganzas of Burgundian court dress a decade later.

When Rubens had to represent non-Romans in his compositions from ancient history, he dressed them in late-medieval costumes as found, for example, in Weiditz's woodcuts. [8] In *The Baptism of Constantine* we see a man in the foreground on the right dressed in a short, belted tunic with slashed sleeves similar to that worn by (J) on the *verso* of this folio. [9] A mantle is draped over his shoulders and a sword is hanging from his waist. Rubens combined this outfit with Roman boots. This man together with the turbaned figure on the extreme right are obviously meant to represent non-Romans. The same is true of the young bridegroom in *The Continence of Scipio Africanus* who wears a similar tunic with slashed sleeves and carries a feather beret in his hand (Fig. 139). [10] The young woman in the foreground on the right in the Bayonne drawing of the same subject (Fig. 138) resembles the lady on the right of this folio (*verso*, G), in costume as well as in pose. [11] As Held points out, a similar feather beret is also worn by the woman on the right in the Metropolitan Museum *Wolf and Fox Hunt* [12] and in the Marseilles *Boar Hunt*. [13]

The short, belted tunic worn over tight hose can also be seen on the man in the lower left who is bending over to pick up broken lances in the Paris *Tournament in Front of a Castle*. [14] In addition to details of costume acquired from copying Weiditz's prints one should, for this figure, perhaps consider the influence of Lucas Cranach's woodcut *The Breaking of Lances*, [15] as pointed out by Burchard. Other styles of late-medieval costume in Rubens's painting appear on the standing man in the lower left and on the man running beside the rider in the foreground centre. A later echo of Weiditz's wedding scene (Fig. 131) copied by Rubens in the earlier of the two Rotterdam drawings (Fig. 137) and repeated, without groom and bishop, on the *verso* of this folio (D) can be found in Rubens's painting of *The Marriage of Maria de' Medici*. [16] Especially close to Weiditz's illustration are the raising of the bride's train by a young page, the arch and the torches (replaced by high candles in the Medici picture). [17]

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1 This scene was already copied by Rubens on a very early sheet with drawings after Weiditz in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam (Fig. 137; Inv. No. V. 101).

2 Cf. *Held*, I, p. 63.

3 Cf. *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, II, pls. 49, 77$^r$, 194$^v$ and 196.

4 *Hind*, II, p. 38; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, p. 13, the latter with the suggestion that this was possibly done by Mariette who owned several such drawings (Paris, Louvre (Inv. Nos. 20.260, 20.260A, 20.261 and 20.261A; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949*, Nos. 1111–1114) and Bayonne, Musée Bonnat ([*Cat. exh.*] *Exposition d'œuvres de Pierre Paul Rubens (1577–1640)* Bayonne, 1965, p. 6, No. 11)). These drawings have now been successfully eliminated from Rubens's *œuvre* by Held and Müller Hofstede (cf. *Held*, I, p. 54, note 1; J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens Drawings by L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulst, Master Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 438, to No. 1). Two more drawings from this series in a private collection in Switzerland were exhibited as by Rubens's hand in 1977 (*London, 1977*, p. 22, Nos. 1a and b, repr.).

5 Inv. No. V.100 (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, pp. 17–19, No. 5; II, pl. 5). The sheet with figures copied from Weiditz's Petrarch illustrations and from his woodcuts for the German edition of Cicero's *Officia* (Augsburg, Steyner, 1531) in the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam (Inv. No. 48:530) is quite different in style. It was attributed to Rubens by *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1956*, pp. 28, 29, No. 2 (only citing the Petrach edition as source). I am not entirely convinced of Rubens's authorship and believe that Van Dyck should also be considered for this sheet. The drawing after Weiditz, formerly in the collection of Mrs. Weld Blundell, now at Lulworth Castle, published by M. Jaffé (*Rubens' Drawings after Sixteenth Century Northern Masters: Some Additions, The Art Quarterly*, XXI, 1958, pp. 401, 402, fig. 6) is, in my opinion, not by Rubens.

6 For the drawings after Holbein, see *van Regteren Altena* and the facsimile edition of the album with accompanying text by the same author (*Peter Paul Rubens Drawings after Hans Holbein's Dance of Death*, Amsterdam, 1977); for those after Stimmer, Amman and Goltzius, see *Lugt, Rubens and Stimmer; Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949*, Nos. 1116–1124, pls. LV, LVI; *Held*, I, No. 156; II, pl. 166; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, Nos. 6, 7 and 10; II, pls. 6, 7 and 10.

7 This free and spontaneous handling of the pen can also be observed in the *Two Horn Blowers*, after Stradanus, in Rotterdam (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, *1963*, I, No. 4; II, pl. 4) which stylistically and technically resembles the Weiditz copies most closely. It probably dates from the first years of Rubens's independent activity, i.e., 1598–1600; on this, see also *Müller Hofstede, Early Drawings*, p. 5. The remarkably free interpretation of his models is also evident in two of Rubens's copies after Stimmer and Amman in the Louvre which date slightly earlier, probably *c.* 1597: *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949*, Nos. 1118 and 1119. Some of the figures are rendered in the detailed earlier style, while others are barely outlined.

8 On this see pp. 56, 57.

9 D. Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art: The History of Constantine the Great Designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, [London], 1964, pl. 9 and fig. 58. Dubon (p. 109) describes this costume as late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.

10 The painting was destroyed by fire, but its composition is known from a preparatory drawing (Sale London (Sotheby), 8 December 1971, lot 14, repr.) and from an engraving by S. à Bolswert (Fig. 139; *V.S.*, p. 140, No. 35; *Rooses*, IV, p. 25, No. 809, pl. 257).

11 Musée Bonnat. Inv. No. 1436; *Held*, I, p. 110, No. 39; II, pl. 41.

[12] *K.d.K.*, p. 112.

[13] *K.d.K.*, p. 115.

[14] *K.d.K.*, p. 398.

[15] J. Jahn, *Lucas Cranach als Graphiker*, Leipzig, 1955, pl. 31.

[16] *K.d.K.*, p. 247.

[17] This connection is closer and, considering that Rubens actually copied Weiditz's wood-cut, more probable than that between Rubens's painting and Dürer's woodcut of *The Marriage of the Virgin* suggested by F.H. Hazlehurst, *Additional Sources for the Medici Cycle, Bulletin Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, XVI, 1967, p. 112.

**26.** ELEVEN FIGURES: FOUR WOMEN AND SEVEN MEN (Fig. 142)

Double folio, folded horizontally in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 9320; pen and brown ink; 417 : 311 mm.; stain upper centre; creases along centre fold; no captions, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) – (G) no inscriptions; (H) *rood* and *gout* (pointing to the hat); (I) – (K) no inscriptions.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 42, No. 119 (26).
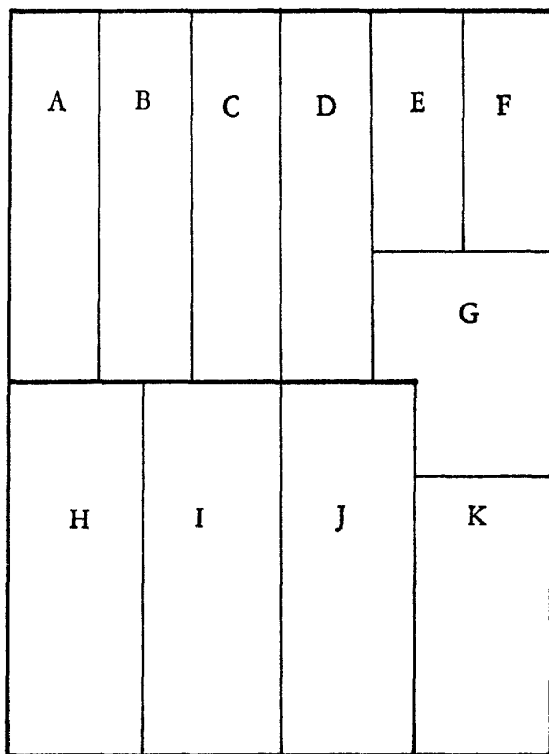
The figures are arranged in two rows, one on each half of the sheet, with one figure in the centre on the right extending over both halves. Rubens grouped together the men on the upper half and the women on the lower half. The styles of costume extend over almost the entire fifteenth century. Some of the men are dressed in short tunics with wide sleeves, their short hair covered with the medieval cowl worn as a turban (G) or as a cap with a long, bag-shaped crown (F), as was fashionable during the first two decades of the century, others in long mantles and turned-up caps, in two instances decorated with feathers, as was popular at the end of the century (A - C). The remaining two men (D and E) are clothed in long robes with pouches attached to their belts. The man on the left (D) wears a close-fitting cap and a hood slung over the back, whereas his partner's hair is covered with a *chaperon* (E).

The ladies's costumes illustrate Burgundian court fashions of the early fifteenth century. The lady on the right (K), shown in a typical pose of that time, wears a wide cape attached to the neckline of her waistless, flowing robe with full sleeves and narrow cuffs and a *Zweiflügelhaube* similar to the one on f° 13 (Fig. 54 (F)). The head-dress of the woman next to her, seen in profile (J), is a padded circlet not unlike the slightly later Florentine *mazzocchio*. The two ladies on the left wear the *bourrelet* (H) and gabled veil (I) described previously. One of these figures (I), shown turned to the right, is seen in frontal view on f° 12 (Fig. 50).

The models for these sketches are not known to me. (C) resembles one of Lucas de Heere's costume illustrations sufficiently closely as to suggest, ultimately, a common source (*Théatre*, f° 54; Fig. 140). The undergarments tied across their chests and the long mantles are identical, as are the poses; only the hats differ. However, Rubens's feathered hat placed sideways on shoulder-length locks can also be found in the *Théatre*, i.e., on f° 46 (Fig. 141). The mantle worn by de Heere's man with the plumed hat is a short version of the mantle worn by Rubens's (A), shown in frontal view instead of Rubens's back view. It is unlikely that Rubens's studies were based on drawings by de Heere. We know that in costume details Rubens followed his models closely. It is, therefore, more likely that these models were supplied by a different, still unknown source for whose origin de Heere's drawings merely suggest the city of Ghent.

For the female figures, except (I), no prototypes or parallels have been found. (I) certainly goes back to the *pleurant* from the tomb of Louis de

Mâle, identified by de Succa as Mary of Cleves (see Fig. 51) and copied by
Rubens on f° 12 (Fig. 50). Small variations of costume, such as the gables of the
veil forming triangles instead of lobes and the more numerous and more
elaborately drawn tabs on the right sleeve make it unlikely that for this figure
Rubens also depended on de Succa's. (The oblique angle of the figure and the
omission of the two round necklines and the fur of the collar could be
interpreted as changes introduced by Rubens.) What Rubens's source may have
been I do not know. It is highly unlikely that he copied from a tomb directly
since most of the other figures on this sheet obviously were not derived from
tomb sculpture. The sheet certainly gives the impression of having been done
at one sitting. The lively gestures and speaking hands would point to a narrative
representation as source, the diversity of dress styles to a costume-book or
*recueil* of copies such as de Succa's.


27. LOUIS DE NEVERS, PHILIP OF ALSACE AND NINETEEN OTHER MALE FIGURES
    (Fig. 143)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867 (on the left
half, the right half bearing a mark that possibly represents a monogram, cf. Nos. 2, 15,
18, 19, 28 and 37); pen and brown ink; 319 : 406 mm.; cut at top and bottom (irregu-
larly) and possibly at right; creases in upper and lower left, lower right and upper centre;
captions in French, notes in Flemish and French.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) no inscriptions; (B) *purpe* and *root;* (C) *garuw* (i.e. *grauw*) and
*blanc;* (D) *purpe, grauw* and *verd;* (E) and (F) no inscriptions; (G) *Louis de Nevers
conte de flandres:* [1] *velour noir ou bruijn viole* (pointing to the hood), *bord blanc* (point-
ing to the border of the hood), *Jeux barbe cheveux brun* (eyes, beard, hair brown,
pointing to the face), *a demi grauw* (pointing to the lining of the hood), *velour bruin*
(on the shoulder cape), *Toile dor* (on the gown); (H) *velour rouge* (pointing to the hat),
*blanc* (pointing to the border of the hat), *velour roug[e]* (on the gown), *toil dor* (on the
sleeve); (I) *velour* (on the gown), *toile dor* (pointing to the sleeve); (J) *Philippe
d'Alsace obyt 1191:* [2] *grauw* (pointing to the feather), other notes read clockwise as
follows: *pourpre, diamant, velour rouge, bois de gavre, Tanner, . . .* (?) *ro[ot* or *rouge],
toile dor;* (K) *Cantilla* (pointing to the fringe of the kerchief), *or* (on the back); (L)
*rouge* and *cheveux;* (M) *velour bleu;* (N) *bleu, pourpr[e]* and *velour bleu;* (O) hat
inscribed: *RA* and *FA,* note on the brim of the hat: *four[ure],* erased and replaced by
*bont, verd* (twice, pointing to and on the inside of the hood); (P) *verd;* (Q) *bleu* and
*wit bont;* (R) *bleu;* (S) no inscriptions; (T)*rouge, blanc and bleu;* (U) no inscriptions.
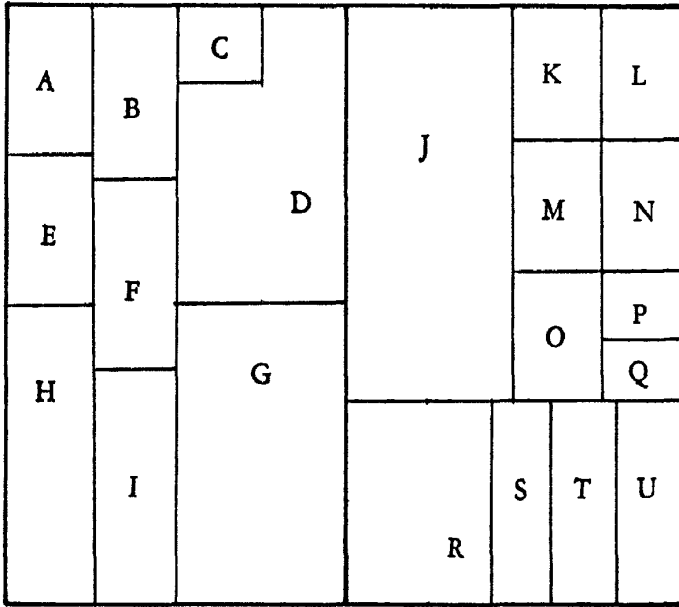
One of the men is shown in full-length and one in three-quarter length, all others are seen in half-length, bust or head only. Stress is laid on the head-gears which display a particularly rich selection of fifteenth-century styles up to *c.* 1450. We see the medieval cowl in its original form, pulled over the head (G) or slung backward, with a deep collar draped across the shoulders (B), the hood worn as a *chaperon,* with stiffened brim and a shoulder-length piece of fabric hanging down the back (E) or with a soft crown (R and D) and various kinds of caps and hats, some of which are adorned with jewels, pompons and a feather. Philip of Alsace (J), the only full-length figure, wears hose and a doublet, closely buttoned down the front, with tight sleeves extending trumpet-wise over knuckles and extravagantly long over-sleeves slit down the front, one of which is draped over the arm while the other is trailing on the ground. A jewelled belt, slung across the hips, holds a sword on his left side. In his hands he carries, as noted by Rubens, a representation of the "bois de Gavre", which Philip had donated to the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. [3]

All figures were copied from de Succa's *Mémoriaux,* i.e., (A) - (D) and (P) - (U) from f⁰ 99ᵛ (Fig. 144), (E) and (F) from f⁰ 100 (Fig. 145), (G)

and (H) from f° 75 (Fig. 147), (I) from f° 75ᵛ (Fig. 146), (J) from f° 96ᵛ (Fig. 148) and (K) - (O) from f° 98 (Fig. 149). (H) and (I), the only other 'portrait-' like representations besides those of Louis de Nevers (G) and Philip of Alsace (J), are identified by de Succa, respectively, as John the Good, King of France (1319–1364) and John the Blind, Count of Luxembourg and King of Bohemia (1296–1346). [4] The models for these two 'portraits' plus that of Louis de Nevers were in the collection of Jacques du Bosquiel, seigneur des Planques, near Lille, whom de Succa visited on February 12, 1602. [5] All other figures were copied by de Succa in the abbeychurch of St. Bertin at St. Omer: Philip of Alsace (J) from a tapestry (according to de Succa), which could not be identified, (A) and (S) from the left wing of the *St. Bertin Altarpiece,* by Simon Marmion, now in the Museum at Berlin (Fig. 150), [6] all other figures from works of art neither specified by de Succa nor identified by me. The bearded character heads (E, F, M, N and O) most likely represent prophets or ancient philosophers which probably formed part of a series together with the Sibyls copied on f° 28 (Fig. 151).

In most of the sketches and inscriptions Rubens followed de Succa rather closely. However, two of the figures are slightly altered in a fashion character-istic of Rubens. John the Blind's head (I) is shown with a twist to the right, his hat placed on his long locks at an angle, thus making him look much more lively and youthful than in de Succa's drawing. His briefly sketched eyes seem no longer blind. Another small, but significant change was undertaken on (S). With a quick flourish Rubens indicated a head under the hat which de Succa, without any reference to the bearer, had copied from the man holding his hat in his left hand in the Marmion altarpiece (Fig. 150). As already observed under No. 2, Rubens abbreviated or eliminated some of de Succa's identifying and descriptive notes and translated others from French into Flemish (e.g., (B): cape described by Rubens as *root,* by de Succa as *rouge;* (O): hat inscribed by Rubens *bont,* by de Succa *forure;* (Q): hat inscribed by Rubens *wit bont,* by de Succa *forure blanche*). In one instance Rubens specified with greater accuracy his model's rather vague notation. While de Succa described the cape of the hood worn by Louis de Nevers as of *velour noir ou violet,* Rubens defined the colour of this garment as, firstly, *noir ou bruijn viole* and, secondly, as *bruin.* A colour which can be described as either black or violet is, indeed, more accurately specified as brown. This instance constitutes an interesting example of Rubens's practice to visualize colour notations with great precision.

While the changes described so far are characteristic of Rubens, an addition of a colour notation as seen in (N) is rather puzzling. The rim of the cap worn by this figure which lacks a colour note in de Succa's drawing is described by Rubens as *pourpre*. This is one of only two instances among the so-called de Succa copies in the *Costume Book* where Rubens performed such a change, the first one being on f° 2 (J). I can find no reason for them but aesthetic preference. Certainly these two instances do not constitute a case against Rubens's dependence on de Succa, especially in view of the overwhelming evidence in its favour.

The sheet is most closely related to Nos. 2 (Fig. 7) and 28 (Fig. 151) of which the latter illustrates a series of Sibyls most likely derived from the same source as the prophets or ancient philosophers on this folio. [7]

[1] Louis, Count of Flanders, Nevers and Rethel, father of Louis de Mâle (cf. No. 1); born c. 1304, died 1346 (E. van Arenbergh in *Biographie Nationale*, XII, Brussels, 1892–93, cols. 412–426; M. Vandermaesen in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, V, Brussels, 1972, cols. 523–534).

[2] Philip of Alsace, Count of Flanders; born between 1136 and 1140, died 1191 (H. Pirenne in *Biographie Nationale*, XVII, Brussels, 1903, cols. 163, 176).

[3] Rubens has misread de Succa's "bois de hame"; this forest, also referred to as the forest of Wulverdinghe, was donated by Philip of Alsace to the Abbey of St. Bertin in 1191 (*Cat. de Succa*, I, p. 145).

[4] For his father, the German emperor Henry VII, see No. 44 (A).

[5] See *Mémoriaux*, f° 81ᵛ.

[6] Inv. No. 1645. The connection with the altarpiece was pointed out to me by Dr. Lorne Campbell. In later years Rubens is supposed to have shown his admiration for the same altarpiece by offering to cover the panels with gold ducats if he could buy them: see E. Martène and U. Durand, *Voyage Littéraire de Deux Religieux Bénédictins de la Congrégation de Saint Maur*, II, Paris, 1717, pp. 183, 184, as quoted by M. Davies, *The National Gallery, London*, III (*Les Primitifs flamands*, XI), Brussels, 1970, p. 25.

[7] For the juxtaposition of ancient philosophers and Sibyls, see also Jörg Syrlin the Elder's busts in Ulm cathedral (W. Vöge, *Jörg Syrlin der Ältere und seine Bildwerke*, Berlin, 1950).

**28.** MARGARETA VAN GISTEL AND NINE OTHER WOMEN (Fig. 151)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867 (on the right half, the left half bearing a mark that possibly represents a monogram, cf. Nos. 2, 15, 18, 19, 27 and 37); pen and brown ink; 315 : 404 mm.; creases upper right; no captions, notes in Flemish and French.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *bleu, or* and *rub[is]* (pointing to the head-dress), *pourpre* (on the sleeve), *or* (on the belt); (B) *blau* (pointing to the head-dress), *bleu* (pointing to the

cape), *toile d'or avecqu de per[les]* ... *(?)* (pointing to the bodice); (C) *Jesus* (on the hat); (D) *le fon[d] bleu, le reste or et perles et fleur de lis* and *le fon[d] rouge con or e perles pieeres* (both pointing to the head-dress), *rouge* (on the belt), JESVS RJL (on the sleeve), JESVS NAZARENVS REX JVDEOR[VM] (above the hem of the skirt); (E) *verd* (pointing to the veil), *or, blanc,* or and *bleu* (pointing to the left sleeve), *Sibilla* (on the left sleeve), *wit bont met swerte* ... *(?)* (white fur with black dots (?), pointing to the cuff of the right sleeve); (F) no inscriptions; (G) *bleu* (on the corner of the cape); (H) and (I) no inscriptions; (J) *le fond grauw* (pointing to the head-dress), AVE MA[RIA] GRAT*ia Ple[na]* (on the head-dress), *or* (pointing to the shoulder), *blanc* (pointing to the cuff), *verd* (on the sleeve), *blanc* (on the cape).

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977,* No. 6 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 43, No. 119 (28); *Held,* I, fig. 28 (detail); *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, pp. 11–14, No. 1; II, pl. 1.
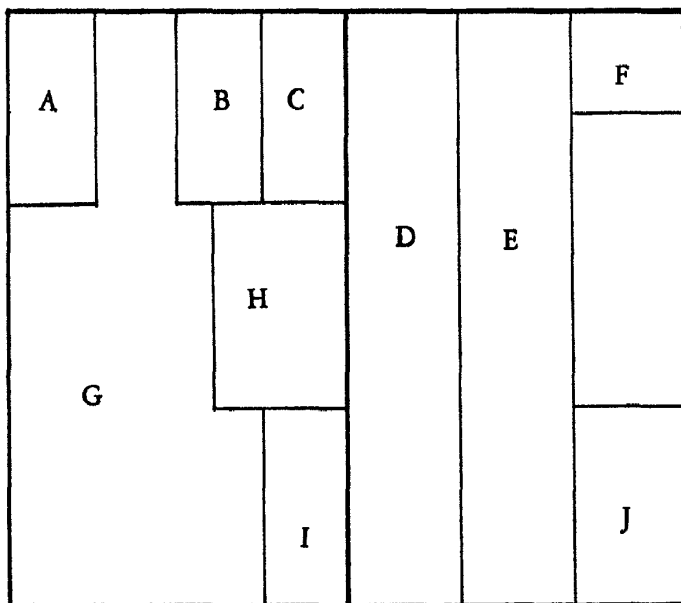


Three of the figures are represented in full-length (one seated), six in three-quarter-length and one head and shoulders only. Most of them are shown turned to the right or left, one in frontal view (F) and one from the back (H). The costumes are those of the fourteenth (F), fifteenth (B, C, E, I and J) and early sixteenth centuries (A, D, G and H). Dresses are of costly fabrics and furs, richly decorated with precious stones. The majority of head-dresses are

padded circlets or veils worn in various ways, in one instance surmounted by a crown (G). (D) wears a combination of circlet and crown similar to the head-gear to be seen on one of the figures on f° 16 (Fig. 81 (B)).

Seven of the figures represent Sibyls (A - E, H and J) of whom, according to Varro, there were ten.[1] Burchard and d'Hulst, not taking into account the con-nection between Rubens's and de Succa's drawings, suggest that these figures may have been copied from a lost tapestry woven at Arras or Tournai and refer more specifically to Sibyl tapestries listed in Göbel.[2] However, the models for all figures can be found in de Succa's *Mémoriaux*, i.e., (A), (D) and (H) on f° 99 (Fig. 152),[3] (B) and (C) on f° 98 (Fig. 153), (E) and (J) on f° 99ᵛ (Fig. 154), (F) on f° 89 (Fig. 155), (G) on f° 95ᵛ (Fig. 156) and (I) on f° 87 (Fig. 158). Eight of the figures (Figs. 152 (all female figures), 153, 154 and 156 (full-length figure) were copied by de Succa at the abbeychurch of St. Bertin (cf. No. 27), one (Fig. 156) from an old painting (Fig. 157),[4] the others from a work of art not further specified, possibly a tapestry (see above and note 2). De Succa's model for the lady illustrated in Fig. 155 (Rubens's (F)) was a fourteenth-century tombstone in the Carthusian convent of Gosnay, near Béthune, which de Succa visited in February of 1602 (cf. p. 69, note 5). De Succa also copied her husband which, in turn, Rubens copied along with other knights in armour on f° 2 (Fig. 7 (C)).The ultimate model for Rubens's (I) was the tomb of Margareta van Gistel (died 1431) in St. Bavo's at Ghent, attributed to Jan III de Meyere (*c.* 1401–*c.* 1450).[5] The tomb, which was originally set up in the bakers' chapel, was heavily damaged during the iconoclastic riots, when the gisant disappeared.[6] However, a copy of the entire tomb is included in the collection of drawings by Arent van Wijnendaele, now in the City Archives at Ghent (Fig. 159) which, as it supplied several of de Succa's models (cf. Nos. 1 and 17), most likely also served as the source for his drawing of Margareta van Gistel.

Rubens's animation of de Succa's stiff images, observed throughout the *Costume Book,* is especially evident on this folio where he considerably altered gestures and poses. Seated figures now appear walking (B, C, E and J), hands clasped in prayer are otherwise occupied (C and I). From the awkward models supplied by de Succa Rubens created a sheet filled with lively young women carrying their extravagant head-dresses with grace.

A circlet decorated with jewels or bands, such as worn by (A), can be seen on the second of the attendants on the left in the Potsdam painting known as

*Artemisia* [7] and on the woman in the second row, left, of the group of women on the right in the Pommersfelden *Madonna and Saints* (Fig. 41).

[1] M. Terentius Varro, *Antiquitatum rerum humanarum et divinarum*, Lib. XXIX, as quoted by Burchard and d'Hulst. The authors, however, wrongly believed that all ten of Rubens's figures represent Sibyls.

[2] H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche*, I, *Die Niederlände*, Leipzig, 1923, p. 75 and pls. 53–55 and 96.

[3] For the connection between Rubens's (D) and de Succa's drawing, see also *Held*, I, figs. 28, 29.

[4] The painting was identified by Dr. Lorne Campbell as the *Virgin and Saints*, attributed to the Master of Hoogstraeten, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (letter to the author). Indeed, de Succa's lady shows striking resemblance to the St. Catherine on the left of the painting (*Friedländer*, VII, p. 74, No. 118, pl. 88).

[5] See D. Roggen, *Gentsche grafplastiek uit den tijd der van Eycks, Gentsche Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschidenis*, IX, 1943, pp. 103–107. On the de Meyere family, see *idem, Gentsche beeldhouwkunst der XIVᵉ en der XVᵉ eeuw, Gentsche Bijdragen*, V, 1938, pp. 51–73. The tomb, without the gisant, is now in the crypt of St. Bavo.

[6] See A. de Valkeneer, *Inventaire des tombeaux et dalles à gisants en relief en Belgique. Epoques romane et gothique, Bulletin de la Commission royale des monuments et des sites*, XIV, 1963, pp. 141-143; E. Dhanens, *Sint-Baafskathedraal, Gent (Inventaris van het kunstpatrimonium van Oostvlaanderen*, V), Ghent, 1965, pp. 114, 115, No. 231.

[7] *Rooses*, IV, p. 26, No. 810 and V, p. 344, No. 810. Reproduced in *Oldenbourg, 1922*, p. 117, fig. 66.

**29.** ROLAND VAN UUTKERKE, PHILIPPE DE BAUX, FRANÇOISE DE BAUX AND THREE OTHER NOBLE WOMEN (Fig. 160)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1383 (on the left half); pen and brown ink and greyish-brown wash; 311 : 410 mm.; paper crease right of upper centre; captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *rolant dunkercke;* [1] (B) no inscription; (C) *filippe de Baulx frere de Guillaume duc dandre;* [2] (D) *francoise de baulx sœur a guillaume duc dandre;* [3] (E) *Idon dame de Chieure feme de Gille de Chin;* [4] (F) *Caterine de Baulx seur aux duc Guillaume dandre.* [5]

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 43, No. 119 (29) and p. 159, correction to p. 43 (29); *Müller Hofstede, Early Drawings*, p. 15, note 2.
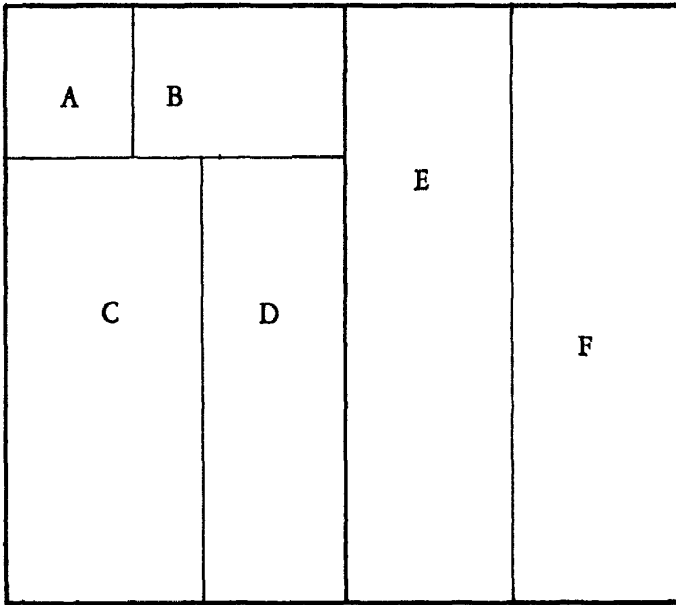
The sheet is divided into two halves. Only the edge of the left sleeve of (D) extends slightly over the centre fold. It overlaps, and therefore cuts off the corner of the trailing cape worn by (E). The costumes are of the early fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth centuries. Ida de Chièvres (E) is dressed in a trailing cape worn over a long gown, her head and chin covered with a wimple and a hanging veil. The prototype of this figure was undoubtedly a tomb sculpture of the first half of the fourteenth century.[6] The other figures are clothed in fifteenth-century Burgundian court fashions. Roland van Uutkerke (A) wears a cap with a full crown whose point, decorated with a jewel, is brought forward and protrudes over the edge of the brim, a style of head-dress familiar from the well-known portrait of John the Fearless at Antwerp. The lady next to him (B) wears her hair in caul-shaped nets over the ears, joined by a very short veil. A similar hair-style combined with a much more elaborate, multi-layered veil, is worn by Catherine de Baux (F). Her full-length figure allows us a full view of her gown: high-waisted, with a deep, pointed neckline bordered in fur, an ample skirt trailing behind and full bag-sleeves through whose elbow-slits she puts her arms, revealing the long, tight-fitting sleeves of her underdress. The costume of this figure closely resembles that worn by Marguerite de Brifeul on f° 10 (D; Fig. 42). The remaining woman on this sheet, Françoise de Baux (D), is seen in a long, belted *houppelande* with wide sleeves whose vertical

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slits, bordered in fur, reveal the puffed sleeves of the undergarment. Her head-dress consists of a high, conical hat decorated with drapery. Costume and pose are so similar to those of Margaret of Savoy on f° 16 (Fig. 81) as to suggest a derivation from the same model. The man, shown in full-length (C), wears an especially fanciful costume. His *chaperon* and short, belted tunic are decorated with richly scalloped edges. With his right hand he holds the long liripipe of his *chaperon,* while the left is placed on the belt from which hangs a little money pouch.

The models for these drawings are not known to me. The ultimate source for (C) probably was the card representing *Trump Knave of Wild Men* by the Master of the Playing Cards (Fig. 161).[7] It seems likely that the engraving served as a model for one of the figures in a genealogical series on the Baux family which, in turn, supplied Rubens's model.[8] Another source for some of Rubens's models seems to have been the tomb of Louis de Mâle or the portraits on which the statues of this tomb were based (compare (A) with the Antwerp portrait of John the Fearless and de Succa's drawing of the same person on f° 78 of his *Mémoriaux* (Fig. 162)). The similarity between the figure of Françoise de Baux (D) and that of Margaret of Savoy on f° 16 (Fig. 81), copied from the Lille tomb, has already been pointed out. Likewise, (B) can be connected with the little statue representing Margaret of Burgundy copied by de Succa on f° 79 (Fig. 163).[9]

The folio is related to those with portraits of members of the Croy and Lalaing families (Figs. 20, 21, 29, 34, 38, 42 and 54) and to f° 31 (Fig. 168), especially in its use of washes. Contrary to Müller Hofstede who dates this sheet and No. 31 in Rubens's pre-Italian years, I find a post-Italian date more convincing.[10]

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[1] Roland van Uutkerke, one of the early knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece and advisor to Philip the Good; died 1442 (V. Fris in *Biographie Nationale*, xxv, Brussels, 1930–32, cols. 1020–1025). Also identified by Hind.

[2] According to *Barthélemy* (genealogical table following p. 662), the brothers of Guillaume, Duke of Andria, were Jacques de Baux, Emperor of Constantinople and Bianchino de Baux, younger son. The family was a branch of the Baux of Provence which had settled in Sicily.

[3] According to *Barthélemy,* Guillaume's sisters were Antoinette (see No. 9 (C)), Marguerite (married Pierre I of Luxembourg, comte de Bienne) and two illegitimate sisters Magdeleine and Catherine. For the information on the members of the Baux family see also *Hind (loc. cit.).*

4 Ida, Idon or Eva de Chièvres, "la belle Domitienne", founder of the Abbey of Ghislenghien, married in turn (1) Gilles de Chin, (2) Raas III van Gavere (in 1138) and (3) Nicolas de Rumigny, seigneur de Florennes (E. van Borchgrave in *Biographie Nationale*, VII, Brussels, 1880–83, col. 530; E. Warlop in *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, II, Brussels, 1966, col. 234). Not identified by Hind. For Raas van Gavere, see No. 9 (B).

5 Possibly an illegitimate sister of Guillaume; see note 3.

6 See, e.g., statue in the museum at Moulins, reproduced in the exhibition catalogue *Les Pleurants dans l'art du Moyen-Age en Europe*, Dijon, 1971, pp. 28, 29, No. 4, pl. v.

7 *Lehrs*, I, pl. 6, fig. 12.

8 It is, however, possible that the cards with ladies and gentlemen dressed in courtly fashions were not the artist's invention but went back to an earlier source, as did some of the animal, plant and wild men types to be found on the playing cards, which were probably derived from a pattern-book (see H. Lehman-Haupt, *Gutenberg and the Master of the Playing Cards*, New Haven, 1966) or engraved pattern sheets (see A.H. van Buren and S. Edmunds, *Playing Cards and Manuscripts: Some Widely Disseminated Fifteenth-Century Model Sheets, The Art Bulletin*, LVI, 1971, pp. 12–30). This earlier source could also have served the anonymous master of the Baux portraits.

9 For a further connection between one of Rubens's Baux portraits and the Lille tomb, see No. 9 (C).

10 The comparison made by Müller Hofstede between the figure of Françoise de Baux on this folio, that of Jean de Nevers on f° 31 (Fig. 168) and the drawing of *Mary Salome* (or *Mary Cleophas*) *Kneeling*, after Stradanus (Koch Collection, London; reproduced by *Müller Hofstede, Early Drawings*, pl. 1) is, in my view, invalid, since I do not accept Rubens's authorship for the latter drawing.

**30.** THREE FULL-LENGTH FIGURES ONE WOMAN AND TWO MEN (Fig. 164)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; no watermark; pen and brown ink; 313 : 426 mm.; traces of vertical fold slightly left of present fold; cut at right; no captions, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (B) *groen zijde* (pointing to the hat), from here clockwise: *root, goude Ciraetsel* (gold ornament), *blauw ffouweel, alle den randen van Ermyien* (all the borders of ermine); (C) *root* (twice, on the cloak), *den zoom van pelzen* (the hem of fur), *pelse* (on the cloak).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 43, No. 119 (30) and p. 159, correction to p. 43 (30), pl. X(x.

The figures are shown in three-quarter view turned right. They recede in size from left to right. The man in the centre extends over both halves of the sheet. The costumes are Burgundian of the first half of the fifteenth century. The lady wears a horned hair-style under a *bourrelet* with lappets hanging down on either side of her face, one of which, draped diagonally across the body, is picked up by her left hand. Her dress, girded high under the breast, has wide sleeves and

a long train. The jug held in her right hand identifies her as a personification of *Temperance,* probably copied from a fifteenth-century tapestry with representations of vices and virtues. The costume is similar to that worn by the full-length figure on f° 9 (Fig. 38). The gentleman in the centre wears a long mantle, dagged at the edges and trimmed with ermine. A broad collar of goldwork is placed across his shoulders. His hat, although specified as made of green silk, seems to consist of fur. It is decorated with a jewel set in the front of the crown. On his left hand, covered by a gauntlet, he carries a falcon which he seems to be feeding with his right. The man next to him is dressed in a high-collared *houppelande* whose skirt and exceedingly wide sleeves trail behind him on the ground. The edges are deeply scalloped and trimmed with fur, the skirt is slit in the front revealing one leg covered in hose. On his head he wears a fur cap with a jewel in front. A barely indicated and incomplete outline of this cap can be seen on the left of the present sketch where Rubens originally must have planned to draw this figure. However, even the present placement caused the tip of the cloak to overlap with the left sleeve of the adjoining man. The figure is drawn with a finer pen and darker ink than the other two sketches, probably at a slightly later date.

The sources are not known to me. The man in the centre appears also in the Ghent costume-book by Lucas de Heere (f° 43; Fig. 165). However, it is unlikely that Rubens copied from de Heere directly, because the figure on the left, which does not appear in de Heere's album, gives the impression of having been copied from the same source. Drawing technique, colour of ink and width of pen correspond exactly with Rubens's copies after the *Mémoriaux.* It is, therefore, possible that at least (A) and (B), probably also (C) were copied from those parts of de Succa's manuscript which are now missing (on de Succa's possible dependence on de Heere, see No. 18). [1] Technically and stylistically the third figure is related to f° 26 (Fig. 142) for which I also have not been able to find a source. [2]

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[1] Variations in costume between Rubens's and de Heere's drawings, such as the jewel on the hat and the little circles on the belt of Rubens's figure, which are absent in de Heere's drawing were probably neither invented by de Succa (if he were the intermediary) nor by Rubens. It is possible that de Heere's drawing was later overpainted, especially since a faint, star-shaped outline suggesting a decoration on the hat is still visible. This would also account for the grey colour of de Heere's hat which disagrees with Rubens's reference to green silk.

[2] Hind's contention that one of the men represents Gilles de Chin, 6th of the name, sieur de Busignies (died 1415 at Agincourt) could not be verified.

**31.** MARGUERITE DE LORRAINE, JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS AND FOUR OTHER FIGURES (Fig. 168)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 1383; pen and brown ink and grey wash, (A) – (C) heightened with white, now oxidized; 321 : 415 mm.; captions in French and Flemish, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Marguerite de Loraine;* [1] (B) *Jan de bourgogne Comte destampes;* [2] (C) *Marie de Molembais feme de Colart Lestourdi;* [3] (D) *de goede graef Carel van vlaenderen;* [4] (E) and (F) no inscriptions.

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 43, No. 119 (31) and p. 159, correction to p. 43 (31); *Müller Hofstede, Early Drawings,* p. 15, note 2.
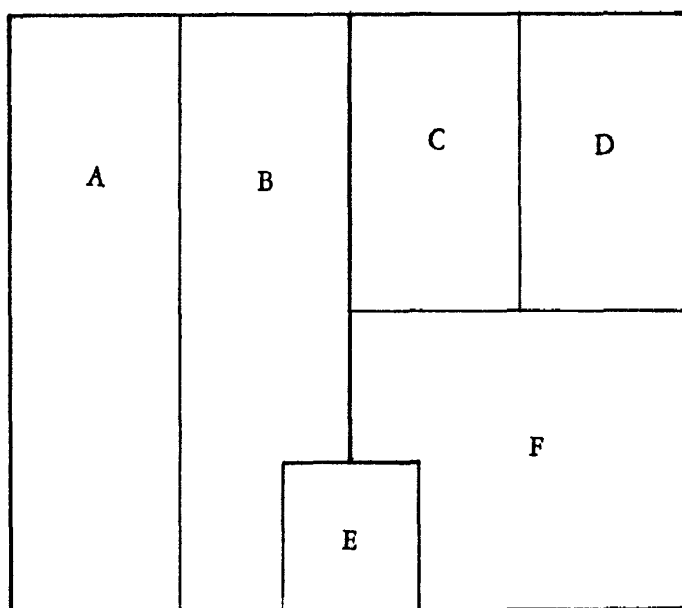


The sheet shows three figures in full-length, two in three-quarter-length and one bust portrait. One of the full-length figures (E) is drawn on a smaller scale than the rest of the folio. (A) - (D), dressed in the court styles of the late fourteenth (D) and early fifteenth centuries (A) - (C), were executed at the same time, most likely from one source; (E) and (F), clothed in the fashions of the late fifteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, respectively, were probably added later from different models discussed below.

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Marguerite de Lorraine (A), seen in frontal view, wears a *bourrelet* with a double-layered, shoulder-length veil. Her gown, with its V-shaped *decolleté*, bag sleeves slit at the elbows and trailing skirt is familiar from f° 29 (Fig. 160 (F)). With her hands folded over her stomach she lifts the front of her skirt, thus revealing the hem of the underdress and the pointed tip of one shoe. Next to her, John of Burgundy (B) is dressed in a *houppelande à mi-jambe*, tightly belted in the waist, with slashed edges, a high collar and a pleated skirt. His hood is wound around the temples like a turban, with the collar falling over the left side of the brim and the liripipe draped over the left shoulder. On his left side he carries a sword. The three-quarter-length portrait of Marie de Molembais (C), seen in full-face view, displays a rather unusual head-dress even for that century of extravagant fashions. An undulating, padded circlet is placed on top of the hair which is taken up in horns at the temples. A long veil with a fluted edge falls over the shoulders in soft folds. Next to her, Charles the Good, Count of Flanders (D), shown in profile to the left, wears a cap of uncommon form, decorated with bands and a short veil. His gown has a little fur collar; around his neck lies a chain.

The remaining two women are dressed in the courtly fashions of later ages. (E) wears a full-cut dress with a square *decolleté* and a tight waist as was fashionable towards the end of the fifteenth century. The hair is wound over the ears and covered with jewels and a crown. The last figure on this folio represents Elisabeth of Valois, third wife of Philip II and mother of Rubens's sovereign, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia. Elisabeth is shown in knee-length, in three-quarter view to the right, her head turned towards the beholder. Her gown illustrates Spanish court fashions of the 1560s. Richly decorated with jewels and slashings, the bodice forms a corset, drooping to a peak in the front and opening into a full skirt. It has a tall collar lined with lace and full, slashed sleeves. Elisabeth wears a necklace of jewels and more jewels in her hair. In her right hand she holds a handkerchief, while the left rests on a table or stand only suggested by her pose but not sketched in.

The sources for (A) and (B) are unknown to me. They are connected with two of the little statues which formerly surrounded the tomb of Louis de Mâle, the female figure being identified by de Succa as Jacqueline of Bavaria (Fig. 169), the male, although not inscribed by de Succa (Fig. 171), having been identified as Philip of Burgundy, Count of Nevers, on the basis of a mid-fifteenth-century silverpoint drawing formerly in the Mannheimer Collection, Amsterdam, de-

ſtroyed in the Second World War.[5] As observed previously (e.g. Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 14ʳ) portraits were frequently based on older representations, be they of the father, as in (B), or of members of intirely different families, as in (A). Buſt portraits derived from the same prototypes as the Lille ſtatues (or from the ſtatues themselves) are also included in the *Recueil d'Arras* as, respeĉtively, Jeanne de Bretagne, wife of Charles de Blois (f° 45; Fig. 170) and Jean de Luxembourg, seigneur de Beaurevoir (f° 174; Fig. 172).

The model for the figure of Marie de Molembais (C) can be found in the *Recueil d'Arras* (f° 224; Fig. 173). Rubens enlarged the half-length figure to a three-quarter-length figure. As it seems likely that Rubens copied the Arras portraits from transferred tracings made by de Succa and as the ſtyliſtic and technical homogeneity of (A) - (D) seems to point to one source, it is here suggeſted that (A), (B) and (D) were also made from drawings by de Succa, now missing. Two representations of Charles the Good (one full-length and one half-length) are, in faĉt, included in the surviving part of the *Mémoriaux* (f°ˢ 13 and 83ᵛ). Both, however, vary in some details from Rubens's portrait (e.g. the row of buttons down the front of the gown and the collar of plain cloth inſtead of fur) and are reversed. The half-length portrait, being identical with Rubens's in all other details, is here reproduced (Fig. 174). It was copied by de Succa from a painting in St. Peter's Abbey at Ghent. The prototype seems to have been a portrait known in Bruges between 1500 and 1600, one copy of which, made in 1609, is ſtill in Bruges Cathedral (Fig. 175).[6] It is entirely possible that among de Succa's drawings was yet another portrait of Charles the Good, also based on the Bruges prototype, but in reserve, which in turn served Rubens as a model.

The remaining two figures were probably copied from their original sources, i.e., (E) from Leonhard Beck's woodcut of *Mary of Burgundy Receiving the Old Knight with the Message of her Father's Death* on pl. 4 of the *Theuerdank* (Fig. 177) and Elisabeth of Valois from a portrait attributed to Antonis Mor (Fig. 176).[7] The drawing of Mary of Burgundy differs considerably from Rubens's copies after the *Theuerdank* on f°ˢ 21 and 22 (Figs. 105 and 107). It is done with a thin pen an light brown ink. Shading and modelling are indicated with finely drawn parallel hatching and delicately applied grey wash. All indications of patterns are omitted in favour of greater simplicity and lightness. Simplifications of dress can also be observed in the portrait of Elisabeth of Valois. Patterns are only briefly specified or, as on the skirt, left off

altogether. Mor's three-quarter-length portrait has been enlarged to almoſt knee-length; the serious, rather hard face has been transformed into that of a graceful and charming young woman, in short, a typical Rubens face. [8]

As discussed before (pp. 48–50 and 144, under No. 29), I consider a date after 1608 more likely than the pre-Italian date suggeſted by Müller Hofſtede. Such later date becomes more convincing if we compare the *Theuerdank* copies on f°s 21 and 22, which were very probably done before 1600, with the figure of Mary of Burgundy on this sheet. It is not unreasonable to assume that ten years after his initial association with the *Theuerdank* Rubens returned to these German woodcuts for further models.

The figure of Mary of Burgundy may well have inspired that of St. Gertrude on the left wing of the London *Conversion of St. Bavo* (Fig. 166) [9] and that of Queen Tomyris in the Boſton painting (Fig. 167). [10] Furthermore, a very similar head-dress to that worn by Jean de Nevers can be seen among the group on the left of the table in the Vienna *Alboin and Rosamond* (Fig. 45).

[1] Daughter of Antoine de Lorraine, comte de Vaudemont; married as his second wife Antoine II de Croy in 1432, died before 1474 (*de Vegiano*, I, p. 570). Also identified by Hind.

[2] John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers; born 1415, died 1491 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven*, II, pl. 26). See also No. 19 (E).

[3] Probably daughter of Guilbert de Lannoy and Catherine, dame de Molembais, wife of Colard d'Ongnies; died 1443 (*de Vegiano*, II, p. 1467, under No. 11; J. Gailliard, *Bruges et le Franc*, I, Bruges, 1857, p. 368). Also identified by Hind. For her husband, see No. 13 (G).

[4] Charles I, Count of Flanders, called "the Good", son of Canute, King of Denmark and Adele, daughter of Robert le Frison, Count of Flanders; born *c.* 1083 (in Denmark), died 1127 (in Bruges) (J.-J. de Smet in *Biographie Nationale*, III, Brussels, 1872, cols. 500–505).

[5] Cf. *Lindeman*, pp. 166, 167. For the silverpoint drawing, one of a group of four, see p. 115, note 9.

[6] See M. English, *De iconografie van Karel de Goede, Liturgisch Parochieblad Kerk en Leven*, XXIV, 1942, pp. 50–57.

[7] See *Hind*, correction to p. 43 (31). The painting is now in the Philips colleçtion at Eindhoven, Netherlands (see *Friedländer*, XIII, p. 105, No. 397, pl. 191). Since this painting was badly damaged during World War II, I am reproducing an identical copy, formerly in the colleçtion of Lord Margadale of Islay (Scotland), sold at Chriſtie's, London, 26 November 1971, lot 46.

[8] For a painted portrait of Elisabeth of Valois, done during Rubens's firſt visit to Spain after a portrait by Sofonisba Anguiscicola, see Müller Hofſtede, *Bildnisse aus Rubens' Italienjahren, Jahrbuch der Staatlichen Kunſtsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg*, II, 1965, pp. 116–122, fig. 70 and *Müller Hofſtede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 59 and p. 55, fig. 22.

9 *K.d.K.*, p. 272; *Vlieghe, Saints,* I, fig. 122.

10 *K.d.K.*, p. 175.

**32.** TWO FULL-LENGTH FIGURES OF WOMEN IN SPANISH COSTUMES (Fig. 179)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: *Briquet,* No. 1383; pen and brown ink and greyish-brown wash (by Rubens), dark brown wash and black, yellow and red chalk added by different hand; 317 : 391 mm.; captions in French, no colour or costume notes.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Dame de Castilla;* (B) *La servante de village hors de Pampelone.*

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977,* No. 7 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 43, No. 119 (32), pl. XX; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, pp. 13, 14, under No. 1; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* p. 83, note 25.

The sheet is divided in two halves, each of which contains one full-length figure. (The corner of the skirt of the woman on the left, however, is drawn across the centre fold.) To the original pen and wash drawings have been added coloured chalks, in my opinion not by Rubens himself (already tentatively suggested by Burchard and d'Hulst). Only the sleeves of the dress worn by the woman on the left and the shoes of both women have been left untouched.

The woman on the left, seen in front view, is dressed in the costume of a Castilian lady of *c.* 1520–30. Her gown consists of a low-cut bodice worn over a shirt with puffed sleeves and hanging cuffs and a long skirt decorated with vertical stripes. On her hair, which she wears in typical Spanish fashion in a long pigtail down the back, is placed a small bonnet. In her right hand she holds a fan; her feet stand on elevated wooden sandals. The servant girl next to her who, according to Rubens's inscription, comes from a village outside of Pamplona (former capital of the kingdom of Navarra), is shown from the back. With her left hand she holds up the skirt of her dress so that one can see the hem of her petticoat. The tight-fitting bodice has a broad, flat collar and a triangular, kerchief-like piece of fabric hanging down the back. The hair is cut very short, thus revealing the ears and very large earrings.

It has been suggested (by Hind and Müller Hofstede) that the sketches were done from life when Rubens was in Spain in 1603. As stated above, the costume of at least one of the figures (the lady on the left) is of the early sixteenth

century and must, therefore, have been copied from a costume-book. A sixteenth-century manuscript with women's costumes in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, includes an almost identical version of Rubens's *Dame de Castilla* (Fig. 178).[1] The lady is shown there with a shield bearing the inscription DONE DE CASTILLE. She wears a slightly different bonnet and no necklace. The manuscript is a copy of an Italian original. There existed, no doubt, other versions, one of which must have supplied Rubens's model. Unfortunately, I have not been able to find the source for Rubens's servant girl (not even a similar figure) in sixteenth-century costume books.

[1] Inv. No. Ob. 23, f° 45.

**33.** FULL-LENGTH FIGURE OF A TURKISH WOMAN AND PART OF A HEAD (Fig. 180)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink; 264 : 176 mm.; caption in Flemish, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: *Turxsse vrouw in huys* (Turkish woman at home): *Gout* (pointing to the cap), *root goude laeken oft root flouweel* (red-gold cloth or red velvet, pointing to the corset), *dun doeck daer het naeckt geheel door schijnt* (thin cloth through which shines the entire nakedness, pointing to the sleeve), *dtn doecken roxken ende ooc een dun paer boexen soe dat die naeckte beenen deur schijnen* (skirt and trousers of thin cloth so that the naked legs shine through), *root* and *gout* (pointing to the sandals), *den riem gout en blauw* (the belt gold and blue).

LITERATURE: *Hind,* II, p. 44, No. 119 (33) and p. 160, correction to p. 44 (33), pl. XX; *Kurz and Kurz,* p. 176, fig. 1.

The woman is seen slightly turned left, her hips thrust forward. With her right hand she holds a little bunch of feathers similar to the one carried by the Castilian lady on the previous folio, while her left hand rests on her hip. The costume of transparent sleeves, skirt and trousers, a kind of waistcoat of hip-length, a little feathered cap and a pair of high, wooden sandals is that of the Muhammadan lady in the house. It was described in great detail in the travel-book of Reinhold Lubenau who stayed in Turkey from 1587 to 1589. The passage is here repeated for its relevance to Rubens's costume:[1]

"Uber den Hosen oben auf dem Leib tregt si ein schon durchscheinendt Hambde von Seide . . . Ein Theil lassen das Haar umbs Gesicht hangen . . . Sie gehen alle auf Holtzschuen, so schon gemahlet . . . Uber dem Hembde tragen

ein geftept seiden Leibröcklein ... ein Heublein von Goldt ... hinter der-
selben einen Puschen schwartzer Reigerfedern ... Sie hatte Halsbender, Arm-
bender und Fusbender und trugk eine grose, guldene Pantzerketten, die quer
umbs Leib." (She wears a beautiful, transparent chemise of silk over the
trousers and the upper part of the body ... Some of them let their hair hang
down on either side of the face ... All walk on beautifully painted wooden
shoes ... Over the chemise they wear a quilted silk tunic ... a cap of gold
... behind which a bunch of black heron feathers ... She had necklaces,
bracelets and anklets and wore a big, golden chain across the body.)

The figure is neither included in the Jerusalem manuscript which was pub-
lished by Kurz and Kurz as the source for the majority of Rubens's Turkish
coftumes, nor in the almoft identical volume which belongs to the art collections
of the Vefte Coburg (cf. Nos. 34, 35, 37 and 38). It was probably copied from
yet a different coftume-book which included Turkish as well as Arabic dresses,
as is evident from the sheet having once formed a double folio with No. 36
(Fig. 192) which contains ftudies of an Arabic couple and a Turkish woman.
This can be deduced from the drawing of a little head, part of which appears
on each folio. It is, in faft, the same head as that of the woman on this folio.
Rubens firft drew the three full-length figures on f° 36, then, realizing that
the figure of the young Turkish woman on her high sandals would not fit in the
space provided, he turned the sketch-book 90° and drew it perpendicular to the
other figures. The colour of the ink (slightly darker than the Turkish coftumes
on f°ˢ 34, 35, 37 and 38) and the uniformly Flemish captions (the other
Turkish coftumes are headed in Italian) suggeft that all four drawings were done
at the same time and from the same source. (The Arabic and Persian coftumes
on f°ˢ 39 and 40 are also drawn in the slightly darker ink and are headed in
Flemish, facts which seem to point to the same source.) A similarly dressed lady
in a tight-fitting bodice with a broad belt, a transparent skirt and trousers and
high, wooden sandals, carrying a bunch of feathers in one hand, is among the
illuftrations in a French mid-seventeenth-century book of Turkish female cos-
tumes (Fig. 181).[2]

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[1] R. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen,* ed. by W. Sahm, 1 (*Mitteilungen aus der Stadt-
bibliothek zu Königsberg in Preussen,* IV–V), Königsberg, 1914, p. 281, as quoted in
*Kurz and Kurz,* p. 276.

[2] Georges de la Chapelle, *Recvel de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte
dv grand Tvrc,* Paris, 1648, pl. 8.

**34.** TWO FULL-LENGTH FIGURES OF WOMEN FROM TURKEY (Fig. 182)

Single folio; watermark: near *Briquet*, Nos. 9320–29; pen and brown ink; 205 : 175 mm.; captions in Italian, notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Sposa: gout vol geſteenten* (gold, full of ſtones, pointing to the cap), *goude draijen ofte netteken* (gold wire or netting, pointing to what looks like hair), *root* (four times, on the dress), *dun lampers* (transparent cloth, pointing to the apron-like kerchief), *gulden riem vol geſteenten* (golden belt full of ſtones); (B) *Villanella: wit* (three times, pointing to the veil, on the sleeve and on the gown), *root* (on the under-dress), *rot* (on the shoe).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (34); *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Müller Hofſtede, Rubens und Tizian*, p. 83, note 25; *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 277, fig. 2.

The women are seen in three-quarter view turned left. They represent non-Turkish women from Turkey. As pointed out by Kurz and Kurz, in the early coſtume-books 'Turkish coſtumes' meant not only the coſtumes worn by the Turks in the ſtrict sense of the word, but the picturesque garments worn by the various minorities in the Turkish empire, such as Latin and Greek Chriſtians (as on this folio), Persians, Arabs or Jews. All of these appear on the following pages of the *Coſtume Book*. The folios published by Kurz and Kurz include knowledgeable descriptions of their ranks and coſtumes which are here briefly repeated.

Rubens's *Sposa* in her diſtinctly European clothes looks more Italian than Oriental. She is the wife of a diplomat or merchant from Pera, one of the European communities of Iſtanbul. Her pleated dress is open in front to show the cloth of the underdress; her hands are covered by a triangular apron-like kerchief of transparent fabric. On her head she wears a golden crown decorated with precious ſtones and inſtead of her natural hair, thin gold-wires fall over her shoulders. Jewels are placed around her neck and on her belt. In contraſt to her Rubens drew on the right a plainly-clad country woman *(villanella)* with her hood, neck-cloth and basket of eggs. (Rubens omitted the eggs, but they are visible in the model.) She is one of those Greek women from Asia Minor who made a living at Iſtanbul by selling eggs, chicken and cheese.[1]

The source for these coſtume ſtudies as well as those on f[os] 35, 37 and 38 is a volume with watercolour drawings of Turkish coſtumes in the L.A. Mayer Memorial at Jerusalem, as discovered and published by Kurz and Kurz. It was compiled in 1587 by a European artiſt working at Conſtantinople.[2] Rubens did

not copy from it directly, but rather from one of its replicas. It is more than likely that the anonymous artist of the Jerusalem manuscript produced a number of such copies. They would have found a ready market in sixteenth-century Europe, which showed enormous interest in everything Turkish.[3] One of these replicas belongs to the art collections of the Veste Coburg.[4] Illustrations from it are here reproduced with some comparative examples from the Jerusalem album, because the Coburg volume contains one figure not included in the Jerusalem manuscript (see No. 38 (D)) and because personal inspection of the Coburg manuscript yielded the result that in most cases its colours correspond with Rubens's notations.[5] However, Rubens's captions which differ from both manuscripts indicate that he copied neither but used yet another version.[6] The models for this folio are illustrated in Figs. 183–186.

The European character of these costumes, especially that on the left, led Müller Hofstede to suggest that they were done directly from models in Italy. This has been proven wrong. Furthermore, I disagree with the date implied in such a statement. As discussed before (p. 49), I believe that all of Rubens's Near Eastern costume studies were done after his return from Italy.

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[1] The Jerusalem codex describes her as Greek (Fig. 186), the Coburg volume as a woman from Karamania (Fig. 184).

[2] For a more detailed description, see *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 275.

[3] Throughout their excellent discussion of Rubens's Turkish dresses and their models Kurz and Kurz refer to similar illustrations in other sixteenth-century costume-books which may have influenced the artist of the Jerusalem codex, especially those in the famous travel book of Nicolas de Nicolay, *Les quatre premiers livres des navigations et peregrinations orientales*, Lyons, 1567. The authors stress the fact that Rubens did not copy directly from Nicolay, as was suggested by Held, but followed costume versions which were inspired by Nicolay. To the numerous examples listed by *Kurz and Kurz* (p. 288, note 6) can be added the following: for Rubens's *Sposa*, cf. *De Bruyn, 1577*, p. 33 and Lucas de Heere, *Théatre ...*, f° 113; for the *Villanella*, cf. *Weigel, 1577*, pl. CCVI; *De Bruyn, 1577*, p. 47; Lucas de Heere, *Théatre ...*, f° 114.

[4] Inv. No. Hz. 12. For a description, see A. Haemmerle and O. Hirsch, *Buntpapier*, Munich, 1961, p. 40. The date given there, *c.* 1580, can now be stated more accurately as 1587 or shortly thereafter.

[5] There are some minor variations, such as dark blue described by Rubens as brown-blue (see cloak of No. 35 (D); Fig. 187) and pink described as red (see, e.g., cap. of No. 37 (L); Fig. 193). But there are also discrepancies. On f°ˢ 37 (Fig. 193) and 38 (Fig. 214) most of those parts of the dresses which Rubens describes as blue are actually green in the Coburg volume, and Rubens's grey is shown as brown.

[6] The captions in the Coburg manuscript are in Turkish (Latin alphabet), while the Jerusalem codex and Rubens's drawings are inscribed in Italian. Professors Otto Kurz and Paul Wittek, who kindly advised me on these questions, consider it likely that the

drawings were sold to European visitors without any captions. (Indeed, several of the figures in the Coburg volume lack inscriptions.) These were added later after consult-ation with someone who was able to supply such information, a procedure which would explain the discrepancies among the inscriptions which appear in the various costume-books, as well as the variety of languages. Rubens probably used a book with Italian captions such as the Jerusalem codex, from which his designations, however, vary. Turkish inscriptions as found in the Coburg volume are unusual. According to Professor Wittek, the language of the Coburg manuscript, which is often grammatically incorrect, points to a Levantine, the script to an Italian origin. It is likely that the text was dictated by a Levantine to an Italian scribe. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Professor Wittek and Professor Ménage for their help with the Turkish translations.

**35.** FOUR FIGURES IN ORIENTAL DRESS (Fig. 187)

Single folio; no watermark; pen and brown ink; 204 : 317 mm.; cut at right; captions in Italian, notes in Flemish and Italian.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *moro gentilhuomo: scuro beretum o pavonazzo* (dark cloak or purple, pointing to the hood; *beretum* not only refers to the hood, but to the entire cloak, cf. inscription on the cloak. It probably should read *beretta*, i.e., the diminutive of Latin *birrus*, a cloak to keep off the rain), *bianco* (three times, on the cap, pointing to the sleeve and on the skirt), *scuro beretum* (on the cloak), *negro* (pointing to the face), *ignudo* (on the leg), *roso* (on the shoe); (B) *Patriarce* (?): *blaw* (twice), *swart, blaw* (twice, all pointing to the hat), *swart* (pointing to the streamers), *blaw* (on the collar), *ros color deperoza* (on the cloak), *blaw, rot* and *blaw* (pointing to the stripes of the cloak), *color deperoza* (on the right outside corner of the cloak), *blau* (?) (on the right inside corner of the cloak), *blaw* (on the left inside corner of the cloak), *swart* (on the skirt), *Crux aurea, den geheelen hoet swart* (the entire hat black, probably meaning the underside of the hat and the streamers); (C) *Calorro: swart* (pointing to the head-dress), *color deperoza* (twice, on the cloak and on the sleeve), *swart* (on the undergarment); (D) *D[onna]* (above, on the left of the figure), *Donna* (below the figure): *wit* (twice, pointing to the head-dress and on the veil), *collant* (pointing to the neckband), *licht blauw* (light blue, twice, on the sleeve and on the skirt), *bando doro* (pointing to the bracelet), *purper* (on the belt), *blauw* and *bruin* (on the cloak), *root* (on the shoe).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (35), pl. XXI; *Kurz and Kurz*, pp. 277–279, fig. 5.

All four figures are seen slightly turned left. Three of them are shown in full-length, one is left incomplete. As on the previous folio, the costumes are those of non-Turkish inhabitants of Istanbul. They can be found in the Coburg manuscript on pp. 156, 168, 7 and 170, respectively (Figs. 188–191).

On the left appears a Moorish warrior (inscribed *Arape*, i.e., negro, in the Coburg manuscript). One side of his hooded cloak is folded over his shoulder revealing a knee-length shirt and a curved sword. Rubens indicated his dark skin by writing *negro* against his face. Next to him we see two members of the Greek clergy. One is the patriarch of Constantinople with his tau-shaped staff and felt hat braided with a blue cross,[1] the other a Greek monk carrying a book under his arm.[2] The last figure is a lady with a facial veil with two round holes for the eyes. Over her plain, belted gown is draped a broad sash. In the Jerusalem codex she is described as *Donna Persiana*,[3] but in the Coburg manuscript as a woman from Egypt *(Misserden Abreth)*.[4]

[1] The cross is described as golden by Kurz and Kurz (p. 279). However, it is blue in the Coburg drawing and noted as such by Rubens. See also Salomon Schweiger, *Ein newe Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem*, Nürnberg, 1608 (facsimile reprint Graz, 1964), p. 214, with similar woodcut and following descriptive text: "Bey der Predig braucht er [der Patriarch] kein sonderliche oder andere Kirchenkleidung, dann allein sein Münchkappen, an statt des violblauen Huts, mit einem liechtblawen sammeten Creutz ..." (During the sermon he [the patriarch] does not have to wear special vestments except his monk's cap instead of the violet coloured hat with a light blue cross of velvet).

[2] Rubens's inscription *Calorro* probably should read Καλογηρος, a title commonly given to monks in Byzantine Greek (cf. *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 279).

[3] See *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 280, fig. 9.

[4] To the similar illustrations found in other costume-books listed in *Kurz and Kurz* (p. 288, notes 10–11) can be added the following: for (A) cf. *De Bruyn, 1577*, p. 39 (as *Arabs habitu gentili*) and *Bertelli, 1594*, I, pl. 95; for (B) cf. *De Bruyn, 1577*, p. 43 (as *Christianus Patriarcha Constantinopolitano*, shown with pastoral staff in place of the tau-shaped one); *Weigel, 1577*, pl. CLXXXV (as *Patriarcha Christianorum Graecorum Constantinopolitani*); *Bertelli, 1594*, I, pl. 77.

**36.** THREE FULL-LENGTH FIGURES IN ORIENTAL DRESS AND THE TOP OF ONE HEAD
(Fig. 192)

Single folio; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 7703; pen and brown ink; 217 : 298 mm.; traces of horizontal fold above lower edge; cut at top; captions and notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Arabischen heer* (Arabic gentleman): *Witten turban* (white turban), *geel bruijn tronie* (yellow-brown face), *zwart doeck* (pointing to the shawl-like cloth around face and neck), *gel* (pointing to the veil hanging from the turban), *geel* (twice, on the undershirt), *silver* (pointing to the handle of the dagger), *gout* (twice, pointing

to and on the sheath of the dagger), *Tannaet* (?) (tan, describing the belt), *root* (twice, on the cloak), *wit doeck* (on the shirtsleeve), *root* and *spellewerk* ('red' and 'lacework') pointing to the edge of the sleeve), *wit* (on the trousers), *root* (on the shoe); (B) *Arabische Vrouw* (Arabic woman): *swart* (pointing to the top of her head), *root* (three times, pointing to the head-band and neck-facing of the gown), *swart* (pointing to the shawl around her face and neck), *bruyn tronie* (brown face, pointing to her face); (C) *Turcksche Vrouw op ſtraete* (Turkish woman in the ſtreet): *swart* (pointing to the eye-shade), *wit lampers* (white, transparent cloth, on her head), *root, blau* and *wit* (on her sleeve), *swart groen* (on her skirt), *blauw* (on the lining of her dress), *gelijk die mouw* (as the sleeve, pointing to the trousers), *geel* (on the foot), *root* (pointing to the shoe).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (36) and p. 160, correction to p. 44 (36); *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163.

According to Rubens's inscriptions the figures represent an Arabic couple (A and B) and a Turkish woman in ſtreet clothes (C). The fierce-looking, black-bearded man wears a turban with hanging end-piece at the back and a black neck shawl. Above a knee-length shirt and baggy trousers he wears a short-sleeved coat open in front. In his right hand he carries a dagger. The woman next to him is dressed in a loose gown with very wide sleeves of which the left one is rolled up to expose the naked arm. A shawl is draped around her head and neck and a narrow band placed across the forehead. Rubens particularly noted the couple's olive-coloured skin by writing 'yellow-brown' or 'brown' against their faces. The Turkish woman is completely covered by a long gown, an undershirt which conceals her arms, a pair of trousers and a veil draped over head and face. Even her hands are hidden in pockets in the front of her skirt. A shade of transparent fabric is placed over her eyes.

The models for these figures are not known to me. There is no counterpart for the Turkish woman in the Jerusalem or Coburg manuscripts. However, similar figures can be found in several other coſtume-books, e.g., Nicolas de Nicolay's famous travelbook (Lyons, 1568, p. 76),[1] Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (pl. CCVIII) and Cesare Vecellio's and Pietro Bertelli's coſtume-books.[2] For the Arabic coſtumes I have not been able to find any parallels.

As discussed under No. 33, the two sheets once formed a double folio. This can be seen from the top of the little head on the bottom of this sheet which is continued on f° 33 (Fig. 180). Traces of a horizontal fold immediately above the lower edge of the present single folio indicate where the double sheet was once folded.

1 See also *Held* (*loc. cit.*), who refers to the German edition of 1572.
2 C. Vecellio, *Degli Habiti antichi et moderni di Diuerse Parti del Mondo*, Venice, 1590, p. 389ᵛ and *Bertelli, 1594*, I, pl. 82.

## 37. FOURTEEN MALE FIGURES FROM TURKEY (Fig. 193)

Double folio, folded horizontally in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, No. 7867 (on the top part of the sheet, the bottom bearing a mark that possibly represents a monogram, cf. Nos. 2, 15, 18, 19, 27 and 28); pen and brown ink; 414 : 321 mm.; water-stains upper left and lower right, several smudges along the right edge; cut at top, bottom and left; captions in Italian, notes in Flemish and Italian.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *blaw strep* (blue stripe) and *grauw* (pointing to the cap), *w[it]* (pointing to the earring), *graw* (on the coat); (B) *wit* (pointing to the hat), *geel met root gerant ende met roode strepen* (yellow with red edges and with red stripes, pointing to the edge of the hat), *geel* and *root* (on the hat), *purper* (on the coat); (C) *blauw* (pointing to the turban), *purper* and *bont* (on the cloak), *blaw* (twice, on the under-gown); (D) *Mufti: blauw* (pointing to the top of the turban), *wit* (on the turban), *blauw* (on the cloak), *bruyn bont* (on the edge of the cloak), *purpe* (on the undersleeve); (E) *Gianetzaro: geel, root* and *blauw* (twice, on the feathers), *gout geamaghert* (gold amalgamated, pointing to the tube on the hat), *witte mutse* (white cap, pointing to the cap), *root* (pointing to the collar), *purper* (on the coat), *root* (three times, on the belt and pointing to the leg); (F) *root* (twice, on the coat), *geel* (on the sleeve), *wit* (on the skirt), *root* (on the leg), *geel* (on the shoe); (G) *root* and *ros bont* (pointing to the cap), *wit bont* (on the collar), *root* (on the top of the underdress), *purper* (on the cloak); (H) *rosso* (pointing to the cap), *negro* (pointing to the face), *Turqui* (pointing to the sleeve), *rosso* (pointing to the trousers), *giallo* (pointing to the shoe), *verd* and *roso* (pointing to the edge of the sash), *roso* (pointing to the collar); (I) *roso* (twice, pointing to the cap and the collar), *azur* (on the shoulder); (J) *Azur* (pointing to the hat), *roso* (pointing to the collar), *azur* (on the shoulder); (K) *wit, gout* (twice) *en root* (on the entire cap and feathers), *swart* and *gout* (pointing to the little bunch of feathers); (L) *paggio del Sarayl: gout* (twice, pointing to the tube and on the cap), *roede strepe* and *root flouwel* ('red stripes' and 'red velvet', pointing to the cap); (M) *Delli: Ale d'aquila* (the wing of an eagle, pointing to the feathers), *specchio* and *orlo doro* ('mirror' and 'golden edge', pointing to the mirror), from here on downwards: *oro, pello castagna tal volta de Tigre o leopardo* (the fur chestnut coloured, sometimes of tiger or leopard); (N) *Delli: giallo* (pointing to the feather), *rosso* (twice, pointing to the top of the head and to the collar), *Turque* (three times, describing the coat), *pello de pardo* (pointing to the fur), *rosso* (three times, on the cuff, the belt and the leg), *giallo* (on the shoe).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (37) and p. 160, correction to p. 44 (37); *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Kurz and Kurz*, pp. 279–283, fig. 10.

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+-----------------------------------------------+
|     |     |     |     |     |
|  A  |  B  |  C  |  D  |  E  |
|     |     |     |     |     |
+-----+-----+-----------------------------------+
|           |                                   |
|     F     |                                   |
|           |              G                    |
|           |                                   |
+-----------+-----+-----+---------+-------------+
|           |     |     |         |             |
|     H     |  I  |  J  |         |             |
|           |     +-----+         |             |
|           |     |     |         |             |
|           |     |  K  |    M    |      N      |
|           |     +-----+         |             |
|           |     |     |         |             |
|           |     |  L  |         |             |
+-----------+-----+-----+---------+-------------+
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The sheet is entirely filled with male figures from Turkey represented in all
varieties of lengths from full-length to heads only. Some of the figures
extend over the centre fold, and many are overlapping. The models for these
copies can be found in the Jerusalem as well as in the Coburg manuscript
(Figs. 194–213). There they are represented as full-length figures from which
Rubens often copied head or bust only.

In the upper left we see a man with a conical cap, an earring in his left ear
and a Koran under his arm (A). From the Jerusalem and Coburg manuscripts
we learn that he is a dervish. The earring distinguishes him as of the Bektashi
sect (Fig. 198).[1] The man next to him (B) wears a cap with an oblong piece
falling down the back. He is, as the Jerusalem codex informs us, the captain
of the gate of the Seraglio (Fig. 196). In the Coburg album he is simply referred
to as *Capitschi*, i.e. *Kapiji*, a door keeper (Fig. 194). The turbaned man to his
right (C) with the Koran in his left hand is the head of the descendants of the
Prophet Muhammed who were privileged to wear a green turban. He is ident-

ified as such in the Coburg and Jerusalem manuscripts (Figs. 195 and 197). The Jerusalem album (Fig. 197) even mentions his green turban which is, in fact, of that colour in the Coburg volume. However, Rubens's *blauw* written against the turban indicates that his model did not follow the prescribed colour. As mentioned earlier, in the version Rubens copied green was frequently substituted by blue. [2] Next to him Rubens drew a *Mufti* (D), as we learn from his inscription. He is an old man with a long beard and an enormous turban. Rubens omitted the piece of paper in his right hand which now grasps the belt, a gesture performed by the left hand in the model (Fig. 199). The last figure in the row represents a janissary (E) with his sword, musket and extremely long ostrich feathers on his cap. The corresponding figure in the Coburg album is illustrated in Fig. 200. In the second row we see a similarly clad soldier with a much smaller bunch of feathers on his cap and a bow over his shoulder (F). He is, as the Coburg manuscript informs us, a *Solachi,* or archer of the Imperial Guard (Fig. 201). The man further to the right (G) in a fur cap and furlined coat is an Armenian, as we learn from the Jerusalem codex (Fig. 204). [3]

On the lower part of the folio Rubens drew to the left the full-length figure of a negro boy (H). He wears a shaggy cap and a coat similar to that worn by the soldiers represented in (E) and (F). According to the Jerusalem manuscript he is the page of the *Kizlar Ağasi,* the chief eunuch of the Imperial Palace (Fig. 205). [4] Immediately next to him we see a head in a conical cap (I). It belongs to the *bostanci,* or gardener, who appears in the Coburg and Jerusalem volumes with his hoe (Figs. 206 and 208). [5] The man on the right, in a soft felt hat (J), is a gunner in the Turkish army, a *topaci,* as he is described in the Coburg (Fig. 207) and Jerusalem books. [6] Beneath him we see the bearded face and plumed cap of a janissary (K). He is, in fact, a *boluk-başi,* a captain of the janissaries who is shown on horseback in the two manuscripts (Fig. 209). [7] The head at the bottom (L) belongs to a young man with the cap of the janissaries, but with an undecorated tube on it and without any feathers. Rubens identified him as a *paggio del Sarayl.* In the Jerusalem codex he is called *Pagio del Bustangi Basan,* i.e. page of the chief gardener (Fig. 212) and in the Coburg album *Zeschnir Bassa* which could mean *çâşni-gîr başi,* the chief taster of the palace (Fig. 210). [8] The last two men represent *Deli,* the name given to a corps of irregulars from the Balkans. They were known for their bizarre costumes which also attracted Rubens's attention (Figs. 211 and 213). (M) wears a headgear consisting of a fur cap (Rubens informs us that it was sometimes of leopard

or tiger skin), surmounted by a mirror set between the wings of an eagle. In his left hand he carries an axe of crescent shape. In the Coburg manuscript this figure appears as a *levend,* an irregular soldier (Fig. 211). The dress of the other *Deli* is as extravagant as that of his companion. He wears a leopard's skin over his shoulders, carries a sword from his belt and a battle-axe in his left hand. A large feather is stuck into a slit made in the skin of his forehead (Fig. 213).[9]

Among the retinue of the black magus in the Madrid *Adoration*[10] is a man with a red, feathery cap identical to that worn by the negro boy on this folio (H, the cap is described as *rosso*). A direct influence should not be ruled out, especially since painting and drawing were probably done at approximately the same time.

[1] See *Kurz and Kurz,* p. 279; for the Jerusalem version of this figure see *ibid.,* p. 281, fig. 11.

[2] Cf. p. 155, note 5.

[3] The Coburg model has no inscription (Fig. 202).

[4] In the Cobourg manuscript he is referred to as *Ziaus Oglan,* i.e. *çavuş oglan,* page of a *çavuş* (Fig. 203). The *çavuş* had the duties of an usher, messenger or guard to the Sultan. In the West he is generally referred to as a pursuivant: H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *Islamic Society and the West,* i, part 1, Oxford, 1950, especially pp. 71 ff. and 349, 350.

[5] In the Coburg manuscript he is described as *Aziamoglan,* i.e. *acem oglan* (foreign boy). However, since the Sultan's gardeners were recruited from these boys, the distinction is more or less nominally (cf. *Kurz and Kurz,* p. 289, note 19).

[6] For the Jerusalem version see *ibid.,* p. 283, fig. 20.

[7] For the Jerusalem version see *ibid.,* p. 283, fig. 21.

[8] Cf. A.H. Lybyer, *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent (Harvard Historical Studies,* xviii), Cambridge, Mass., 1913, p. 245; H.A.R. Gibb and H. Bowen, *op. cit.,* pp. 86, 348, 349.

[9] To the numerous examples of illustrations found in the sixteenth-century costume-books which are similar to Rubens's figures, I would like to add the following to the list found in *Kurz and Kurz: de Bruyn, 1577,* pp. 37–40, 45 for Rubens's (B), (E), (F), (H), (I), (J), (K), (M) and (N); *Weigel, 1577,* pls. CXCIIII, CLXXXIX, CCI, CXCI and CXCVIII for Rubens's (B), (C), (H), (L) and (N); Lucas de Heere, *Théatre . . .,* f° 109 and *Bertelli, 1594,* I, pl. 88 for Rubens's (E).

[10] *K.d.K.,* p. 26.

## 38. EIGHT FEMALE FIGURES FROM TURKEY (Fig. 214)

Double folio, folded horizontally in centre; watermark: near *Briquet*, Nos. 9320–29; pen and brown ink; 411 : 318 mm.; cut at right; caption in Italian, notes in Flemish; pencilled note on upper mount by the same hand as on *verso* of fly-leaf: *Les Criminels Allant recueillir le poison de l'arbre nommé Bohon upa Dans un désert de Java.*

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *wit* (twice, pointing to the veil), *groen* (twice, on the coat), *root* (twice, on the undersleeve and on the dress), *wit* (twice, on the hem of the dress and on the corner of the petticoat), *geel* (on the boot); (B) *root gront met goude ruyten* (red background with golden chequers, pointing to the umbrella), *goude snoeren met quispels* (gold strings with tassels, pointing to the tassels), *geel* (on the edge of the umbrella), *blauw* (on the edge of the vessel being carried on the head and covered by the umbrella), *root* (twice, on the coat), *blaw* (twice, on the sleeve and on the dress), *wit* (on the corner of the petticoat), *root* (on the boot); (C) *wit* (on the veil), *swart* (pointing to the eye-shade), *root* (on the sleeve of the dress), *violet* (on the coat); (D) *wit* (pointing to the edge of the cap), *gout met gesteenten* (gold with stones, pointing to the cap), *geel* (twice, on the coat), *wit* (twice, on the cuffs of the underdress), *nakt* (naked, pointing to the left wrist), *root* (on the belt), *root voering* (?) (red lining, on the corner of the coat), *groen* (on the edge of the lining), *Tapijt* (on the carpet), *de punten van de teenen ende de nagels van de handen en voeten root gheverft* (the points of the toes and the finger- and toe-nails painted red, at the right side of the figure in darker ink but in Rubens's hand); (E) *swart haer* (black hair, pointing to the hair), *geel* (on the bodice), *wit* (on the sleeve), *licht ros met roode purpe ende blawe strepen* (light russet with reddish-purple and blue stripes, on the skirt); (F) *wit* (on the veil), *violet* (on the coat), *root* (on the dress); (G) *Sultana: alderleye gesteenten* (all sorts of stones, pointing to the cap), . . . (?) (next to the bunch of feathers), *gront gout met rot gesmalteert* (gold background with red enamel, pointing to the cap), *gout laken met groen ende roij bloemen* (gold cloth with green and red flowers, pointing to the coat), *root flouwell met goude punte* (red velvet with golden spots, pointing to the undersleeve), *geslach bont* (cuff of fur), *groen* (twice) and *root* and *ro[ot]* (on the coat), *ende gout de bloemen* (and the flowers golden, pointing to the coat), *Ta* . . . (?) *met gulde manen geborduert* (. . . (?) embroidered with golden moons, on the skirt of the dress), *goude schoen met root gerant en vol gesteenten* (golden shoes edged in red and decorated with stones); (H) *wit* and *gout* (pointing to the cap), *geel* pointing to the coat), *blaw* (twice, on the belt and on the sleeve).

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977*, No. 8 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (38); *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Kurz and Kurz*, pp. 284–287, fig. 25.

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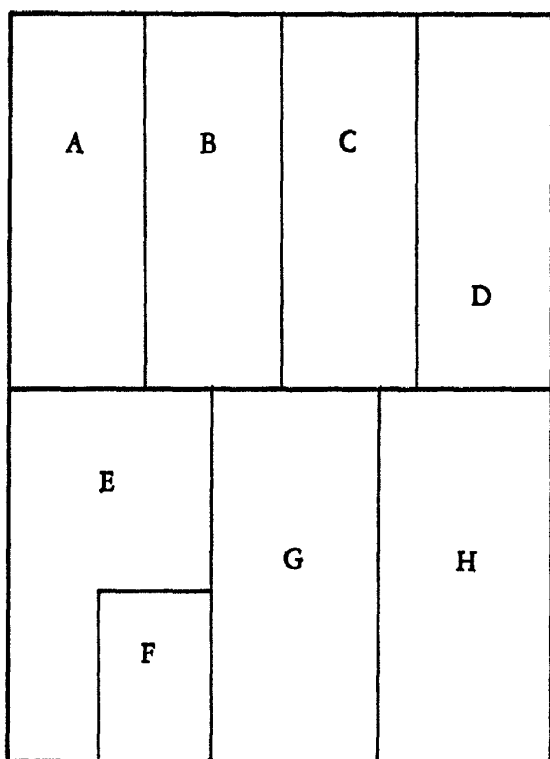
Unlike most of the double folios (cf. Nos. 26, 28–32, 37 and 39), the sheet is divided into two distinct halves by the centre fold (see also Nos. 2, 27 and 40). While on f⁰ˢ 2 and 27 Rubens succeeded in fitting his figures into the space thus provided, on this folio the bunch of feathers on the cap of the *Sultana* is cut off by the fold. [1] Complementing the previous folio with its male figures, this sheet is reserved for female costumes only (not Javanese prisoners, a suggestion made by Hind based on the note on the mount).

Models for all figures can be found in the Coburg manuscript (Figs. 215, 216, 219, 221 and 222). On the upper half we see three veiled women going to the bath. An old woman with a stick leads the procession. She is followed by a slave who carries a vessel covered with an umbrella-like structure of precious cloth edged with a fringe and tassels of golden silk. On the left of this figure Rubens drew separately and on a larger scale part of this fringe. The third figure is a lady being thus accompanied. The scene is an abbreviated copy of the more elaborate pictures in the Jerusalem and Coburg manuscripts which include a little boy and a girl as well as a woman carrying a child on her shoulder

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(Fig. 221).[2] The lady on the right (D) who is shown sitting cross-legged on a carpet has no counterpart in the Jerusalem codex, but this may be mere chance. She is, indeed, included in the Coburg manuscript (Fig. 222).

The first figure on the lower half (E), with the castanets, is a gipsy, as we learn from the Jerusalem volume (Fig. 217). Rubens's figure is actually closer to the Jerusalem than the Coburg version of this illustration (Fig. 215; compare position of castanets in the left hand). However, the stripes on the skirt which are absent in both manuscripts support the assumption that Rubens made his copies from yet another version of the Turkish costume-book. The woman with a veil over her head (F) is described in the Jerusalem codex as a Jewess (Fig. 218) and in the Coburg album as a Greek (Fig. 216). Her dress is, in fact, not unlike that worn by the Greek country woman *(Villanella)* on f° 34 (Fig. 182).[3] The last two figures (G and H) represent a *sultana* and her slave girl (Fig. 219). A Turkish note on the illustration in the Jerusalem codex reads: "It is a princess (sultana) as they go for a walk with their Agha." (Fig. 220).[4] Rubens was particularly interested in the sumptuous dress of the *sultana* whose careful rendering is supplemented by many detailed descriptive notes. The costume of the slave girl is almost identical to that of the seated woman above her.

[1] For a similar occurence, see also No. 40 (Fig. 225). For a possible explanation of this process, see p. 47.

[2] For the Jerusalem version of this scene, see *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 285, fig. 26. For other sixteenth-century descriptions of this scene, literary as well as visual, see *ibid.*, pp. 284, 285 and *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163.

[3] She is alternately described as Jewish or Greek in other sixteenth-century sources, cf. *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 290, note 33, with reference to a manuscript where she appears as a Jewess and *Weigel, 1577*, pl. CCXI, where she is described as MVLIER GRAECA CON-STANTINopolitana. In *De Bruyn, 1577*, p. 46, she is referred to as *Ianizeri uxor apud Constantinopolitanos.*

[4] See *Kurz and Kurz*, p. 287. The black eunuch who completes the scene in the Jerusalem codex is missing in the Coburg version (Fig. 219) and was also omitted by Rubens.

## 39. FIVE FIGURES IN ORIENTAL DRESS (Fig. 224)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 7703; pen and brown ink; 304 : 387 mm.; cut at top; captions and notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Arabische Jouffrouw* (Arabic young woman): *swart* (twice, pointing to the hood), *root* (twice, on the head-band), *wit* and *root* (on the collar of the hood), *root* (pointing to the edge of the circle at the end of the braid), *blau* (in the centre of the circle), *swart* (three times, on the dress), *naeckt* (on the left hip), *root* and *gel*

(pointing to the tassels of the belt), *geel* (pointing to the band around the left ankle), *de handen en armen beschildert met blaw en swarte varwe* (the hands and arms painted with blue and black paint, pointing to the right arm), *die voet ooc beschildert* (the foot also painted, next to the left foot); (B) *Arabisch Vrybuyter* (Arabic pirate); *den Capruyen peck swart* (the cap pitch black), *swarte Îrepen op witte gront* (black Îtripes on white ground, pointing to the cloak), *vuyl wit* (dirty white, on the sleeve), *geel sadel* (yellow saddle, pointing to the saddle), *vuyl wit* (dirty white, on the trousers), *den tuych alroot* (the harness all red, pointing to the bridle), *die tronie binaeÎ swart* (the face almoÎt black); (C) *Edel persian* (Noble Persian): *bot grauw en swarte pluymen* (bunch of grey and black feathers), *w[it] and wit* (on the turban), *wit and gout* (on the piece of fabric hanging from the turban), *die banden met diversche colueren* (the ribbons of various colours, pointing to the ribbons on the turban), *gout* (pointing to the earring), *geel* (on the sleeve), *blauw met witte bloemen* (blue with white flowers, on the jacket), *roo[t] broeck* (red trousers), *geel schoen* (yellow shoe); (D) no inscriptions; (E) *Koninck van Persia ter Jacht* (King of Persia hunting): *gout* (pointing to the turban), *root met goude blom* (red with golden flowers, on the shirt), *Turcks werck met alderley coleuren en gout* (Turkish workings with various colours and gold, pointing to the saddle), *gout* and *gout vol geÎteenten* (gold and gold full of Îtones, on the quiver), *purper met goude bloemen* (purple with golden flowers, on the trousers), *gout* (on the front of the saddle), *violet* (on the saddle cloth).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (39) and p. 160, correction to p. 44 (39), pl. XXI; *Held*, I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Ingrams*, p. 193, fig. 29.
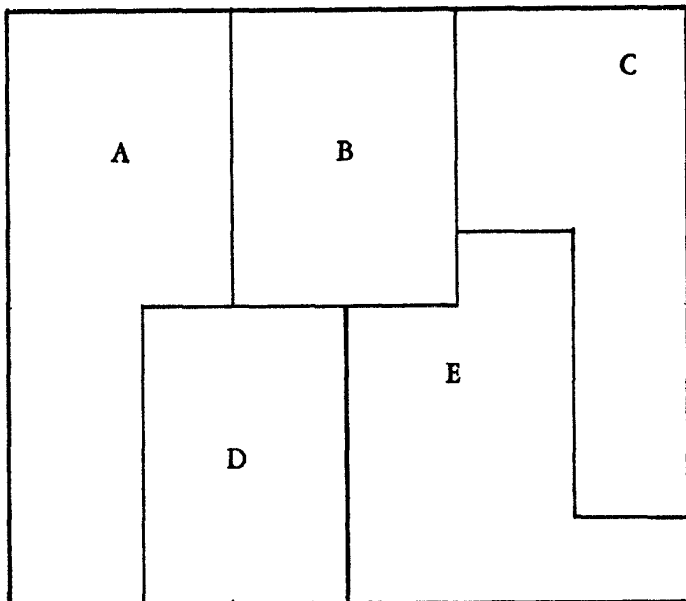
On the left appears the full-length figure of a young Arabic woman. She wears a loose gown whose wide side-openings permit us to see part of her naked body. Her head and neck are covered with a hood from which hang two artificial braids. Two black curls of her natural hair are visible on either side of her face. As Rubens specifically noted, her naked arms and feet are painted. A similar figure is included in a collection of women's costumes engraved by Balthazar Moncornet, there described as *Femme Indienne allant par la Ville* (Fig. 223).[1] It was perhaps inspired by the same model as Rubens's figure. Next to her, on the right, we see another figure in Arabic costume: a pirate on horseback (B). He is dressed in a pointed hood, a loose shirt and trousers; his feet are naked. In his right hand he carries a lance. While the man and his dress are carefully drawn and annotated, the horse is quickly sketched, its left foreleg merely indicated by two lines. The remaining three figures are represented in Persian dress. The man on the right (C) with the enormous plumed turban is described as a Persian nobleman.[2] Below him we see a young nobleman on horseback entitled *Koninck van Persia ter Jacht* (E). This figure is a familiar type in Persian miniatures of the sixteenth century.[3] On the left of the rider Rubens drew a musician, seated on the ground playing a panpipe (D). The figure is rapidly sketched and lacks all costume notations. A similar figure in upright position appears in a Persian drawing of *Dancing Dervishes* reproduced by Ingrams.[4]

The models for these sketches are not known to me. I consider it likely that they were copied from a costume-book. I believe that this also applies to the Persian dresses whose captions point to such a source rather than to Islamic miniatures, as suggested by Ingrams. It is unlikely that Rubens extracted his figures from miniatures and then added such titles as *Koninck van Persia ter Jacht* (see (E) on this folio) and *Persiaensche Jonghe dochter* (see No. 40 (D)). While it is not inconceivable for him to have invented such captions as 'Persian on the Hunt', or 'Persian Young Woman' it is unlikely that he would have entitled the nobleman on horseback a 'King' and the young woman a 'Daughter', unless these titles were supplied by his source. It is precisely such inscriptions which we find in costume-books. Therefore I agree with Julius Held who, quoting the opinion of Dr. R. Ettinghausen, considers it likely that Rubens based his designs on the records of a Western traveller, probably of Flemish origin, since Rubens's captions are in that language.[5] As discussed under No. 33, the Persian, Arabic and two of the Turkish dresses (No. 33 and No. 36 (C))

were probably all copied from the same source. Although there are no parallels to be found in any of the well-known sixteenth-century costume-books (as already observed by Ingrams), this does not exclude the possibility that such a collection existed.

1 *Livre curieux contenant la naifve représentation des habits des femmes*, Paris, 1662, pl. 17.
2 Ingrams confuses Rubens's captions and wrongly identifies this figure as *Koninck van Persia*, an inscription which refers to the man on horseback below (E). Furthermore, I do not believe that (C) represents a dervish. The costume, especially the plumed turban, does not correspond to the rather simple dress of the dervishes: cf. J.P. Brown, *The Dervishes*, London, 1927, pp. 57–62.
3 Cf. *Ingrams*, fig. 31 and British Museum, Or. 1359, f° 163 b (rider in the centre on the right), both of the mid-sixteenth century and with different head-dresses. As Ingrams points out (pp. 190 and 193), Rubens's turbaned rider is of a later date, *c.* 1600. A similarly dressed horseman appears in a manuscript in the British Museum (Or. 2265), on a folio, however, which is of much later date (f° 203 b, dated 1675; reproduced in G.M. Meredith-Owens, *Persian Illustrated Manuscripts*, London, The British Museum, 1973, pl. XVI).
4 London, British Museum: *Ingrams*, p. 195, fig. 32.
5 We have seen that for his captions Rubens usually followed the language of his models (cf. copies after de Succa and the *Recueil d'Arras*), while for his notes he used a mixture of all the languages he was most familiar with.

40. FOUR FIGURES IN PERSIAN DRESS (Fig. 225)

Double folio, folded vertically in centre; watermark: *Briquet*, No. 7703; pen and brown ink; 308 : 387 mm.; cut at right; captions and notes in Flemish.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *groen* (pointing to the head-dress), *purper* (twice, on the gown), *root* (twice, on the shawl), *wit* (on the hem of the underdress); (B) *Coninck van Persia* (King of Persia): *blauw* and *gout* (pointing to the plume), *wit met goude strepen* (pointing to the top part of the turban), *Gout den gront met root en groen werk* (gold ground with red and green workings, pointing to the sash around the turban), *sabel* (pointing to the fur collar), *root* (twice, on the undershirt), *zee groen met goude blome* (sea-green with gold flowers, on the coat), *wit* (on the sash wound around the waist), *witte schoenen* (pointing to the shoes); (C) *blauw* (on the undershirt), *root gouwe laken* (on the coat); (D) *Persiaensche Jonghe dochter* (Persian young daughter): *gout* (pointing to the cap), from here counterclockwise as follows: *roo[t] strepen* and *gout* (pointing to the veil which hangs down from the cap), *de vingeren root geschildert* (the fingers painted red), *gout met root, gout* and *bruin blau flouweel met goude bloemen* (brown-blue velvet with golden flowers), *gout groen met blau* and *root werck op blaw* (red workings on bue, both pointing to the trousers), *witte schoen* (white shoe), *Turcks*

*werck met velderley coleuren* (Turkish workings with various colours, pointing to the skirt), *gout* and *root met goude blom* (on the gown), *gesmeden keten* (forged chain), *Spiegel* (mirror), *gout* (on the bodice, pointing to the band draped through the belt), *groen* (twice, on this same band), *blauw voeder* (blue lining, on the corner of the gown which is picked up by her right hand), *root, witt, groen, geel* and *blau* (on one of the stripes of her skirt).

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, p. 44, No. 119 (40), pl. XXI; *Held*, I, pp. 159, 160, No. 163; II, pls. 175 and 176; *Ingrams*, pp. 190–193, figs. 21 and 25; J. Kuznetsov, *Risunki Rubensa*, Moscow, 1974, fig. 49 (detail).

The figures are represented in full-length, two on each half of the folio. Only a sketchily indicated tree branch is drawn across the centre fold. On the left we see a young woman holding a flower in her left hand which she seems to present to a young nobleman seated beside her. She wears a simple gown whose right sleeve covers the hand completely. As pointed out by Ingrams, this was a common sign of respect. A shawl is draped over her arms. Around her hair is wound a head-band. The young nobleman next to her, seated on a rock in front of a ligthly indicated tree, is dressed in a fur-trimmed coat and a splendid turban decorated with a feather. In his right hand he holds a bow and arrows; a jewelled sword is placed between his knees.[1] A similarly dressed young man bending over a flower held in his right hand is seated beside him. Although most probably derived from two separate models, Rubens gave the scene a homogenous character. The last figure is of a young woman looking into a mirror which she holds up with her left hand. Careful costume annotations indicate that Rubens was particularly interested in her dress: a peaked cap decorated with a plume and a long veil hanging down the back whose end is brought forward and tucked into the belt and a tight-fitting tunic slit in the front with the elongated ends held up displaying an elaborately patterned petticoat and trousers. A similar dress, but not head-gear, can be found among the illustrations is Nicolas de Nicolay's travel-book, there described as the costume of a *Grande Dame Turque* (p. 66). On the left of her head Rubens drew the beginnings of another face which he then crossed out.

For possible models for these drawings see the previous entry, where I have suggested the probability of a costume-book having been used by Rubens. As Ingrams rightly points out, Rubens successfully captured the fashionable Persian moonface of the period, with its slight double chin, widely arching eyebrows and complacent gaze (see especially the two young men), a fact which, in her

view, supports Rubens's dependence on Persian miniatures. However, these features could also have been transmitted by Western records of Persia.

As noted by Held, Rubens's careful renderings of these costumes as well as the multitude of annotations imply that he must have been fascinated with the profusion of colours and the general splendour of the exotic dresses. It is, therefore, surprising that there is no trace in his extant work of these studies of oriental figures. [2] As with the Flemish and Burgundian dresses whose primary function seems to have been as models for the study of historical dress, the oriental costumes gave Rubens the possibility to familiarize himself with foreign and exotic garments, a process whose fruits he later incorporated into his many versions of the *Adoration of the Magi* as well as pictures like the *Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*, the Potsdam *Artemisia* (see p. 142, note 7) and some of the hunts with their number of exotically dressed Orientals. [3]

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[1] According to Ingrams, the placement of the sword is incorrect. As she believes that Rubens copied this figure from a Persian miniature, she concludes that this change must have been introduced by him. However, I do not believe that Rubens would have performed such a change and, therefore, consider it even more likely that he worked from a collection of costume studies made by a Western traveller who probably had been misinformed about some of the styles and fashions.

[2] The connection between the *Persiaensche Jonghe dochter* and the figure of Queen Tomyris in the Boston painting (*K.d.K.,* p. 175), as suggested by Ingrams (pp. 193 and 194), is unconvincing. A much closer parallel between Tomyris and one of Rubens's studies has been pointed out under No. 31.

[3] In this context should also be mentioned the portrait of Nicolas de Respaigne (Kassel, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie; *K.d.K.*, p. 174) and its reappearance in the Boston *Tomyris and Cyrus* and the Antwerp *Epiphany* (*K.d.K.*, p. 277). A specific interest in Persian costume is also demonstrated by Van Dyck's portraits of Robert Sherley and his wife (Petworth, Lord Leconfield; *K.d.K., Van Dyck*, pp. 510, 511), whose preparatory drawings in the British Museum recall his training in Rubens's studio and his acquaintance with the *Costume Book* (see *Ingrams*, p. 197).

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## 41. PHILIP I OF SPAIN (Fig. 226)

Fully mounted, watermark not visible; [1] pen and brown ink and brown wash; 305 : 190 mm.; cut at right; below on the right, mark of Frederick August II of Saxony (*L. 971*); caption in French and Latin, no colour or costume notes.

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.* Inv. No. 1949.5.14.1.

INSCRIPTION: *Philippe le bel Rex his[paniarum].* [2]

Philip the Fair is shown half turned to the right, his weight resting on his left leg, while the right leg is thrust forward. He wears the dress of a knight of the Golden Fleece, with the collar of the order round his neck. In his left hand he holds a long staff. The light is coming from the upper left, creating two patches of shadow on the right of the figure.

The source for this drawing is not known to me. The face bears no resemblance to the known portraits of Philip. With its firm jaw (a feature which is absent in all Philip portraits), slightly bulbous eyes and aquiline nose it might be described as a generalized image of the well-known Habsburg features. For the portrait type in general, see the manuscript illumination of Philip the Fair, attributed to Simon Bening, in a Book of Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Madrid. [3] Possible sources for Rubens's portrait as well as its companion piece discussed in No. 42 might have been drawings by Antonio de Succa which are now missing. In an inventory of portraits of the houses of Burgundy and Habsburg from Louis de Mâle to Albert and Isabella, de Succa also recorded the portraits of *phlppe le bel* and *Johannia d'Arragonia Castielie.* [4] The actual drawings, however, are not included in the present-day album.

Physically and stylistically the drawing is closely related to No. 42 (Fig. 227) with which it forms a pair, and to No. 3 (Fig. 19). It has been unanimously agreed that, together with No. 42, it once formed part of the original *Costume Book*. The sheets have been given the supplementary numbers 41 and 42, but have not been added to the present *Book*. Opinions on the date of these drawings have been expressed by Müller Hofstede (*c.* 1598–1600) and Stechow (after 1609). As discussed in connection with the dating of the entire *Costume Book*, I agree with the latter.

In the decorations for the triumphal entry of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, Rubens represented Philip the Fair twice on the *Arch of Philip:* (1) among the portraits beneath the wedding ceremony of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy

and (2) as bridegroom in the wedding between himself and Joanna Aragonia. While the latter representation bears no resemblance with the early drawing, the former, a fragment of which survives in a collection in Mexico,[5] shows Philip in a similar costume and pose.

[1] According to Burchard and d'Hulst, it is *Briquet*, No. 1367 or 1368. I have been unable to verify this.

[2] Philip I of Spain, called 'the Fair', son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy; born 1478, died 1506. For his wife, Joanna Aragonia, see No. 42.

[3] Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan; see M.J. Onghena, *De Iconografie van Philips de Schone* (*Mémoires, Académie royale de Belgique, Classe des Beaux-Arts*, X, No. 5), Brussels, 1959, pp. 187–189, No. 80, pl. XXIXb.

[4] *de Succa*, f° 60. This folio is not included in *Cat. de Succa*.

[5] Painted by C. de Vos after Rubens's design (Mexico, F. Gonzales de la Fuenta, Galerias "La Granja": *Martin, Pompa*, pp. 80, 81, No. 9, fig. 25).

## 42. JOANNA OF CASTILE (Fig. 227)

Fully mounted; watermark barely recognizable, probably *Briquet*, No. 1368; pen and brown ink and brown wash, heightened with white (partly oxidized) and yellow chalk; 307 : 189 mm.; cut at top and right; below on the right, mark of Frederick August II of Saxony (*L.,* 971); caption in Latin, notes in Flemish.

*London, Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.* Inv. No. 1949.5.14.2.

INSCRIPTIONS: *Johanna Aragonia Regina hispaniarum:*[1] *haer, gouden haer snoer* (golden hair band), *wit.*

PROVENANCE: Frederick August II of Saxony (1797–1854); Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden (Zweite Garnitur, as *Mathys van den Bergh*); acquired in 1949.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1977,* No. 10 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Held,* I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, p. 13, under No. 1; *Müller Hofstede, Rubens und Tizian,* pp. 35, fig. 2, 38 and p. 84, note 26; *Stechow, Portraits,* p. 31.

Joanna of Castile is represented half turned to the left, i.e., toward her husband, Philip the Fair, portrayed in No. 41 which forms a companion piece to this drawing. She wears a cloak with a long train and extremely wide sleeves over a long, flowing robe buttoned down the front. Her thick hair is dressed in a long

pigtail bound with a golden cord. On her left gloved hand she carries a hawk, while the right hand holds a bird's leg perhaps meant as food for the hawk. [2]

The model for this drawing is not known to me. The face is not unlike those seen in the portraits of the queen by Juan de Flandes (Thyssen Collection and Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), especially the high forehead, long face and nose and the wide-set, slanted eyes. [3] The original probably stems from Joanna's early years, possibly from the time of her wedding in 1496. This is suggested by the bound Spanish pigtail, a hairstyle fashionable in the latter fifteenth century. [4] Among de Succa's copies can be found a half-length portrait of Joanna where she is represented with a similar hairstyle. [5] It should be pointed out, however, that the plucked forehead and the long cloak and flowing robe worn by Joanna in Rubens's portrait are of much earlier date and may point to a different sitter altogether. [6]

When Rubens drew the figure of Joanna in her wedding scene on the rear face of the *Arch of Philip* he did not follow his early drawing, except perhaps that he remembered the lady's long plait bound with a jewelled cord. [7]

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[1] Joanna of Castile, called 'the Mad', Infanta of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, wife of Philip the Fair (see No. 41); born 1479, died 1555.

[2] I have not been able to establish any other meaning specifically related to falconry to this rather unusual representation. It is, however, possible that the bird's claw is that of a griffin and has heraldic significance.

[3] See G. Glück, *Bildnisse von Juan de Flandes*, 1931, reprinted in his *Aus drei Jahrhunderten europäischer Malerei*, Vienna, 1933, pp. 57–64, figs. 16 and 17. Glück, however, does not identify the sitter of the Thyssen portrait as Joanna the Mad, but rather as a younger sister.

[4] A similar style can be seen, for example, in the portraits of Beatrice Sforza on the *Pala Sforzesca* in Milan and of Bianca Maria Sforza, attributed to Ambrogio de' Predis, in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C. (see *Paintings and Sculpture from the Widener Collection*, Washington, 1959, pl. 13). The Sforzas were connected by marriage to the house of Aragon which ruled Naples at that time.

[5] *de Succa, f° 63.*

[6] Rubens may have been mistaken in his identification of the sitter who could possibly have been Joanna II, Queen of Naples (1371–1435): cf. V. Genovés, *Doña Juana de Aragón, la 'Triste Reina' de Nápoles,* Madrid, 1947.

[7] *Martin, Pompa,* fig. 32.

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**43.** CAROLUS, DUKE OF LOWER LORRAINE AND GERBERGA (Fig. 228)

Upper part of a larger sheet; watermark: *Briquet,* No. 1368; pen and brown ink; 140 : 206 mm.; with a flap of paper at the lower edge measuring approximately 13 : 40

mm.; below on the right, mark of the collection Marquis Charles de Valori (*L.* 2500); captions in Latin, notes in Flemish.

*New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.* Inv. No. Rogers Fund 61.54.1.

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Carolus F Ludovici Simplicie:* [1] *goude Strepen* (golden Stripes, pointing to the brim of the cap), *root* (pointing to the crown of the cap), *heel gout met perlen aen elck blat* (all gold with pearls on each leaf, pointing to the armour), *gout* (pointing to the shoulder cape), *blawe flouweel met goude lelien* (blue velvet with golden lilies, on the attached flap of paper, pointing to the sleeve); (B) *Gerberga:* [2] *van enckel gout ende perlen huyfwys ghevrocht* (entirely of solid gold and pearls, worked (bound) in the way of a coif, pointing to the head-dress), *gront van gout ghesteken, de bloeme root* (the ground of golden embroidery, the flowers red, also pointing to the head-dress), *wit met swart ghesteken* (white embroidered with black, pointing to the veil), *witte bray . . . (?)* (white fringe (?), pointing to the fringe of the shoulder-cape), *root* (on the cape), *goude laken* (on the gown), *gout* (on the sleeve).

PROVENANCE: Marquis Charles de Valori (Paris, 1820–1883); Wildenstein & Co., New York; acquired in 1961.

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Drawings*, Wildenstein, New York, 1951 (as *Flemish fifteenth century*).

LITERATURE: *Held, 1951,* p. 287, fig. 2; *Held,* I, p. 160, under No. 163; *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963,* I, p. 13, under No. 1.

The two figures are shown in half-length, in three-quarter view turned left. Both are dressed in fifteenth-century costumes. Carolus wears gloves and a cuirass of metal scales with an attached shoulder cape of dangling strips of golden cloth or metal over an undershirt decorated with *fleurs-de-lis.* His shoulder-length, wavy hair is covered by a cap with a round brim and full crown, a head-dress which derived from the medieval cowl (cf. p. 73, note 3). Gerberga is dressed in a long-sleeved gown and a cape open in front. Her hair and shoulders are covered with a veil over which is placed a heart-shaped coif ornamented with pearls, embroidered flowers and bands plaited into long loops on either side of her face.

The models for these drawings are unknown to me. Carolus appears in an almost identical dress (without the shoulder cape) in Barlandus's *Chronica* (Fig. 229). It is quite possible that Rubens copied his figure from the design for this print, executed by de Succa (Rubens's drawing is reversed from the

print). On the other hand, Rubens's figure of Gerberga is only distantly related to the print in Barlandus (Fig. 230) and could not have been derived from de Succa, unless the print varies considerably from its design which is, of course, possible (compare especially the head-dresses).

As suggested by Held and Burchard and d'Hulst, this fragment may once have formed part of a sheet in the *Costume Book*. It is closely related to the group of drawings Burchard and d'Hulst classified as Group II which includes the copies after de Succa. The flap of paper at the lower edge indicates that this fragment constituted the upper part of a sheet, the lower part of which may have been formed by No. 44 (see *ibid.*).

1 Carolus, Duke of Lower Lorraine, son of Louis IV, King of France; born 953, died 993/94 (*Isenburg-Loringhoven,* I, pl. 12; II, pl. 12.)
2 Either Carolus's mother, daughter of the German king Henry I (born 939, died 984) or his daughter (born *c.* 975, died after 1018).

**44.** HENRY OF LUXEMBOURG AND ONE OTHER MAN (Fig. 231)

Lower part of a larger sheet; watermark unidentified; pen and brown ink; 115 : 210 mm.; cut irregularly at top; below on the right, mark of the collection Eugène Rodrigues (*L.,* 897); caption in Latin, notes in Flemish.

*Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.*

INSCRIPTIONS: (A) *Henricus Luxemburgensis:* [1] *root* (pointing to the *chaperon*), *grauw brujn bont* (pointing to the collar), *wit damast* (pointing to the robe), *royt flouweel* (pointing to the sleeve); (B) *grauw bont* (pointing to the tassel on the cap), *grauw flouweel* (pointing to the crown of the cap), *peerlen en gout* (pointing to the brim of the cap), *swart wambuys* (black jacket), *bruyn bont* (pointing to the collar), *goude laken* (pointing to the sleeve).

PROVENANCE: Eugène Rodrigues (Paris, 1853–1928); Ludwig Burchard (Berlin and London, 1886–1960).

LITERATURE: *Burchard-d'Hulst,* 1963, I, pp. 14, 15, No. 2 and p. 13, under No. 1; II, pl. 2.

Both figures are shown facing half right. Henry of Luxembourg wears a fur-trimmed coat with sleeves slit at the elbows and a *chaperon* with hanging folds of cloth. A heavy chain passes from his left shoulder across his breast. With his

right hand he points to the man next to him, who is not identified (the caption was probably cut off). This person, who possibly represents a member of the house of Luxembourg, is dressed in a coat with a broad fur collar and a pointed cap with a hanging tassel.

I have not been able to find the source for these sketches, nor any similar representations. The sheet is related to the drawings in the *Costume Book* (Burchard and d'Hulst's Group II) and must have formed part of a larger sheet which once was included in the sketch-book. As suggested above, the drawing possibly made up one sheet with No. 43. Combined, their measurements would approximately correspond to those of the single folios with a strip of *c*. 50 mm. missing in the centre. This is supported by the little flap of paper attached to the lower edge of the New York drawing which echoes the curve formed by the upper edge of the Burchard sheet.

[1] Probably the German emperor Henry VII, son of Henry III of Luxembourg, born *c*. 1269, died 1313. For his son, John the Blind, Count of Luxembourg and King of Bohemia, see No. 27 (I).

**45.** ELEVEN STUDIES OF WOMEN'S HEAD-DRESSES (Fig. 232)

Fully mounted; pen and brown ink; 202 : 314 mm.; red chalk smudge on head-dress lower right; cut at top; traces of vertical fold to the left of centre.

*Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.* Inv. No. 171.

PROVENANCE: Probably purchased by Charles I, Duke of Brunswick (1713–1780); confiscated by Napoleon's army, returned to Brunswick between 1815 and 1818. [1]

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp, 1956,* No. 6 (repr.); *P.P. Rubens, Paintings, Oilsketches, Drawings,* Museum, Antwerp, 1977, No. 124 (repr.).

LITERATURE: F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden,* Strasbourg, 1913, p. 159 (without mentioning Rubens); F. Thöne, *Zu Peter Paul Rubens als Zeichner, Berliner Museen,* LXI, 1940, p. 63, note 4 (as *Rubens*); *Burchard-d'Hulst,* 1956, p. 30, No. 6, pl. III; *Held,* I, p. 159, No. 162; II, pl. 165; J.S. Held, *Rubens' Designs for Sepulchral Monuments, The Art Quarterly,* XXIII, 1960, pp. 264–266, fig. 10; J. Müller Hofstede, *Review of Rubens, Selected Drawings, by J.S. Held, Kunstchronik,* XV, 1962, p. 104; N. Verhaegen, *La Descente de croix de Rubens, étude préalable au traitement: Iconographie, Bulletin de l'Institut royal du Patrimoine artistique,* V, 1962, p. 24, fig. 6 (detail); *Idem, De Kruisafneming van Rubens: Iconografische Inleiding, Antwerpen,*

VIII, 1962, p. 152, fig. 6 (detail); *Burchard-d'Hulſt*, *1963*, I, pp. 15, 16, No. 3; II, pl. 3; J. Müller Hofſtede, *L. Burchard and R.-A. d'Hulſt, Rubens Drawings, Maſter Drawings*, IV, 1966, p. 438, to No. 3; *Sonkes*, pp. 51–53, No. B8, pl. XIa; *van Regteren Altena*, p. 7.



Represented are ten ſtudies of women's head-dresses of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The figures are arranged in two parallel rows of five heads each, the head in the upper right being repeated, lightly sketched, in a slightly altered pose. Stress is laid on the head-dresses; in some cases shoulders are also shown, and in one inſtance (I) the figure is represented in almoſt half-length. With the exception of (H), which is drawn on a smaller scale, the heads are uniform in size.

Friedrich Winkler pointed out that (G) is copied from the head of the Tiburtine Sibyl on the left wing of Rogier van der Weyden's *Bladelin Altarpiece* in Berlin (Fig. 233), while J.S. Held observed that the firſt four heads from the left in the upper row and the laſt two in the lower are based on Heinrich Vogtherr's *Kunſtbüchlin*, a book of models firſt published in 1537 and later in several editions, the laſt dating from 1610 (Figs. 234–239). Rubens's heads are reversed from Vogtherr's. Held suggeſted that Rubens may have seen Vogtherr's drawings or, more likely, that he used a printed version with reversed forms, a common occurence in bookmaking in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. However, this would not explain the variations of cos-tume detail which we can observe in several of the drawings. Transformation of faces and correction of perspeɛtive we expeɛt of Rubens, but we now know that in coſtume ſtudies Rubens kept faithful to details of dress. Therefore, such variations as the braids curling round the neck of (C), the veil hanging down

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from the head-dress of (D) (instead of a tassel) and the extended facial veils of (J) and (K) are probably not Rubens's invention but were to be found in his models.

It has been pointed out that Vogtherr took his models from early sixteenth-century Netherlandish masters, such as Jan de Beer, Jacob Cornelisz. or Cornelis Engelbrechtsz. [2] It seems likely that Rubens went back to the same source, possibly a sketch-book or pattern-book by an earlier sixteenth-century Netherlandish master. Such a book would have been a more likely source for the head of Rogier's Tiburtine Sibyl than the altarpiece itself which was at Middelburg (near Bruges) in Rubens's time. It seems unlikely that Rubens would have copied one head from the altarpiece (or a copy after it) and then filled the sheet with head studies after Vogtherr's book. It is much more probable that Rubens had access to a sketch-book or model-book which included a drawing after Rogier's Tiburtine Sibyl as well as the heads also copied by Vogtherr and the head-dresses seen in (H) and (I). A likely candidate for the author of such a book is, for example, Jan Mostaert who showed a strong interest in early fifteenth-century art. [3]

The drawing has been placed in Rubens's pre-Italian period by Burchard and d'Hulst and by Müller Hofstede and in the early post-Italian years by Held, Sonkes and the 1977 Antwerp exhibition catalogue. I would agree with the later dating.

The sheet is closely related to the *Costume Book*, especially to f° 6 and to a drawing in the Louvre discussed in No. 46. All illustrate primarily early sixteenth-century Netherlandish head-dresses. They are further related by their parallel arrangement of figures (especially this sheet and No. 46), their drawing technique (pen and ink with shadows and modelling indicated by hatching) and their lack of notations (with the exception of the couple in the upper right of f° 6), characteristics which would point to a model-book as Rubens's source.

Despite the close affinity to the drawings in the *Costume Book*, Burchard did not believe that this sheet and No. 46 were part of the original sketch-book, a suggestion made by Müller Hofstede. The heads are more delicately drawn than most of the *Costume Book* (although this drawing technique can be seen in a few sheets of the British Museum book, e.g., f°s 14ᵛ and 22) and the paper is of slightly different quality. However, considering the uniformity in size, subject matter and purpose of these studies, I would like to suggest that both sheets were once part of Rubens's *Costume Book*.

1 I would like to thank Dr. C. von Heusinger for this information.
2 A head almoſt identical to (J) and Fig. 238 can be seen on the right of the silverpoint drawing of *Auguſtus and the Tiburtine Sibyl* in the British Museum (Inv. No. 1860.6.16.134), attributed to a Dutch maſter of the beginning of the sixteenth century. This drawing also includes a woman (on the extreme right) wearing a head-dress reminiscent of (C) and (D). The drawing is reproduced in N. Beets, *Dirick Jacobsz. Vellert, ſchilder van Antwerpen*, III, *Onze Kunſt*, XIII, 1908, p. 173, fig. 3.
3 See, e.g., his *Deposition Altarpiece* in Brussels, based on Rogier's in the Prado.

**46.** EIGHT STUDIES OF HEAD-DRESSES (Fig. 240)

Fully mounted; pen and brown ink; 202 : 243 mm.; upper centre slightly torn and repaired (by Rubens himself who continued to draw across the tear); cut at top and sides; traces of vertical fold in centre; framed by single line in dark brown ink; below left, mark of the Louvre (*L.*, 1886).

*Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre.* Inv. No. 21.191.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, I, p. 159, under No. 162; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II, 1949,* p. 34, No. 1115, pl. LIV; J.S. Held, *Rubens' Designs for Sepulchral Monuments*, The Art Quarterly, XXIII, 1960, p. 266; *Sonkes*, p. 53, under No. B8.

The sheet illuſtrates a variety of sixteenth-century head-dresses worn by seven men and one woman. The figures are arranged in two parallel rows of four heads each. They vary in size, (C) and (D) being drawn on a smaller scale than the reſt of the figures. With the exception of (E), whose slightly different charac̄ter was already noted by Lugt, the sheet is delicately drawn with little hatching.

Held has pointed out that the figure in the lower left (E) was derived from Heinrich Vogtherr's *Kunſtbüchlin* (Fig. 241).[1] In addition, (F) and (G) also find models among Vogtherr's woodcuts (Figs. 242, 243). Rubens's heads are reversed from Vogtherr's. Furthermore, there are ſlight variations of coſtume detail, such as the small bunch of feathers in the centre of the head-dress of (E), the ſtand-up cloth collar inſtead of fur and the omission of the oval brooch in the centre of the head-dress of (F) and the addition of feathers, the differ-ently shaped brim and lack of patterns on the hat of (G), quite apart from the great changes Rubens undertook on the faces. None of the other figures can be found in Vogtherr's book.

As discussed in No. 45, I do not believe that Rubens used Vogtherr's woodcuts but rather went back to an early sixteenth-century Netherlandish source, possibly a model-book or sketch-book which was also known to Vogtherr. This finds support in the fact that the head in the upper left, which cannot be found in Vogtherr's book, appears, e.g., in Cornelis Engelbrechtsz.'s *Crucifixion Altarpiece* in Leyden (Fig. 244; woman on the right of Mary) and in a drawing of *Salome Dancing,* attributed to Jan de Beer (woman at the end of the table, next to Herod's wife). [2] A model for this head which was omitted by Vogtherr was probably included in this hypothetical sketch-book. The remaining four heads also point to Netherlandish sources of the early sixteenth century.

[1] This head also appears, in reverse and with slight variations, in the lower right of f° 6 (see Figs. 23 and 25).

[2] Weimar, Kunstsammlungen, Inv. No. KK 4531 (*Friedländer,* XI, pl. 204B). Heads (F) and (G) for which there are models in Vogtherr's book (Figs. 242 and 243) also appear in drawings by Jan de Beer, e.g., the two prophets on the right in the *Tree of Jesse* (Berlin, Print Room; *Friedländer,* XI, pl. 207C) and, for (G) only, the man on the left in *The Marriage of the Virgin* in the Albertina (O. Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der niederländischen Schulen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts (Beschreibender Katalog der Handzeichnungen in der graphischen Sammlung Albertina,* II), Vienna, 1928, fig. 31).

# INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

This index lists the extant drawings in the Costume Book by Rubens or considered to have
have been part of it. An extant copy is included. The works are listed alphabetically
according to place.

# INDEX II: SUBJECTS

This index lists the identified personages and subjects on the drawings of the Costume Book.

seum) Cat. 1, 32, 39, 40, 46, 58, 64–66, 101, 125, fig. 1

LOUIS DE NEVERS, PHILIP OF ALSACE AND NINETEEN OTHER MALE FIGURES, Cat. 27
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 27, 32, 38, 39, 46, 47, 58, 136–139, 159, 164, 176, fig. 143

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LUXEMBOURG, PHILIPPINE OF: see HAINAULT, JEAN DE AND HIS WIFE

MAINGOVAL, MARGUERITE DE: see LIGNE, GUILLAUME DE, ADRIENNE DE HALLEWYN AND SEVEN OTHER NOBLE PERSONAGES

A MAN: see HENRY OF LUXEMBOURG AND ONE OTHER MAN

A MAN BEING STABBED: see VARIOUS STUDIES OF FIGURES, INCLUDING AN ACROBAT AND A MAN BEING STABBED

MARGARET OF ALSACE, BALDWIN V OF HAINAULT AND NINE STUDIES OF HEAD-DRESSES, Cat. 6
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 6, 32, 43, 44, 46, 50, 52, 58, 77–81, 178, 180, fig. 23

MARGARET OF BAVARIA: see JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA, ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL AND THREE OTHER NOBLEWOMEN

MARGARET OF SAVOY: see MARY OF SAVOY, MARGARET OF SAVOY, ANNA OF BEDFORD AND JOHN IV OF BURGUNDY

MARY OF BURGUNDY: see LORRAINE, MARGUERITE DE, JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS AND FOUR OTHER FIGURES

MARY OF CLEVES AND ANNA OF HUNGARY, Cat. 12
Rubens, drawing (London, British Mu-

seum) Cat. 12, 32, 46, 48, 75, 92, 95–97, 135, 136, fig. 50

MARY OF SAVOY, MARGARET OF SAVOY, ANNA OF BEDFORD AND JOHN IV OF BURGUNDY, Cat. 16
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 16, 32, 39, 40, 46, 48, 58, 90, 105–108, 141, 144, fig. 81

MATHILDA OF SAXONY: see JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA, ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL AND THREE OTHER NOBLEWOMEN

MATHILDA OF SAXONY: see OGIVA OF LUXEMBOURG, MATHILDA OF SAXONY AND TWO SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN

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Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 7, 32, 46–48, 58, 81, 82, 144, 149, fig. 29

MOLEMBAIS, CATHERINE DE: see BARBANÇON, YOLANDE DE, GUILLAUME DE JAUCHE AND THREE OTHER FIGURES

MOLEMBAIS, MARIE DE: see LORRAINE, MARGUERITE DE, JOHN OF BURGUNDY, COUNT OF NEVERS AND FOUR OTHER FIGURES

NINE STUDIES OF HEAD-DRESSES: see MARGARET OF ALSACE, BALDWIN V OF HAINAULT AND NINE STUDIES OF HEAD-DRESSES

NINE WOMEN: see GISTEL, MARGARETA VAN AND NINE OTHER WOMEN

NINETEEN MALE FIGURES: see LOUIS DE NEVERS, PHILIP OF ALSACE AND NINETEEN OTHER MALE FIGURES

OGIVA OF LUXEMBOURG: see JACQUELINE OF BAVARIA, ISABELLA OF PORTUGAL AND THREE OTHER NOBLEWOMEN

OGIVA OF LUXEMBOURG, MATHILDA OF SAXONY AND TWO SCOTTISH NOBLEMEN, Cat. 18
Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) Cat. 18, 32, 38, 39, 46, 112, 113, 146, 159, fig. 89

ONGNIES, COLARD D': see LIGNE, GUILLAUME DE, ADRIENNE DE HALLEWYN AND SEVEN OTHER NOBLE PERSONAGES

PART OF A HEAD: see FULL-LENGTH FIGURE

# INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index: D - drawing;
E - engraving or etching; P - painting; S - oil sketch; T - tapestry

# INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

1. Rubens, *Louis de Mâle and Baldwin V of Flanders* (No. 1). London, British Museum

2. *Tomb of Louis de Mâle*, drawing (*de Succa*, fº 77)



3. *Two Angels with a Helmet*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 76ᵛ, detail)

4. *Coat of Arms of Simon de Mirabello*,
drawing (*de Succa*, f° 85ᵛ, detail)



5. A. van Wijnendaele, *Coat of Arms of
Simon de Mirabello*, drawing.
Ghent, City Archives



6. *Baldwin V of Flanders*, drawing
(*de Succa*, f° 77ᵛ, detail)

7. Rubens, *William of Normandy, Arnulf II of Flanders and Eight Other Noblemen* (No. 2).

8. *Man in Armour*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 100, detail)



9. *Man with Helmet*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 98, detail)



10. *Two Men in Armour*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 89, detail)
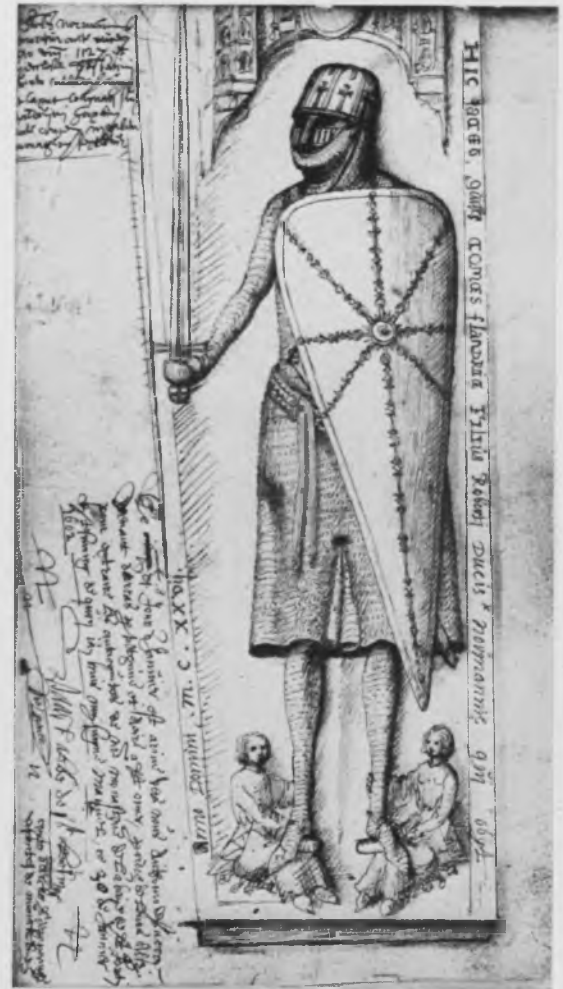


11. *William of Normandy*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 96)

12. *Jean de Croy,* drawing
(*de Succa,* f⁰ 98ᵛ, detail)

13. *Arnulf II of Flanders,* drawing
(*de Succa,* f⁰ 84, detail)

14. *Baldwin IV of Flanders,*
drawing
(*de Succa,* f⁰ 83ᵛ, detail)

15. *Man with Helmet,* drawing
(*de Succa,* f⁰ 99ᵛ, detail)

16. *A Knight*, drawing
    (*de Succa*, f° 99, detail)

17. Anonymous, *Baldwin IV of Flanders*,
    painting (detail). Ghent, Bijloke Museum

18. Anonymous, *Arnulf II of Flanders*, painting (detail).
    Ghent, Bijloke Museum

19. Rubens, *Anthony of Burgundy* (No. 3). London, British Museum

20. Rubens, *Jean II de Croy and Josse de Lalaing* (No. 4). London, British Museum

21. Rubens, *Jean de Croy and Five Other Noblemen* (No. 5). London, British Museum

## ANTONIVS BRABANTIÆ DVX.

22. After de Succa, *Anthony of Burgundy,* engraving
(H. Barlandus, *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica,* Antwerp, 1600)

23. Rubens, *Margaret of Alsace, Baldwin V of Hainault and Nine Studies of Head-Dresses* (No. 6). London, British Museum

24. After Rubens, *Studies of Heads*, drawing. Hamburg, Kunsthalle

25. H. Vogtherr, *Nine Male Heads,* woodcut
(*Kunſtbüchlin,* Strasbourg, 1537)



26. Anonymous, *A Lady Playing a Portable Organ,* drawing. Paris, Louvre

27. *Margaret of Alsace*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 82ᵛ, detail)

28. *Baldwin V of Flanders and Margaret of Alsace*, drawing (de Succa, fº 83, detail)

29. Rubens, *Walburga de Meurs and Marguerite de Craon* (No. 7). London, British Museum

30. *Margaret of Brabant*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 55)



31. *Margaret of Flanders*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 53)



32. *Anne de Jauche*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 213)



33. *Philippa de Lalaing*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 122)

34. Rubens, *Jacqueline de Luxembourg, Anne de Jauche, Philippa de Lalaing and Bonne de Vieuville* (No. 8). London, British Museum

35. *Bonne d'Abbeville*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 184)

36. *Isabella of Bourbon*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 63)



37. W. Vrelant (?), *Charles the Bold and Isabella of Bourbon*, miniature.
Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek

38. Rubens, *Raas van Gavere, Antoinette de Baux, Jeanne d'Escornaix and Two Unidentified Women* (No. 9). London, British Museum

39. *Agnes de Bourbon*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 79ᵛ, detail)



40. *Marguerite de Clisson*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, fº 47)



41. After Rubens, *Madonna and Saints*, painting. Pommersfelden, Schloss Weissenstein

42. Rubens, *Yolande de Barbançon, Guillaume de Jauche and Three Other Figures* (No. 10).
London, British Museum

43. *Guillaume de Jauche*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 209)



44. *Catherine de Molembais*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 119)



45. School of Rubens, *Alboin and Rosamond*, painting. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

46. Rubens, *Guillaume de Bretagne and Emperor Frederick III* (No. 11).
London, British Museum

47. Master of the Habsbourgs, *Adoration of the Magi*, painting (detail).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



48. After the Master of Frankfort, *Adoration of the Magi*, painting (detail).
Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



49. Master of Frankfort, *Adoration of the Magi*, painting (detail).
Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

50. Rubens, *Mary of Cleves and Anna of Hungary* (No. 12). London, British Museum

51. *Mary of Cleves,* drawing
(*de Succa,* f° 80ᵛ, detail)



52. Anonymous, *Anna of Hungary and
Ferdinand of Austria,* woodcut (detail)



53. After J. Seisenegger, *Anna of Hungary,*
painting. Budapest, Szépmüvészeti Múzeum

54. Rubens, *Guillaume de Ligne, Adrienne de Hallewyn and
Seven Other Noble Personages* (No. 13). London, British Museum

55. *Guillaume de Ligne*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 185)

56. *Adrienne de Hallewyn*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 186)

57. *Jean de Flandres*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 58)

58. *Marie de Ville*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 177)

59. *Jean de la Hamayde*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 212)

60. *Marguerite de Maingoval*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 112)

61. *Colard d'Ongnies*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 223)

62. *Guilbert de Lannoy*, drawing
(*Recueil d'Arras*, f⁰ 118)

63. J. van Eyck, *Baudouin de Lannoy*,
    painting. Berlin, Staatliche Museen



64. *Baudouin de Lannoy*, drawing
    (*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 109)



65. *Jean de Hainault*, drawing
    (*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 27)



66. Anonymous, *Margaret of Flanders*,
    painting. Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts

67. Rubens, *Jean de Hainault and His Wife* (No. 14). London, British Museum

68. Rubens, *Hawking Scene* (No. 14ᵛ). London, British Museum

69. *Falconers,* tapestry, *c.* 1445. Minneapolis, Institute of Arts

70. *Falconers.* tapestry, *c.* 1430–35 (detail).
London, Victoria and Albert Museum

71. *Deer Hunt,* tapestry, *c.* 1445–50 (detail). London, Victoria and Albert Museum

72. ? A. van Dyck, *Hawking Party,* grisaille sketch. Present whereabouts unknown

73. Rubens, *Euſtache de Morcamp and His Wife, Willem van der Bie, His Wife and Children* (No. 15). London, British Museum

74. *Euſtache de Morcamp and His Wife*, drawing
(*de Succa*, f⁰ 93ᵛ)



75. *Willem van der Bie and His Wife*, drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 94)



76. *Willem van der Bie's Sons*, drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 94ᵛ)

77. *Willem van der Bie's Daughters*, drawing (*de Succa*, fᵒ 95)



78. *John IV of Burgundy*, drawing (*de Succa*, fᵒ 11, detail)



79. *Anna of Bedford*, drawing (*de Succa*, fᵒ 80, detail)



80. *Mary of Savoy and Margaret of Savoy*, drawing (*de Succa*, fᵒ 79ᵛ, detail)

81. Rubens, *Mary of Savoy, Margaret of Savoy, Anna of Bedford and John IV of Burgundy* (No. 16). London, British Museum

82. Rubens, *Jacqueline of Bavaria, Isabella of Portugal and Three Other Noblewomen* (No. 17). London, British Museum

83. *Jacqueline of Bavaria and Isabella of Portugal,* drawing (*de Succa,* f° 7)

84. *Ogiva of Luxembourg,* drawing
(*de Succa.* fº 83ᵛ, detail)

85. A. van Wijnendaele, *Baldwin IV of Flanders and Ogiva of Luxembourg,*
drawing. Ghent, City Archives

86. *Margaret of Bavaria*, drawing
    (*de Succa*, f° 83, detail)

87. *Mathilda of Saxony*, drawing
    (*de Succa*, f° 84, detail)

88. A. van Wijnendaele, *Mathilda of Saxony*, drawing.
    Ghent, City Archives

Ogiva vxor Baldam | mathildis vxor Baldam

89. Rubens, *Ogiva of Luxembourg, Mathilda of Saxony and Two Scottish Noblemen* (No. 18). London, British Museum

90. *Ogiva of Luxembourg*, drawing
(*de Succa*, f° 83ᵛ, detail)

91. Anonymous, *Ogiva of Luxembourg*, painting
(detail). Ghent, Bijloke Museum

92. Anonymous, *Mathilda of Saxony*, painting
(detail). Ghent, Bijloke Museum

93. *Mathilda of Saxony*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 84, detail)

94. *Two Scottish Noblemen*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 85ᵛ, detail)

95. L. de Heere, *Two Scottish Noblemen*, drawing.
Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek

96. Rubens, *Anthony of Burgundy, John IV of Burgundy and Three Other Noblemen* (No. 19). London, British Museum

97. *Anthony of Burgundy*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 78ᵛ, detail)

98. *John IV of Burgundy*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 78ᵛ, detail)

99. *A Nobleman*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 80ᵛ, detail)

100. *Louis of Savoy*, drawing (*de Succa*, fº 79, detail)



101. *John of Burgundy*, drawing (*de Succa*, fº 78, detail)

102. Rubens, *Three Full-Length Figures of Women: One Seated, Two Standing* (No. 20). London, British Museum

103. H. Burgkmair, *Scene from Theuerdank,* woodcut
(Nuremberg, 1517, pl. 102)

104. A. Dürer, *Woman in Netherlandish Dress,* drawing.
Washington, D.C., National Gallery

105. Rubens, *Twelve Studies of Women's Head-Dresses; Two Men in Armour* (No. 21). London, British Museum

106. J. Swart, *The Preaching of John the Baptist,* painting (detail). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

107. Rubens, *A Knight on Horseback and Various Other Studies of Horses, Knights and Armour* (No. 22). London, British Museum

108. H. Burgkmair, *St. George,* woodcut, 1508

109. H. Burgkmair, *Maximilian I,* woodcut, 1518

110. H. Burgkmair, *Scene from Theuerdank,* woodcut
(Nuremberg, 1517, pl. 118)



111. L. Beck, *Scene from Theuerdank,* woodcut
(Nuremberg, 1517, pl. 23)

112. H. Burgkmair, *Tournament Scene,* woodcut from *Theuerdank*
(Ulm, 1679, pl. CXX)

113. Rubens, *Six Full-Length Figures: Four Women and Two Men* (No. 23). London, British Museum

114. I. van Meckenem, *Dance of the Daughter of Herodias,* engraving

115. Rubens, *A Boar Hunt* (No. 24). London, British Museum

116. *Boar Hunt*, tapestry, c. 1450. Glasgow, Burrell Collection

117. *Falconers*, tapestry, c. 1430–35 (detail).
London, Victoria and Albert Museum

118. *Boar and Bear Hunt,* tapestry, *c.* 1430–35 (detail).

London, Victoria and Albert Museum

119. Rubens, *Various Studies of Figures, Including an Acrobat and a Man Being Stabbed* (No. 25). London, British Museum

120. *"Of Wrongful Accusations"*, woodcut
(*Weiditz,* II, p. XXXII<sup>r</sup>)



121. *"Of Bad, Low and Unknown Origin"*, woodcut
(*Weiditz,* II, p. V)
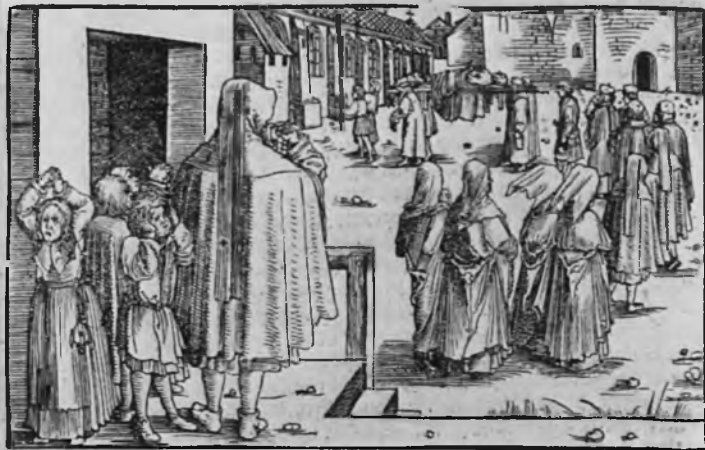


122. *"Of the Death of a Housewife"*, woodcut
(*Weiditz,* II, p. XXIIII<sup>r</sup>)



123. *"Of Wakefulness"*, woodcut (*Weiditz,* II, p. CVI)

124. *"Of Poison "*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, II, p. CXLVIIᵛ)



125. *"Of a Bride Promised to Someone Else"*, woodcut
(*Weiditz*, II, p. XXIIIᵛ)



126. *"Of Suffering and Pain Caused by People's Bad Morals"*,
woodcut (*Weiditz*, II, p. CIXᵛ)



127. *"Of the Fear of Death"*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, II, p. CXLVIIIᵛ)

128. Rubens, *Various Studies of Ladies and Gentlemen and a Cardinal* (No. 25'). London, British Museum

129. *"Of Peacocks, Chickens, Hens,
      Bees and Doves"*, woodcut
           (*Weiditz*, I, p. LXXVIII)



130. *"Of the Booty"*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, I, p. CXIX^v)



131. *"Of the Hypocrisy of Marriage or Marriage Vows"*, woodcut
           (*Weiditz*. I, p. LXXXII)



132. *"Of Singing and the Lyre's Sweet Melody"*, woodcut
           (*Weiditz*, I, p. XXVII^v)

133. *"Of Painted Panels"*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, I, p. LI^v)



134. *"Of Dress and Finery of the Body"*, woodcut
(*Weiditz*, I, p. XXIII)



135. *"Of Honour and Glory"*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, I, p. CVIII)



136. *"Of the Reputation of Virtue"*, woodcut (*Weiditz*, I, p. X^v)

137. Rubens, *A Wedding Ceremony and Various Figures,* drawing.
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

138. Rubens, *The Continence of Scipio,* drawing (detail).
Bayonne, Musée Bonnat

139. S. à Bolswert, *The Continence of Scipio*, engraving



140. L. de Heere, *Man in Long Mantle,* drawing (detail). Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek



141. L. de Heere, *Man with Feathered Hat,* drawing (det.) Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek

142. Rubens, *Eleven Figures: Four Women and Seven Men* (No. 26). London, British Museum.

143. Rubens, *Louis de Nevers, Philip of Alsace and Nineteen Other Male Figures* (No. 27). London, British Museum

144. *Studies of Male Figures and Coʃtume Details,* drawing (*de Succa,* fº 99ᵛ, detail)

145. *Three Studies of Male Heads,* drawing (*de Succa,* fº 100, detail)

146. *John the Blind,* drawing (*de Succa,* fº 75ᵛ, detail)

147. *Louis de Nevers and John the Good*, drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 75, detail)

148. *Philip of Alsace*, drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 96ᵛ, detail)

149. *Five Studies of Male Heads*, drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 98, detail)

150. S. Marmion, *St. Bertin Altarpiece,* painting (detail). Berlin, Staatliche Museen

151. Rubens, *Margareta van Giftel and Nine Other Women* (No. 28). London, British Museum

152. *Four Women and One Man*, drawing
*(de Succa, f° 99)*

153. *Two Seated Women*, drawing (*de Succa*, f° 98, detail)

154. *Two Seated Women and One Head,* drawing (*de Succa,* f⁰ 99ᵛ, detail)

155. *A Lady,* drawing
(*de Succa,* f⁰ 89, detail)

156. *A Seated Lady and One Bust Portrait*, drawing
(*de Succa*, fº 95ᵛ)

157. Master of Hoogstraeten. *Virgin and Saints*, painting (detail).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

158. *Margareta van Giſtel,*
drawing (*de Succa,*
f⁰ 87, detail)
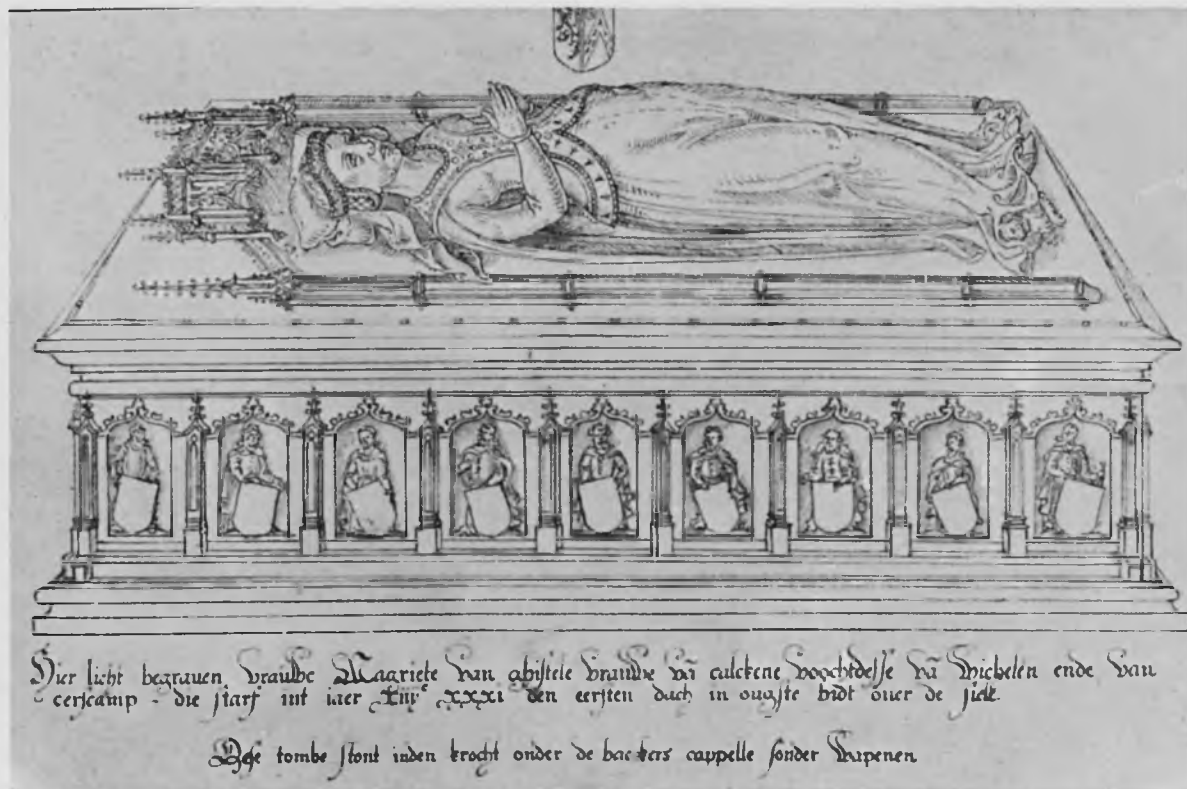


159. A. van Wijnendaele, *Tomb of Margareta van Giſtel,* drawing. Ghent, City Archives

160. Rubens, *Roland van Uutkerke, Philippe de Baux, Françoise de Baux and Three Other Noblewomen* (No. 29).
London, British Museum

161. Master of the Playing Cards,
    *Trump Knave of Wild Men,* engraving

162. *John the Fearless,* drawing
    (*de Succa,* f° 78, detail)

163. *Margaret of Bavaria,* drawing
    (*de Succa,* f° 79, detail)

164. Rubens, *Three Full-Length Figures: One Woman and Two Men* (No. 30). London, British Museum

165. L. de Heere, *Flemish Nobleman,*
   drawing (detail).
         Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek

166. Rubens, *The Conversion of St. Bavo,*
   painting (detail).
                 London, National Gallery

167. Rubens, *Tomyris and Cyrus,*
   painting (detail).
         Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

168. Rubens, *Marguerite de Lorraine, John of Burgundy, Count of Nevers and Four Other Figures* (No. 31).
London, British Museum

169. *Jacqueline of Bavaria*, drawing
(*de Succa*, f° 79, detail)



170. *Jeanne de Bretagne*, drawing (*Recueil d'Arras*, f° 45)

171. *Philip of Burgundy, Count of Nevers,*
      drawing (*de Succa*, f⁰ 80ᵛ, detail)

172. *Jean de Luxembourg,* drawing (*Recueil d'Arras,* f⁰ 174)

173. *Marie de Molembais,* drawing (*Recueil d'Arras,* fº 224)

174. *Charles the Good,* drawing
(*de Succa,* fº 83ʳ, detail)

175. Anonymous,
*Charles the Good,*
painting.
Bruges, Cathedral

176. After A. Mor, *Elisabeth of Valois,* painting.
Formerly Lord Margadale of Islay (Scotland)

177. L. Beck, *Scene from Theuerdank,* woodcut

(Nuremberg, 1517, pl. 4)

178. Anonymous, *Castilian Lady,* drawing (*Dessins français du XVIe siècle représentant des costumes de femmes,* f° 45). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

179. Rubens, *Two Full-Length Figures of Women in Spanish Dress* (No. 32). London, British Museum

180. Rubens, *Full-Length Figures of a Turkish Woman and Part of a Head* (No. 33).
London, British Museum

181. G. de la Chapelle, *Lady from Tartary,* engraving (*Recvel de divers portraits des principales dames de la porte dv grand Tvrc,* 1648, pl. 8)

182. Rubens, *Two Full-Length Figures of Women From Turkey* (No. 34). London, British Museum

183. Anonymous, *Woman from Pera,*
    drawing. Coburg, Veste



184. Anonymous, *Woman from Karamania,*
    drawing. Coburg, Veste



185. Anonymous, *Woman from Pera,*
    drawing.
        Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial



186. Anonymous, *Greek Woman with
    a Basket of Eggs,* drawing.
        Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial

187. Rubens, *Four Figures in Oriental Dress* (No. 35). London, British Museum

188. Anonymous, *Negro,* drawing. Coburg, Veste



189. Anonymous, *The Greek Patriarch of Constantinople,*
drawing. Coburg, Veste

190. Anonymous, *Greek Monk*. drawing. Coburg, Veste

191. Anonymous, *Woman from Egypt*. drawing. Coburg, Veste

192. Rubens, *Three Full-Length Figures in Oriental Dress and the Top of One Head* (No. 36). London, British Museum

193. Rubens, *Fourteen Male Figures from Turkey* (No. 37). London, British Museum

194. Anonymous, *Door Keeper,*
drawing. Coburg, Veste



195. Anonymous, *The Head of the
Descendants of the Prophet
Muhammed,* drawing.
Coburg, Veste



196. Anonymous, *Captain of the Gate
of the Seraglio,* drawing.
Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial



197. Anonymous, *The Head of the
Descendants of the Prophet
Muhammed,* drawing. Jerusalem,
L.A. Mayer Memorial

198. Anonymous, *A Dervish*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste

199. Anonymous, *Mufti*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste

200. Anonymous, *Janissary*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste

201. Anonymous, *Turkish Archer*,
drawing. Coburg Veste

202. Anonymous, *An Armenian,*
     drawing. Coburg, Veste



203. Anonymous, *Page of a "çavas",*
     drawing. Coburg, Veste



204. Anonymous, *An Armenian,*
     drawing. Jerusalem,
     L.A. Mayer Memorial



205. Anonymous, *Page of the Chief
     Eunuch,* drawing. Jerusalem,
     L.A. Mayer Memorial

206. Anonymous, *A Foreign Boy,*
drawing. Coburg, Veſte



207. Anonymous, *A Gunner,* drawing.
Coburg, Veſte



208. Anonymous, *A Gardener,* drawing.
Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial



209. Anonymous, *Janissary on Horseback,*
drawing. Coburg, Veſte

210. Anonymous, *Chief Taster of the Palace*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste



211. Anonymous, *A "Levend" or Irregular Soldier*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste



212. Anonymous, *Page of the Chief Gardener*, drawing.
Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial



213. Anonymous, *Deli*, drawing.
Coburg, Veste

214. Rubens, *Eight Female Figures from Turkey* (No. 38). London, British Museum

215. Anonymous, *A Gipsy Girl,* drawing.
Coburg, Veste



216. Anonymous, *A Greek Woman,*
drawing. Coburg, Veste



217. Anonymous, *A Gipsy Girl,* drawing.
Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial



218. Anonymus, *A Jewish Woman,* drawing.
Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial

219. Anonymous, *A Sultana with her Slave Girl*, drawing. Coburg, Veste



220. Anonymous, *The Valide Sultan, a Slave Girl and the Chief Eunuch*,
drawing. Jerusalem, L.A. Mayer Memorial

221. Anonymous, *Turkish Women Going to the Bath,* drawing. Coburg, Veste



222. Anonymous, *A Sultana,* drawing.
Coburg, Veste



*Femme Indienne allant par la Ville*

223. R. Moncornet, *Indian Woman,*
engraving (*Livre curieux contenant
la naifve représentation des habits
des femmes,* Paris, 1662, pl.17)

224.  Rubens, *Five Figures in Oriental Dress* (No. 39). London, British Museum

225. Rubens, *Four Figures in Persian Dress* (No. 40). London, British Museum

226. Rubens, *Philip I of Spain*, drawing (No. 41). London, British Museum

227. Rubens, *Joanna of Castile,* drawing (No. 42). London, British Museum

228. Rubens, *Carolus, Duke of Lower Lorraine and Gerberga,* drawing (No. 43). New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

CAROLVS CRASSVS LVD. SIMPL. F.

229. After de Succa, *Carolus, Duke of Lower Lorraine,*
engraving (H. Barlandus, *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica.*
Antwerp, 1600)



LAMBERTVS ET GEERBERGA.

230. After de Succa, *Gerberga, Daughter of Carolus,* engraving
(H. Barlandus, *Ducum Brabantiae Chronica,*
Antwerp, 1600)

231. Rubens, *Henry of Luxembourg and One Other Man,* drawing (No. 44). Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard

232. Rubens, *Eleven Studies of Women's Head Dresses,* drawing (No. 45). Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

233. Rogier van der Weyden, *Bladelin Altarpiece*, painting (detail). Berlin, Staatliche Museen



234. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



235. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)

236. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



237. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



238. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



239. H. Vogtherr, *A Female Head*, woodcut
(*Kunstbüchlin*, Strasbourg, 1537, detail)

240. Rubens, *Eight Studies of Head-Dresses,* drawing (No. 46). Paris, Louvre

241. H. Vogtherr, *A Male Head,*
woodcut (*Kunstbüchlin,*
Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



242. H. Vogtherr, *A Male Head,*
woodcut (*Kunstbüchlin,*
Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



243. H. Vogtherr, *A Male Head,*
woodcut (*Kunstbüchlin,*
Strasbourg, 1537, detail)



244. C. Engelbrechtsz., *Crucifixion Altarpiece,*
painting (detail). Leyden, Stedelijk Museum