

Rubens & Brueghel

A Working Friendship



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Anne T. Woollett
Ariane van Suchtelen

with contributions by

Tiarna Doherty, Mark Leonard,
and Jørgen Wadum

A Working Friendship

The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles
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Pages iv–v: Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, detail of *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4)

Page viii: Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, detail of *Allegory of Taste* (cat. no. 8)

Page xiv: Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder, detail of *The Feast of Acheloius* (cat. no. 3)

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Contents

- ix Foreword
MICHAEL BRAND AND FREDERIK J. DUPARC
- xi Acknowledgments
- xiii Lenders to the Exhibition
- i Two Celebrated Painters: The Collaborative Ventures
of Rubens and Brueghel, ca. 1598–1625
ANNE T. WOOLLETT
- 43 Catalogue
ARIANE VAN SUCHTELEN
ANNE T. WOOLLETT
- 44 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens / CAT. NOS. 1–13
- 128 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer / CAT. NOS. 14–15
- 136 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick de Clerck / CAT. NO. 16
- 140 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen / CAT. NOS. 17–21
- 166 Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders / CAT. NOS. 22–24
- 186 Jan Brueghel the Elder / CAT. NOS. 25–28
- 208 Peter Paul Rubens / CAT. NO. 29
- 215 Brueghel and Rubens at Work:
Technique and the Practice of Collaboration
TIARNA DOHERTY, MARK LEONARD, AND JØRGEN WADUM
- 252 Literature
- 267 Index
- 273 Photography Credits
- 274 About the Authors



Foreword

PETER PAUL RUBENS AND JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER were the two most famous painters in Antwerp at the beginning of the seventeenth century. A prolific landscape and still-life painter, Jan “Velvet” Brueghel was the senior of the two by nine years and renowned for his remarkably meticulous and jewel-like paintings. Rubens was an ambitious painter of altarpieces and erudite mythological and historical subjects in which he recast antique and Renaissance sources. Both painters served the regents of the Southern Netherlands, Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella. More personally, they were also close friends. Together, the two artists produced beautiful and richly allusive compositions, uniting their distinctive brushwork and individual visual modes in highly sought-after paintings. In an era when it was common for artists to specialize and for more than one painter to contribute to the execution of a work, the conceptual partnership of Rubens and Brueghel—which joined artists of equal status, who were united by friendship and respect—was rare and redefined the widespread practice of collaboration.

Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship is the first international loan exhibition devoted to the collaborative works of Rubens and Brueghel and their working method. Assembled here are the most important works of their partnership, from the early war themes, to mythological landscapes and allegories, to the iconic paintings of the Madonna and Child in a flower garland. Also included are a select group of works that Rubens and Brueghel executed together with other collaborators, notably Hans Rottenhammer, Hendrick de Clerck, Hendrick van Balen, and Frans Snyders. They highlight the development of significant compositions in the distinctive oeuvres of both artists and reveal the dynamic roles each played in other partnerships. Together,

these paintings provide a rare opportunity to examine the process by which artists in the Netherlands worked collaboratively.

The genesis of the exhibition lies in the concurrent interests of the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis. The Getty Museum’s purchase in 2000 of a previously unknown painting, *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, in which Rubens revised his colleague’s work, coincided with the completion of a thorough restoration and technical investigation of the Mauritshuis’s renowned *Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, in which the order of work between the two artists was quite different. Subsequent discussions between our institutions centered on the fundamental questions addressed in this catalogue: In which studio did their joint compositions originate? Was their approach consistent throughout the period of their collaboration? How did they work together on these panels and for whom were they painted? What emerges is a complex, reciprocal relationship in which a painting could originate with either artist, one in which Jan Brueghel, contrary to conventional belief, was often the generating force.

The exhibition and catalogue likewise represent a fruitful collaboration between our institutions and among their respective curatorial, conservation, and scientific departments. Scott Schaefer, curator of paintings, and Anne Woollett, associate curator, at the J. Paul Getty Museum, devised the concept and selected the exhibition together with Peter van der Ploeg, chief curator, and Ariane van Suchtelen, curator, of the Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis. Anne Woollett contributed the essay exploring the artistic partnership of Rubens and Brueghel and its context and a number of the catalogue entries, the majority of which were written by Ariane van Suchtelen. Tiarna Doherty, associate conservator,

and Mark Leonard, head, Department of Paintings Conservation, at the J. Paul Getty Museum, and Jørgen Wadum, formerly chief conservator at the Mauritshuis and now chief conservator at the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, are the authors of an essay about both the individual and joint working methods of Brueghel and Rubens. The production of the English-language and Dutch-language catalogues was overseen, respectively, by Anne Woollett and Ariane van Suchtelen.

We are immensely grateful to the generous lenders who were willing to send some of the most popular works in their collections to both institutions. Our debt extends to the many colleagues who enthusiastically embarked on the journey of discovery and granted special access for technical study. Without the remarkable generosity of Miguel Zugaza Miranda of the Museo Nacional del Prado, one of the greatest repositories of collaborative works by Rubens and Brueghel, an exhibition of this scale and importance would not have been possible. In addition, we are deeply appreciative of the munificent support of ING Nederland, the exclusive sponsor of *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship* in The Hague.

It is with great pleasure that we welcome visitors to this remarkable exhibition, which celebrates the long-lasting friendship and artistic partnership of two great artists. We hope that the breathtakingly beautiful and technically extraordinary works of Rubens and Brueghel will intrigue and captivate our viewers, bringing the eloquence of art and friendship of seventeenth-century Antwerp into the present.

MICHAEL BRAND

Director

J. Paul Getty Museum

FREDERIK J. DUPARC

Director

Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis

Acknowledgments

THE EXPLORATION OF THE REMARKABLE ARTISTIC partnership of Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder has been our pleasurable pursuit for the last four years. It is our privilege to thank those who have made the exhibition and the catalogue possible. In Los Angeles, we are indebted to Michael Brand, director of the J. Paul Getty Museum, for his support, and to William Griswold, former acting director, and Deborah Gribbon, former director, who were instrumental in supporting the exhibition during the early stages of its organization. From the inception of the project, Frederik J. Duparc, director of the Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, has been a keen advocate and made key contributions to its scope. This exhibition would not have come to fruition without the vision and enthusiasm of Scott Schaefer, curator of paintings at the Getty Museum. We also thank Peter van der Ploeg, chief curator of the Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, for his tireless efforts on behalf of *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship*.

The very nature of this exhibition, which involved an alliance of art historical research and technical examination, has made it a particularly collaborative enterprise between the curatorial and conservation departments at both institutions. We thank our colleagues for the generosity with which they shared their findings. Conservator Mark Leonard and associate conservator Tiarna Doherty at the Getty, and Jørgen Wadum, formerly chief conservator at the Mauritshuis, now chief conservator, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, have made invaluable contributions to the understanding of paintings by Rubens and Brueghel and to collaborative undertakings in general. Tiarna Doherty traveled to study nearly every painting in the exhibition, as well as a number of key works that could not be lent, with infrared reflectography. The initial technical study of paintings was

made possible by a substantial grant from the American Friends of the Mauritshuis, with the assistance of Otto Naumann and Sandra Canning.

We also thank Yvonne Szafran, Gene Karraker, and former associate conservator Elisabeth Mention, in the Department of Paintings Conservation at the Getty Museum; and Karen Trentelman, senior scientist, and Anna Schoenemann and Narayan Khandekar, both former senior scientists, at the Getty Conservation Institute. In The Hague, we thank conservator Sabrina Meloni for her help with the technical investigations. A number of extremely generous colleagues at other institutions carried out close examinations of these remarkable paintings and shared their results with us. We thank, in particular, Alexander Vergara, curator, and Ana González Mozo and Jaime García Maíquez, from the Gabinete de Documentación Técnica of the Museo Nacional del Prado; Jan Schmidt, Doerner Institute, Munich; Robert Wenley and Polly Smith, Glasgow Art Museums; and Wolfgang Savelsberg, Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz.

Collaboration in Netherlandish painting was a common practice that took many forms and, due to its complex nature, awaits a comprehensive investigation. The present study, while offering a new approach that incorporates technical information and close firsthand study, is indebted to the observations and insights of colleagues working on both the broader genre of collaboration and the joint oeuvre of Rubens and Brueghel. Both Christine Van Mulders and Elizabeth Honig shared their insights and material from prepublication manuscripts. We have acknowledged, where appropriate, the important contributions of Maryan Ainsworth, David Freedberg, Susan Merriam, Peter Sutton, and Dorien Tamis.

The staffs of both our museums have made tremendous contributions to this project, responding to its unique challenges with great resourcefulness and good humor. At the Getty Museum, we thank Quincy Houghton, assistant director, Amber Keller, senior exhibitions coordinator, and Paige-Marie Ketner and Sophia Allison, Exhibitions and Public Programs Department. The coordination of loan logistics was expertly handled by Sally Hibbard, chief registrar, and Amy Linker, assistant registrar. For their forbearance, practical advice, and vital contributions to the preparation of the exhibition and the catalogue, we thank the current and former colleagues in our respective departments, notably Preston Bautista, Virginia Brilliant, Lillian Hsu, Jean Linn, Mary Morton, Anita Morris, Tanya Paul, Audrey Sands, Jon Seydl, Carol O'Connor, and Marilyn Brundson. The exhibition was superbly designed in Los Angeles by Merritt Price, Patrick Fredrickson, and Davina Henderson and expertly installed by Bruce Metro and his adroit team of preparators. Its interpretation benefited from the insights of Mari-Tere Alvarez and Ben Garcia, Department of Education. At the Mauritshuis, we especially thank Frederik van Koetsveld, deputy director, Theo Haarsma, the coordinator of this exhibition, and André Jordaan, registrar. We would also like to thank Simone Hollen, Karen de Moor, Pom Verhoeff, Marthe de Vet, and Antia Wiersma of the Department of Communication, Arjan Rijnsburger, and Caroline Walta. Henk Douna and Boy van den Hoorn were responsible for the temporary pavilion on the *Hofvijver*, which the Mauritshuis needs for exhibitions of this size.

For a project such as this one, which required wide-ranging resources, from artistic treatises to scientific encyclopedias revealing the origins of the *Cavia porcellus*, we have relied on the outstanding resources of the Getty Research Institute, where we acknowledge the assistance of Jay Gam, Ross Garcia, Aimee Lind, Joyce Ludmer, Louis Marchesano, and Tracey Schuster, as well as the staff of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie.

We are grateful to Mark Greenberg, editor in chief, Getty Publications, for the realization of this book, and thank Cynthia Newman Bohn for her fortitude and care as the editor of the manuscript. Patrick Pardo was indispensable in managing the earliest stages of the project and the didactic texts for the installation. Karen Schmidt, production manager, and Suzanne Watson, senior production coordinator, skillfully and meticulously oversaw the production of the catalogue. In addition, we thank other colleagues in Publications who

provided significant support and encouragement throughout the process: Cecily Gardner, Anne Chamberlain, Kara Kirk, Ann Lucke, and Deenie Yudell. Jeffrey Cohen is responsible for the splendid design of the catalogue, which captures the spirit of the artistic partnership it explores. Diane Webb ably translated the Dutch text into English, and Dorine Duyster skillfully translated the English text into Dutch. Waanders Publishers in Zwolle printed the catalogue, and we thank Marloes Waanders in particular for guiding its production.

We received help and advice from many individuals, in addition to those already named. We would like to express particular appreciation to Denise Allen, Claude d'Anthenaise, Gerd Bartoschek, Reinhold Baumstark, David Bomford, Antonia Boström, Charissa Bremer-David, Lorne Campbell, Mark Carlisle, Marcus Dekiert, Lloyd De Witt, Hartmut Dorgerloh, Burton Fredericksen, Carmen Garrido, Burckhardt Göres, Anne d'Harnoncourt, Lee Hendrix, Nico Van Hout, Dirk Imhoff, David Jaffé, Patricia Jaspers, Arianne Faber Kolb, Anne-Marie Logan, Hans-Martin Kaulbach, Thomas Kren, Walter Liedtke, Andrea De Marchi, Harald Marx, Elizabeth McGrath, Philippe de Montebello, Elizabeth Morrison, Uta Neidhardt, Lynn Orr, Michiel Plomp, Marie-Christine Prestat, Wolfgang Prohaska, Konrad Renger, Catherine Reynolds, Joseph Rishel, Martin Roth, Ashok Roy, Gregory Rubinstein, Axel Rüger, Wolfgang Savelsberg, Stephanie Schrader, Karl Schütz, Wilfried Seipel, the late Hubert von Sonnenburg, Renate Trnek, Mark Tucker, Ernst Veen, Gregor Weber, Thomas Weiss, Barbara Welzel, and Bettina Werche.

Finally, our greatest debt is to the lending institutions (listed on the following page) and to the anonymous private collector, who were willing to part for a time with some of the most absorbing and delightful works in their collections.

ANNE T. WOOLLETT

ARIANE VAN SUCHTELEN

Lenders to the Exhibition

Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Vienna

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J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz, Dessau

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna

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Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden

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Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg,
Schloß Sanssouci Bildergalerie, Potsdam



Two Celebrated Painters

The Collaborative Ventures of
Rubens and Brueghel, ca. 1598–1625

ANNE T. WOOLLETT

D

DURING THE FIRST TWO DECADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY, JAN BRUEGHEL the Elder (1568–1625) and Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) were the most eminent painters in Antwerp, a splendid but economically diminished metropolis which remained a vital artistic center. They represented the two major artistic traditions in the city: Brueghel's exceptionally meticulous and graphic brushwork deftly described multitudes of people seen from a high vantage and the details of the natural world, while Rubens captured emotion and corporeal energy with vigorous brushwork in large-scale history paintings. Both had the honor and distinction of serving as court painters to the governors of the Southern Netherlands, Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella Clara Eugenia, and both artists oversaw productive workshops, although little is known of Brueghel's studio arrangements, while Rubens's enterprise operated on a grand and elaborate scale.¹ Their status and reputation was vividly described by an observant young nobleman, Duke Johann Ernst of Saxony, who visited Antwerp in early 1614. He noted in the account of his travels, under the heading "Peter Paul Rybent [Rubens] and Brügel two celebrated painters" that he and his companions "then . . . saw with the two admirable painters Peter Paul Rybent and Brügel many splendid paintings and works of art. Rybent mostly paints large pieces and everything naturally great, very artistic and after life. He can make 100 gulden a week, excellent pieces by him he can sell for 2, 3, 4, and 500 rijks gulden. Brügel paints small panels and landscapes, but all very subtle and artistic, that one regards them with wonder."² Although he doesn't mention meeting the artists, it is tantalizing to think Johann Ernst may have encountered Brueghel in Rubens's studio (or Rubens in Brueghel's studio) during his visit.

Antwerp's leading painters were also frequent collaborators, executing approximately two dozen works together over the course of twenty-five years, from about 1598 to 1625.³ Their partnership began with a war theme, *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1), but other subjects that resulted from their working relationship are more famous, including depictions of the Madonna and Child in a flower garland (fig. 1), mythological themes, and the allegorical series devoted to the Five Senses. A number of their joint works, such as *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4) and the Five Senses series (cat. no. 8), were celebrated by their contemporaries, while the existence of *The*

FIGURE 1

Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625), *Madonna in a Flower Garland*, ca. 1616–18. Oil on panel, 185 × 209.8 cm (72⁷/₈ × 82⁵/₈ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 331



Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus (cat. no. 2) was unknown to scholars until it was acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum in 2000. *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship* brings together for the first time many of the most important collaborations with the goal of considering the artists' unique artistic partnership and working methods. Also included is a small selection of collaborative works that Brueghel and Rubens undertook with significant contemporaries such as Hans Rottenhammer (1564/65–1625), Hendrick de Clerck (1570?–1630), Hendrick van Balen (1574/75–1632), and Frans Snyders (1579–1657).

Collaboration, the process by which two or more artists work together to produce a single work of art, is virtually synonymous with painting in the Low Countries in the years before 1700. The tradition of painters specializing in particular genres—figures, still life (game, fruit, vegetables), landscape, to name but a few—and contributing a share to a painting, was already quite well established by the time Rubens and Brueghel began their artistic partnership with *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1) in about 1598.⁴ Frequently, the principal artist would plan the composition, executing the most important areas himself, and engage the services of a second painter for the figures or details. Collaboration of this sort offered a highly practical approach to producing paintings

quickly for the open market. This practice was so common, and had so many different modes, that there was no middle-Dutch word for what today falls under the general umbrella of “collaboration.” Extraordinarily, artists of equal stature contributed to the genesis of a composition and shared in its execution. In such conceptual collaborations, individual contributions were integrated yet distinct and, as in the joint works of Rubens and Brueghel, accorded equal visual value.

In examining the process of collaboration between Rubens and Brueghel, we are considering joint authorship of the rarest sort, not only between artists of equal status, but between painters with established styles who specialized in particular areas—figures and erudite history scenes in the case of Rubens and atmospheric settings, including landscapes and still life, in the case of Brueghel. Their joint works were, it seems, the result of mutual desire. Brueghel and Rubens’s fond friendship stands out among the leading painters of Europe and within the city’s close-knit artistic community. The two men were dear friends who assisted each other outside the studio. Rubens famously penned letters in Italian to his friend’s leading patron in Milan, Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and Brueghel affectionately referred to Rubens as “my secretary Rubens” (*mio segretario Rubens*) in communications with the same patron.⁵ Brueghel and Rubens shared a formidable creative energy, and their artistic alliance was an intellectual exchange in which the concept for a composition could originate with either painter. It was also a responsive alliance, in which the artists adjusted existing work by the partner. Sometimes these changes were substantial, as in *The Return from War*, in others, more nuanced, as in the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (cat. no. 12). However, the individuality of their respective styles was maintained in their joint works, which amounted to an amiably competitive arena in which they carried out visual jousting. The evident delight and wit that pervade many of their paintings underscore the extraordinary status of their collaborations, which doubtless were perceived as exclusive commodities, not least by the astute Rubens and Brueghel. The extraordinary artistic products that resulted from their collaboration were sought after by collectors throughout Europe.

While it has often been assumed that Rubens played the dominant role in all his partnerships, it is clear from the works assembled here that Brueghel played the largest part in developing and executing their joint works, particularly during the second half of the 1610s when their working method had become more streamlined and included Rubens’s workshop. A highly productive artist, Brueghel devised innovative compositions and reused them with great effect. His detailed and impressive settings are often related to earlier, sixteenth-century types and to the allegorical language of the preceding century. In this respect, his contribution to the partnership was as rich and as important as that of Rubens, whose pictorial language derived from antiquity and Renaissance Italy as well as northern predecessors.

Rubens and Brueghel’s oeuvre reflects the taste and values of the court of Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella (figs. 2 and 3), joint rulers of the Southern Netherlands from 1599,⁶ who sought to convey the continuity of their reign with earlier Burgundian and Habsburg rulers. Following the religious strife of the late sixteenth century, during which the Protestant Northern provinces broke away from Spanish Habsburg rule to form the independent United Provinces, and Antwerp surrendered to



FIGURE 2
Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642) and workshop, with Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678), *The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet*, ca. 1626. Oil on panel, 94 × 123.3 cm (37 × 48½ in.). Baltimore, The Walters Art Museum, inv. 37.2010

FIGURE 3
Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629), *Portrait of Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia*, 1615. Oil on panel, 160 × 81 cm (63 × 31⅞ in.). Gloucestershire, England, The Earl of Wemyss and March K.T.

the forces of Philip II in 1585 to become a Catholic bastion of the Habsburg Southern Netherlands, Albert and Isabella were seen to bring stability to the region, which roughly corresponds to modern-day Belgium. They continued to try to subdue the Dutch rebels through military force, until the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609, which effectively recognized the independence of the Northern provinces.⁷ Deeply pious, they strove to promote the ideals of the revitalized Catholic Church. The partnership of Rubens and Brueghel thus spanned the first phase of the archdukes' reign, which ended with Albert's death in 1621, at which time Isabella was appointed governess general. The archdukes' dual leadership, which represented the goals of piety and regality, thus was reflected in joint artistic expression of their two favorite painters. While mindful of themes traditionally favored in courtly circles, such as the hunt, the two artists also devised new iconography and genres that captured the devoutness and splendor of the archducal court.

THE LIVES AND CAREERS OF BRUEGHEL AND RUBENS

At the time of Brueghel and Rubens's earliest collaboration in the late 1590s, Jan Brueghel (fig. 4) was the older and more established of the pair, and a seasoned collaborator. Born in Brussels in 1568, he was the second son of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1525/30–1569).⁸ Jan's older brother, Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564/65–1637/38),



FIGURE 4

Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641),
Portrait of Jan Brueghel the Elder,
 ca. 1630. Etching, first state,
 249 × 158 mm (9¾ × 6¼ in.).
 London, British Museum,
 Department of Prints and
 Drawings, inv. 1849-2-10-228
 © Trustees of the British Museum

enjoyed a successful career painting versions of the highly popular peasant subjects of his father.⁹ Jan, according to the painter and biographer Karel van Mander (1548–1606), first learned to paint in watercolor from his maternal grandmother, Mayeken Verhulst Bessemers, a miniaturist, and later trained as an oil painter with the landscape specialist Pieter Goetkint (d. 1583).¹⁰

Like his father, Jan traveled to Italy in 1589, a trip which was by this time almost obligatory for ambitious Northern artists; he stopped first in Cologne and probably also in Venice.¹¹ The few drawings that document his stay in Naples after June 1590 reveal his interest in landscape vistas and monumental architecture.¹² While in Rome (1592–94), Brueghel befriended Paul Bril (ca. 1554–1626), an Antwerp landscape specialist who, along with his brother Matthijs (1550–1583), painted atmospheric landscapes for many Roman interiors, often in fresco, and contributed to the taste among collectors for this especially Northern genre.¹³ Bril's own style was strongly influenced by the dramatic landscape forms of Joachim Patinir (ca. 1480–1524) (see, for example, fig. 21) and the forest landscapes of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. During the mid-1590s, Bril's lively drawings and his small-scale, delicately painted landscapes had a decisive impact on Brueghel.¹⁴ Brueghel continued to develop his own repertoire of inventive, minutely rendered subjects traditionally associated with the North, some characterized by flickering nocturnal effects and grotesque monsters (fig. 5) reminiscent of Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516). Toward the end of his Roman stay, he developed an early form of the paradise landscape (see fig. 75), perhaps as a result of his encounters with Venetian landscapes and the Roman works of Jacopo Zucchi (ca. 1540–1596).¹⁵

Paul Bril's works were avidly collected, and his contacts with leading cognoscenti and the Accademia di San Luca helped to bring Brueghel to the attention of patrons. While in Rome, Brueghel enjoyed the protection of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, who also employed Rubens's older brother Philip.¹⁶ In about 1593, he met the Post-Tridentine reformer Cardinal Federico Borromeo, a discerning and enthusiastic collector, who became a lifelong friend and patron. Their spirited correspondence provides insight into Brueghel's working methods and the cardinal's affinity for the artist's style. Brueghel resided with Borromeo in the Palazzo Vercelli, and when Borromeo became archbishop of Milan in June 1595, Brueghel received a place in his household.¹⁷ During his Roman stay, Brueghel also became acquainted with a German painter of small-scale refined nudes, Hans Rottenhammer. In a letter to the cardinal, Brueghel praised Rottenhammer, saying "nothing in Holland and Flanders is as beautiful as the work of a certain German in Italy, and I beg you to hold his works in high, high esteem."¹⁸ Borromeo's collection included a series of small landscapes, individually executed by Brueghel and Bril and displayed together, as well as collaborative works by Brueghel and Rottenhammer.¹⁹ The well-matched techniques of Brueghel and Rottenhammer (see cat. nos. 14 and 15) attest to a convivial working relationship.

In addition to the exchange of ideas among Northern painters in Rome for the imagined scenery of forest landscapes to which he was an important contributor, Brueghel was absorbed in rendering the imposing remains of antiquity in and around the city. In contrast to the documentary approach taken by other Northern artists in their sketchbooks, Brueghel captured the monumental remains of the classical past in



FIGURE 5

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Orpheus Singing before Pluto and Proserpina*, 1594. Oil on copper, 27 × 36 cm (10⁵/₈ × 14¹/₈ in.). Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina, inv. 1298

delicately hued watercolor drawings. A number of drawings of rocky hills and cascades attest to Brueghel's visit to Tivoli.²⁰ The rugged landscape and soaring vaults of the Baths of Diocletian or the Cluvius Scauri (fig. 6), and particularly the interior of the Colosseum (fig. 7), reveal his response to the dramatic effect of the vaulted interiors. These arched forms were important not only for his later architectural interiors but for his development of landscape forms that suggest corridors. Brueghel explored the intricacies of the play of light and deep shade over the broken forms of the Colosseum, placing the viewer in the shadow, silhouetting the rough edges of the wall against the bright sunlight through the far arch, the massiveness of the structure emphasized by the small figure at the right.²¹ He was particularly fascinated by the dynamic visual "pull" of the receding arched corridor, and he reused this theatrical feature in allegorical scenes after his return to Antwerp (see cat. nos. 17 and 18).

Brueghel was not alone in his fascination for these crumbling forms, and he was receptive to the fantastic renderings of landscapes animated by ruins and ruinous interiors



FIGURE 6

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Baths of Diocletian or the Cluvius Scauri*, 1594. Pen and brown wash, 26.2 × 20.4 cm (10³/₈ × 8 in.). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection F. Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, inv. 7879

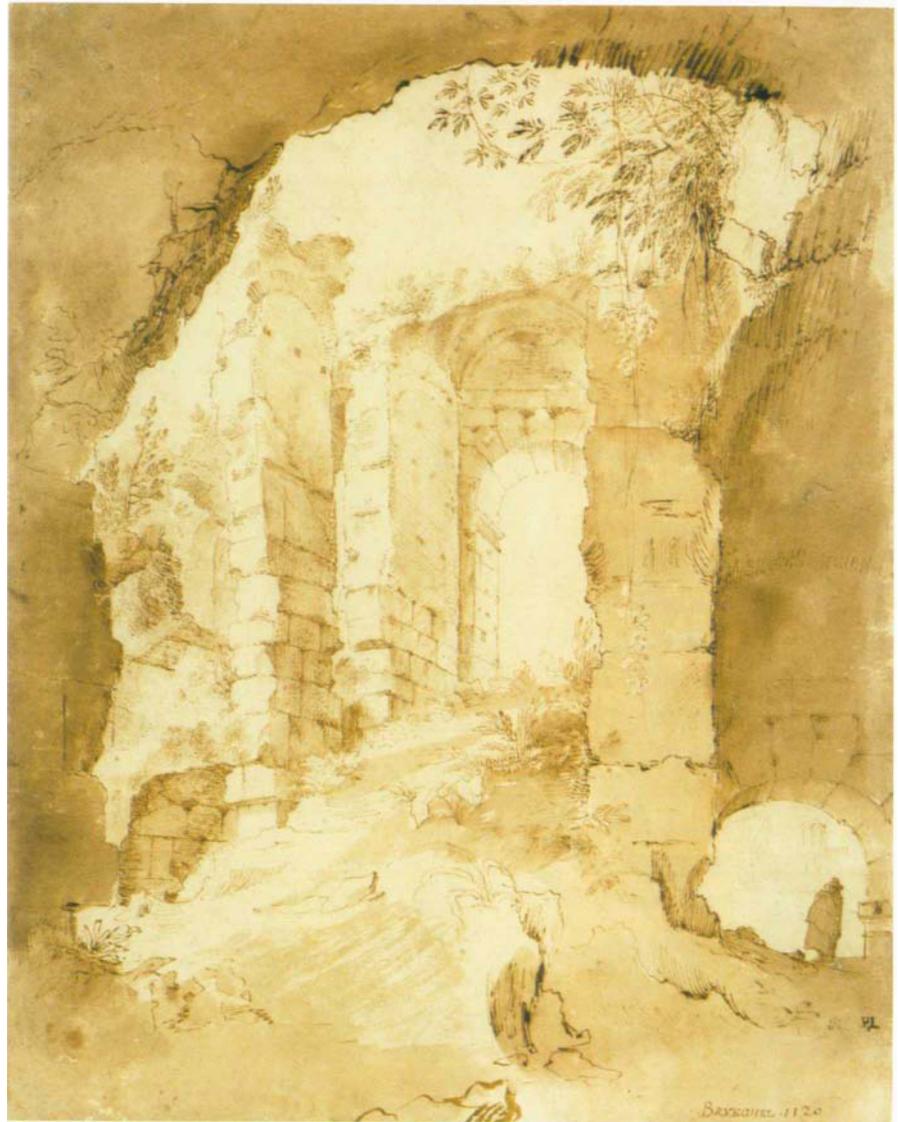


FIGURE 7

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of the Interior of the Colosseum*, ca. 1595. Pen and brown wash, 26.2 × 21 cm (10³/₈ × 8¹/₄ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Sammlungen der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, inv. KDZ 26327

by contemporaries, such as Lodewijk Toeput (ca. 1550–ca. 1605), whose *Interior of the Colosseum* (fig. 8) is remarkable for its damp atmosphere. Brueghel's friendship with the latter, whom he may have met in Treviso before arriving in Rome, is documented by an inscription on the back of a drawing by Toeput.²² In one of the first of his works acquired by Federico Borromeo, Brueghel infused the landscape of arched ruins, one of a six-part series of contemplative monks (fig. 9), with greater intricacy and monumentality than the print that served as its source.²³ The arched interiors used to such effect in later works (see cat. nos. 2, 17, and 18), however, have a common source in the elaborate *Forge of Vulcan* by Paolo Fiammingo (1540–1596), a Flemish artist active in Venice (see fig. 78). Many of these motifs, particularly the vaulted corridor, fueled the imaginative settings of later allegorical subjects.



FIGURE 8

Lodewijk Toeput (ca. 1550–ca. 1605), *The Interior of the Colosseum*, 1581. Pen and brown ink, brown and olive wash, 34.7 × 25.5 cm (13⁵/₈ × 10 in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. 24650



FIGURE 9

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Landscape with Ruins and a Hermit*, 1596. Oil on copper, 26 × 36.5 cm (10¹/₄ × 14³/₈ in.). Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 75

Brueghel spent only a year in Milan before returning to the Netherlands, where he settled in Antwerp by October 1596.²⁴ The following year, at age twenty-nine, he joined the Guild of Saint Luke as a “master’s son” (his father had entered the guild in 1551) and later served as co-dean and dean in 1601 and 1602.²⁵ In 1599 he was accepted into the elite confraternity of Romanists (Confratrum Collegij Romanorum apud Antuerpienses), whose members had visited Rome and paid homage at the tombs of the apostles Peter and Paul.²⁶ In the late sixteenth century, few artists were members of the Romanists, but Brueghel joined two other leading artists with ties to the ruling archducal court, Wenceslas Cobergher (ca. 1560–1632) and Rubens’s teacher, Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629). The last years of the century were busy ones for Van Veen, who had been court painter to the former governor of the Netherlands Alessandro Farnese, as well as to Archduke Ernst, and was responsible for designing the triumphal arches for the entry of the archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp in 1599 following their accession as sovereign rulers of the Netherlands. Brueghel probably first became acquainted with Rubens through the Guild of Saint Luke or possibly during preparation for the triumphal entries.²⁷ Their earliest known joint work, *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1) was executed shortly after Rubens became a master himself in 1598 and before his departure for Italy in May 1600. Although Brueghel and Rubens adhered to a conventional division of labor between landscape and figures, the unusual subject of *The Battle of the Amazons* hints at the ambition and scale of their future collaborations. Prior to that project, Brueghel had begun to fashion the meticulous multifigure scenes (for example, cat. no. 25) for which he was celebrated. Van Mander refers to the “small landscapes and tiny figures in which he has an excellently fine manner of working.”²⁸ However, the collaboration with Rubens on a monumental history subject may have spurred Brueghel



FIGURE 10

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Continnence of Scipio*, 1600.
Oil on copper, 72.2 × 106.5 cm
(28³/₈ × 41⁷/₈ in.). Munich, Alte
Pinakothek, inv. 827

to paint similar themes, such as *The Continnence of Scipio* (fig. 10) with its episodic action, and to invest his bird's-eye-view landscapes with new grandeur. Intriguingly, a later inventory refers to a painting of Mount Parnassus, specified as a collaboration between Van Veen, Brueghel, and Rubens, now lost.²⁹

Over the course of the first decade of the seventeenth century, Brueghel established himself as one of the leading painters in the Southern Netherlands. On January 23, 1599, he married Isabella de Jode, the daughter of the engraver Gerard de Jode, and in 1601 their first child, Jan, was born. Following Isabella's death in 1603, possibly during the birth of their daughter Paschasia, Brueghel married Catharina van Marienberghe, with whom he had eight children.³⁰ In 1604 Brueghel purchased a large house with a garden, the "Meerminne" (The Mermaid), no. 107 Lange Nieuwstraat (fig. 11), which must reflect not only his status but also his high level of productivity in these years.³¹ Known as "Velvet Brueghel" for his delicate touch, Jan specialized in still-life and landscape subjects of remarkably refined execution. His most frequent collaborator in these years was Hendrick van Balen. Like Brueghel, Van Balen had made the journey to Rome (1595–1600) and joined the Antwerp Guild of Romanists in 1605.³² While Van Balen



FIGURE 11

Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601), *Antverpia* (bird's-eye perspective of Antwerp, seen from the east), detail. From G. Braun and F. Hogenberg, *Theatrum Urbium et Civitatum Orbis Terrarum*, vol. v (Antwerp, ca. 1598). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet

In early seventeenth-century Antwerp, many artists' residences and studios, particularly those of Rubens and Brueghel, were located in close proximity to one another.

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER

- 1 107 Lange Nieuwstraat, "De Meerminne" (The Mermaid), a large house with a garden, from December 1604
- 2 17 Arenbergstraat, "Den Bock" (The Billy Goat), a substantial property (formerly two houses) with a garden near the luxury art market (tapissierspand), purchased March 1619; one of several properties owned by the artist

PETER PAUL RUBENS

- 3 37 Kloosterstraat. Rubens and his wife reside with his father-in-law, Jan Brant, ca. 1609–1611
- 4 In 1610, Rubens purchased and rebuilt a large house with a garden on the Wapper (off the Meir, Antwerp's most important thoroughfare), and added a two-story studio with a sumptuously decorated exterior; occupied ca. 1617

HENDRICK VAN BALEN

- 5 96 Lange Nieuwstraat, a house with a garden; purchased December 1604
- 6 78 Lange Nieuwstraat, "De Wildeman" (The Wild Man), large house with a gallery, purchased July 1622

FRANS SNYDERS

- 7 17 Korte Gasthuisstraat (rented house), October 1611–1620
- 8 8 Keizerstraat, "De Fortuyne" (Fortune), a large house with a courtyard on one of the city's most exclusive streets, purchased December 1620

FIGURE 12

Hendrick van Balen (1574/75–1632) and Abel Grimmer (ca. 1570–1618/19), *View of Antwerp*, 1600. Oil on panel, 37 × 44 cm (14½ × 17¾ in.). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 817



executed monumental altarpieces at the outset of his career and collaborated with other artists, such as Abel Grimmer (1570–1618/19) (fig. 12), his joint compositions with Brueghel were small-scale works, usually painted on panel or copper supports that enhanced their jewel-like qualities. Brueghel's precise brushwork complements Van Balen's similarly refined technique, while Brueghel's descriptive landscape settings and sumptuous still-life objects serve to offset Van Balen's smooth figures (see cat. nos. 17–21).

Brueghel painted some of his most innovative and, indeed, most labor-intensive works for his patron in Milan, Cardinal Borromeo. Over his lifetime, Borromeo assembled a large collection of Flemish landscapes and Italian paintings (in 1621, he owned twenty-one works by Jan Brueghel). The *Allegory of Fire* (see fig. 76), for example, was the first of a series of the four elements Brueghel painted for the cardinal between 1606 and 1621. Brueghel's extensive correspondence with Borromeo and his agent, Ercole Bianchi, reveal much about his working process and particularly about the relationship between cleric and painter.³³ It was for this devoted and rigorous patron that Brueghel developed some of his most extraordinary and influential images. The *Madonna and Child in a Flower Garland* (see fig. 82) is the most remarkable example of his invention and the truly collaborative relationship that existed between Brueghel and Borromeo. Brueghel reformulated a traditional devotional element, the garland of flowers with which holy images were honored, according to the instructions of his patron and rendered it as a trompe l'oeil masterpiece that appears to be suspended from a nail on the wall. The Virgin and Child were painted by Van Balen on a separate silver insert; both the Madonna and Child and the honorific garland were concealed by a gold cover that served to enhance the image's devotional nature.³⁴ The garland painting was sent in 1607 to Borromeo, who returned it the following year, asking Brueghel

to add a landscape around the Virgin and Child. Brueghel added the verdant woody background as well as deer to Van Balen's image and sent it to Milan, where it was received with rapture. It was Brueghel's practice to send a painting to the cardinal for his approval, and on more than one occasion the cardinal asked Brueghel to make specific changes.³⁵ The longevity of Brueghel's relationship with Borromeo not only illustrates his considerable skill as a collaborator but also his effortless ability to fruitfully confer with such a powerful personality, making his relationship with Rubens all the easier to comprehend.

For Borromeo, the natural world was evidence of God's presence, and he prized Brueghel's skillful portrayal of that world, particularly his technical ability to render all aspects of nature with tremendous specificity. As Borromeo noted in his 1625 treatise on the Ambrosian collection, *Musaeum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*: "He [Brueghel] was wonderful in his field and knew how to give to those tiny figures so much nobility and so much life that they leave the onlooker uncertain as to the dimensions of the things which are painted. It also appears that he even wished with his brush to travel over all of nature, because he painted, as we shall later demonstrate, seas, mountains, grottos, subterranean caves, and all these things, which are separated by immense distances, he confined to a small space, imitating nature itself not only in color, but also in talent, which is the highest quality of nature and of art. And if to someone this praise seems exaggerated, let him know that one day the fame of this man will be so great that this praise which I gave him will seem meager."³⁶

Brueghel's interest in the representation of the natural world had been stimulated by the collection of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, whose court Brueghel had visited in 1604. Whether inspired by the floral still lifes of Roelandt Savery (1576–1639) he saw there, or as a result of his own study of flowers in the gardens of the Brussels court, Brueghel undertook an ambitious and evidently technically challenging series of paintings for the cardinal that featured flowers from different seasons, all at their peak of perfection. Brueghel wrote to Borromeo on more than one occasion about the magnificent *Vase of Flowers with Jewel, Coins and Shells* (fig. 13), which was finally sent to him in August 1606.³⁷ Earlier that year, on April 14, Brueghel told his patron, "I have begun and destined for Your Illustrious Lordship a bunch of flowers that is found to be very beautiful, as much as for their naturalness as also for the beauty and rarity of the various flowers, [of which] a few are unknown and little seen in this area; for that [reason] I have been to Brussels in order to depict from nature some flowers that are not found in Antwerp." In August 1606, he informed Borromeo that the "bunch" would include over one hundred different varieties, all of which would be life-size, adding proudly, "I believe that so rare and varied flowers never have been finished with similar diligence; in winter this painting will make a beautiful sight. A few of the colors are very close to nature."³⁸

As Brueghel's reference to the study of flowers in the gardens of the Brussels court suggests, he was already connected with the archducal court as early as 1606, and other documents from that year show the archdukes exercising their authority on Jan's behalf with the Antwerp magistrates.³⁹ While Brueghel and Rubens can both be described as court painters, they occupied different positions within the apparatus of artists who served

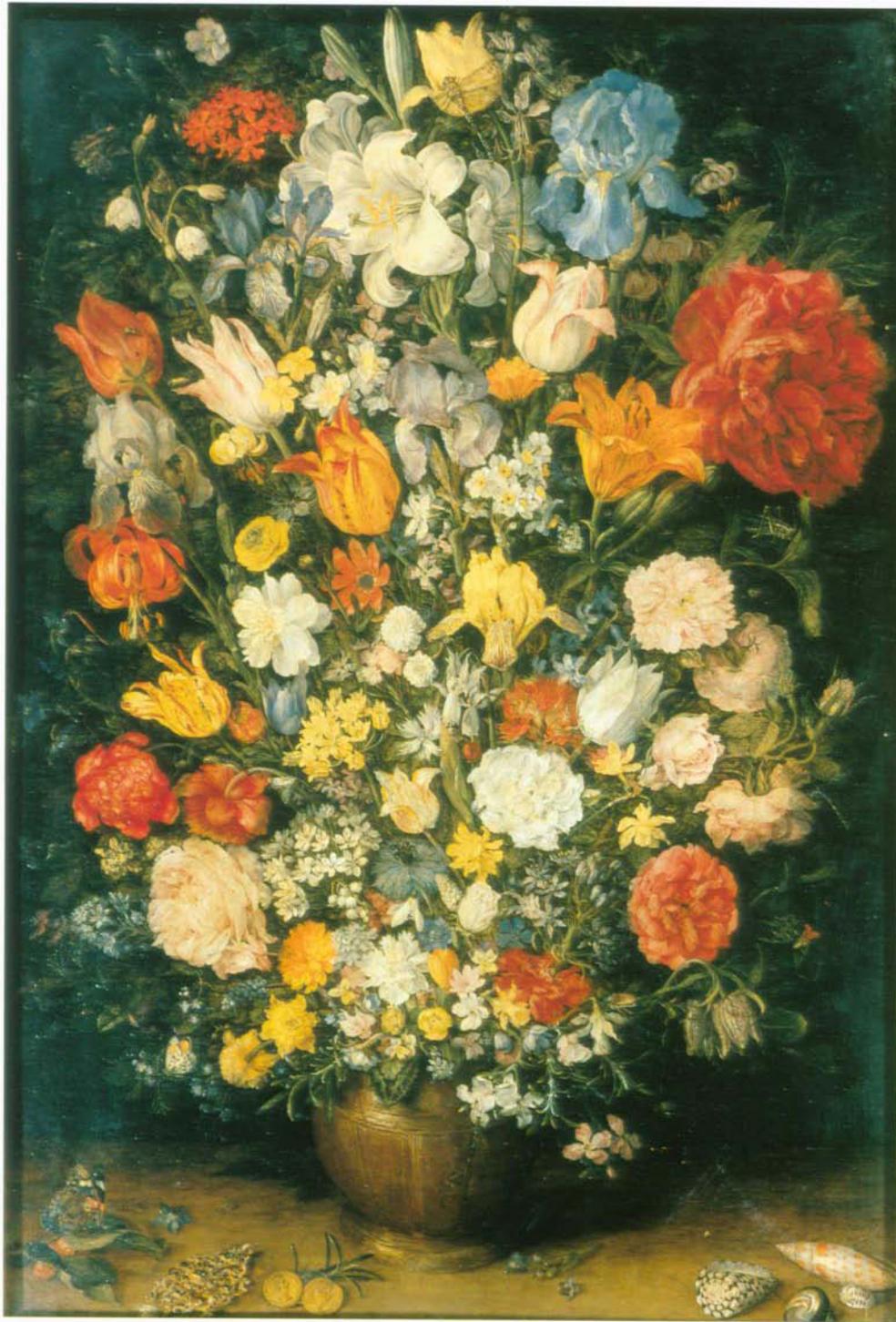


FIGURE 13

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Vase of Flowers with Jewel, Coins and Shells*, 1606. Oil on copper, 65 × 45 cm (25⁵/₈ × 17³/₄ in.). Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 66 ©Biblioteca Ambrosiana Auth. F 179.05

FIGURE 14

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Wedding Banquet Presided over by the Archdukes*, ca. 1612–13. Oil on canvas, 84 × 126 cm (33¹/₈ × 49⁵/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1442



Albert and Isabella. Without receiving an official appointment, Jan held the position of “painter to their Royal Highnesses” (*constschilder Harer Hoogheden*) by 1608, a designation he shared with other artists, notably Joos de Momper the Younger (1564–1635) and Hendrick de Clerck.⁴⁰ He was thus retained in the service of the sovereigns, for which he received privileges, such as exemption from excise and taxes and freedom from serving in Antwerp’s civic guard, and could reside in Antwerp, rather than at the court in Brussels. He remained, however, a member of the Guild of Saint Luke. Unlike Rubens, who returned to Antwerp in late 1608, Brueghel did not receive a stipend, or costly demonstrations of esteem from the archdukes. In 1610 he explicitly requested the designation “peintre domestique” from the archdukes, but received a lukewarm response when they noted that he was “sometimes occupied with work in their service” (*quelques fois occupé en ouvrages de [leur] service*).⁴¹ Certain works, such as Brueghel’s large canvas depicting the archdukes at a peasant wedding (fig. 14) apparently served political ends, promoting Albert and Isabella’s efforts to be perceived as sympathetic rulers with attachments to the countryside.⁴²

Brueghel’s tremendous productivity continued through the second decade of the century. With the creation of the mature paradise landscape subject, Brueghel established his preeminence as a painter and interpreter of the natural world within the parameters of biblical subjects (see cat. nos. 4 and 26). Some of his most complex figure works also date from this period, such as the *Village Landscape with Self-Portrait* (fig. 15). He may have been assisted in the studio by his son, Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678), before his departure for Italy in 1622.⁴³ Two other students were registered with Brueghel: Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) and an artist known only as “Michiel.”⁴⁴

FIGURE 15

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Village Landscape with Self-Portrait*, 1614. Oil on panel, 52 × 90.5 cm (20½ × 35⅝ in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 9102 (the artist and his family appear in the left foreground)



FIGURE 16

Joos de Momper the Younger (1564–1635) and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *A Market and Bleaching Fields*, ca. 1620–22. Oil on canvas, 166 × 194 cm (65⅜ × 76⅜ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1443



Brueghel's quick sureness with the brush and adept management of simultaneous projects ensured his status as a lead collaborator, and a substantial proportion of his activity involved collaborative works with many of Antwerp's most eminent specialists. He continued to work with Hendrick van Balen and with artists of similarly fine technique, including Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642). In his artistic relationship with the landscape painter Joos de Momper the Younger, it was Brueghel who, in an unusual role reversal, supplied the figures for De Momper's landscapes.⁴⁵ Sometimes these works were large-scale panoramas, while others such as *A Market and Bleaching Fields* (fig. 16) required a closer integration between the setting, by De Momper, and the figures, which are exceptionally large for Brueghel. De Momper and Brueghel's close acquaintance is confirmed by Brueghel's reference to him as "my friend Momper" (*mio amico Momper*) in a letter to Ercole Bianchi in Milan.⁴⁶

Brueghel's seniority and established ability to coordinate projects with other painters surely account for his oversight of the prestigious commission from the city of Antwerp for the unprecedented collective execution by twelve of Antwerp's leading painters of two paintings representing the Five Senses, today known from two large canvases (see figs. 58 and 59), as gifts for Archdukes Albert and Isabella.⁴⁷ Painted about the same time as Brueghel and Rubens's five-part series on the same theme (see cat. no. 8), the richly appointed interiors encapsulate Antwerp's artistic heritage and the munificent and refined sensibilities of the archdukes and their enlightened court. The archdukes also confirmed their collecting interests and ties of taste with their realm's elite citizens in archetypal representations of art collections (fig. 17). These ideal assemblages of famous paintings honor the proud tradition of painting in Antwerp, and in the allegories of the senses often playfully refer to Rubens and Brueghel's own achievements and those of talented contemporaries such as Frans Snyders.

In 1619 Brueghel purchased "Den Bock" (The Billy Goat), a sizable house with a garden on the west corner of Arenbergstraat and Sint Martinsstraat, near the *tapissiers pand*, a center for the sale of paintings, tapestries, and other luxury items in Antwerp.⁴⁸ Brueghel continued to develop some of his earliest, most innovative landscapes, notably the so-called paradise landscape (see cat. nos. 4, 14, and 26), first developed in the late 1590s, and under the influence of Rubens's recent innovations, to pursue other landscape subjects in a cabinet format, notably the hunt subjects featuring Diana and her nymphs (see cat. nos. 10 and 11). Cardinal Borromeo remained a key patron, and Brueghel continued to develop the garland genre. In a series of letters between September 1621 and July 1622, he refers to a garland in which the central image would be painted by Rubens.⁴⁹ Tragically, Brueghel's career, and his fruitful partnership with Rubens and others, was cut short on January 13, 1625, when he died, along with three of his children, Pieter, Elisabeth, and Maria, in an outbreak of cholera that swept through Antwerp. His son Jan, traveling in Italy, returned to take over the workshop and continued to work with Rubens but was never his equal partner.

Unlike Jan Brueghel the Elder, who had been born into a family of painters, Peter Paul Rubens was to take up the brush only after initial preparation for a civic career.⁵⁰ His father, Jan Rubens, a Protestant lawyer and alderman, fled Antwerp with his family in 1568 for Cologne. While serving as secretary to Anna of Saxony, princess of Orange,

FIGURE 17

Willem van Haecht (1593–1637),
Apelles Painting Campaspe,
ca. 1630. Oil on panel, 104.9 ×
148.7 cm (41¼ × 58½ in.).
The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery
Mauritshuis, inv. 266



he was found guilty of an adulterous affair with his patron and expelled to Westphalia. Peter Paul Rubens was born in Siegen in 1577. The family returned to Cologne the following year and later reverted to Catholicism. Following his father's death, Rubens's mother, Maria Pijpelinckx, returned with her family to Antwerp in 1589. After receiving a rigorous education at the Latin school of Rombout Verdonck, a foundation that would inform and shape his future artistic endeavors, Rubens entered the household of Marguerite de Lalaing d'Arenburg, comtesse de Ligne, in Audenarde as a page. After only a short time, Rubens left the cloistered courtier's world to begin his artistic training, entering the workshop of a distant relation, the landscape and history painter Tobias Verhaecht (1561–1631) in about 1591 at the age of fourteen.

Rubens soon sought a more sympathetic and perhaps influential teacher and became apprenticed to the history painter Adam van Noort (1562–1641) before finally settling with the illustrious Otto van Veen in about 1594.⁵¹ In Van Veen he found a teacher of great erudition who had himself traveled to Italy and purportedly worked in the studio of Federico Zuccaro (1540/42–1609).⁵² In the late 1590s, Van Veen was not only painting important altarpiece commissions, such as *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew* (fig. 18), which met the rigorous criteria of orthodox Catholicism, but was in charge of devising the celebratory allegories for the triumphal entry of the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella into Antwerp. At this time he was appointed engineer of the citadel of Antwerp, an official court position accompanied by privileges and few restrictions.⁵³

Rubens was already seeking out pictorial models outside the example of his teacher. He later confided to a fellow artist that he had assiduously made drawings after



FIGURE 18
Otto van Veen, *The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, 1594–99.
Oil on panel, 400 × 300 cm
(157½ × 118 in.). Antwerp,
Sint-Andrieskerk
© IRPA/KIK-Brussels



FIGURE 19
Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a Man*, ca. 1597. Oil on copper,
21.6 × 14.6 cm (8½ × 5¾ in.).
New York, Metropolitan Museum
of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky
Collection, 1982, inv. 1982.60.24

prints by early German masters as a young artist.⁵⁴ With his command of Latin, Greek, and several other languages, and his exposure to Van Veen's own extensive knowledge of antique and Italian Renaissance works, Rubens acquired the foundations of a learned painter, a *pictor doctus*. He became a master in the Guild of Saint Luke in 1598⁵⁵ and remained in Van Veen's studio, perhaps as an assistant, until 1600. Only a few works from this period can be identified, including the refined miniature *Portrait of a Man* (fig. 19).⁵⁶ He never returned to this format. Although his famous declaration that he was “by natural instinct, better fitted to execute very large works than small curiosities” was made twenty years later, Rubens's earliest paintings, including *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1), suggest that his inclinations were already established.⁵⁷ In his collaboration with Brueghel on *The Battle of the Amazons*, Rubens adopted an intermediate scale for the tangle of figures, which he infused with the graphic emotion of a much larger work. Although the experiences of Brueghel's Italian sojourn may have helped prepare Rubens for his own journey, he eschewed a specialty in landscape to establish himself as an outstanding painter of historical subjects.

The following eight years, during which Rubens (fig. 20) traveled and worked in Italy and Spain, were decisive.⁵⁸ Armed perhaps with a letter of introduction from Otto van Veen, he left Antwerp in November 1600 for Mantua with an assistant, Deodaat del Monte.⁵⁹ While his projects for the duke of Mantua, Vincenzo I Gonzaga, were routine—he mostly painted and copied portraits—Rubens took advantage of the duke's extraordinary collection and the opportunity to study the work of leading Renaissance painters such as Andrea Mantegna (1430/31–1506), Titian (1485/90–1576), and Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546), among others. He visited Rome, where the rivalry between Caravaggio (1571–1610) and Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643) had polarized art lovers for six months between July 1601 and January 1602. He was immediately drawn to the famous works of antique sculpture that could be seen in the papal collection of the Belvedere Palace, which contained the Torso Belvedere and the Laocoön, as well as works in the private collections of the Borghese and Farnese families. His drawings after sculpture in this period are full of contained energy and eventually formed a repertoire to which he would return when composing paintings in Antwerp.⁶⁰

In addition to Paul Bril and Hans Rottenhammer, other Northern artists had moved to the city. The fluid brushwork and nocturnal effects of the German painter Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610) were as important to Rubens as the graphic, aggressive compositions of Caravaggio. Rubens's presence in the city and success were also monitored by Archduke Albert, whose agent, Johannes Richardot, kept him abreast of the activities of Flemish artists. In 1602 Albert favored Rubens with the important commission of an altarpiece for Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which had been his titular church in Rome (the archduke, who had been elevated to the cardinalate at age eighteen and later became archbishop of Toledo, renounced his ecclesiastical rank in 1598).⁶¹

Rubens's diplomatic skills were tested as the emissary of the duke of Mantua to the court of Philip III in Madrid. Accompanying the train of gifts, which included almost forty paintings as well as horses from the Gonzaga stud, Rubens arrived in the Spanish capital Valladolid in May 1603 and remained there for eight months. After repairing works damaged during the journey, he visited the royal collections, including

FIGURE 20

Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-Portrait with Friends*, ca. 1602. Oil on canvas, 77.5 × 101 cm (30½ × 39¾ in.). Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, inv. 248
©Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln



the Escorial, where Philip II had amassed a considerable group of works by the most famous Flemish painters of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (fig. 21), a collaboration between Antwerp's leading painters of the early sixteenth century, Quinten Metsys (1466–1530) and Joachim Patinir.⁶² Rubens also executed the imposing and influential equestrian portrait of the duke of Lerma (fig. 22), the king's most powerful minister, the only documented commission he received while in Spain.⁶³ In this painting Rubens transformed the influences of Titian and Tintoretto to create a highly dramatic and unified evocation of status and power. The tautly animated steed, which seems to pause just in front of the viewer, was later used to great effect on a much smaller scale by Jan Brueghel, both in joint works with Rubens (see cat. nos. 2, 4, and 7) and in the paradise landscapes (see cat. no. 26).⁶⁴

Once Rubens was back in Mantua, Venetian and Roman influences continued to shape his work, for example, in the three canvases honoring the Holy Trinity (1604–05) commissioned by Duke Vincenzo.⁶⁵ In 1605–06 Rubens traveled to Genoa, where he painted monumental portraits as well as an altarpiece on the subject of the Circumcision (Genoa, Jesuit Church). Ultimately, Rubens grew tired of the constraints of the Gonzaga court and asked for liberty to remain in Rome. There, residing with his brother Philip in the Via de la Croce, he secured one of the foremost commissions in the city, the altarpiece for the Oratorian Church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (see cat. no. 29).⁶⁶ Rubens incorporated the reputedly miraculous image of the Vallicella Madonna, an

FIGURE 21

Joachim Patinir (ca. 1480–1524) and Quinten Metsys (1466–1530), *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, ca. 1522. Oil on panel, 155 × 173 cm (61 × 68 1/8 in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1615



Andachtsbild, in the new high altarpiece and encircling it with venerating angels, a solution that met his patrons' key demand and had ramifications for the treatment of decorated images of the Virgin and Child that he, and particularly Jan Brueghel, would pursue in Antwerp.⁶⁷

The news that his mother was gravely ill brought Rubens home to Antwerp in October 1608, just days after his mother's death. Despite this personal loss, he recognized the auspicious indications of change. With the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce imminent, bringing hostilities with the Northern provinces to a halt with the recognition of their independence, the future of the Southern Netherlands, and beleaguered Antwerp in particular, appeared more promising. Although Rubens considered returning to Italy, as he wrote to his friend Johann Faber in Rome: "I have not yet made up my mind whether to remain in my own country or to return forever to Rome, where I am invited on the most favorable terms. Here also they do not fail to make every effort to keep me, by every sort of compliment. The Archduke and the Most Serene Infanta have had letters written urging me to remain in their service. Their offers are very generous, but I have little desire to become a courtier again. Antwerp and its citizens would satisfy





FIGURE 22
Peter Paul Rubens, *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, 1603. Oil on canvas, 283 × 200 cm (111½ in. × 78¾ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 3137



FIGURE 23
Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, ca. 1610. Oil on panel, 185 × 205 cm (72⅞ × 80¾ in.). London, National Gallery, inv. 6461

FIGURE 24
Jacob Harrewyn (died after 1701) after J. van Croes (active late 17th century), *The Facade and Arch of Rubens's House*, 1684. Engraving, 287 × 434 mm (11¼ × 17⅛ in.). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 17.877

me, if I could say farewell to Rome. The peace, or rather, the truce from many years will without doubt be ratified, and during this period it is believed that our country will flourish again.”⁶⁸

Rubens decided to stay in Antwerp and set about to attain the status he desired. Within the first twelve months after his return, he established himself as one of the city’s leading painters. Early in 1609, he was commissioned to paint *The Adoration of the Magi* (1609; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado) for the *Statenkamer* (State Room) of the Antwerp town hall where the new peace was signed.⁶⁹ By the end of 1609, he had also completed a major altarpiece and gallery paintings for preeminent collectors. The erudite elite of Antwerp were well acquainted with the figurative language employed by Rubens, who in essence was updating a long-standing Italianate visual style preferred by socially and politically ambitious patrons.⁷⁰ *Samson and Delilah* (fig. 23) would have appealed to the learned viewer familiar not only with the major monuments of antiquity but also with the weighty, sculptural forms of Michelangelo.⁷¹ Rubens was soon able to command higher prices than his colleagues, and many students were drawn to his studio.⁷² Following his marriage in 1609 to Isabella Brant, Rubens bought a substantial house on the Wapper (see fig. 11), renovating it according to Italian architectural ideals and adding a large studio extension (completed in 1618) (fig. 24).

The archdukes sought to attach Rubens to their service on generous terms. In the patent letter of September 23, 1609, they recognized his “great experience in the art of painting and other arts” and entreated him to become their *officier* and *paintre de nostre*



FIGURE 25

Peter Paul Rubens, *The Raising of the Cross*, ca. 1610–11. Oil on panel, central panel: 460 × 340 cm (181 × 133⁵/₈ in.). Antwerp Cathedral © IRPA/KIK-Brussels

hostel, from which office Rubens would benefit from the “rights, honors, liberties, exemptions and the customary liberties and from appurtenances, and from other uses of our attendants and servants” (*droitz, honneurs, libertez, exemptions et franchises accoustumez et y appartenans, et dont joyssent aultres noz domesticques et serviteurs*). In addition to freedom from onerous responsibilities such as participation in the civic guard, he was also freed from membership in the painters’ guild and could teach his art to whomever he wished (*enseigner à ses serviteurs et aultres qu’il voudra sondict art, sans estre assubjecti à ceulx du mestier*). Rubens was allowed to work away from the court and reside in Antwerp and received an annual pension of 500 livres, a substantial amount comparable to the cost of a large painting.⁷³ In addition, he was to be paid for all work executed for the archdukes over and above the pension. Rubens’s stature and the great admiration the archdukes held for him were further reinforced by the sword and gold chain presented to him upon the conclusion of this agreement, along with a double-sided portrait medal bearing his patrons’ likenesses (see cat. nos. 9A and



FIGURE 26
 Peter Paul Rubens and Frans
 Snyders (1579–1657), *The
 Recognition of Philopoemen*, ca. 1609.
 Oil on canvas, 201 × 311 cm
 (79 1/8 × 122 1/4 in.). Madrid, Museo
 Nacional del Prado, inv. 1851

98). These splendid gifts bound the artist to the court still further and constituted the “golden fetters” Rubens’s nephew famously referred to in the biography of his uncle.⁷⁴

While it is often emphasized that Rubens reinfused the Antwerp artistic scene with the vitality and expressiveness he had acquired during his Italian sojourn, he seems also to have consciously adopted a Northern sensibility. For example, he used panel supports for many of the commissions after 1609, a support long favored by Flemish artists. He continued to devise altarpieces in the triptych format preferred by his patrons, finding creative solutions to the challenges posed by separate fields, uniting, for example, the scene across all three sections in *The Raising of the Cross* (fig. 25).⁷⁵

Upon returning home, Rubens also embraced the local artistic practice of collaboration. Among the earliest works he produced with a second artist is *The Recognition of Philopoemen* (fig. 26), with Frans Snyders.⁷⁶ This large-scale painting, in which the magnificent still life by Snyders dominates the composition, was the beginning of a long-term working relationship between the two men that was very different from Rubens’s partnership with Brueghel. The enterprise was overseen by Rubens, who painted a preliminary sketch for the composition (fig. 27), including the still life. Snyders was called upon to paint on a substantial scale and with a greater vividness than



FIGURE 27

Peter Paul Rubens, *The Recognition of Philopoemen*, ca. 1609. Oil on panel, 50.5 × 66.5 cm (19⁷/₈ × 26¹/₈ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 967

FIGURE 28

Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Frans Snyders*, 1621. Oil on canvas, 124.5 × 105 cm (49 × 41³/₈ in.). New York, Frick Collection, inv. 1909.1.39

in his previous works. Only two years younger than Rubens, he was carefully cultivated as a specialist contributor during the formation of Rubens's studio in anticipation of future large-scale commissions. Snyders was an independent master, who brilliantly expressed the complexities of subjects devised by Rubens, such as magnificent vegetables or game, that the latter was disinterested in ideating. While in some cases, such as the *Philopoemen* and *Prometheus Bound* (cat. no. 22), Snyders adhered to a design provided by Rubens, in other instances Snyders was either brought in after the composition had been planned or allowed to devise the still-life and animal aspects of a composition, as in *Diana Returning from the Hunt* (cat. no. 23). So compatible was Snyder's brushwork with Rubens's, that in their most successful collaboration, *The Head of Medusa* (cat. no. 24), in which snakes emerge from both the gorgon's hair and drops of blood, it is difficult to determine where the contribution of one begins and the other ends. Snyders's success as a specialist and the regard with which he was held by his colleagues are evident from the splendid portraits of Snyders (fig. 28) and his wife by Anthony van Dyck. Rubens and Snyders worked together until Rubens's death in 1640, and Snyders served as one of the assessors who drew up the inventory of Rubens's collection.⁷⁷

Rubens's creative relationship to the work of other artists could, on occasion, take a direct and even revisory form. An avid collector of sixteenth-century Italian and German drawings, he sometimes changed works by adjusting contours, reworking areas, or affixing new sheets of paper with figures added by his own hand.⁷⁸ Although this interference may seem surprising, Rubens's hands-on interaction with non-compliant partners reflects the confidence of his creative response and approach to problem solving. In an unusual example of painted intervention, Rubens reworked an existing landscape



FIGURE 29

Paul Bril (ca. 1554–1626),
retouched by Peter Paul Rubens,
Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter,
1610. Oil on canvas, 93 × 128 cm
(36⁵/₈ × 50³/₈ in.). Madrid,
Museo Nacional del Prado,
inv. 1849



FIGURE 30

Peter Paul Rubens, *The Saint Ildelfonso Altarpiece*, 1630–32.
Oil on panel, central panel:
352 × 236 cm (138½ × 92⅞ in.).
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches
Museum, inv. 678

by Paul Bril, *Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter* (fig. 29). Rubens covered the end of the cliff at the center with gray paint, then replaced it with landscape, and added the figures of Psyche and Jupiter. He also introduced the rainbows and the shimmering effects of spray from the waterfall on the right. Rubens retained the painting for himself, and it appears in the inventory of his collection at his death.⁷⁹ While this case doesn't represent a joint effort by Rubens with Bril, who was still living in Rome, it highlights Rubens's readiness to adjust and perhaps "improve" the work of another artist, an approach that notably recurs in *The Return from War* (cat. no. 2). That Rubens made a similarly dramatic revision of the composition established by Brueghel is indicative of the spirit of reciprocity in which they worked and the forthrightness that can exist between friends and equals.

Collaborative works executed with Jan Brueghel, Frans Snyders, and Osias Beert (?1580–1624) were but one aspect of Rubens's tremendous activity in the 1610s and 1620s.⁸⁰ In addition to the sacred images that defined devotional imagery in this period, Rubens devised complex iconographic programs in the form of book illustrations, as well as a program of ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church in Antwerp (1618–21), decorative cycles, such as the history of the Roman consul Decius Mus, and the politically charged series of paintings (1622–25) portraying the life of Marie de' Medici. Jan Wildens (1585/6–1653), recognized as an independent landscape painter of merit in Rubens's correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton, contributed calm, broadly executed landscapes to the Decius Mus tapestry series and other history paintings, elements which were compatible with Rubens's own brushwork but always subordinate to his figures.⁸¹

After the death of Archduke Albert in 1621, Rubens served Isabella as a diplomat and political agent, until her death in 1633. In 1630–32 Rubens painted *The Saint Ildefonso Altarpiece* (fig. 30) for Isabella in memory of her husband. The monumental triptych recalls traditional Flemish devotional images in its format and rich, jewel-like palette, while also epitomizing the marvelous painterly brushwork of Rubens's late career. Rubens's own aversion to war and his frustration with the elusiveness of peace are a recurring theme in his later career, in works such as *The Horrors of War* (1637–38; Florence, Palazzo Pitti). In the late 1630s, Rubens oversaw the production of decorations for the triumphal entry of Archduke Ferdinand into Antwerp (1635), and the suite of over one hundred scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that were painted by his contemporaries and assistants for Torre de la Parada, the hunting lodge of Philip IV.⁸² Rubens's last years were spent in part at his castle, the Steen, at Elewijt, outside Antwerp. He died in 1640 after an illness and was eulogized on his epitaph as "the Apelles, not only of his own age but of all time."⁸³

THE WORKING FRIENDSHIP OF RUBENS AND BRUEGHEL

Rubens and Brueghel's professional and personal lives were closely intertwined, revealing the extent of their remarkable friendship. Shortly after Rubens decided to remain in Antwerp, Brueghel introduced him into the elite confraternity of Romanists, of which he had been a member for the preceding ten years.⁸⁴ One of the most often cited examples of their friendship, however, was Rubens's role as amanuensis for his friend. He acted

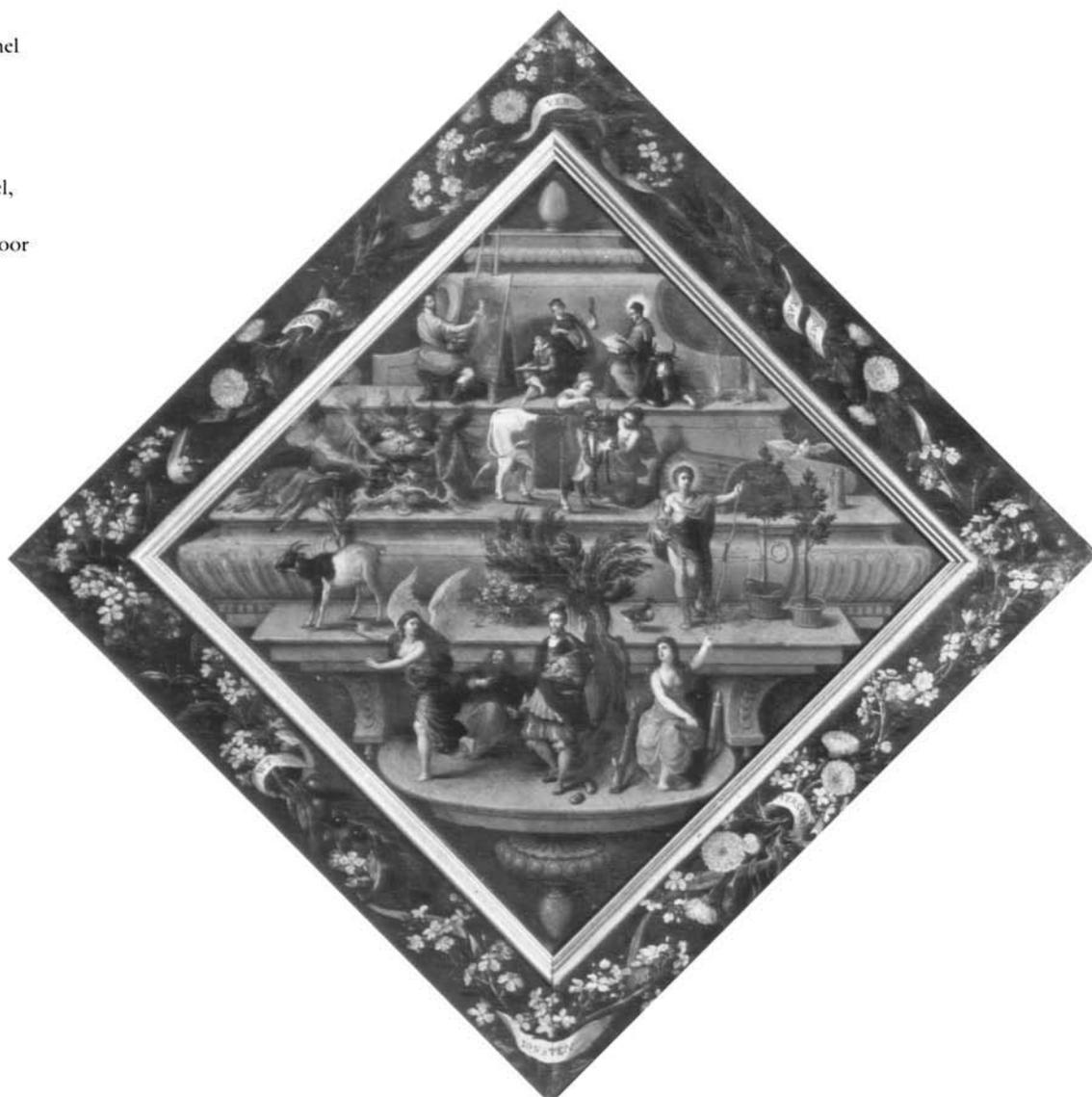
as Brueghel's secretary to Cardinal Borromeo and his agent Bianchi. Starting in October 1610, over two dozen letters in Italian from Rubens's hand are known, continuing up to Brueghel's death in 1625.⁸⁵ Although Rubens and Brueghel together painted at least one garland for Borromeo, Rubens facilitated his friend's exchanges with his Milan patrons regardless of the content. His briefer, more elegant style is evident when compared with the lively but irregular grammar of those written by Brueghel himself.

The intimacy and warmth of their personal relationship were conveyed in Rubens's splendid portrait of Jan Brueghel and his family, painted at about the time they resumed their painterly collaborations in 1610–12 (frontispiece). The affectionate interactions between Jan, his second wife, Catharina van Marienberghe, and their children Elisabeth, on the left, and Pieter are emphasized by the tight format of the Netherlandish portrait tradition. The strong lighting, simple background, and sculptural quality of the figures lend the group a polished immediacy that mitigates the simplicity of this older portrait type, and underscores the familiarity of the painter with his subjects. Jan Brueghel's angled posture conveys the relaxed naturalism that seems to have been a revised objective of the painting.⁸⁶ Rubens's first wife, Isabella Brant, was present at the baptism of the Brueghel children,⁸⁷ and Rubens himself was godfather to Brueghel's older children, Jan and Paschasia. At Brueghel's death, he served as one of the executors of his friend's will and guardian of his children.⁸⁸ As a mark of esteem for Brueghel and his family, Rubens painted *The Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* to decorate the tomb of Jan's father, the celebrated Pieter Bruegel the Elder, in Notre Dame de la Chapelle, Brussels.⁸⁹

Despite their disparate styles, Brueghel and Rubens exercised an artistic relationship that was based on mutually held principles. From their earliest known collaboration (cat. no. 1), conceptually innovative and technically challenging projects were the norm. Unlike their work with other colleagues, in which the painting styles are similar, Rubens and Brueghel's joint works are distinguished by the evident separateness of their hands in a composition. While only one collaboration bears the names of both artists (see cat. no. 4), and a handful of others Brueghel's name (see cat. no. 8), their established specialties and styles of painting serve as the visual equivalent of a signature. Most unusually for Rubens, in certain works, notably *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1) and *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2), there exists a visual equality between his work and that of Brueghel. His willingness to allow certain features of Brueghel's approach, such as a high viewpoint or tilted foreground, as well as the strong and even lighting Jan preferred, to be employed suggests that he perceived these as more truly collaborative ventures than his works with other artists such as Snyders, which were carried out under his direction. In instances where the composition is dominated by Brueghel's contribution, such as in the allegories of the senses (see cat. no. 8) and the garlands (fig. 1 and cat. no. 12), it is the type of painting that determined which of the two partners took the primary role. There are also instances of friendly reciprocity; in *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4) Rubens shared the role of animal painter and may even have contributed grapes to the foreground still life in *The Return from War*. The artists certainly had access to each other's studios, and Brueghel's repeated borrowing of animal motifs from Rubens in the years around 1612–13 attests to the close association they enjoyed and which they acknowledged in paint.

FIGURE 31

Hendrick van Balen, Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642), and Sebastian Vrancx (1573–1647), *Blazon for the Rhetorician's Guild "De Violieren,"* 1618. Oil on panel, 73 × 73 cm (28¾ × 28¾ in.). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 366 ©IRPA/KIK-Brussels



While Rubens and Brueghel's artistic camaraderie was unusual, in the close-knit Antwerp artistic community there were bonds of affinity and family between many leading painters. It was not uncommon for the principal families to be connected by marriage. Many of these connections were facilitated by the common membership in the Guild of Saint Luke, the body that regulated and protected the work not only of painters but also of sculptors and goldsmiths.⁹⁰ A related corporate body, the rhetoricians (*rederijkers*), brought together painters and so-called *liefhebbers*, amateur art-lovers, in a learned dramatic society. Membership in the guild and other civic corporations provided ample opportunity for feasting and merrymaking. The blazon (*blazoen*) of 1618 (fig. 31) presents the ideals of the group as a delightful rebus, in which the art of painting receives the protection of its patron, Saint Luke, and the goddess Fortuna.⁹¹

In their joint works Rubens and Brueghel largely adhered to their respective specialties, although each could, and did, paint other elements on occasion. Their working relationship on a practical level reflected the Flemish tradition of specialized contributions to a single painting by artists and their workshops. While, as we shall see, only Patinir and Metsys's partnership offers a possible precedent for the close artistic relationship of Rubens and Brueghel, the examples of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century practices outlined below testify to the truly elaborate and complex methods of coproduction in which paintings resulted from the participation of different contributors. Until a comprehensive study of collaboration in the Netherlands is completed, it is only possible here to touch on the main elements of the rich tradition that informed the collaborative mode employed by Rubens and Brueghel.

Collaboration was an essential component of structured workshop practice and was quite common in the Low Countries by the fifteenth century.⁹² Important precedents for the rapid development of genres and the associated practice of specialization in the early sixteenth century are found in manuscript illumination. As J. G. Alexander has observed, collaboration between different illuminators was "very common, especially in the later Middle Ages . . . facilitated by the fact that the manuscript was still unbound and could be distributed for different artists to work on at one time."⁹³ A scribe in the late fourteenth century recounted how he traversed the streets of Paris in the rain carrying a colophon between two studios.⁹⁴ A hierarchy of status and expertise was implicit in this process. Broadly speaking, under the direction of a lead illuminator, who might execute the most important miniatures, other artists, perhaps studio assistants, would paint the remaining miniatures and the borders, which themselves might be separated into decorative and figural components. It became increasingly common for one artist to execute the figurative elements and another the landscape or elements from nature.⁹⁵ Model books, transfer, pouncing, and other methods helped artists keep pace with demand.

Panel painters' workshops in the fifteenth century were structured in a similar fashion. Documentary evidence, such as accounts, contracts, and guild records, suggests that the master painter executed the important aspects of a commission and assistants in the studio would carry out the rest. Essential preparatory materials for painting, including drawings of motifs, enabled successful painters to produce multiple versions of successful or popular compositions.⁹⁶ Designs, drawings, and other precious resources of a workshop might also be passed to the son of a painter or other family member, who would continue in his father's manner.⁹⁷ The most famous example of a jointly produced painting in the fifteenth century was *The Adoration of the Mystic Lamb*, also known as the *Ghent Altarpiece* (fig. 32), by Hubert van Eyck (d. 1426) and his brother Jan (ca. 1390/1400–1441). A fragmentary inscription on the outside of the altarpiece is today largely accepted as evidence that Hubert began the polyptych and that his younger brother Jan finished it.⁹⁸ Workshop resources were protected and passed on to descendants in the seventeenth century as well. Rubens closely guarded his drawings and retained preparatory oil sketches for future reference.⁹⁹ While it is assumed that Jan Brueghel the Elder worked with his son Jan the Younger, before the latter's departure for



FIGURE 32
 Hubert van Eyck (d. 1426) and
 Jan van Eyck (ca. 1390/1400–
 1441), *The Ghent Altarpiece*
(Adoration of the Mystic Lamb)
 (open), completed 1432. Oil on
 panel, 350 × 461 cm (137¾ ×
 181½ in.). Ghent, Cathedral of
 Saint Bavo ©IRPA/KIK-Brussels

Italy in the spring of 1622, it was at the unexpected death of his father in 1625 that Jan II inherited the contents of the workshop and its “resources.”¹⁰⁰ The younger Brueghel capitalized on the successful compositions and relationships established by his father and produced, for example, numerous versions of the Five Senses and garlands.¹⁰¹ Documents attest to his continued contact with Rubens, though the latter was pursuing diplomatic ventures and must have largely operated through his studio.¹⁰² Jan the Younger’s journal (*Dagboek*) for the period 1625–51 provides insight into the market-driven collaborative relationships the younger Brueghel maintained with Abraham Janssens (ca. 1575–1632), Lucas van Uden (1595–1672), and his brother-in-law, David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690), as well as his careful perpetuation of his father’s inventions.¹⁰³

Early in the sixteenth century, according to Karel van Mander, particularly in the burgeoning port city of Antwerp, the growing phenomenon of varieties or specialties (*verscheydenheden*) in which artists worked began to gather momentum. The favorable economic climate in the city, whose population would double over the next fifty years, is often considered one of the contributing factors to the change in artistic practice. Opportunities for selling works of art increased with the establishment of yearly markets (*pandts*) and later with the building of the new bourse with its upper gallery of shops where artists and painters could sell on the open market. In this dynamic and competitive marketplace, it has been argued, a specialized product was often advantageous.¹⁰⁴ Many painters moved to Antwerp from towns in the southern Flemish regions, setting

up workshops and establishing themselves as specialists. Of the leading sixteenth-century Antwerp painters, Joachim Patinir, the innovative landscape painter, and Quinten Metsys the leading figure painter in Antwerp, best anticipate the working relationship of equals enjoyed by Brueghel and Rubens. The *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (see fig. 21) is the only painting that can be securely attributed to both artists, whereas Brueghel and Rubens, remarkably, produced many paintings together. Like Brueghel and Rubens, Patinir and Metsys worked with other artists, but their elements often dominated those of the other painter.

UNDERSTANDING AND PERCEIVING COLLABORATION

While Walter Friedländer pessimistically described the increasing tendency toward specialization as the seventeenth century approached as “a kind of collaboration, which often took excessive forms in the seventeenth century, especially in Antwerp” that “implied a dubious division of labor, a pernicious specialization,”¹⁰⁵ there is little evidence to indicate that specialties were perceived negatively in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Even the painter Karel van Mander, whose biography of the eminent artists of the time relied heavily on information supplied by descendants and others for fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century artists, and for whom the ideals of the master history painter were at odds with the Northern expertise in landscape, adopted a matter-of-fact approach. While it is clear that an artist with talent in all areas was considered most admirable, Van Mander often simply states that a painter such as Patinir was famous for a particular subject.¹⁰⁶

There is very little documentary material to tell us how collaborative paintings were perceived by early viewers or patrons. It seems likely, particularly in the fifteenth century when verisimilitude was especially valued, that a successfully unified surface was the artistic and aesthetic goal. The intriguing inscription on the *Ghent Altarpiece* is all the more suggestive, as the question of which parts of the polyptych were painted by which artist has remained contentious even as the work was famously celebrated as the work of the brothers Van Eyck. In an interesting case from Bruges about 1520, an artist’s decision to subcontract out a portion of the work on a large altarpiece gave rise to a lawsuit when the disgruntled patrons sought to require him to paint the entire composition.¹⁰⁷

Statements by artists themselves concerning their authorship versus others’ participation in a work are very rare and should be understood as exceptional occurrences. Brueghel’s attestations that he painted certain pieces while others were the work of a *knecht* (assistant) have usually gone unnoticed but allow a rare glimpse into his working arrangements.¹⁰⁸ Rubens’s famous declaration to Sir Dudley Carleton that certain works were “by my hand” while others were “retouched by my own hand” amounts to an acknowledgment of the negative perception of his workshop process and the desire for wholly autograph works among potential patrons, and reveals his methods for reassuring his important clients.¹⁰⁹ Brueghel, too, often promoted his colleagues—including Rubens—to Cardinal Borromeo. In a letter of September 1621, Brueghel offered a garland to Borromeo and promoted its magnificence and the contribution of

his colleague in glowing terms, noting that Rubens had demonstrated his skill with a beautiful painting of the Madonna in the middle, perhaps aware that the cardinal was among the few patrons in Europe who remained cool to Rubens's talents.¹¹⁰

Perhaps the best evidence of the status of the collaborative process generally, as well as the regard for the products of Rubens and Brueghel's partnership, is the frequency with which paintings of joint authorship are identified in contemporary documents. Patinir and Metsys's *Temptation of Saint Anthony* (fig. 21) was attributed in the 1574 inventory of the Escorial to "Master Quinten and Master Joachim," followed by a description of their respective contributions.¹¹¹ Brueghel regularly identified his collaborators in his correspondence with Borromeo.¹¹² *Prometheus Bound* (cat. no. 22), clearly described by Rubens in correspondence with Carleton, is the best-known example in Rubens's oeuvre for which the second artist is named.¹¹³ However, *The Head of Medusa* (cat. no. 24) was identified in 1635 as "by Rubens and Subter [Snyders]," and several works that entered prominent aristocratic and royal collections (for example, cat. nos. 6 and 12) were also recognized as collaborative works. The inventories of paintings at the archducal hunting castle of Tervuren identify works of joint authorship, as do numerous household inventories, including those of painters' estates. Three paintings were clearly identified as by two artists in the *Specificatie* drawn up at Rubens's death, and Frans Snyders owned three such paintings, including, extraordinarily, a "Psyche by Titian and Rubens" (untraced).¹¹⁴

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RUBENS AND BRUEGHEL'S APPROACH TO CREATING WORKS OF EXTRAORDINARY beauty and refinement represents a late phase in the development of the collaborative artistic process in the Low Countries, and much about their technical method, such as their general adherence to figure and landscape specialties, reflects the practical and long-held approaches to working pursued by their sixteenth-century predecessors. Brueghel, however, challenged the traditional secondary role of landscape by transforming settings, both interior and exterior, with encyclopedic detail, from the lush menagerie of the paradise landscape to the crumbling shadowy forge. Because every painting Rubens and Brueghel produced was initially unique, their mode of working varied. It is often difficult today to discern with certainty how a particular work was painted.¹¹⁵ Both men shared forceful and energetic personalities, evident in the quickness and surety of their brushwork. The joyful camaraderie of their collaborative ventures is evident from the multiple levels of meaning in their allegories, where even politics and eroticism could coexist (see cat. no. 10). Equally evident is the delight both artists took in illusionism and new ways of viewing. The juxtaposition of armor painted by their two hands in *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) amounts to friendly competition, whereas Brueghel's transfixingly descriptive fruit and flower garlands, whether supported by Rubens's weighty putti (see fig. 1) or inhabited by Brueghel's lively birds and animals (see cat. no. 12), compete with the ostensible

primacy of Rubens's central painted icon, creating a highly intense viewing experience and aid to devotion. It is only with a clearer understanding of Brueghel's achievement as an equal and even as a lead collaborator that the significance of their mutual exchange becomes apparent. Ultimately, Rubens and Brueghel's joint efforts were distinguished by the cachet that their high status brought to each piece, as well as their close association with their royal patrons, the impact of their shared political and spiritual beliefs on the invention of new subjects, and, not least, their own profound friendship.

NOTES

1. While some insight into Jan Brueghel the Elder's workshop can be gleaned from the documents published in Denucé 1934, a study of his studio arrangements is needed; see the observations in Honig 2005. For Rubens, see Hans Vlieghe, "Rubens's Atelier and History Painting in Flanders: A Review of the Evidence," in *Boston–Toledo 1993–94*, pp. 159–70; and A. Balis, "'Fatto da un mio discepolo': Rubens's Studio Practices Reviewed," in *Tokyo 1994*, pp. 133–41.
2. "Peter Paul Rybent und Brügel zweene berühmte Mahler. Hierauff sahen sie auch ben den beyden vortrefflichen Mahlern Peter Paul Rybent und Brügeln viel herrlich Gemähde und Kunststück. Rybent mahlet meistlich grosse Stück und alles in rechter natürlicher grösse, aber überauß künstlich schön, und nach dem Leben. Soll alle Wochen auff 100 Gulden arbeiten können, mag leicht ein Stück seyn er verkauffet solches umb 2, 3, 4, auch 500 Reichsgulden. Brügel aber mahlet kleine Täfflein mit Landschaften, aber alles so subtil und künstlich, daß mans mit Berwunderung ansehen muß": Neumayr 1620, p. 261.
3. The joint oeuvre of Rubens and Brueghel has been investigated in Merriam 1994 and Van Mulders 2000, Tamis 2001–02, Van Mulders 2004, Van Mulders 2005, and Honig 2005, and the exhibition *Kassel–Frankfurt 2004*; it will be the subject of a forthcoming volume in the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchardt* series by Christine Van Mulders.
4. For collaboration generally in seventeenth-century Flemish painting, see Van der Stighelen 1990; Peter C. Sutton, "Painting in the Age of Rubens: Collaboration," in *Boston–Toledo 1993–94*, pp. 35–37; Honig 1995; and Vlieghe 1998, pp. 7–8. Some of the chief specialist studies include Van Puyvelde 1949; Müller Hofstede 1968; Hairs 1957; Hairs 1977, pp. 13–33; and the additional references cited below in conjunction with specific partnerships.
5. Crivelli 1868, p. 241 (letter of December 9, 1616).
6. See cat. nos. 7, 8, 9A and 9B. De Maeyer 1955 remains the most thorough consideration of Rubens's (pp. 93–130) and Brueghel's (pp. 144–59) work for the archdukes, but see also Christopher Brown, "Rubens and the Archdukes" (pp. 121–28), and Barbara Welzel, "Armory and Archducal Image: The Sense of Touch from the Five Senses of Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens" (pp. 99–106), in *Brussels 1998–99*.
7. For the government and religious policies of the archdukes, see Pasture 1925 and Elias 1931. For Antwerp's circumstances after 1585, see Thijs 1990.
8. The most thorough treatment of Jan Brueghel's career is Ertz 1979; aspects of this study have been revised and updated by the same author in *Brussels 1980*, *Essen–Vienna 1997–98*, and *Antwerp 1998*. See also Crivelli 1868, Winner 1961, Winner 1972, and Bedoni 1983.
9. On the output of Pieter Brueghel the Younger's industrious workshop, see *Maastricht–Brussels 2001–02*.
10. "Jan van zyn Groote-moeder de Weduwe van Pieter van Aelst hier van water-verwe hebbende gheleert, quam en leer de van Oly-verwe by eenen Pieter goe-kindt, daer veel fraey dinghen waren in huys" (Jan learned to work in watercolor from his grandmother, the widow of Pieter [Coecke] van Aelst, and became a student of oil painting with one Pieter Goe-kindt, in whose house there were many handsome works): *Van Mander 1604*, fol. 234r; *Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99*, vol. 1, p. 195 (translation: author).
11. "Hij reysde voort nae Colen, en soo in Italien..." (he then traveled to Cologne and so on to Italy):

- Van Mander 1604, fol. 234r; Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 195.
12. Winner 1961, p. 190; and Winner 1972, figs. 3 and 4. Brueghel's short stay in Naples is discussed by Bedoni 1983, pp. 19–21.
 13. Brueghel's presence in Rome by 1592 is supported by the inscription on the verso of a drawing of Venus and putti by the Antwerp artist Lodewijk Toeput (Stockholm, National Museum, inv. 1347/1863): "Hans brueghel in Rooma 1592," indicating that Brueghel acquired the drawing from Toeput, who then resided in Treviso; see Winner 1961, pp. 190–91, illustrating the inscription, and Ruby 1999, pp. 44, 145 n. 340.
 14. Ruby 1999, pp. 44–45.
 15. For the influence of Jacopo Bassano on Brueghel's emerging paradise landscape genre, see Kolb 2005. For Brueghel's awareness of Zucchi's innovations, see Honig 2005.
 16. Klaus Ertz, "Jean Brueghel l'Aîné," in Brussels 1980, p. 166.
 17. Brueghel's correspondence with Borromeo is published in Crivelli 1868 and Vaes 1926–27. For Brueghel's contact with Borromeo in Rome and in Milan, see, respectively, Gabrieli 1933–34, pp. 59–60; and Bedoni 1983, pp. 89–107.
 18. "Io sono per tutti in Hollandia e Fiandro, per veder la pittura di nostra: ma veramente non trove cosa nisuno appreso quello d'Italia et d'quel Dodesco: per questo prego vs. Ill.mo de tenir le cosa sua in grand grand' e' stimo." (letter of October 10, 1596): Crivelli 1868, p. 7.
 19. For the *Six Small Landscapes*, as well as *A Glory of Angels* by Rottenhammer and Brueghel, see Jones 1993, pp. 234–35, no. 30, and pp. 260–61, no. 100, respectively. For Borromeo's early contact with Brueghel and Rottenhammer, see Bedoni 1983, pp. 38–49.
 20. See, for example, *Cascades of Tivoli* (pen and watercolor on paper, 23.7 × 28.4 cm [9¼ × 11⅛ in.]; Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, inv. 1240); Brussels–Rome 1995, pp. 127–28, cat. no. 47.
 21. The drawing probably dates from the end of Brueghel's Roman stay; see Winner 1972, p. 122; and Brussels–Rome 1995, p. 128, cat. no. 48.
 22. See note 13 above.
 23. For the print "Solitudo, sive vitae patrum eremicularum" by Jan and Raphael Sadeler after drawings by Marten de Vos, see Jones 1993, pp. 216–17, 234; and Ertz 1979, p. 562, no. 30.
- For Brueghel's transformation of the subject to suit Borromeo, see Jones 1993, pp. 78–79.
24. Brueghel was in Milan by May 30, 1596 (Van den Branden 1883, p. 445). His letter to Borromeo of October 10, 1596, confirms he had arrived in Antwerp by that time (Crivelli 1868, p. 7).
 25. Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864–76, pp. 397, 416, 418.
 26. For the history and membership of the Antwerp confraternity of Romanists, see Dilis 1923.
 27. Held (1983, p. 24) proposed that Brueghel could have met Rubens when he traveled through Cologne, where Jan's sister Maria lived, on his way to Italy. However, this scenario seems remote, as Rubens, who would have been about twelve in 1589, was not yet part of an artistic community.
 28. "... en is in seer groot achten ghecomen met te maken Landschapkens en seer cleen beeldekens daer hy een uytnemende fraey handelingh van heeft" (... and is held in very great esteem by making small landscapes and tiny figures in which he shows an excellently fine manner of working): Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 195.
 29. "een stuck van Octavi ende Breugel ende van Rubens eerst geschildert, met buitenlyst, wesende den berch Parnassus, get. No. 362" (a picce by Octavi [Otto van Veen] and Breugel and by Rubens in his early style, framed, depicting Mount Parnassus) in the inventory of Herman de Neyt (October 15–21, 1642); see Denucé 1932, p. 100. See also cat. no. 1.
 30. Brueghel married Catharina in April 1605 (Van den Branden 1883, pp. 445–46).
 31. Van den Branden 1883, p. 446. For the document, see Denucé 1934, pp. 20–21, doc. 11.
 32. For Van Balen's career, see Van Mander 1604, fol. 295v; Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 441; Jost 1963; and Werche 2004.
 33. Brueghel's correspondence was published by Crivelli 1868.
 34. See the important article by Freedberg (1981), as well as Jones 1993, pp. 84–87, and U. Kleinmann, "Blumen, Kränzte und Girlanden: Zur Entstehung und Gestaltung eines Antwerpener Bildtypus," in Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 54–66. See also cat. nos. 12 and 19.
 35. A scene of *Hell*, sent in 1608, was altered per Borromeo's specifications; see Jones 1993, p. 235.

36. "Fuit in suo genere mirisicus, potuitque corpusculis illis inserere tam generosos, viuidosque spiritus, vt incertum relinquere videatur in spectantium animis, altane, an humili dimensione incluserit tenuium earum figurarum modum. Videtur penicillo suo per cuncta nature voluisse peruagari. Pinxit enim, sicuti postea demonstrabimus, Maria, Montes, Antra, specusque subteraneos, et omnia ista spacys disiecta immanibus in augustum coegit, naturam ipsam imitatus non coloribus tantum, sed etiam facilitate, qua sicuti nature, ita etiam artis summum decus est. Qua si fortasse cuipiam nimis effusa laudatio videtur, sciat, tantam olim fore famam, nomenque viri, vt parcè, ac restrictè laudatus videri possit." The English translation is from Quint (1986, p. 236), and the Latin is from the facsimile reproduced by the same author (p. 198).
37. Jones 1993, pp. 232–33, no. 26.
38. "... ho principiata et destinato a VS Ill.mo una Massa de vario fiori gli quali reucerani molto bello: tanta per la naturàlleza come anco delle bellezza et rarita de vario fiori in questa parto alcuni inconita et non peiu uisto: per quella io son stata a Brussella per ritrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non troue in Anversa" (letter of April 14, 1606): Crivelli 1868, p. 63; and "Credo que non sia mai fatto tanti raro et vario fiori, finita con simla diligensa, d'inuerna farra un bel uedere, alcuni colori arriueno apressa poca il natural" (letter of August 25, 1606): Crivelli 1868, pp. 74–75. The English translation is from Jones 1993, p. 82, who notes the letter was written in June.
39. For example, see Duvivier 1860, p. 331, doc. IV (April 5, 1606), and p. 332, doc. VI (April 10, 1606).
40. De Maeyer's (1955) thorough consideration of the different categories of artists working at the archducal court has recently been given thoughtful reconsideration by Sabine van Sprang, "Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: une tentative de classification," in Vlieghe and Van der Stighelen 2005, pp. 37–46.
41. For the document, see Duvivier 1860, doc. II, p. 440; Brueghel's request is discussed in De Maeyer (1955, p. 148) and by Van Sprang (note 40 above, p. 41).
42. For a reassessment of Brueghel's Peasant Weddings and the political agenda of the archdukes, see Cordula Schumann, "Court, City and Countryside: Jan Brueghel's Peasant Weddings as Images of Social Unity under Archducal Sovereignty," in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 151–60.
43. For the career of Jan Brueghel the Younger, see M.-L. Hairs, "Jan Brueghel de Jongere," in Brussels 1980, pp. 226–30, 238–43; and Ertz 1984.
44. Seghers was registered in the guild of Saint Luke as a *leerjongen* (apprentice) in 1611; see Rombouts and Van Lierus 1864–76, vol. 1, pp. 477, 480, 483.
45. Their artistic relationship is documented in 1612–13, when Brueghel said he had painted the figures in six of De Momper's paintings at 25 florins each (fatto li figuri in 6 quadri del Momper a 25 fiorina per un) as well as the figures for a Four Seasons series at 40 florins a part (Li quatro stagioni f del Momper, et l'altro fatto in Casa, li figuri fatto di mio mane a 40 fiorina per pezzo); see Crivelli 1868, p. 208; and Ertz 1979, p. 470.
46. Crivelli 1868, p. 295 (letter of May 7, 1622, written by Rubens on Brueghel's behalf).
47. Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 236–45, nos. 1403–04.
48. Van den Branden 1883, p. 451.
49. Although it has long been believed that the garland Brueghel refers to is today in the Museo Nacional del Prado, according to Ariane van Suchtelen it is more likely to be the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* in the Musée du Louvre; see cat. no. 12.
50. For Rubens's life, see the monographs by White (1987) and Von Simson (1996), and the recent treatments by U. Heinen ("Herr Pietro Paulo Rubens, Ritter? Anmerkung zur Biographie," in Braunschweig 2004, pp. 13–27) and Baudouin (2005).
51. For Rubens's early teachers, see Norris 1940, pp. 189–90; and Held 1983.
52. For the life and career of Otto van Veen, see Müller Hofstede 1957 and Vlieghe 1998, pp. 18–19.
53. For Van Veen's service to the archducal court, see De Maeyer 1955, pp. 62–82. Van Sprang (note 40 above, p. 37) discusses the duties and privileges associated with the position of "*ingenieur*."
54. Early German prints were collected and discussed among a learned circle associated with the mapmaker Abraham Ortelius. Rubens's recollection of the importance of drawing after German artists in his youth was recounted by Joachim von Sandrart (1606–1688); see Peltzer 1925, p. 156.

55. "Peeter Rubbens, vrymeester, scilder" (Peeter Rubbens, free master, painter): Rombouts and Van Lerijs 1864–76, p. 401.
56. For the portrait, which is engraved on the verso, *PETRVS PAVLVVS RVBENS / PI*, see Liedtke 1984, vol. 1, pp. 187–91.
57. "... je confesse d'estre par un instinct naturel plus propre à faire des ouvrages bien grandes que des petites curiositez," (letter of September 13, 1621, to William Trumbull): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 286 (letter no. 225); translated in Magurn 1955, p. 46.
58. For Rubens's career in Italy, see Jaffé 1977 and London 2005.
59. Vlieghe (note 1 above), pp. 159–60.
60. For Rubens's drawings after antique sculpture, see Van der Meulen 1994, and the insightful observations in London 2005, pp. 89–95.
61. *Saint Helena Discovering the True Cross* (Grasse, Cathedral), *The Mocking of Christ* (Grasse, Cathedral), and *The Raising of the Cross* known today from a copy (Grasse, Cathedral). Albert resigned his cardinal's hat when he married Isabella Clara Eugenia.
62. It entered the royal collections by 1574; see Balis et al. 1989a, pp. 78–81.
63. Whether the sitter commissioned an equestrian portrait from Rubens or whether the artist invented it in response to a general request is unclear; see Vergara 1999, pp. 11–16; and Madrid 2001–02.
64. While the earliest histories of two drawings by Rubens connected with the equestrian portrait of Lerma (*Equestrian Portrait of a Knight in Armor*, pen and brown ink with brown wash over black chalk heightened with white, 67.3 × 41 cm [26½ × 16¼ in.]; Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, 1983.84, and *Equestrian Portrait of a Knight in Armor*, pen and ink with wash, 29 × 21.5 cm [11¾ × 8½ in.]; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 20.185) are not known, if Rubens retained them, the sheets might have been accessible to Brueghel in the studio. The drawings and their histories are discussed by Thea Vignau-Wilberg, "Rubens' Studies for the Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma," in Madrid 2001–02, pp. 21–29, 54–59.
65. For Rubens in Mantua, see Mantua–Milan 1977.
66. For the brothers' Roman residence, see Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 1, p. 309. For the altarpiece commission, see Jaffé 1963, pp. 209–251; Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, pp. 161–83; and Held 1980, pp. 537–45.
67. See Rubens's letter to Annibale Chieppio (February 2, 1608), where he says "my painting for the high altar of the Chiesa Nuova turned out very well, to the extreme satisfaction of the fathers and also (which rarely happens) to all the others who first saw it (... mio quadro per l'Altar maggiore della chiesa nova, essendo riuscito buonissimo, i con summa soddisfazione di quelli Padri i [ciò che rare volte accade] di tutti gli altri ch'el videro prima): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 1, p. 403 (letter no. 108); translated in Magurn 1955, pp. 42–43. Rubens goes on to note the unfortunate light that required him to repaint the work on a non-reflective support. See cat. nos. 12 and 19.
68. "Ma per venire alle cose mie sapia V.S. chio non saprei in adesso che resolutione pigliarmi che fermarmi nella Patria o di ritornare per sempre in Roma donde vengo sollicitato con buonissime condizioni; qui ancora non mancano di far ogni sforzo a ritenermi con ogni sorta di carezze. L'Arciduca, e L'Infanta serenissima mi hanno fatto scrivere facendo istanza di rimanere al loro servizio con grandissime offerte, benchè ho poca volontà di rifarmi corteggiano. Anversa mi bastara colli suoi cittadini, quando potessi dir a Dio a Roma. La pace o per dir meglio tregua per molti anni si fa di sicuro mediante la quale si crede che questi paesi rifioriranno et si crede che per la settimana prossima si publicarà per tutte queste province.": Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 6, pp. 323–24; translated in Magurn 1955, pp. 52–53.
69. For *The Adoration of the Magi*, see Madrid 2004, pp. 55–123.
70. See Vlieghe 1993. For Rubens's awareness of fifteenth-century precedents, see Eisler 1967.
71. For *Samson and Delilah*, see London 2005, p. 166, cat. no. 77.
72. For Rubens's prices, see H. Vlieghe, "Maatwerk en confectie. Over de functie van historische schilderkunst in de Vlaamse stad van de 17^{de} eeuw," in Brussels–Schallaburg 1991, p. 260. In 1611 Rubens stated he was unable to accept the potential student proposed by his friend Jacob de Bie, saying "... ic van alle canten ghepreve-nieert ben soo dat noch sommighe voor etlycke jaren by ander meesters haer onderhouden om myn commoditeyt te verwachten ... voorts mach ic segghen met der waerheyt sonder eenich hyperbole dat ic over die hondert hebbe moeten refuseren ooc sommighe van myn ende myns huysvrouwen maegen niet sonder grooten

- ondanck van vele van myn beste vrienden” (From all sides applications reach me. Some young men remain here for several years with other masters, awaiting a vacancy in my studio . . . I can tell you truly without exaggeration, that I have had to refuse over one hundred, even some of my relatives or my wife’s, and not without causing great displeasure among many of my best friends): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 35 (letter of May 11, 1611); translated in Magurn 1955, p. 55.
73. The letter patent was published by De Maeyer (1955, pp. 293–95) and discussed by Christopher Brown (“Rubens and the Archdukes,” in Brussels 1998–99, p. 121) and Van Sprang (note 40 above, p. 40).
74. Lind 1946, p. 38.
75. For *The Raising of the Cross*, see Martin 1969.
76. Rooses 1886–92, vol. 4, p. 14, no. 800. For recent technical findings, see Gayo García and Vergara 2004.
77. Several independent works by Snyders appear in the *Specificatie* (Specification) made at Rubens’s death: “no. 239 A baskett with fruite, and birds, by Franchys Snyders,” “no. 260 the huntinge of a great wild bore; by Francys Snyders,” “no. 261 A flower pott by the same,” “A Bord, where fruite Lyes vppon the Earth by Fran. Snyders,” and “no. 264 A bord, with Cabbages & Turnipps by the same”; see Muller 1989, pp. 137–38; and Antwerp 2004, pp. 174–76.
78. This fascinating practice was the focus of Edinburgh–Nottingham 2002 and is discussed in New York 2005, pp. 15–18.
79. “26. Vn paysage de Bril avec l’histoire de Psyche. / 26. A Landschap [sic] of Paul Brill’s with a Psyche”; see Muller 1980, p. 100, no. 26, who notes “it is not clear whether Rubens ordered a figureless landscape from Brill for the purpose of collaboration or independently retouched Brill’s work.” See also Konrad Renger’s entry on the painting in Antwerp 2004a, p. 174.
80. For Beert’s work with Rubens, see Bergström 1957, and for their *Pausias and Glycera* (1612–15; Sarasota, Florida, The John and Mabel Ringling Museum of Art, inv. SN 219[0]), see Vienna–Essen 2002, pp. 116–17, cat. no. 33.
81. In a letter of March 14, 1617 (to Sir Dudley Carleton), George Gage refers to “a yong man who hath lived long in Italy, who I think is the rarest man living in Lantscape”: Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 104 (letter no. 151). This young man is usually identified as Wildens. When Wildens married Maria Stappaert in 1619, “his good friend” (zijnen goede vriendt) Rubens served as a witness (Van den Branden 1883, p. 684).
82. For the decorations for the triumphal entry, see Martin 1972. For the Torre de la Parada, see Alpers 1971.
83. The epitaph was composed by Rubens’s friend Jan Gaspar Gevaerts; see Rooses 1903, p. 629.
84. Dilis 1923, pp. 456–57.
85. Published by Crivelli 1868.
86. See Vlieghe 1987, pp. 60–62, no. 79; Rubens’s portrait remained in Brueghel’s family through the end of the seventeenth century.
87. Hairs 1977, p. 13.
88. The other guardians were the painters Hendrick van Balen and Cornelis Schut; see Denucé 1934, pp. 51–52, doc. 20, and pp. 55–57, doc. 23.
89. Jaffé 1989, no. 219.
90. For the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke, see Rombouts and van Lierus 1864–76.
91. The image is in the form of a rebus of a poem by the painter Sebastian Vrancx: “Apelles scholieren, die Sint Lucas vieren, / Wilt helpen versieren den Olyftak snel, / Met ons Violieren en Apollo’s laurieren, / Vlucht droevige manieren, willich houdt Vrede wel” (Students of Apelles who celebrate Saint Luke / Help us quickly! Decorate the Olive Branch / with our gillyflowers and the laurels of Apollo, / Melancholy ways readily flee. Keep the Peace well); see Keersmaekers 1957, pp. 343–50 and Peter Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 57.
92. Campbell 1981, p. 50.
93. Alexander 1992, p. 49.
94. Alexander 1992, p. 50.
95. For a thorough consideration of the varied practices involved in manuscript production, see Alexander 1992. Recent contributions to literature on the production of Flemish miniatures include Catherine Reynolds, “Illuminators and the Painters’ Guilds,” in Los Angeles–London 2003–04, pp. 15–33; and Thomas Kren and Maryan W. Ainsworth, “Illuminators and Painters: Artistic Exchanges and Interrelationships,” in Los Angeles–London 2003–04, pp. 35–57.

96. See Campbell 1981; Campbell 1998, pp. 23–28; and Maryan Ainsworth, “Workshop Practice in Early Netherlandish Painting: An Inside View,” in New York 1998–99a, pp. 205–11.
97. Campbell 1998, p. 53.
98. While the nature and extent of collaboration between Hubert and Jan van Eyck on *Adoration of the Mystic Lamb* are still disputed (see Till-Holger Borchert, “Introduction: Jan van Eyck’s Workshop,” in Bruges 2002, pp. 14–15), Karel van Mander in his biography of the brothers published in 1604 asserted his opinion: “Some believe that Hubertus began this picture on his own and that Joannes subsequently finished it but I am of the opinion that they began it together and that Hubertus died in the year 1426 while the work was in progress” (Eenige meenen dat Hubertus des tafel eerstmael alleen hadde begonnen en datse Ioannes daer nae voldaeen heeft, dan ick houde dat yse t’samen aenghevanghen hebben, maer datter Hubertus over gestorven is): Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 58–59.
99. For Rubens and his drawings, see Anne-Marie Logan, “Peter Paul Rubens as Draftsman,” in New York 2005, p. 3.
100. Denucé 1934, pp. 113–15, doc. LXVIII (September 3, 1638).
101. For Brueghel the Younger’s copies of the Five Senses made for a patron in Holland, see Denucé 1934, pp. 80–82, doc. 39 (June 8, 1632); Brueghel subsequently claimed that “thousands of people” (nochtans duysent menschen) came to see the Senses (letter of August 25, 1632): Denucé 1934, p. 83, doc. 41; and Bedoni 1983, p. 142. See the numerous references to garland paintings in the correspondence between Jan the Younger and the Seville merchant Chr. Van Immerzeel in Denucé 1934, pp. 68–71, 92–93. See also, for example, Denucé 1931, pp. 31, 48, 98; and Denucé 1932, pp. 246, 252–57; instances of such references among Antwerp inventories are too numerous to cite.
102. Ertz 1984, pp. 80–81.
103. Vaes 1926–27 and Denucé 1934.
104. For the rise of the Antwerp art market in the early sixteenth century, see Ewing 1990 and Vermeylen 2003. For its relation to the rise of new genres, see Arnout Balis, “De nieuwe genres en het burgerlijk mecenaat,” in Brussels–Schallaburg 1991, pp. 237–54; for the art market in the seventeenth century, see De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1994; and for the phenomenon of a “new” product, see De Marchi and Van Miegroet 1998.
105. Friedländer 1967–76, vol. 7 (Quentin Massys), p. 25.
106. Patinir “. . . hadde een seker eygen manier van te maken landscappen, seer aerlich en suyver” (had a certain individual way of landscape painting, most subtle and precise): Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 135. Later he described Gillis van Coninxloo as “den uytne-menden Landschapmaker” (the excellent landscape painter): p. 331.
107. Campbell 1988, p. 51; and Tamis 2000.
108. “Het eene van myn hant heeft . . . geghelden 54 guldens; het ander van myn knecht gedaen is vercocht 18 guldens . . .” (the one by my hand was worth 54 gulden; the other done by my assistant cost 18 gulden): Duvivier 1860, vol. 2, p. 331, doc. IV (April 5, 1606); “. . . deux pieces de peintures siennes, l’une faicte de sa main à 54 fl., et l’autre par un sien valet à 18 fl.” (two of his paintings, one from his hand at 54 florins, and the other by his assistant at 18 florins.): Duvivier 1860, vol. 2, p. 332, doc. VI (April 10, 1606).
109. Letter of April 28, 1618; see the discussion in cat. nos. 22 and 24.
110. Crivelli 1868, p. 272.
111. “Maestre Coyntin y M. Joachin. Otra tabla en que esta pintada la tentacion de Sant Anton contres mugeres en un paysage las figuras de man de Maestre Coyntin y el paysage de M. Joachin que tiene de alto 6 p. y de ancho 7” (Master Quinten [Metsys] and Master Joachim [Patinir]. Another panel upon which is painted a temptation of Saint Anthony against women [harlots] and a landscape of figures the hand of Master Quinten and the landscape of Mr. Joachim which has the height 6 p. and the width 7). The citation was first published by Justi 1886, p. 95.
112. For examples, see Crivelli 1868, pp. 248, 249, 272.
113. See cat. no. 22.
114. For the inventories of paintings at Tervuren in 1617 and 1667, see De Macyer 1955, pp. 336–37, doc. 134, and pp. 448–53, doc. 272. For the *Specificatie*, see Antwerp 2004, pp. 328–33; and Denucé 1949, pp. 188–90.
115. For Rubens and Brueghel’s joint working methods in paintings in the exhibition, and the approaches used to study them, see the essay by Tiarna Doherty, Mark Leonard, and Jørgen Wadum in this volume.



Catalogue

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Reader's Note: In entries on the collaborative works of Rubens and Brueghel, a distinction has been made between the levels of responsibility assumed by each artist, with the primary contributor listed first.

Literature and Exhibition sections are comprehensive but not exhaustive.

Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder

The Battle of the Amazons

ca. 1598–1600

Oil on panel, 97 × 124 cm (38¼ × 48⅞ in.)

Potsdam, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg,
Schloß Sanssouci Bildergalerie, GK I 10021

PROVENANCE

In the collection of Oranienburg Castle, by 1699¹ transferred to Berliner Schloß, 1710;² removed to and exhibited in Paris, Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), 1806–15;³ Berliner Schloß, 1830–1906, and presumed 1906–1940/43 (documented in the Kaiser-Wilhelm-Gesellschaft, ca. 1930–40); thence in the Neue Kammern of Sanssouci; [1945–1958 Russia]; exhibited in the Bildergalerie since 1964⁴

LITERATURE

Nicolai 1779, p. 666; Waagen 1830, vol. 2, p. 227; Cologne 1977, pp. 181–82;⁵ Bartoschek

1978, p. 11, no. 1, pl. 1;⁶ Eckardt 1980, p. 80, no. 74; Held 1983, pp. 21–25; Held 1987, pp. 9–22; Von Simson 1996, pp. 34–35; Padua–Rome–Milan 1990, p. 36; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 240, 242, 243, 246; Poeschel 2001, pp. 97, 107;⁷ Renger and Denk 2002, p. 350; Lille 2004, p. 32; New York 2005, p. 88; Vienna 2004a, pp. 158–60, cat. no. 11; Honig 2005

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1807, cat. no. 602; Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93, pp. 343–44, cat. no. 44.1; London 2005, pp. 11, 42–44, 47, cat. no. 1

THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS IS THE EARLIEST known collaboration undertaken by Rubens and Brueghel. Realized through a straightforward division of labor between figural and landscape components, this splendid panel captures the swirling action and violence of a heroic clash of combatants from the classical past. Painted after Brueghel's return from his Italian sojourn in 1596 and before Rubens departed for Mantua in 1600, *The Battle of the Amazons* proved to be a decisive undertaking that had repercussions for the independent oeuvres of both artists, as well as for their future projects together. It was at this crucial time, with the execution of a war theme, that Rubens and Brueghel harnessed their complementary artistic ambitions and apprehended the power of their joint inventions.

The Amazons were a race of fierce female warriors from Asia Minor, whose horsemanship and skill with the bow

were legendary. The exploits of the Amazons and their queens, Hippolyta, her sister Antiope, and Penthesilea, who were considered worthy opponents of the great heroes, are recounted in the myths of Hercules and Theseus. Plutarch (*Lives* 1.27) describes the Amazons' attack on Athens and their defeat by the Greek army led by Theseus, for whom the war was "no trivial or womanish enterprise." Although large-scale *Amazonomaches* are found in ancient Greek art and the exploits of the formidable Amazons were a popular subject for antique sarcophagi, the subject was rarely depicted in Renaissance art.⁸ For this cabinet-sized *Amazonomache*, Rubens and Brueghel combined the portrayal of the fervor of battle with references to the feats of Hercules, drawing on a broad literary tradition rather than a single source.⁹ On a wide plain, with a wooded hill to the left and a swampy river on the right leading to a bridge, the Amazons engage



their opponents. The Greek army charges in from the left, pushing the Amazons at a gallop across the field toward the water and forward in the direction of the viewer. In the foreground, Hercules subdues two Amazons, one of whom incongruously wears a plumed cap reminiscent of sixteenth-century costume.¹⁰ The Amazon in red in the center right of the composition, highlighted by the gold banner behind her, may be Hippolyta, who has not yet succumbed to Hercules.¹¹ To the left of the Hercules group, a muscular warrior clasps the limp figure of an Amazon; the two perhaps representing Theseus and the slain Antiope. Around these foreground groupings, warriors surge forward on foot and on horseback, fall from their steeds, are trampled, and resist their adversaries.

The Battle of the Amazons has long been recognized as a collaborative work, although the attribution of the figures to Rubens was only restored relatively recently. The Potsdam panel, or a second version of the composition in a private collection (see below), is almost certainly the painting described in the inventory of Diego Duarte's collection in Antwerp in 1682, in which collaborative works are clearly identified: "By Peter Paul Rubens. A piece on panel, the battle of the Amazons, full of action in his early manner; the landscape or background is entirely by the Velvet [Jan] Brueghel."¹² In 1779 the painting was identified as a work by Brueghel and his frequent collaborator during the mid-1590s, Hans Rottenhammer (compare cat. nos. 14 and 15).¹³ During the confusion over the location of *The Battle of the Amazons* after 1816, it was attributed simultaneously by French authorities to Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629) and again to Rottenhammer by keepers in Berlin. With its arrival in Potsdam, Müller Hofstede confirmed the attribution to Van Veen, and the Sanssouci Bildergalerie continued to recognize this designation, as well as the attribution of the landscape to Jan Brueghel, until Held returned *The Battle of the Amazons* to the small group of early, pre-Italian-sojourn works by Rubens.¹⁴

Although there can be no doubt that Rubens was responsible for the figures in *The Battle of the Amazons*, the attributions to Rottenhammer and particularly to Van Veen reflect the long-held uncertainty about Rubens's style before his departure for Italy. After short apprenticeships with the landscape painter Tobias Verhaecht (1561–1631) and the history painter Adam van Noort (1562–1641), Rubens entered the studio of Otto van Veen in about 1596.¹⁵ Originally from Leiden, Van Veen had spent nearly five years in Italy,

mostly in Rome. One of the most erudite painters in Antwerp, he had been court painter to Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma and governor of the Southern Netherlands, in Brussels, from 1584 to 1592 as well as to Archduke Ernst in 1594 and to Archduke Albert in 1596. From 1599, he served Archdukes Albert and Isabella.¹⁶ Rubens's nephew Philip famously described the resemblance of his uncle's early style to Otto van Veen's manner.¹⁷ Rubens's large *Adam and Eve* of about 1598–1600, occasionally attributed to Van Veen, reveals the influence of his teacher's smooth, heavy Roman manner. The figures in *The Battle of the Amazons*, despite their smaller scale, still retain vestiges of Van Veen's blocky figural style and utilize the cool undertones for the flesh and bright pink accents characteristic of his work in the 1590s.

Rubens became a master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1598, and although he maintained ties with Van Veen, the Potsdam panel dates from this period of independence.¹⁸ It demonstrates Rubens's youthful ambition and interests as well as the decisive ways in which he was expanding beyond the model of his teacher. The young Rubens eschewed Van Veen's monumentality and solidity and pursued motion, action, emotion, and complex arrangements of men and animals. On a sheet vividly drawn in pen and ink, *Battle of Nude Men* (ca. 1598–1600; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art), he excerpted key individual figures and groups, choosing figures in violent and extreme motion, from two engraved battle scenes by Barthel Beham (1502–1540), *Battle of Titus Gracchus* (ca. 1528) and *Battle of Eighteen Nude Men* (ca. 1528).¹⁹ Beham's running frieze was itself indebted to the battle scenes in relief on the Column of Trajan (finished by A.D. 113; Rome, Forum of Trajan), a major source for combat figures in the Renaissance. The exaggerated expressions of the Greeks and Amazons and the bloody portrayal of violence in *The Battle of the Amazons* reveal a young artist striving to capture the extremity of his subject. For a subject where the clash between women and men was the central, charged theme, Rubens adopted the conventional ruddy and creamy skin tones to differentiate the sexes. Rubens was already a keen observer of horses, as demonstrated by studies known through a later copy (fig. 33). He understood how equine figures could generate energy and drama in a composition, and the dynamic variety of horses in *The Battle of the Amazons* underscores his creative and dramatic use of equine elements.²⁰ The pink manes of some of the horses are part of a chromatic palette that, along with the illogical lighting, enhances the excitement of the



FIGURE 33 Willem Panecles (ca. 1600–1632) after Peter Paul Rubens, *Studies of Horses* after Jost Amman, ca. 1628–30. Pen and ink, with traces of graphite on formerly white paper, 20.6 × 31.7 cm (8 1/8 × 12 1/2 in.). Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Graphische Sammlungen, inv. 1957–145

scene.²¹ Rubens demonstrated his conversance with major antique models in *The Battle of the Amazons* even before he had studied them firsthand. The intricately entwined figures of Hercules and the struggling Amazons, for example, are derived from the Laocoön group.²² The biting horses at the extreme right were drawn from Leonardo da Vinci's famous *Battle of Anghiari*, a composition that fascinated Rubens.²³ From the earliest moments of his career, Rubens was engaged with the compositional challenges associated with battle subjects, a passion to which he would return over succeeding decades.

The Battle of the Amazons served as a forum for the shared interests of Rubens and Brueghel and a natural meeting of their ambitions. Brueghel had returned from his travels through Naples, Rome, and Milan in the fall of 1596. At this time he was undertaking ambitious, large-format multifigure landscapes, such as the *Harbor Scene with Christ Preaching* (see fig. 98), in which the majestic setting contextualizes the human dramas taking place in the foreground. Rubens possessed a thorough classical education, and it must be assumed he was familiar with literary accounts of the great battles of antiquity. In addition, as discussed above, he had begun to gather a figural vocabulary in anticipation of a depiction of warfare. The cultural milieu of Antwerp at the end of the decade may also have served as a powerful impetus upon the two artists. Battle subjects, both historical and

contemporary, were well represented in Burgundian and Habsburg collections, and in 1597 Otto van Veen designed a series of twenty-seven tapestries celebrating the military victories of Archduke Albert (Madrid, Royal Collection).²⁴

Rubens and Brueghel approached the process of collaboration straightforwardly by dividing the panel horizontally into two zones. In order to achieve the desired density of figures, and to show off his command of many difficult poses, Rubens carefully planned the lower half of the painting. Infrared reflectography reveals his controlled drawing (see fig. 115), perhaps after a sketch or group of separate preparatory drawings.²⁵ He was also responsible for the transitional section of tightly packed warriors. Brueghel painted an extensive and atmospheric view across the curiously lush plain to the mountains, throughout which Greek and Amazon forces continue to skirmish. The wild far reaches of this view conjure up an earlier, more archaic time. Characteristically, the different zones of landscape are separated, so the most distant portions are largely blue in tonality. Brueghel also added fine grass around the foreground figures. One of the most striking aspects of *The Battle of the Amazons* is the lively use of gold detailing, a practice found earlier in the Netherlands and in the work of Van Veen.²⁶ Both artists adjusted their current modes while executing the Potsdam panel: the viewpoint is lower than in many of Brueghel's works from this period, while Rubens adopted an



FIGURE 34 Giovanni Francesco Penni (1496–1528) after Giulio Romano (ca. 1499–1546), *The Battle of Zama*, ca. 1523–28. Pen and brown ink, gray wash and white heightening on paper, 41.9 × 56.7 cm (16½ × 22¾ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 3718

intermediate figure size. Although Rubens was, as his nephew later attested, already renowned before leaving for Italy, the size of the painting, suitable for a gallery, the importance of the landscape, and the adaptation of key Roman fresco sources (discussed below) suggest that Brueghel, senior by eleven years, strongly influenced its direction.²⁷ It is, in fact, difficult to determine in some areas exactly where Rubens's figures end and Brueghel's work begins—a situation that further promotes the supposition that their contributions to *The Battle of the Amazons* were equivalent.

Rubens and Brueghel's conception of *The Battle of the Amazons* was particularly indebted to the great fresco designed by Raphael, *The Battle of Constantine against Maxentius* (1520–24; Rome, Vatican, Sala di Costantino), which Brueghel could have seen when he was in Italy only a few years earlier, and Rubens could have known through an engraving. In *The Battle of the Amazons*, the army surging into the composition from the left, as well as the viewers' remove from the melee, which allows for open ground in the foreground, and the river and arched bridge on the right, all recall the fresco. However, the foreground combat of mounted soldiers in Giulio Romano's *Battle of Zama* (fig. 34), one of twenty-two designs for the Deeds and Triumphs of Scipio series of tapestries for the French king

Francis I, itself influenced by Raphael's example, may have suggested to Rubens the effective portrayal of horses seen from the rear as well as other motifs of charging and fallen horses.²⁸

The impressive *Battle of the Amazons* must have been admired soon after its completion, as a second version was painted a short time later.²⁹ The extensive use of gold detailing in the Potsdam panel is absent from the later version, which is also free of the draperies added (presumably later) to some of the figures in the Potsdam *Battle* to cover their nudity. As the specificity of the Duarte inventory suggests, almost one hundred years later Rubens and Brueghel were known to have collaborated on a painting of this subject. A tradition also existed that there had been a more extensive collaborative enterprise that included Rubens's teacher. Two works have been attributed to the joint authorship of Van Veen, Brueghel, and Rubens: in 1642 a *Parnassus* (presumed lost) was listed in the collection of the Antwerp dealer and painter Herman de Neyt, and at the end of the nineteenth century, a large *Battle of the Amazons* (location unknown) was sold in Cologne.³⁰

The extraordinary importance of *The Battle of the Amazons* for Rubens and Brueghel is evident from their individual pursuits after 1600. With Rubens's departure for Italy in May 1600, Brueghel himself turned to large-scale historical subjects. For the *Continence of Scipio*, of about 1600 (see fig. 10), he borrowed Rubens's lively horses, including the white horses with the pink manes, charging across the foreground and cavorting at the side, as well as the motif of the horsemen entering from the right blowing their horns. *The Battle of Issus*, 1602 (fig. 35), demonstrates Brueghel's ambitious treatment of battle. Here, too, many of the most prominent equine figures recall Rubens's example. However, the density of figures ensures that the armies move and swirl en masse, unified by the bird's-eye view.³¹

For Rubens, *The Battle of the Amazons* stands at the beginning of a series of drawn and painted engagements with Amazonian themes. A rapidly executed group of figures, *Battle Scene between the Greeks and Amazons and Studies for Samson* (Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland) again combines female and equine combatants.³² Some of the ideas from this sheet and particularly from the more finished drawing of *The Battle of the Greeks and Amazons* (London, The British Museum) were employed in two other paintings of the subject: the recently discovered *The Battle of the Amazons* of 1603–05 (private collection) and *The Battle of*





FIGURE 35 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Battle of Issus*, 1602. Oil on canvas, 80 × 136 cm (31½ × 53½ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1094

FIGURE 36 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Battle of the Amazons*, ca. 1618. Oil on panel, 120.3 × 165.3 cm (47⅜ × 65⅛ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 324

the Amazons of about 1618 (fig. 36).³³ Among the motifs Rubens retained from the Potsdam *Battle of the Amazons* and incorporated into the London drawing, and the two paintings, is the fearsome Amazon holding her trophy of a severed head aloft.

For Rubens, *The Battle of the Amazons* represents an early attempt at a complex figural composition, and his meticulous drawn preparation on the panel, not found in later collaborative works, betrays the difficulties of the process. When the partnership was reestablished nearly a decade later with another war theme, *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2), Rubens and Brueghel realized the political and allegorical references associated with the theme of peace through a more complex working process that nonetheless resulted in contributions of equal visual value. ATW

NOTES

1. No. 321, "Eine Amazonische Bataille mit Hercule und Theseo": Eckardt 1980, p. 80; and Held 1983, p. 22.
2. Catalogued in 1779 as Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer; see Eckardt 1980, p. 80.
3. As the work of Otto van Veen; see Held 1983, p. 21. Held discusses the confusion over the whereabouts of the painting after 1816, when it was believed to have been transferred to the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon. The painting, however, had been returned to Berlin.
4. Waagen 1830, vol. 2, p. 227; Eckardt 1980, p. 80; and correspondence from G. Bartoschek.
5. As Otto van Veen.
6. As Otto van Veen, with the landscape by Jan Brueghel the Elder.
7. As Otto van Veen.
8. For ancient examples, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, pp. 175–80. According to Held (1983, p. 22), Rubens may have known Enea Vico's print of 1543, possibly after Giulio Romano.
9. Alternatively, as proposed by McGrath and Jaffé in London 2005 (p. 43), Virgil's characterization of the virtuous warrior Camilla in *The Aeneid* (11.648–63) may have informed Rubens's ideas for the composition.
10. Perhaps Rubens sought to underscore the relevance of the subject for his own time with this device. However, he did not include contemporary costume elsewhere in the composition.
11. In his ninth labor, Hercules was sent to obtain the girdle of the Amazon queen Hippolyta, succeeding only by slaying her in battle;

- see, for example, Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 2.5.1–12; and Diodorus Siculus 4. Poeschel (2001, p. 97) identified this figure as Hippolyta.
12. “Van Petro Paulo Rubbens [a total of eleven paintings included under this heading]... Een stuck op pancel den slag van de Amasoonen vol werckx van syn vroege manier. Het landschap ofte verschieet is geheel vanden *Fluweelen Bruegel*... guld[en] 100 [the sixth most valuable painting in this group]”: Dogaer 1971, pp. 208–9; discussed in Held 1983, p. 22.
 13. Eckardt 1980, p. 80.
 14. Müller Hofstede in Cologne 1977, p. 181; see also Held 1983, pp. 21–25. However, Von Simson (1996, p. 34) does not accept the attribution to Rubens, and Poeschel (2001) retains the earlier attribution to Van Veen.
 15. For Rubens’s early training, see Müller Hofstede 1962; Held 1983; and Baudouin 2005.
 16. For Van Veen’s career, see De Maeyer 1955, pp. 62–82; Müller Hofstede 1957; Vlieghe 1998, pp. 18–19; 117–19; and p. 18 in this volume.
 17. “car avant son voyage d’Italie ils voient quelque ressemblance avec ceux d’Octave van Veen, son maistre” (in correspondence with Roger de Piles, 1676): Norris 1940, p. 189. For Philip Rubens’s biography, see De Reiffenberg 1837, pp. 10–11.
 18. Rombouts and Van Lerius 1864–76, p. 401.
 19. Barthel Beham, *Battle of Titus Gracchus* (engraving, 55 × 295 mm [2¹/₈ × 11⁵/₈ in.]); see Hollstein 1949–, vol. 2, p. 191; and Barthel Beham, *Battle of Eighteen Nude Men* (engraving, 56 × 295 mm [2¹/₄ × 11⁵/₈ in.]); see Hollstein 1949–, vol. 2, p. 203. For Peter Paul Rubens, *Fighting Men* (pen and brown ink over black chalk, 14.1 × 25.2 cm [5¹/₂ × 9⁷/₈ in.]; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Julius S. Held Collection, Alisa Mellon Bruce Fund, 1984.3.57), see Held 1959, no. 3, pp. 64–65. The Rubens sheet and the Beham prints are discussed and reproduced in London 2005, pp. 52–53, cat. no. 6.
 20. Rubens compiled the horses from different woodcut battle scenes by Jost Amman (ca. 1539–1591) from a German edition of *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus; see Held 1983, p. 23.
 21. Held (1983, p. 25) drew attention to the other instance, dating from Rubens’s Mantuan stay, in which the artist gave his horses vibrant pink manes: *The Council of the Gods*, 1601–2 (oil on canvas, 204 × 379 cm [80³/₈ × 149¹/₄ in.]; Czech Republic, Prague Castle Art Collections, inv. HS111).
 22. Roman copy, first century A.D., Rome, Vatican, Belvedere Palace. Rubens would make several drawings of the group a few years later while he was in Rome. For these drawings, see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 2, pp. 92–104. Despite its title, Willem Paneels’s drawing after Rubens, *The Rape of the Sabines* (1628–30, black chalk, pen and brown ink, 21 × 26.9 cm [8¹/₂ × 10¹/₂ in.]; Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. KKSGB 7270), is specifically related to the trio of figures in the Potsdam composition; see Held 1983, pp. 21–22.
 23. Leonardo da Vinci’s wall painting in the Sala del Gran Consiglio of the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence, begun about 1503 and abandoned by Leonardo in 1506, was probably known to Rubens in the late 1590s from engraving or copy. For Rubens’s study of this model later in his career, see Wood in Edinburgh–Nottingham 2002, pp. 40–41; and London 2005, pp. 41–45.
 24. Tapestry series, notably the *Battle of Pavia*, 1526–28, designed by Bernard van Orley and depicting Charles V’s defeat of the French king Francis I, and the *Conquest of Tunis* series, 1548–54, designed by Jan Vermeyen for Charles V, were an important form of imperial propaganda; see Utrecht–s-Hertogenbosch 1993, p. 263; and New York 2002, pp. 267–70. For Van Veen’s tapestries, see De Maeyer 1955, p. 75.
 25. See the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume, pp. 223, 228.
 26. See particularly the decorative use of gold in the important *Portrait of Alessandro Farnese* (ca. 1585–92, oil on copper; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. M. 2003.69).
 27. Norris 1940, p. 190.
 28. *The Battle of Zama* was engraved by Cornelis Cort (1567); see Hollstein 1993–, vol. 8, no. 3, pp. 92–94, nos. 195 and 196. For Giulio Romano’s drawing and the tapestry series, see Paris 1978, p. 97.
 29. Oil on panel, 102 × 120 cm (40¹/₈ × 47¹/₄ in.), private collection. See Held 1983, p. 25; Padua–Rome–Milan 1990, pp. 36–37, cat. no. 1; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 238, 240–42, cat. no. 68; and London 2005, p. 44.
 30. Inventory of Herman de Neyt, October 15–21, 1642: “Opde camer boven den winkel: ... Een stuck van Octavi ende Bruegel ende van Rubens eerst geschildert, met buytenlyst, wesende den berch Parnassus, get. No. 362” (In the room above the shop: ... a piece by Octavi [Otto van Veen] and Brueghel and Rubens in his early style, framed, depicting Mount Parnassus); see Denucé 1932, p. 100; and Gemälde-Galerie des zu Pressburg verstorbenen Herrn Grazioso Enca Lanfranchi sale, J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz Söhne) Cologne, October 18–20, 1895, no. 209 (*Battle of the Amazons*, oil on panel, 130 × 252 cm [51¹/₈ × 99¹/₄ in.]).
 31. For Jan Brueghel’s *Battle of Issus*, see Ertz 1979, pp. 463–65, 571, no. 86. The effect recalls Albrecht Altdorfer’s vertical *Battle of Issus* (1528–29; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 688) as observed by Ertz 1979 (p. 463) and verbally to the author by Dr. Gert Bartoschek.
 32. *Studies for Hero and Leander* (recto), *Battle Scene between the Greeks and Amazons* and *Studies for Samson* (verso) (ca. 1601–03, pen and brown ink and brown wash [recto] and pen and brown ink [verso], 20.4 × 30.6 cm [8 × 12 in.]; Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, inv. D 4936); see New York 2005, pp. 83–85, cat. no. 10; and London 2005, pp. 50–51, cat. no. 5 (as “attributed to Rubens”).
 33. Rubens, *Battle of the Greeks and Amazons* (ca. 1602–04, pen and brown ink over traces of graphite, 25.1 × 42.8 cm [9⁷/₈ × 16⁷/₈ in.]; London, British Museum, inv. 1895.9.15.1045), see New York 2005, pp. 88–90, cat. no. 12; *The Battle of the Amazons* (oil on canvas, 89 × 135.5 cm [35 × 53³/₈ in.]; private collection), see London 2005, pp. 48–49, cat. no. 4 (dated 1603–05, but possibly earlier); and *The Battle of the Amazons* (see fig. 36). The last work was owned by the Antwerp collector Cornelis van der Geest; see Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 350–55.

2

Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder

The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus

ca. 1610–12

Oil on panel, 127.3 × 163.5 cm (50¹/₈ × 64³/₈ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, acquired in honor of John Walsh, 2000.68

PROVENANCE

Possibly collection of Ferrante Spinelli, Naples, 1654; possibly private collection, Italy, eighteenth century; perhaps with the duke of Mantua; ca. 1890, purchased by the Pennington-Mellor family, Castello di Lunghezza; brought by the family to England, 1911, and then to Franon, the Pennington-Mellor property in Biarritz; transferred from Biarritz to England in 1940 by Hilda Pennington-Mellor; by inheritance to her son Major Malcolm Munthe, Much Marcle at Hellens, near Ledbury, Herefordshire, and transferred by 1953 to Southside

House, Wimbledon, England; given by Malcolm Munthe to the Pennington-Mellor Munthe Charity Trust in 1981; sold to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 2000

LITERATURE

Woollett 2001; Van Mulders 2004, pp. 70, 74; Doherty 2005; Honig 2005, fig. 14; Van Mulders 2005; Rosenthal 2005, pp. 73–75

THIS AMBITIOUS ALLEGORY WAS ONE OF THE first joint projects of Rubens and Brueghel's resumed partnership, following Rubens's decision to remain in Antwerp in 1609. *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* highlights the specialties of both artists and reveals the accommodating nature of their exceptional working method. In this, one of their largest collaborative works, the artists adapted the scale of their contributions, with Brueghel painting exceedingly large pieces of armor and Rubens adopting an unusual intermediate figure scale. Significantly, in the revision of the right side of the panel, Rubens introduced figures over finished pieces of furniture and small objects, thus altering the subject but not, apparently, the firm friendship upon which the partnership was based. Rubens and Brueghel brought together Flemish and Italian Renaissance iconography as easily as two different

pictorial styles in a composition that highlights the genius of both painters.

The Return from War started out on the easel of Brueghel, who painted the cavernous interior and the foreground accoutrements. The ruined, vaulted space is a modified version of the dilapidated forge Brueghel developed between 1606 and 1608.¹ As in earlier compositions, the Los Angeles panel features a long corridor leading to the landscape outside and various bays inside housing the forge and smithy (the many figures working in these recesses are by his hand). Many drawings from Brueghel's Italian sojourn, particularly from the period of his residence in Rome (1592–94), attest to his interest in the majestic remains of antiquity and in particular to the rhythm and texture of the arched corridors of the Colosseum and Baths of Diocletian (see figs. 6 and 7).² He was further inspired by the fanciful re-creation of a vaulted





ruin as the setting for the Forge of Vulcan by the Antwerp painter Pauwels Franck, called Paolo Fiammingo (1540–1596), who was active in Venice about 1570 (see fig. 78).³ While Brueghel reversed the location of the main features of the setting (for example, the smithy and the mill wheel) in the *Allegory of Fire* (cat. no. 17) and related compositions, in *The Return from War* the position of the main figure group on the right and the display of precious articles (subsequently obscured by Rubens, see below) correspond to the Fiammingo drawing. *The Prophecy of Isaiah* (cat. no. 18), a collaborative work by Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen, features a similar alcove on the right.

However, Brueghel made key changes to the vaulted setting for *The Return from War*, abandoning the picturesque arching heights that dwarf the figures and foreground debris for an interior that is more circumscribed and enclosed. Not only are the pieces of armor larger, in keeping with the scale of a substantial figure group, but they have been carefully selected for their rich surfaces and complex forms. Beautiful pieces of Milanese-style parade armor predominate, along with copper vessels, minutely described objects that include a crossbow and winders (*cranequins*), a powder horn, a spanner, and a wheel-lock gun.⁴ Most of these items can be found in earlier allegories of Fire and in the *Prophecy of Isaiah*. Surviving sheets of figure studies, apparently from life, as well as studies for birds and hunting implements (see fig. 64), suggest that Brueghel kept drawings in the studio for reference.⁵ Although Antwerp was an important center for the fabrication of armor, Brueghel may have studied the armor firsthand in the archducal armory in Brussels, although specific archducal garnitures are not represented, as they are in the *Allegory of Touch* (see fig. 56).⁶ The shield on the right with a blue tasseled fringe, its interior surface and decorative rivets broadly described, while painted by Rubens, was probably a prop in Brueghel's studio and appears face up in the immediate foreground of the *Prophecy of Isaiah*. Brueghel took a playful approach to the main heap of armor, showing his technical virtuosity in the evocation of edges and dark interior spaces. On this scale, the liveliness and crisp impasto of his brushwork reveal the essentially painterly nature of his technique.

Brueghel painted many objects in the alcove beneath the figures of Mars, Venus, and her helpers, which are only partially visible with the naked eye but have been revealed by X-radiography and infrared photography (see figs. 123 and 124).⁷ From left to right they include a three-legged copper

bowl of glowing embers and a triangular wooden stool with a tazza of grapes on the seat. A little higher up are a group of small items, including a shell, a porcelain bowl, a candlestick, clippers, an overturned decorated glass, a lobed pewter container, and a circular piece of gilt plate, perhaps a salver, leaning against the wall; a wooden bench stands diagonally in the right corner.⁸ All of these elements appear to have been brought to a finished state by Brueghel.⁹

When Rubens received the panel, he revised the alcove by covering many of these objects with a layer of gray paint, neatly sidestepping the *cranequin* in the foreground and following the barrel of the musket. The standing figures of Mars and Venus must represent an acute shift in the original design, as they do not resemble the single roughly under-drawn figure, visible with infrared reflectography, with its bent posture and smaller scale (see fig. 121).¹⁰ Together with the forge setting, the presence of the legged brazier allows for the possibility that the scene was planned as a Venus in the Forge of Vulcan. This distinctive vessel of burning embers is found near Cupid and Venus in several of the Venus in the Forge of Vulcan scenes Brueghel painted with Van Balen (see, for example, fig. 76).¹¹ However, in his conceptual partnership with Brueghel, Rubens's substantial alteration was in keeping with his independent contribution to the commission. More than simply adjusting the subject with the addition of standing figures, Rubens eliminated extraneous attributes that did not support the new theme. As we shall see, there is every reason to believe that Rubens discussed the transformation of the theme with Brueghel, whose later contributions served to enhance it.

With Rubens's contribution of a figure group based on antique and Renaissance sources, Vulcan's forge became the setting for an allegory of Peace. Leaning into his embrace, the nude Goddess of Love fixes the God of War with a disarming gaze. Venus divests her returning lover of his armor as he stands relaxed and oblivious to her cupid's playfully stealing away his martial emblems. The untying of the war god's buskin, for example, is a reference to his binding by the fetters of love and conveys the peaceable hope that Love is more powerful than Strife.¹² Often, the allegory of Mars and Venus was treated as an idyll that transpires in a landscape where Mars's relaxation, and even sleep, was emphasized.¹³ Rubens himself later treated the theme in a painting now lost.¹⁴ Ironically, in *The Return from War*, while the disorder of discarded musket, crossbow, and cannon surrounding the illicit lovers emphasizes the halt to



FIGURE 37 Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629), “Love lycketh darkness” (CELARI VVLT SVA FVRTA VENUS), *Amorum Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1608). Getty Research Institute, Special Collections

war, the distant fires of Vulcan’s forge ensure that these armaments increase, a reminder that the war god’s powers, although tempered by love, can be reclaimed. *The Return from War* also reflects the contemporary interest at the Brussels court for playful and allusive allegories of love, as demonstrated by Otto van Veen’s influential *Amorum Emblemata* of 1608. The emblem portraying Cupid’s preference for seclusion and darkness, represented by a dark grotto (fig. 37), parallels the meeting of Mars and Venus in *The Return from War*.

Rubens may not have looked to a single source for the figure of Venus. The cross-legged pose of the goddess appears in various antique sources, particularly on sarcophagi.¹⁵ In this work, together with her white mantle and jeweled girdle, it supports her characterization as Chaste Love. The powerful figure of Mars, particularly the foreshortening of his baton arm, reflects the influence of Michelangelo on Rubens’s early work in Antwerp. The intertwined pose of Mars and Venus, and especially her removal of one of the god’s key martial emblems, his plumed helmet, may have been suggested to Rubens by a gem carved with a scene showing Hercules Crowned by Minerva.¹⁶ Rubens used the sinuous posture and overhead gesture of the goddess (in reverse) again almost immediately for *The Crowning of Virtue* (fig. 38).¹⁷

The panel subsequently returned to Brueghel, who integrated the figure group into the interior and adjusted the still-life attributes to support an allegory of Peace. Only those objects specifically associated with the figures or necessary for expanding upon the consequences of Peace were painted in this second campaign: in the foreground the tools relating to the armorer’s craft (square, compass, clippers, scales, tweezers) and in the right corner the pocket watch and bowl of grapes (reintroduced from Brueghel’s initial treatment), both of which allude to the passage of time and the impermanence of Peace. Smaller objects related to the activities of the forge were added in a subdued tone between Brueghel’s pile of armor and the putto wresting away Mars’s sword, including an anvil, which sits prominently behind the war god’s hand. This key element was part of the long-standing iconography of war, as exemplified by a sixteenth-century print of the Art of War (fig. 39), which also includes a cannon and evidence of the armorer’s craft.¹⁸ Perhaps, in this last phase, Brueghel also added the prominent, but not incongruous, pair of guinea pigs to the foreground as the exotic embodiment of fruitfulness that accompanies Peace.¹⁹

While the earliest provenance of *The Return from War* remains to be discovered, the substantial size of the panel, its shared authorship by Antwerp’s preeminent painters, and the delightfully intertwined political allegory and theme of love strongly suggest that it was a specific commission, likely for the archducal court if not for Albert and Isabella themselves. *The Return from War* celebrates the Twelve Years’ Truce of 1609, brokered by Archduke Albert, which brought hostilities between the Protestant Northern provinces and the Catholic Southern Netherlands to a halt. The occasion prompted new hope, as Rubens noted in his letter to Johann Faber in Rome just one day prior to the signing of the treaty: “The peace, or rather, the truce for many years will without doubt be ratified, and during this period it is believed our country shall flourish again.”²⁰ The Los Angeles panel is one of a small group of paintings to treat the theme of peace following the signing of the treaty. *The Union of the Scheldt River and the City of Antwerp (Scaldis and Antwerpia)* (1609; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) by Abraham Janssens (ca. 1575–1632) was commissioned by the Antwerp magistracy to decorate the *Statenkamer* (State Room) of Antwerp City Hall, where the treaty was signed on April 10 and ratified on April 14, 1609. Rubens’s *Adoration of the Magi* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado) celebrated the beginning of the new era and the bounty it was expected to



FIGURE 38 Peter Paul Rubens, *The Crowning of Virtue*, ca. 1613–14. Oil on panel, 221.5 × 201 cm (87¼ × 79⅛ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 997



FIGURE 39 Filips Galle after Frans Floris (ca. 1519/20–1570), *The Art of War*. Engraving, 205 × 246 mm (8⅛ × 9⅝ in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

afford the city and was likewise commissioned by the magistrates for the same gallery.²¹ The topic remained relevant years after the signing, as indicated by Janssens's later composition *Peace and Plenty Binding the Arrows of War* (1614; Wolverhampton, Municipal Museum and Art Gallery). *The Return from War* may have been known to the Dutch artist Adriaen van de Venne (1589–1662), whose *The Trêves (Allegory of the Twelve Years' Truce)* (1616; Paris, Musée du Louvre) combines allegory and history in the form of portraits of dignitaries from the Northern and Southern Netherlands in a detailed composition reminiscent of Brueghel's style, replete with its own still life of discarded armor.²²

Alongside the primary political allegory in *The Return from War*, the inventively combined efforts of Rubens and Brueghel also give rise to an additional, sensual, layer of meaning. There are delightful visual puns, such as the phallic cannons to the left of Mars and the loose bridles, added by Brueghel after Rubens's revision, hanging next to the

aggressively seductive goddess. The setting of Vulcan's forge contributes to the theme of the senses, and the fire, armor, and weapons each connote pain or protection from it. All of these elements, and the ancient structure, were later invoked in Brueghel and Rubens's *Allegory of Touch* (see fig. 56). Brueghel's calligraphic handling of metal surfaces rivals and contrasts with Rubens's smooth breastplate, its own cold, hard surface juxtaposed with the creamy, opulent flesh of Venus. While this painting's exceptional tactility adds an additional dimension to the allusion to the sense of touch, it also clearly demonstrates how Brueghel's graphic brushwork complements Rubens's broad handling, creating a setting that envelops the figures and enables them to inhabit the space.

Until recently, *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* was only known from a print of 1778 by Jean-Jacques Avril (fig. 40), which may represent a second version of the subject, as it shows the main armor still life having been



FIGURE 40 Jean-Jacques Avril (1744–1831) after Peter Paul Rubens, *Mars au Retour de la Guerre*, 1778. Engraving, 453 × 576 mm (17⁷/₈ × 22⁵/₈ in.). Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Graphische Sammlung, inv. A98/6776, c (KK)

modified with the addition of a furled standard.²³ The composition was evidently known in Antwerp, where a painter familiar with the early works of Anthony van Dyck included the figure of Venus among other selected motifs in an oil sketch dating from about 1625.²⁴ Similar figures of Mars and Venus appear in the *Allegory of Fire* from the late 1620s by Hendrick van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Younger.²⁵ ATW

NOTES

1. *The Allegory of Fire* (signed and dated BRUEGHEL / 1606, oil on panel, 46 × 83 cm [18¹/₈ × 32⁵/₈ in.]; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. 75) appears to be the earliest example of this setting in Brueghel's oeuvre. See pp. 6–9 and cat. nos. 17 and 18 in this volume.
2. For Brueghel's drawing of ruins, see Winner 1961, pp. 191–97; Winner 1972, especially pp. 122–38; and Bedoni 1983, pp. 29–38.
3. Sold Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 4, 2003, lot. 7.
4. For a view of the crossbow with the winder attached, see Van der Stock 1991, p. 357. For wheel-lock firearms, see particularly Rimer 2001, and for the "alla fiamminga" type made in Antwerp, see Hoff 1978, p. 31; and Van der Sloot 1959, p. 112. For Habsburg armor, see Quintana Lacaci 1987 and Soler del Campo 2000 and the literature therein. I thank Lillian Hsu, Getty Museum undergraduate intern, for her help identifying these items.
5. See, for example, Jan Brueghel the Elder, *A crowded beer stall with studies of elegant figures drinking and of two monks a priest and An elegant company drinking* (recto), *Five figures seen from behind and Other figures* (verso) (Christie's, London, July 6, 2004, lot 163); some of these figures correspond to those in Brueghel's *Village Scene* (1612; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 1884). For a sheet depicting a large variety of birds, perhaps in anticipation of an allegory of Air (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum) and a sheet of hunting implements (fig. 64 in this volume), see Winner 1972, p. 159, fig. 38, and p. 146, fig. 127.
6. For the armor depicted in the *Allegory of Touch*, see B. Welzel, "Armoury and Archducal Image: The Sense of Touch from the Five Senses of Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens," in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 100–102. For the Brussels armory, see Terlinden 1961 and *Wapens* 1992.
7. See the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume, pp. 230–31.
8. The stool, bench, and credenza grouping appears in many of Brueghel's paintings of Venus in the Forge of Vulcan and in the *Allegory of Fire* executed by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen between 1608 and 1623; see Ertz 1979, nos. 191, 252, 254, 277, 382; and Werche 2004, nos. A 136, A 140, A 162, A 163, A 164, A 165. It also appears in the *Allegory of Fire* compositions Van Balen executed with Jan Brueghel the Younger; see Werche 2004, pp. 194, 195, nos. A 144 and A 148.
9. See Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum, p. 231.
10. It is not possible to determine whether any other figures were planned due to the density of the paint layers in the area of the figure of Mars. See Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum, p. 230.
11. Notably in the composition established with the 1606 *Allegory of Fire* now in Lyon and related treatments of the theme. See note 1 above.
12. This idea had been expressed by Lucretius in *De rerum natura* (1.30–44). For the iconography of Venus and Mars and the theme of Peace, see Wind 1958, particularly pp. 82–88. See also Baumstark 1974, pp. 177–201. The motif of the fetters is eloquently conveyed in a painting by Paolo Veronese, *Mars and Venus United by Love* (1576–82; New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 10.189), which was in the collection of Rudolf II in Prague. Rubens returned to the theme of Peace and the agency of Venus again in a lost canvas (see note 14 below), in *The Council of the Gods* (1625; Paris, Musée du Louvre), one of the political allegories he devised for Marie de' Medici, and in *Venus, Mars, and Cupid* (ca. 1630; Dulwich Picture Gallery, inv. dp285). However, the intimacy of these scenes is dramatically torn asunder in the *Horrors of War* (1637–38; Florence, Palazzo Pitti), where, according to Rubens, "Mars . . . rushes forth with shield and blood-stained sword, threatening the people with great disaster. He pays little heed to Venus, his mistress, who, accompanied by her Amors and Cupids, strives with caresses and embraces to hold him. Mars is dragged forward by the fury Alekto, with a torch in her hand. Nearby are monsters personifying Pestilence and Famine, those inseparable partners of War" (letter to Justus Sustermans, Antwerp, March 12, 1638): Magurn 1955, pp. 408–9, letter 242 ("Marte . . . va collo scudo e la spada insanguinata minacciando ai popoli qualche gran ruina, curandosi poco di Venere sua dama, che si sforza con carezze ed

- abbracciamenti a ritenerlo, accompagnata dalli suoi Amori e Cupidini. Dall' altara banda Marte vien tirato dalla furia Aletto, con una face in mano. Mostri acconto, che significano la Peste e la Fame, compagni inseperabili della Guerra": Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 6, p. 208). For the theme of Peace in Rubens's oeuvre and possible connections with his personal hopes and diplomatic activities, see Baumstark 1974; Rosenthal 1993, pp. 103–5; Rosenthal 2000; Poeschel 2001; and Werner 2004.
13. See, for example, Sandro Botticelli, *Mars and Venus* (ca. 1485; London, National Gallery of Art, inv. NG 915) and Piero di Cosimo, *Venus, Mars, and Amor* (ca. 1505; Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 107).
 14. Ca. 1617, formerly Schloß Königsberg, Kaliningrad, now at St. Petersburg, State Heritage Museum; see Evers 1944, fig. 292. This work is discussed by Baumstark 1974, pp. 177–78; and Van Gelder 1950/51, pp. 115–16.
 15. The standing female nude, legs crossed, appears early in Rubens's oeuvre in *Adam and Eve* (ca. 1599; Antwerp, Rubenshuis) and in *Hercules and Omphale* (1602–05; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 854).
 16. Rubens was an avid collector of gems, and such a gem was in his collection; see Neverov 1979, p. 432; and Antwerp 2004, pp. 287, 289. A gem of similar description is mentioned by Rubens in a letter to Antoine Peiresc (May 1628); see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 1, pp. 206–7, no. 4. The helmet depicted in *The Return from War*, while similar to sixteenth-century examples, is distinct from the Negro-style helmet possessed by Rubens and used in his *Portrait of a Man as the God Mars* (ca. 1620–25; private collection); see Boston–Toledo 1993–94, pp. 287–89; New York 1998–99, pp. 152–54; and Karcheski 2001.
 17. Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 376–79. *The Crowning of Virtue* is one of a group of allegorical paintings from about 1614 in which Rubens portrayed scenes from the life of the Christian Knight and the Virtuous Soldier. Created on a monumental scale, these works are characterized by strongly lit, powerful figures. See Van der Auwera 1985 and Rosenthal 1993.
 18. This is one of a series of eight prints of Human Activities, presumably designed by Frans Floris, though only one is dated—1574 (after the death of Floris). See Van de Velde 1975, vol. 1, pp. 428–29, no. 2129; vol. 2, fig. 282. The inscription on the print, “Mauortis Bellona soror . . . nudus membra Pyraemon,” is from Virgil's *Aeneid*, a source which influenced Brueghel's invention of the vaulted forge interior. See cat. no. 17.
 19. The guinea pigs were painted from life and appear in many compositions, including cat. nos. 4, 6, 12, 21, and 26 in this volume, and notably in the early large *Venus* of 1600 painted with Hendrick van Balen (St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 3256). The animals were first introduced to Europe from South America, possibly via West Africa about 1580. See Zeuner 1963, pp. 436–37, 439; Weir 1974, pp. 437–38; and Vernon N. Kisling, Jr., “Ancient Collections and Menageries: Earliest Live New World Animals Sent to European Menageries,” in Kisling 2001, p. 35. For the arrival of new species in Europe from the New World, see Kolb 2005, pp. 17–20. Brueghel borrowed the magnificent gray horse from Rubens, where it first appeared in the equestrian portrait of the Duke of Lerma (1603; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 3137). For the importance of the gray horse in Brueghel's work, see Kolb 2005, pp. 67–73.
 20. Letter of April 10, 1609; see Magurn 1955, pp. 52–53.
 21. For the Janssens painting, see J. Van der Auwera in Antwerp 1993, pp. 146–47. For the Starenkamer commissions, see Madrid 2004.
 22. The painting is discussed in Bol 1989, pp. 41–43, fig. 27.
 23. The text below the title reads: “Dans les bras caressans de la belle Déesse, Le dieu Mars languissait brulant et désarmé, Et, le front rayonnant de la plus douce ivresse, Il goutoit à longtraits le bonheur d'être aimé.” It is also possible that Avril modified the composition for the print, which also exists without the verse (Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie, Graphische Sammlung, inv. A 98/6776, b[KK]). I am grateful to Hans Martin Kaulbach, Graphische Sammlung, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, for his kind assistance with these prints. Smith (1829–42, pp. 306, 396, no. 1122) was aware of the composition as a result of the Avril engraving, as was Rooses (1886–92, vol. 4, pp. 52–53), who cited the likely participation of Jan Brueghel the Elder. Ellis Waterhouse made note of the present painting in 1953 during a visit to Much Marcle at Hellens, near Ledbury, a Pennington-Mellor property, identifying it as the work catalogued by Smith as no. 1122, although apparently without seeing it (“Account of Pictures in British Private Collections June 1953–Aug. 1955” [p. 35], Box 6, Folder 3, Ellis Kirkham Waterhouse Notebooks and Research Files, 1901–1987 [bulk ca. 1924–ca. 1979], Getty Research Institute, Research Library, accession no. 870204). See Van Mulders 2005, p. 199 (which appeared too late to be addressed here) for a discussion of two copies and a variant of this composition.
 24. Unknown seventeenth-century Flemish artist, *Studies for the Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian and Venus* (ca. 1625 [revised title and date], oil on paper laid down on canvas, 63.5 × 56 cm [25 × 22 in.]; Basel, Collection Ludwig Geiger). This *ricordo* was attributed to Anthony van Dyck by A. Schug (1985–86, p. 147, pl. 32). Until now, the female figure on the sheet has been identified as an Andromeda from an unidentified source; see Schug, *ibid.*, and Christopher Brown in Yokohama–Shizuoka–Osaka 1990, p. 144, cat. no. 7.
 25. Oil on copper, 47.5 × 82.5 cm [18¾ × 32½ in.]; England, Kingston Lacy, National Trust, private collection. See Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 195, no. A 148; vol. 2, p. 422.

3

Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder

The Feast of Acheloüs

ca. 1614–15

Oil on panel, 109.5 × 165.7 cm (43¹/₈ × 65¹/₄ in.)

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Alvin and Irwin Untermyer
in memory of their parents, 1945, inv. 45.141

PROVENANCE

Basile de Schlichting collection, Paris, 1906;
Julius Böhler (art dealer), Munich, 1910;
Samuel Untermyer collection, New York,
1912 (sale, New York, Parke Bernet, May 10,
1940, lot 52, bought in); Alvin and Irwin
Untermyer collection, 1940–45

LITERATURE

Held 1941; Wehle 1946; De Maeyer 1955,
pp. 47–48, 118; Speth-Holterhoff 1957,
p. 88; Van Puyvelde 1964; Müller Hofstede
1968, p. 225; Alpers 1971, pp. 93–94, 162;

Ertz 1979, pp. 415, 613, no. 335; Liedtke 1984,
pp. 194–98; Liedtke in Vlieghe 1992,
pp. 190–92; Van Mulders 2000, pp. 113, 118

EXHIBITIONS

New York 1919, cat. no. 21; Detroit 1936,
cat. no. 5; New York 1973; New York 1977,
cat. no. 388; Dordrecht 2000–01, cat. no. 66

IN THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY, THE BANQUET of the Gods became a popular subject in Haarlem and Utrecht among such artists as Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), Cornelis van Haarlem (1562–1638), Abraham Bloemaert (1566–1651), and Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638).¹ In 1587 Goltzius introduced the theme in the North with his phenomenal print of *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* after Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611).² A Banquet of the Gods—which could depict any one of a number of stories from classical mythology—provided the artist with an opportunity to portray an array of nude figures in a variety of poses ranged around a sumptuous banquet table. In 1550 the Antwerp master Frans Floris (ca. 1519/20–1570) had painted a Banquet of the Gods on a monumental scale with large figures—dressed as well as nude—filling the picture plane. It was, however, the influence exerted by the

above-mentioned Mannerist masters, and also Hans Rottenhammer, that popularized the theme in the Southern Netherlands from about 1600 onward.³ In Brussels it was depicted by Hendrick de Clerck and in Antwerp by Hendrick van Balen, often in collaboration with Jan Brueghel the Elder, who painted the fantasy landscapes and richly laid tables.⁴ The earliest dated Banquet of the Gods by Van Balen and Brueghel is *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, dated 1608 (fig. 41).⁵ About 1614–15 Brueghel collaborated with Rubens on *The Feast of Acheloüs*, a Banquet of the Gods that is considerably larger than earlier Flemish cabinet paintings.⁶

Ovid recounts in the *Metamorphoses* (8.547–619) the story of Theseus, son of the king of Athens, who was returning home after his adventures in Crete and Calydon when he came to the rain-swollen river called Acheloüs.⁷ The river god advised Theseus and his traveling companions against





FIGURE 41 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, 1608. Oil on copper, 44 × 61 cm (17³/₈ × 24 in.). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. 920

crossing and invited them to join him at table. Theseus was entertained in “the river-god’s dark dwelling, built of porous pumice and rough tufa; the floor was damp with soft moss, conchs and purple-shells paneled the ceiling.” After the banquet, Theseus asked Acheloüs to tell him about the islands in the river, which used to be naiads. One of them, Perimele, had been the object of the river god’s love. When he robbed her of her maidenhood, her father had been so incensed that he hurled her from a cliff into the sea in an attempt to kill her. Acheloüs, however, prayed to Neptune to save her, whereupon “a new land embraced her floating form and a solid island grew from her transformed shape.” Rubens placed the river god in the middle of the picture, pointing to the island in the background while looking at young Theseus, seated opposite him at the table. Sitting next to Theseus is his bosom friend Pirithous, who turns to him impatiently. He laughs at Acheloüs, calling his stories “fairy tales,” but Theseus’s older companion Lelex, seated at the right, upbraids him, saying, “The power of heaven is indeed immeasurable and has no bounds. . . .” Acheloüs then told the assembled company how he had transformed himself into a savage bull to fight the brave Hercules, who eventually laid him low and broke off one of his horns, which the naiads filled with fruit and flowers. At this point in Acheloüs’s story, a nymph, “one of the attendants with locks flowing free,

appeared and served them from her bounteous horn with all autumn’s harvest” (*Metamorphoses* 9.80–92). In the painting, two nymphs approach from the left, carrying a cornucopia, and a third nymph—her water-drenched blonde hair matted on her back—lifts out of the water a large conch filled with shellfish.

While this water nymph is seen from the back, Rubens depicted Theseus frontally and his friend Lelex from the side. These figures derive from drawings he made in Italy of antique statues, including the Torso Belvedere in Rome.⁸ Rubens varied not only the poses of his idealized nude figures and the angle from which they are seen but also the flesh tones: the women and young men are pale, while the bearded men have darker complexions.

Brueghel based his cave setting on earlier Banquets of the Gods made in collaboration with Van Balen, including depictions of the Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the Wedding of Bacchus and Ariadne, the Feast of Acheloüs, and Banquets of the Gods set in sea caves.⁹ In these paintings he had tried out various motifs, such as the arched caves lined with shells,¹⁰ the gifts brought forth from the water, and the banquet table with costly vessels displayed on an oriental carpet and white tablecloth. This last motif can in fact be traced to Goltzius’s influential print after Spranger. In all likelihood, *The Feast of Acheloüs* on which Van Balen collaborated with Jan Brueghel the Younger (fig. 42) was based on a lost work he had earlier made with Jan Brueghel the Elder.¹¹

The wide-ranging variety of Rubens’s figures and the wealth of detail in Brueghel’s scenery, as well as the large dimensions of the panel, make *The Feast of Acheloüs* an extremely ambitious work—undoubtedly the result of close consultation and mature deliberation. Brueghel created a highly imaginative cave landscape in which the river flows right up to the foreground. The two figures emerging from the water at the lower left, as well as the elements depicted in the foreground—water lilies, shells, and fish—all serve to emphasize the scene’s aquatic surroundings. The table laid with sumptuous fare—featuring oysters, lobsters, and roast game—must have been painted after Rubens completed his figures. It is clear, for example, that the oysters were painted around the outstretched fingers of Theseus’s left hand and that the wineglasses were later placed in the figures’ hands. Many details—such as the cornucopia carried by the nymphs, the shellfish proffered by the blonde nymph, the lobster on the arm of the bearded sea creature at the lower left, the jug held by the servant pouring wine, and the

willow wreath in Acheloüs' hair (covering the wound in his head where Hercules had torn off his horn)¹²— were painted by Brueghel in the final stages. Compared with most of the other paintings on which these two masters collaborated, Rubens's contribution to this complex composition is very great indeed. Although this might lead one to suspect that he initiated the project, the type of depiction—a Banquet of the Gods set against a cavellike backdrop—most likely stems from the repertoire that Brueghel developed together with Hendrick van Balen. AVS

NOTES

1. See Van Thiel 1999, no. 159; Roethlisberger and Bok 1993, nos. 12 and 24; and Lowenthal 1986, nos. A 4, 20, 30, 49, 50, and 53, see also n. 2. Compare also Dirck Barendsz's print *Mankind before the Flood* of ca. 1580 (Amsterdam 1986, cat. no. 309.1).
2. Amsterdam 1993–94, cat. no. 2; and Amsterdam–New York–Toledo 2003–04, cat. no. 28.
3. Frans Floris, *Banquet of the Gods* (1550; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 956); and Hans Rottenhammer, *Banquet of the Gods* (1600; St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, inv. 688); see Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. G 1 37; and Werche 2004, fig. 30.
4. See, for example, Hendrick de Clerck and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. RF 1945–17), and Hendrick de Clerck, *The Feast of Acheloüs* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 2071). Regarding Hendrick van Balen, see Werche 2004, nos. A 57–59 (A 58 and A 59 with Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Feast of Acheloüs*), A 61–62 (with Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Wedding of Bacchus and Ariadne*), A 110–12 (A 110 and A 111 with Jan Brueghel the Elder, A 112 with Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*), A 116–22 (A 117–21 with Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Banquets of the Gods*), A 123–26 (A 125 and A 126 with Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Banquets of the Gods* in a sea setting).
5. See Werche 2004, no. A 110.
6. Like *Diana at the Hunt* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Rubens (cat. no. 10), this painting is pictured in an *Allegory of Painting* by Jan Brueghel the Younger (Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, cat. no. 8).
7. For the passages quoted in this paragraph, see Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Books I–VIII*, pp. 445–49; and Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Books IX–XV*, p. 9 (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1994).
8. For drawings after Rubens of an antique female torso, see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 3, figs. 102–4; for the antique statue on which Theseus was modeled (at that time in Florence, but now lost), see Liedtke 1984, pp. 195–96, n. 8; for the Torso Belvedere, see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 1, p. 48; vol. 2, pp. 56–59; and vol. 3, figs. 75–79; see also Antwerp 1993, pp. 124–27.
9. See note 4 above.
10. These arched caves could have been inspired by the arched architecture of ruins seen in the work of Hans Rottenhammer (see note 3 above).
11. See Werche 2004, no. A 58.
12. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Books IX–XV*, pp. 3–9 (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1994).



FIGURE 42 Hendrick van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Feast of Acheloüs*, 1610–20. Oil on panel, 55.9 × 92.7 cm (22 × 36½ in.). Dayton (Ohio) Art Institute, Gift of Mr. Robert Badenhop, inv. 1957.137

4

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man

ca. 1617

Oil on panel, 74.3 × 114.7 cm (29¼ × 45⅞ in.)

The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, inv. 253

INSCRIPTIONS

At lower left, PETRI PAVLI. RVBENS FIGR.; at lower right, IBRVEGHEL FEC. [I and B in ligature]; on the reverse, panelmaker's mark, GG [in ligature]

PROVENANCE

Possibly Johan de Bye collection, Leiden;¹ Adriaan Wittert van der Aa collection, Leiden, 1710; Pieter de la Court van der Voort collection, Leiden, 1710–39; Allard de la Court van der Voort collection, Leiden, 1739–55; Catharina de la Court van der Voort-Backer collection, Leiden, 1755–66, sale,

Leiden, September 8, 1766, lot 1; collection of Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1766; Gallery of Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1774–95; Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1795–1815; Gallery of Willem V, The Hague, 1815–22; Mauritshuis, since 1822

LITERATURE

Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 87; Campo Weyerman 1729–69, vol. 1, p. 348; Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, p. 542; Von Uffenbach 1753–54, vol. 3, p. 421; Thoré-Bürger 1858–60, vol. 1, pp. 288–89; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 3, pp. 202–3; Ertz 1979, pp. 236, 245, 391,

no. 308; Broos 1993, pp. 88–95; Beaujean 1996; Van Mulders 2000, pp. 114, 118; Wadum 2001; Tamis 2001–02; Wadum 2002; Kolb 2005, pp. 78–80.

EXHIBITIONS

Essen–Vienna 2003, cat. no. 106; Antwerp 2004a (not in catalogue)

IN 1766, WHEN STADHOLDER WILLEM V BOUGHT *The Garden of Eden* for the considerable sum of 7,350 guilders at the sale of the De la Court van der Voort collection, he could feel sure he had done the right thing by recalling the high praise expressed for this panel by the artists' biographer, Arnold Houbraken. In his *Groote Schouburgh* of 1718, Houbraken called the painting: "the most outstanding in Art that I have seen by him [Brueghel] is the so-called paradise at Mr. De la Court van der Voort's in Leiden, in which a multitude of divers animals appear in the most ingenious way in a landscape painted no less ingeniously, with Adam and Eve rendered in the greatest of detail by Rubens."² In 1729 Houbraken's younger colleague Jacob Campo Weyerman enlarged upon this encomium by adding that "this glorious work of art . . . was conceived and painted in collaboration by Rubens and Brueghel, each

master having challenged the other, as though in a competition, to do his utmost."³ In short, both of these renowned Antwerp masters felt honored to be collaborating on this masterpiece. "Both [contributions] incomparable" were the words used by the German traveler Zacharias von Uffenbach to praise the work of these two friends and artists, whose painting he had admired in 1711 at De la Court's in Leiden.⁴ In buying this perfectly preserved painting, the stadholder had acquired an outstanding example of the collaborative efforts of these two masters—the only painting, moreover, to bear both their signatures.

Inscribed at the lower right edge of the panel is IBRVEGHEL FEC., and at the lower left, in larger capitals, PETRI PAVLI. RVBENS FIGR.⁵ The use of the genitive case and the designation FIGR suggests that the latter inscription should be translated as: "the figures belong to [i.e., are the



work of] Peter Paul Rubens.”⁶ As far as we know, this is the only example of an inscription that reveals the division of labor in a collaborative work of this kind. Rubens, for that matter, must have been responsible not only for the figures of Adam and Eve but also for the brown horse next to Adam and the serpent in the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. It has been assumed, because both signatures appear in the same red-brown paint, that Brueghel applied Rubens’s name as well as his own upon completion of the painting.⁷ The letters of Rubens’s signature are larger, however, and were applied with a finer brush, so it is conceivable that the two painters, after approving the result, applied their signatures at the same time from the same palette.⁸

Burned into the back of the panel is a panelmaker’s mark, which gives some basis for dating the work. It is the mark of Guiliam Gabron—GG interlaced with a floral motif—who since 1609 had been registered with the Antwerp guild as a *tafereelmaker* (panelmaker). He used this mark from 1614 to 1626. From 1617, the brand of the city of Antwerp would also have been burned into the panel. Its absence here suggests a tentative dating to between 1614 and 1617, although the lack of the Antwerp brand could also be explained by the fact that the panel was ordered specially as a support for this painting, thereby possibly escaping the notice of the guild’s inspectors.⁹ Dendrochronological research recently carried out on the wood indicates 1612 as the earliest possible dating but suggests 1622 or after as more plausible.¹⁰ The traditional dating of the painting to about 1617 is therefore still acceptable.

The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man fits into a series of animal pictures in which Brueghel concentrated on making true-to-life depictions of all God’s creatures. The earliest example is a paradise landscape—now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Rome—with the creation of Adam in the background (fig. 75).¹¹ Brueghel signed this work and dated it 1594, which means it originated during his stay in Rome. The Staatsgalerie Neuburg an der Donau has a paradise scene by Jan Brueghel to which the Brussels painter Hendrick de Clerck contributed the figures of Adam and Eve (cat. no. 16). Its strong resemblance to such works as the 1594 painting means that we can assume it was painted early on, probably not long after Brueghel’s return from Italy in the autumn of 1596 (De Clerck had already returned from his Italian sojourn about 1590). This small round painting shows the same moment in the story of the Creation as the *Garden of Eden* in the Mauritshuis; moreover, the way in which Eve

reaches up to grasp the apple is very similar.¹² Thus, some twenty years before Brueghel portrayed this subject with Rubens, he had already collaborated with another artist on a scene of the Garden of Eden.

The story of the animals entering Noah’s ark also provided a pretext for depicting a wide variety of species (see cat. no. 26).¹³ Moreover, in his series of the Four Elements, Brueghel seized the opportunity offered by Water to depict both fish and shellfish; similarly, the representation of Air was the perfect occasion to portray countless birds.¹⁴ Just as his flower paintings gave him the chance to depict, in encyclopedic fashion, every bloom known to him, the story of the Creation provided the ideal setting for all kinds of animals—indigenous as well as exotic—nearly all of which he probably studied from life.¹⁵ Before this time, such artists as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Hans Bol (1534–1593), and Jacques de Gheyn (1565–1629) had painstakingly depicted animals from life, but Brueghel placed them in their natural habitat, demonstrating as well his keen observation of their movements and behavior.¹⁶ Here, for example, the dogs bark at quacking ducks, the felines frolic, the guinea pigs nibble beans, and the heron is poised to catch fish in the shallow water.

As in the painting in Neuburg—but in contrast to Brueghel’s paradise scenes—the portrayal of the first couple is an important part of the Mauritshuis painting. Adam and Eve are depicted on the left, beneath the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, on which grow not only apples but other fruits as well. On the opposite side of the brook, emerging in the middle from the wooded landscape, another tree—the tree of life—is heavily laden with fruit. According to Genesis 2:8–14, the tree of life and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil stood in the middle of the Garden of Eden, and a river sprang forth that watered this paradise. Here, Eve gives Adam an apple while reaching up to take the apples offered to her by the serpent coiled around a branch. On the left, behind Adam, a monkey bites into an apple. This animal, which apes human behavior, stands for sin. It traditionally plays a role in depictions of the Fall of Man, together with the cat, here rubbing its head against Eve’s leg. According to the doctrine of the Four Humors, the sanguine monkey next to Adam is the hothead who cannot resist temptation, whereas Eve’s choleric cat is a symbol of cruel cunning.¹⁷ In the dark green foliage behind Adam and Eve, several bunches of grapes catch the light; in Christian symbolism they refer to Christ’s death on the cross (as wine represents his blood), a prefiguration of the redemption

of humankind from its innate sinfulness, the consequence of the Fall.¹⁸ Depicted here is the moment just before the eating of the forbidden fruit, when all the animals in paradise were still living together in harmony and Adam and Eve were naked.

Brueghel, who likely took the initiative in this project,¹⁹ laid in the composition by means of an underdrawing, using only a few lines to sketch in the contours of the landscape on the primed panel.²⁰ A couple of zigzagging lines representing the right bank of the brook were all he needed to indicate its course, and a few semicircular lines sufficed to suggest the clearing in the woods. He drew one or two diagonal lines to sketch the landscape running into the distance in the right background. The position of the trees to the right of the couple in the middle distance are also indicated in Brueghel's underdrawing, though he did not follow it exactly when painting. In addition to the broad lines of the landscape in the right half of the painting, Brueghel's underdrawing included a number of animals: the dogs at the water's edge were drawn briskly and schematically, but when painted they were placed lower down and more to the left. The dog on the right seems, in the underdrawing, to have its tail between its legs instead of up in the air. Moreover, the peacocks appear in the underdrawing, but in the painting their feet are placed more to the left. Finally, the cat rubbing its head against Eve's leg also appears in the preliminary sketch, but here, too, the underdrawing seems not to have been followed precisely during the painting process. It is not known why so few animals were sketched in at this stage.²¹ That Rubens's figures were also positioned according to an underdrawing is suggested by the fact that Brueghel knew where to place his cat. However, the brownish paint Rubens often used for underdrawings cannot be detected with an infrared camera, nor was it observed here with the microscope.

In any case, it was Rubens who began to paint, once the overall design of the picture had been established. He rendered the play of light on Adam and Eve's skin with subtle nuances of his palette. The shadow cast by the horse on the upper part of Adam's body is the effect of a dark underpainting, applied in places deliberately to shine through the uppermost paint layer. To prepare a place for his figures, Rubens rapidly applied thin, fluid paint to render the tree trunk and the rock on which Adam sits. That Rubens is also the author of the brown horse was mentioned as early as 1766 in the De la Court auction catalogue.²² While Brueghel

painted his animals in opaque paint, applying small brushstrokes clearly distinguishable from one another, Rubens used transparent layers of paint that allow the underlying layers to remain visible. The serpent also displays Rubens's typical manner of painting. When Rubens had finished his part, Brueghel took over and applied a green tone as a basis for the landscape. Then he painted the sky, leaving reserves for the trees; by painting the outermost leaves over the blue of the sky he created the effect of light shining through the leaves. He went on to paint the larger animals and then worked up the landscape surrounding them; only the ostrich and a few of the smaller animals were painted on the dry background. Working mostly from front to back in this way, Brueghel could insure that his colors stayed bright; he thus avoided the disturbing effect created by underlying colors shining through paint layers that have become more transparent with time. Brueghel integrated Rubens's contribution into the composition by applying small retouches along the contours. The long strands he added to Eve's hair overlap part of the flying teal and a few grass stalks. Brueghel also added long strands to the mane of Rubens's horse and made the cat's ear overlap Eve's calf. He integrated Rubens's tree trunk into the picture by endowing it with countless twigs and leaves. The detailing on the serpent's head—with its pointed ears—and a few strokes along its contours seem to betray the hand of Brueghel,²³ who could also be responsible for some of the pastose accents in Rubens's horse.

Rubens's depiction of the Fall is based on late-sixteenth-century prints—after Marten de Vos (1532–1603), Agostino Carracci (1557–1602), and Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610)—which apparently record an older prototype.²⁴ It is not entirely clear which of these prints Rubens had in mind, but the story is usually portrayed in roughly the same way: Adam sits under the tree of the knowledge of good and evil; next to him stands Eve, who hands him an apple while reaching up to take an apple offered to her by the serpent in the tree.²⁵ In portraying Adam's athletic body, Rubens was inspired by the Torso Belvedere, an antique statue—which he drew during his stay in Rome—that crops up frequently in his work.²⁶

Brueghel based the earthly paradise behind Adam and Eve on a design he had used several times with great success: a wooded landscape with a few trees in the foreground (including bare branches on which birds perch), a clearing, and a vast prospect unfolding in the left or right background. A paradise landscape painted by Brueghel in 1612, now in the Galleria Doria Pamphilj in Rome, seems to have

FIGURE 43 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Garden of Eden*, 1612. Oil on panel, 50.3 × 80.1 cm (19¾ × 31½ in.). Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, inv. FC 341



been the immediate forerunner of the present painting (fig. 43).²⁷ In depicting the animals, Brueghel must have drawn upon his own stock of studies: numerous animals are depicted in exactly the same way in other of his paintings.²⁸ Some of the animals are also to be found in the few surviving animal studies by his hand. The monkey biting into an apple, for example, appears in the oil sketch in Vienna (cat. no. 28); the surf scoter (the black duck with white on the back of its head) is based on an example in an oil sketch on panel displaying ducks and birds (fig. 44);²⁹ the toucan in the center derives from a bird study in oil;³⁰ the deer appear on a recently discovered sheet with studies drawn in ink (fig. 45).³¹ These sketches reveal yet again that Brueghel based his animals primarily on his own observations of nature and that he had seen nearly all these animals at first-hand. The exceptions are the romping tiger and leopard, the lion, and the white horse in the background, which are based on examples by Rubens that Brueghel often copied in his animal paintings.³² Rubens, in turn, based his studies of lions and horses on examples from antiquity and the Renaissance, as well as on live specimens.

The penchant for encyclopedic detail—demonstrated by Brueghel in his paradise landscapes, flower pieces, and series of the Four Elements and the Five Senses—is deeply rooted in his time: an era in which new discoveries were the order of the day and there was great optimism about the possibility

of acquiring complete knowledge and understanding of nature. Scores of explorers voyaging to newly discovered, far-off lands brought home unknown species of plants and animals, which were studied and recorded by scientists and avidly collected by enthusiasts, aristocratic or otherwise. Publications appearing in the second half of the sixteenth century were the first to classify the animal species, offering systematic descriptions accompanied by illustrations.³³ These publications were based on the *Historia naturalis* (A.D. 77) by Pliny, who in turn based his descriptions of animals, birds, and fish on his observations of real-life specimens. The huge popularity of Pliny's encyclopedia, first printed in 1469, led to its translation into various languages over the course of the sixteenth century. In 1551 the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gesner published his *Historia animalium*, followed by the encyclopedia of nature published by the Bolognese professor Ulisse Aldrovandi in 1599. If Brueghel did not own these influential works himself, he could have consulted them in Rubens's library.³⁴ He would also have had easy access to the prints of naturalia published in Antwerp by Nicolaas Bruyn (1571–1656) and Adriaen Collaert (ca. 1560–1618).³⁵

Brueghel's paradise scenes may be viewed as painted encyclopedias of the animal kingdom, his depictions of the various species being based primarily on empirical knowledge. Moreover, his exact rendering of the animals' colors is an aspect that was lacking in the illustrated encyclopedias.

It was precisely the dazzling range of colors in the natural world that appealed to the imagination, as evidenced, for example, by the writings of Cardinal Federico Borromeo, one of Brueghel's most important patrons.³⁶ According to this Italian theologian, all aspects of the visible and natural world were made manifest through color, and it was nature's rich palette that led to the recognition of God as the supreme painter. Karel van Mander expressed the same idea in his 1604 treatise *Den Grondt der edel vrij Schilderconst*: "In the beginning, when all created things . . . were given their colors by this supremely skillful painter and image-maker / how could the source of color prove more liberal?"³⁷

In 1604 Brueghel had been in Prague, where, at the menagerie of Emperor Rudolf II, he was able to observe countless exotic animals and birds. Closer to home, in Brussels, he had access to the archducal zoological gardens with their aviaries and fish ponds.³⁸ In 1621 Brueghel wrote to Borromeo about a painting he had made in which "the birds and animals were done from life from several of Her Serene Highness's specimens."³⁹ Moreover, Antwerp, where Brueghel lived, was an important harbor, a point of arrival for costly goods from the New World and a place where exotic animals were no doubt seen with regularity. The present painting features a host of exotic birds, often depicted in pairs, as well as such indigenous European species as the pheasant, heron, curlew, goldfinch, swallow, stork, swan, teal, tawny owl, hoopoe, sparrow hawk, spotted woodpecker, and golden oriole.⁴⁰ In the left foreground is a wild turkey, which the Spanish first brought from the Americas in the early sixteenth century, and on Eve's right is a pair of peacocks, a bird native to India, whose magnificent plumage made it a favorite in aristocratic collections. Like the African ostrich, these birds, which cannot fly, make their nests on the ground. In addition to two toucans and a splendid pair of purple gallinules in the right foreground, Brueghel also painted various parrots, whose ability to speak links them to the earthly paradise, where all animals still had the capacity for speech.⁴¹ Swimming in the brook, besides a carp and a pike, is a male surf scoter native to North America (see fig. 44); the dogs at the water's edge bark at a teal and a Barrow's goldeneye. Particularly eye-catching are the birds of paradise, one on the ground at Adam's feet and the other in flight, seen against the blue sky. Since their discovery in New Guinea by the Portuguese in the early sixteenth century, these animals had been known in Europe only as stuffed specimens with their feet removed.⁴² Their seeming lack of

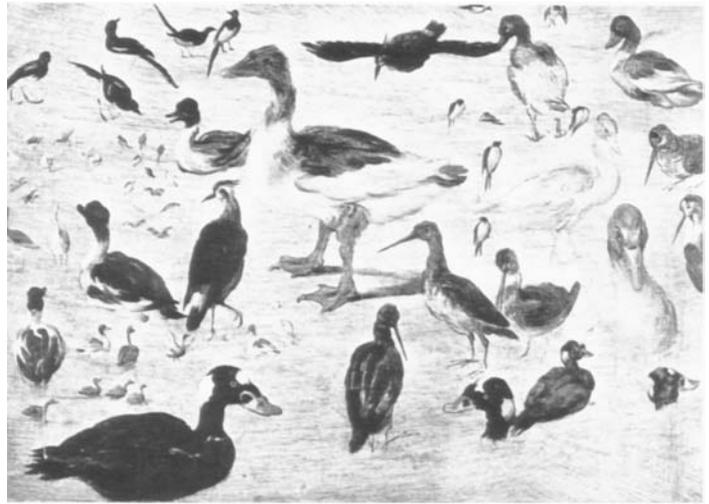


FIGURE 44 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Sketches of Ducks and Birds*, ca. 1615. Oil on panel, 24 × 34.5 cm (9½ × 13⅝ in.). Present whereabouts unknown

FIGURE 45 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Studies of Deer in Various Positions*, ca. 1615. Pen and brush in brown ink, 13.5 × 19.7 cm (5¾ × 7¾ in.). Haboldt & Company, New York and Paris, 2001–02

feet led to the assumption that they were perpetually in flight—in paradise, as it were. Brueghel was the first to depict this bird in its entirety, feet and all, having included flying, footless specimens in 1613 in *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (cat. no. 26).⁴³ In the meantime, he had evidently been able to study a live specimen, presumably in the well-stocked aviaries of Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Various documents reveal that the archducal couple kept a great many birds: in 1605, for example, they received from Isabella's brother, Philip III, various parrots and also monkeys; in 1612 they bought nineteen parakeets and three guinea pigs; the animals they acquired in 1615 included crows, a red macaw, and a toucan; and in 1617 their collection was augmented with a large number of canaries.⁴⁴

Guinea pigs, first brought to Europe from the Americas in the early sixteenth century, nearly always appear in Brueghel's animal paintings. Apparently, just after returning from Italy, he had not yet seen a live specimen, because—in contrast to the guinea pigs Brueghel painted later on—the guinea pig at Eve's feet in the Neuburg painting (cat. no. 16) does not look very lifelike. The other small animals in the foreground include—in addition to the rabbits, the squirrel, the European tortoise, and the salamander and toads in the right foreground—a squirrel monkey (with the apple) and a capuchin monkey, both native to South America. The hen and the rooster—peacefully pecking in front of the lion's paws—are domesticated animals and belong in a separate category, along with the goats, pigs, sheep, cats, dogs, horses, and dromedaries. Additionally, there are foxes, elephants, a crocodile, a wolf, and a llama. The eye can roam forever and still fail to detect some of the animals, such as the tiny insects in the foreground.

The story of the Fall of Man provided the ideal context for Brueghel's artistic discovery of nature. His representations of paradise depict the animal kingdom in its harmonious state of perfection before the Fall. In those days, it was widely believed that the Fall of Man had also precipitated the loss of knowledge of God's Creation, as well as the loss of the language in which Adam had named the animals. Alongside the study of nature, the book of Genesis was therefore viewed as a source of true knowledge of Creation, and the identification and naming of the species was considered the first step toward this renewed understanding. The collectors who acquired Brueghel's depictions of paradise must have considered their religious message of prime importance, for his paintings praise God's Creation in

all its variety and abundance. The individual animals usually carry no symbolic meaning, but as a whole they underscore the glory of God's Creation, which—through the fault of humankind, as represented here—can no longer be experienced in its perfect state. The earthly paradise may have been lost, but the successive owners of this painting—starting with the first, unknown, collector—could consider themselves extremely fortunate in possessing an undisputed masterpiece from the collaborative oeuvre of these illustrious painters and friends—Rubens and Brueghel. AVS

NOTES

1. Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 87.
2. “het alleruitmuntenste in Konst dat ik van hem [Brueghel] gezien heb is het zoo genaamde paradys, by den Heer Le Court van der Voort, tot Leiden, waar in zig een menigte van allerhande Dieren op 't allerkonstigst, in een niet min konstig geschildert landschap doen zien: en de Adam en Eva op 't alleruitvoerigst door Rubbens geschildert.”: Houbraken 1718–21, vol. 1, p. 87. In the sale catalogue of September 8, 1766, Houbraken was cited as a recommendation. A collaborative painting by Brueghel and Rubens had previously been in the possession of the House of Orange: in 1677 Willem III bought a *Vertumnus and Pomona* by the two artists. This painting and other works decorating Het Loo Palace were sold at auction in Amsterdam in 1713; its present location is unknown. See Jonckheere 2004–05, p. 193.
3. “overheerlijk Konststuk... is in kompagnie geordonneert en geschildert by Rubens en by Breugel, welke beyde Meesters als om strijd hebben gepoogt om malkanderen daar op te verpligten.”: Campo Weyerman 1729–69, vol. 1, p. 348.
4. “Beydes unvergleichlich”: Von Uffenbach 1753–54, vol. 3, p. 421. This is the oldest record of the painting.
5. For a transcription, see Mauritshuis 1935, p. 297.
6. On this subject, see Tamis 2001–02, p. 112.
7. See, among others, Wadum 2001, p. 25; Tamis 2001–02, p. 112; and Wadum 2002, p. 1.
8. For a similar signature of Rubens, see his *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1614; Kassel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, inv. GK 87); Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 1. Rubens, incidentally, seldom signed his paintings.
9. See the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume.
10. Dr. Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, report dated April 29, 2005.
11. See Essen–Vienna 1997–98, cat. no. 36.
12. Regarding this gesture, compare *The Garden of Eden* of 1566 by Frans Pourbus the Elder (1569–1622); see Broos 1993, p. 93, fig. 5.

13. Jan Brueghel's first known paradise scene showing the animals entering Noah's ark dates from 1596; see Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 36.
14. In the earliest example, dating from 1604, Brueghel painted all the elements on one panel; see Ertz 1979, no. 110. See also Ertz 1979, pp. 363–84; and Kolb 2005, pp. 52–59. For the series representing the Four Elements, which Brueghel painted for Borromeo between 1606 and 1621, see Jones 1993, pp. 237–38, nos. 34a–d.
15. On this subject, see Kolb 2000.
16. A precursor of Brueghel's animal depictions is *The Garden of Eden* of 1566 by Frans Pourbus the Elder (see note 12 above). Starting in about 1600, Roelant Savery—following the example of his elder brother Jacques—painted paradise scenes for various patrons, one of whom was Emperor Rudolf II (compare Amsterdam 1993–94, cat. no. 312). See also C. Van de Velde, “Het aards Paradijs in de beeldende kunsten,” in Antwerp 1982, pp. 16–35; and U. Kleinmann, “Wo lag das Paradies? Beobachtungen zu den Paradieslandschaften des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,” in Essen–Vienna 2003, pp. 278–85.
17. See P. J. J. van Thiel in Amsterdam 1993–94, p. 338.
18. See Broos 1993, p. 94.
19. Both Houbraken and Campo Weyerman (see notes 2 and 3 above) describe the painting in their biographies of Jan Brueghel; it was later assumed that Rubens had taken the initiative in conceiving this composition. On this subject, see Tamis 2001–02, p. 123, n. 4.
20. As regards the underdrawing and other technical aspects of the painting, see the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume, as well as Wadum 2001 and 2002; regarding the underdrawing, see also Tamis 2001–02, fig. 6. The painting was examined again on March 10, 2005, in the restoration studio of the Mauritshuis by Sabrina Meloni and Ariane van Suchtelen with the aid of a stereomicroscope, and infrared images were made with the Artist camera (Art Innovation, Hengelo) mounted with a CCD progressive scan image sensor (1360 × 1036 pixels) and a Schneider Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 mm CCTV-lens in N12 with a 1000 nm long-wave pass filter.
21. These underdrawn animals were detected on March 10, 2005, with the Artist camera (see previous note). Dorien Tamis, who examined the painting in 1995—together with Christine van Mulders, Nico van Hout, and Jørgen Wadum—by means of infrared reflectography, using a Hamamatsu camera, detected even more animals in the underdrawing; see Tamis 2001–02, pp. 118–19. See also Wadum 2002, p. 477, n. 6.
22. Auction, Leiden, September 8, 1766, no. 1. See Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, p. 542, no. 1.
23. Wadum 2001. Tamis (2001–02, p. 121) wrongly assumes that the serpent is by the hand of Brueghel and that Rubens adjusted the contours.
24. On this subject, see Ertz 1979, p. 246; Broos 1993, p. 90; and Tamis 2001–02, pp. 114–15, figs. 2–4.
25. Regarding this motif, compare a painting by Frans Pourbus of the same subject (see note 12 above).
26. See Tamis 2001–02, p. 126, n. 19. Compare cat. nos. 3 and 5 in this volume.
27. See Wadum 2002, p. 2, fig. 4; and Antwerp 2004, cat. no. 39.
28. See Tamis 2001–02, p. 130.
29. Kolb 2000, fig. 16; sale, Paris, Galliera, November 23, 1972, lot 28.
30. The panel that Ertz attributes to Jan Brueghel the Younger is perhaps a copy of a lost study; see Ertz 1984, no. 337.
31. New York–Paris 2001–02, cat. no. 8. For other animal studies by Brueghel, see Kolb 2000, figs. 5, 8, and 17; and Kolb 2005, figs. 16 and 54.
32. On this subject see, among others, Broos 1993, pp. 90–93; and Kolb 2005, pp. 65–72.
33. On this subject, see, among others, Kolb 2000, pp. 58–80; and Kolb 2005, pp. 21–31.
34. See Kolb 2005, p. 85, n. 65.
35. Compare, for instance, a print by Adriaen Collaert from *Avium vivac* of 1580 with purple gallinules and ducks (Kolb 2005, fig. 32).
36. Borromeo's *I tre Libri delle Laudi Divine*, published posthumously in 1632, was largely devoted to color; see Martini 1975, pp. 264–68. On Borromeo's role as an art theorist and patron, see, among others, Bedoni 1983, Quint 1986, and Jones 1988 and 1993.
37. “In't begin / als alle gheschapen dinghen . . . heeft al zijn colour ghehadt van desen Alder constichsten Beeldenaer en Schilder / hoe can der Verwen oorsprongh blijcken milder?": Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 1, pp. 266–67.
38. See Kolb 2005, pp. 13–17, p. 83, n. 21.
39. “Li oitcelli, et animali son fatto ad vivo de alcuni delli seren.ma Infanto”: Crivelli 1868, p. 272. This letter is dated September 5, 1621. Because Archduke Albert had died on July 15, 1621, Brueghel must here be referring to Isabella.
40. We are indebted to the ornithologists Ruud Vlek and Mardik Leopold for their help in identifying the various species of birds.
41. See Prest 1981, p. 31.
42. The high prices paid for this bird's feathers prompted the Portuguese to keep its native habitat a secret. They managed to do so until 1528, when the Spanish finally landed on the island; see Gilliard 1969, pp. 15–16.
43. See also Wadum 2001, p. 29. In the late 1630s, Rembrandt made a drawing of the bird of paradise without its feet; see Benesch 1954–57 (enlarged edition 1973), no. 456; and Berlin–Amsterdam–London 1991–92, cat. no. 15.
44. See Kolb 2005, pp. 14–15.

5

Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder

Pan and Syrinx

ca. 1617

Oil on panel, 39 × 59.9 cm (15³/₈ × 23⁵/₈ in.);
with added strips of wood: 40.3 × 61 cm (15⁷/₈ × 24 in.)
Kassel, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, GK 1229

PROVENANCE

Susanna Doublet-Huygens sale, The Hague, November 6, 1725, lot 35; Adriaan Bout sale, The Hague, August 11, 1733, lot 39; Hendrick van Heteren collection, The Hague; acquired by Wilhelm VIII of Hessen-Kassel, 1747; in 1813 taken to Paris by Jérôme Bonaparte, king of Westphalia 1807–13; Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1814; Alphonse Giroux sale, Paris, February 11–12, 1851, lot 159; F. Kleinberger (art dealer), Paris, ca. 1930; private collection, London, ca. 1934; sale, London (Sotheby's), June 14, 1961, lot 36; sale, London (Christie's), March 23, 1973,

lot 27; sale, London (Sotheby's), July 12, 2001, lot 29; Bremen, Galerie Neuse, acquired 2002

LITERATURE

Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 1, pp. 310, 387; Ertz 1979, pp. 417–18, no. 384;
Ertz 1984, pp. 70–71, 81, 413–14, no. 253

EXHIBITION

Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 18 (with additional literature)

THIS *PAN AND SYRINX* IS THE SMALLEST SURVIVING collaborative painting by Rubens and Brueghel.

Rubens's figures loom large: indeed, they dominate the picture, in which Brueghel's background attracts less attention than usual. Even so, Brueghel's splendid landscape provides the story with a subtle backdrop. Because the tall reeds behind the figures extend beyond the height of the picture, the viewer's vantage point seems to be very close to, but slightly below, the figures. This lends immediacy to the threat of the lecherous satyr from whom the nymph attempts to flee. A teal flies off (but turns its head for a last look)—the same bird appears to the right of Eve in *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4)—and frogs dive into the water to escape from the scene of violent menace.

Ovid relates in his *Metamorphoses* (1.689–712) how the god Pan falls in love with the nymph Syrinx. He pursues her,

but her escape is blocked by the River Ladon. She is transformed in the nick of time, and Pan finds himself holding a handful of reeds instead of a nymph. In another story from classical mythology, Mercury tells Argus the story of Pan and Syrinx to lull him to sleep before killing him.

There are places in this painting along the figure's contours, especially that of Syrinx's right leg, where one can discern the brown lines of Rubens's preparatory drawing. He probably sketched in the figures in many of the paintings he collaborated on with Brueghel, to demarcate the area allotted to their respective contributions. It is not entirely clear which of the two masters first took palette and brush to hand,¹ but in any case the work of both authors is very well integrated into the whole. Brueghel thus applied some blades of grass in front of Syrinx's left ankle and reed stalks in the area of Pan's genitals; in Pan's left arm, however, the





uppermost layer of flesh-colored paint was not applied until after the reeds were in place. Brueghel also painted out two ducks in the background and made the fingers of Syrinx's right hand slightly longer (or perhaps painted them over the edge of the reserve left in the reeds). Finally, short strokes of greenish paint were added to Pan's beard and along his chest, as well as to Syrinx's hair, to soften the transition between the different passages.

Rubens seems to have based his figures on examples from antiquity. Syrinx, for instance, is derived from his own freely interpreted pen-and-ink version of a well-known antique statue, the *Venus Pudica* (fig. 46).² As in the drawing, Syrinx leans slightly forward, covering her genitals with one hand. While the chaste, stately example covers her genitals and breasts with both hands, here Syrinx uses her right hand to ward off her assailant. In modeling Pan's upper body, bending forward to show his well-muscled back, Rubens seems to have incorporated the *Torso Belvedere*—an antique statue he drew several times during his Roman sojourn—which figures frequently in his paintings (compare cat. nos. 3 and 4).³ Rubens's interest in this cloven-hoofed deity is also evidenced by his red-chalk drawing after a sixteenth-century statue—in his day regarded as antique—which was on display in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (fig. 47). As regards the Pan discussed here, the rendering of his muscles, cloven hoofs, and characteristic head suggests his derivation from that example.⁴ The powerful muscles and dark coloring of this deity—half-man, half-goat—contrast with the nymph's white softness. The contrast between beauty and the beast was a favorite motif of Rubens and also plays a role in, for example, *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (cat. no. 11).⁵

The myth of Pan and Syrinx was a popular and frequently depicted subject in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. It was probably introduced to Antwerp by Hendrick van Balen, who also called upon Jan Brueghel to paint his backgrounds, as seen in a work—which possibly predates the present painting by a decade—now in the National Gallery in London (fig. 48).⁶ Van Balen based the figures in that painting on a 1589 print of the same subject after Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617); Brueghel's reed landscape is not quite so successful as the one seen in the present painting. Rubens also collaborated with Brueghel's son, Jan Brueghel the Younger, on a related but less impressive composition with the same subject, a number of variations of which are known.⁷ Rubens also tackled the theme independently, in



FIGURE 46 Peter Paul Rubens, *Four Female Figures*. Pen and brown ink, 27.1 × 17.7 cm (10⁵/₈ × 7 in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 66:67

1636 painting an oil sketch of Pan and Syrinx for the series of mythological paintings he conceived for Torre de la Parada, Philip IV's hunting lodge outside Madrid.⁸ The figures in this sketch are depicted in action: reeds sprout from Syrinx's hands and Pan wears an expression of unbridled lust.

The present painting displays a more subtle interpretation of the subject. This is possibly the painting that Jan Brueghel the Younger sold in 1626/27 for 142 guilders from his late father's estate: "Pan and Syrinx by Mr. Rubens, the



FIGURE 47 Peter Paul Rubens after Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli (1507–1563), *Pan Resting*. Red chalk, wash, 31 × 49.3 cm (12¹/₄ × 19³/₈ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1978.17.1 (B-30-457) © Board of Trustees of the National Gallery



FIGURE 48 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *Pan and Syrinx*, ca. 1607–08. Oil on copper, 25 × 19.4 cm (9⁷/₈ × 7⁵/₈ in.). London, National Gallery, inv. NG 659

background by [my] late father,” as the son conscientiously recorded in his account book.⁹ Unfortunately, he did not mention the buyer’s name. On November 6, 1725, a “Pan and Syrinx by P. P. Rubens” was sold in The Hague at the auction of the estate of the “Lady of Sint Annaland,” which is most likely the present painting, since it has exactly the same measurements.¹⁰ This lady of Sint Annaland—a manor on the island of Tholen in Zeeland—was Susanna Doublet-Huygens (1637–1725), the daughter of Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), private secretary to the princes of Orange, the stadholders Maurits and Frederik Hendrik. Susanna had probably inherited her sizable collection of paintings from her father, an avowed admirer of Rubens.¹¹ In his autobiography, written between 1629 and 1631, Huygens said the following: “to my mind, one of the seven wonders of the world is the prince, the Apelles, among painters, Peter Paul Rubens.”¹² An erudite connoisseur and artistic adviser, Huygens succeeded admirably in conveying his admiration for Rubens’s work to his lord and master, the stadholder Frederik Hendrik (see cat. no. 6).

This *Pan and Syrinx* was acquired by Elector Wilhelm VIII of Hessen-Kassel in 1747 but subsequently disappeared when it was taken during the Napoleonic era to France. It was not until 2002 that the museum in Kassel was able to re-acquire this splendidly preserved painting.¹³ AVS

NOTES

1. According to Christine van Mulders (Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, pp. 75–76), it is possible that Rubens painted the figures first and Brueghel added the landscape afterward, followed again by Rubens, who supposedly applied the finishing touches.
2. Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 17. For the antique statue in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 318–20, no. 84.
3. See Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 1, p. 48; vol. 2, pp. 56–59; vol. 3, figs. 75–79. See also Antwerp 1993, pp. 124–27. Regarding the Torso Belvedere, see Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 311–14, no. 80.
4. Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 16. The statue by Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli is now in the Saint Louis Art Museum.
5. For the different ways in which Rubens painted his male and female nude figures, see the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume, p. 227.
6. See Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 11; see also Werche 2004, no. A 105.
7. Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. nos. 23–26; see also Ertz 1979, pp. 417–20. Jan Brueghel the Younger recorded in his account book, which he kept from 1625 onward, several paintings depicting Pan and Syrinx, including one he made in collaboration with Rubens. In 1626 he noted, “Again made a little picture of Pan and Syrinx, Mr. Rubens the little figures, estimated to be worth 120 guilders” (Noch ghemact een stuxhen Pan en Siringa, S. Rubens de figurkens, dat estimerende op 120 gld): Vaes 1926–27, p. 210, no. 14. In 1627 Jan Brueghel the Younger wrote the following: “Diana with a piece by my father, a Pan and Syrinx, with two copies, sold to Mr. Gaukt, a Parisian, for 535 guilders” (Diana met een stuc van Mon Père, een Pan et Siringa, met twee copyen verkocht aen M. Gaukt, parisien voor 535 gulden), and in 1628 he wrote “A picture of Pan and Syrinx” (Een stuc. Pan en Siringa): Vaes 1926–27, p. 213. Finally, in 1646, he recorded “Another small piece, Pan and Syrinx. A small Pan and Syrinx, which [was] sold to Louis van Viers for 6 guilders” (Noch een cleyn stuc, Pan en Siringa. Een cleyn Pan et Siringa, dat verkocht aen Louis van Viers 6 gld): Vaes 1926–27, p. 218.
8. Held 1980, no. 207; and Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 28.
9. “Pan en Siringa van Sig. Rubens, den gront van vader zaliger”: Vaes 1926–27, p. 209.
10. “Pan ende Sieringhs door P. P. Rubens”: “Vrouwe van Ste Anneland” sale, The Hague, November 6, 1725 (lot 35 [Lugt 1949, no. 340]). This sale catalogue was reproduced in part in Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 1, pp. 308–12, with this painting listed (with incorrect measurements) as no. 24.
11. See Schwartz and Bok 1989, pp. 52, 151, 319, and 324; and Van Suchtelen 1990, pp. 102–3. This collection contained a large number of portraits, including many of the Oranges, which points to a provenance from the collection of Constantijn Huygens. Remarkably, this collection also included two depictions of Pan and Syrinx, by the Northern Netherlandish masters Cornelis van Poelenburch (1586–1667) and Salomon de Bray (1597–1664); see note 10 above (sale, The Hague, 1725, lots 70 and 81).
12. Huygens/Heesakkers 1987, pp. 79–81 (translated from the Latin). Huygens spoke less highly of Jan Brueghel in his description of the work of Jacques de Gheyn II, saying that, as far as flower painting was concerned, De Gheyn had “carried off the palm of victory for ever” (ibid., p. 75).
13. See B. Schnackenburg, “Pan und Syrinx von 1747 bis 1814—Stationen aus der Geschichte eines Kasseler Galeriebildes,” in Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, pp. 16–39.

6

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

Flora and Zephyr

ca. 1617

Oil on panel, 136 × 109 cm (53½ × 42⅞ in.)

Dessau, Kulturstiftung DessauWörlitz, Schloß Mosigkau, MOS. 129

INSCRIPTION

On the reverse, panelmaker's mark in red chalk, GA [in ligature]

PROVENANCE

Collection of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik and Amalia van Solms, Stadholder's Quarters, The Hague, 1632; collection of their daughter Albertine Agnes of Orange-Nassau; collection of her sister Henriette Catharina of Anhalt-Dietz; collection of her daughter Marie Eleonore, duchess of Razivill; purchased by her niece Anna Wilhelmine of Anhalt-Dietz, 1756; since 1758 in Schloß Mosigkau, Dessau

LITERATURE

Schmidt 1955, p. 30; Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 226; Harksen 1976, no. 6; Ertz 1979, p. 389; Ertz 1984, no. 187; Dauer 1988, no. 129; The Hague 1997–98, pp. 65–66; Savelsberg 2003

EXHIBITION

Dessau 2003

ZEPHYR, THE WEST WIND, ABDUCTED THE NYMPH Chloris and made her his wife. As a wedding present he gave her a garden filled with flowers, where it was always springtime. Chloris thus became Flora, the goddess of flowers. The myth of Flora and Zephyr, as told by Ovid (*Fasti* 5.193–214), was a suitable vehicle for Rubens and Brueghel to show off their respective specialties in a collaborative painting: Brueghel painted a courtly love garden in full blossom and Rubens peopled it with idealized nudes. Even though the painting is closely related thematically to the allegories of spring and series of the Four Elements that Brueghel made in collaboration with Hendrick van Balen, the depiction of Flora receiving Zephyr's flowers has no precedent in painting, so the choice of subject is in itself highly original.

Painted with extreme transparency as if to suggest a barely noticeable wind, the winged Zephyr, aloft, empties a basket of flowers into a cloth held by Flora. Flora, by contrast, is a classical nude—all the nuances of pale skin have been expressed with delicate brushstrokes. A putto at her feet bends over to gather up the flowers, while another reaches up toward Zephyr. The transparency of the paint has left clearly visible—particularly in the figure of Zephyr—the brown lines made by the brush with which Rubens sketched in the contours of his figures before Brueghel painted the background and the flowers. Only when the background had been completed did Rubens paint the figures. Making use of his preparatory sketch, he worked in places beyond the outlines of the reserves. Brueghel added the finishing touches by applying some small flowers to the figures, thereby fully integrating Rubens's contribution into the composition.





FIGURE 49 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *Allegory of Spring*, 1616. Oil on copper, 56 × 84 cm (22 × 33 1/8 in.). Neuburg an der Donau, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie, inv. 13709

Flora and her little companions sit in a garden among blossoming plants—many of them in pots, vases, and baskets—with flowers loosely strewn upon the ground. In the right foreground sit two guinea pigs, while in the background appear peacocks and two cassowaries—large birds related to the ostrich. Deer are visible in the park in the distance. The monumental, classicist building on the left strongly resembles the artificial grottos with fountains and cascades that the French architect and hydraulic engineer Salomon de Caus (1576–1626) designed for the gardens of the aristocracy, including those of Archdukes Albert and Isabella.¹ Similar structures are depicted in the background of the *Allegory of Smell* (see fig. 57) and the *Allegory of Spring* (fig. 49), which Brueghel painted with Rubens and Van Balen, respectively.² To be sure, no apparent jets of water can be distinguished in the present painting, but visible to the right of Flora's face is a basin of water suited to such artificial grottos. The reliefs on the building reinforce the theme of the painting. The Rape of Proserpine is depicted above the archway: after being carried off to the Underworld by Pluto, Proserpine was allowed to return every spring to see her mother, the grain goddess Ceres. The side wall contains two reliefs, partly cut off by the left edge of the painting.³ The upper relief shows Europa, the king's daughter, being

abducted by Jupiter in the guise of a white bull; the lower relief probably represents the myth of Pan and Syrinx.⁴ The depiction of the nymph fleeing through the reeds is based on the collaborative painting of this subject by Rubens and Brueghel (cat. no. 5).

Brueghel also painted several motifs that are encountered in other of his works: the basket of flowers with a plucked tulip beside it in the foreground, for example, also occurs in a flower still life of 1617 (fig. 50).⁵ The vase of polychrome stonework at Flora's back was probably a prop belonging to Brueghel's studio, since he frequently depicted the very same vase.⁶ The faience bowl containing grapes in the left foreground resembles a similar motif in *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2). The melon sliced in half is very similar to the same motif in *Fruit Garland with Angels* (cat. no. 19) and *The Feast of Acheloiis* (cat. no. 3), and the guinea pigs are nearly identical to those in *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* of 1613 (cat. no. 26) and *The Garden of Eden* (cat. no. 4). The blossoming fritillary in the right foreground displays almost the same pattern of leaves as the fritillary in the *Allegory of Spring* of 1616 (fig. 49), making it likely that this motif is based on the same preparatory drawing. This fritillary—a flower that was first imported from Turkey in the late sixteenth century—



FIGURE 50 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Flower Still Life*, 1617. Oil on panel, 55 × 91 cm (21⁵/₈ × 35⁷/₈ in.). Formerly P. de Boer (art dealer), Amsterdam

must have been one of Brueghel's stock designs, since Jan Brueghel the Younger used it some ten years later in an *Allegory of Spring* based on his father's work.⁷

A dating of *Flora and Zephyr* to about 1617, based on its stylistic relationship to dated paintings displaying similar motifs, has recently been confirmed by the discovery of a panelmaker's mark in red chalk on the back of the panel. This mark, by the Antwerp panelmaker Guiliam Aertssen, also points to a dating around 1617.⁸

Flora and Zephyr was owned by the stadholder Frederik Hendrik of Orange and his wife Amalia van Solms, whose estate—which devolved on their four daughters—largely ended up in Germany.⁹ In the earliest inventory of the paintings owned by the stadholder and his wife (drawn up in 1632), this painting was listed as “a piece by Rubens and the landscape done by Brueghel.”¹⁰ At that time, it was hanging as an overdoor in Amalia's gallery of paintings in the Stadholder's Quarters (the present-day Binnenhof complex) in The Hague. There has in fact been speculation as to how the painting came into the Oranges' possession in the first place. One theory suggests that it was presented to them by Archduchess Isabella on the occasion of their marriage in 1625 (Albert had died in 1621).¹¹ There is, however, no certainty on this score. But no matter how they acquired it, Frederik Hendrik and Amalia—ambitious art collectors and avowed admirers of Rubens—were no doubt proud to own this painting by two famous Flemish masters. AvS

NOTES

1. Welzel 1997, pp. 226–30. From 1600 De Caus was employed by Albert and Isabella in Brussels; see Welzel 1997, p. 226, n. 60. Two drawings by Heinrich Schickhardt (1558–1635) after designs for artificial grottos by Salomon de Caus are preserved in the Hauptstaatsarchiv at Stuttgart (Welzel 1997, p. 229, n. 68, fig. 109); they display an obvious resemblance to the structure in the painting discussed here.
2. Compare paintings by Jan Brueghel the Younger with portrayals of Flora showing similar, grottolike structures with fountains in the background (Ertz 1984, nos. 188–91).
3. Despite the fact that the picture seems to have been reduced in size on the left, the panel has not been sawn off (or at least not to any appreciable extent); with thanks to Dr. W. Savelsberg, Dessau, for this information. This panel, therefore, was not adapted to fit the “baroque hanging” (*barocke Hängung*) in Schloß Mosigkau in Dessau, as previously maintained; see Savelsberg 2003, pp. 49–50. This palace, which belonged to Anna Wilhelmine of Anhalt-Dietz, the great-granddaughter of Frederik Hendrik and Amalia, has been the home of *Flora and Zephyr* since 1758. The gilded frame, made specially for Mosigkau, dates from the time of the painting's installation there.
4. Savelsberg (2003, p. 55) suggests that the last scene might depict Zephyr's abduction of Psyche.
5. Ertz 1979, no. 322, fig. 371 (with the art dealer P. de Boer, Amsterdam, in 1935). Compare also Ertz 1979, no. 293, fig. 372 (dated 1615), as well as figs. 361–63.
6. Ertz 1979, nos. 209–10, figs. 332, 357.
7. Ertz 1984, no. 188.
8. With thanks to Jørgen Wadum. See also Wadum 1990 and the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume.
9. The Hague 1997–98, pp. 65–66, fig. 4; and Savelsberg 2003, pp. 49–50.
10. “Een stuck van Rubbens ende't landschap door Bruegel gedaen”: Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, pp. 192, 285, no. 1241; p. 320, no. 791; p. 371, no. 1468 (no. 230 in the inventory).
11. Savelsberg 2003, pp. 56–58.

7

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

The Vision of Saint Hubert

ca. 1617–20

Oil on panel, 63 × 100 cm (24³/₄ × 39³/₈ in.)

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1411

PROVENANCE

Recorded in the 1642 inventory of Don Diego Mexía, marquis of Leganés, no. 38;¹ 1655 inventory of the collection of the marquis de Leganés;² in the Alcázar by 1686; moved following the 1734 Alcázar fire to the Palacio Nuevo; transferred to the Prado upon its foundation, 1819

LITERATURE

Rooses 1886–92, vol. 2, p. 285; De Maeyer 1955, p. 155; Díaz Padrón 1975, vol. 1, pp. 65–67; Ertz 1979, pp. 393–95, 480, 616, no. 366; Volk 1980, p. 267; Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 288–89, no. 1411; Vergara 1999, pp. 171–72; Van Mulders 2000, p. 121

IN *THE VISION OF SAINT HUBERT*, BRUEGHEL'S elegant, tranquil forest landscape establishes the tenor for one of the most profoundly moving works he produced with Rubens. While related by the theme of the hunt and its motifs to Brueghel and Rubens's mythological compositions from about 1620 (see cat. nos. 10 and 11), it nonetheless stands apart as an indigenous and complementary variation on the popular subject of the chase that had particular significance for Archdukes Albert and Isabella. Occasionally overlooked as a collaborative work, *The Vision of Saint Hubert* provides considerable evidence as to Brueghel's leading role in the partnership.

Although the story of Saint Hubert was seldom depicted in painting, the details of his life and sudden conversion were well known in Brussels and the Ardennes region to the southeast. Hubert, a self-indulgent Merovingian nobleman

born about 656, lived in Austrasia, on the border between modern France and Germany. An avid hunter, he neglected church services on Good Friday morning to take up the chase in the rich holdings of the Ardennes forest. Upon sighting a magnificent stag, he and his hounds pursued the animal until it stopped suddenly and faced him, and Hubert perceived a radiant light and a crucifix between its antlers. According to legend, a voice addressed him: "Hubert, Hubert, why do you pursue me? Unless you turn to the Lord and lead a holy life, you shall quickly go down to hell." Startled, he dismounted and knelt before the stag. Upon asking what course he should take, he was told, "Go and seek Lambert, and he shall instruct you." Hubert renounced his worldly possessions and pursuits and subsequently embarked on a Christian career, becoming bishop of Maastricht and Liège. He was known particularly for converting pagans in





remote areas of the Ardennes forest and Brabant. He died at Fura (modern Tervuren) in 727 or 728.³ The mythology of Hubert embraces strands of both biblical and folkloric history. The conversion of the pagan hunter in the forest recalls and perhaps even draws upon the story of Saint Eustace, a popular figure in France as well as Germany, whose tale was recounted in the popular *Golden Legend*.⁴ The manner in which the presence of the Almighty appears to Hubert in the form of radiant light parallels the New Testament account of the conversion of Saint Paul, in which he was struck blind by a light from heaven and thrown from his horse.⁵ Hubert was the patron saint of hunters and hunting dogs and was invoked against rabies. Significantly, in Habsburg genealogy, Hubert was considered a forebear of the archdukes.⁶

In *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, Hubert encounters the stag in a serene woodland clearing near a river inhabited by numerous birds. The stag's head is positioned against the luminous sky, which serves as a brilliant backdrop for the small crucifix. In a striking interpretation of the legend, Brueghel depicts the stag with his mouth open, as if it is he who speaks to the saint.⁷ At the right, the saint kneels reverently, his head tilted in inquiry, jeweled and plumed cap drawn back, his gesture one of wonder and veneration. The semicircular horn and the sword at his side identify him as a hunter and nobleman. All around him, the hounds of the chase sit or lie peacefully, emphasizing the halt to their baying pursuit of their quarry and the silence into which the heavenly command has been spoken. Hubert's handsome gray stallion stands directly behind him and gazes out at the viewer.

Brueghel and Rubens's treatment of this unusual subject reflects the great interest on the part of Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the cult of this local saint. As part of their larger campaign to revitalize the Catholic faith, the couple aggressively strove to revive religious orders in the Southern Netherlands and supported regional figures such as Hubert, renowned for his proselytizing in remote areas.⁸ Deeply pious themselves, the archdukes were personally devoted to the saint's cult. The existing wooden chapel of Saint Hubert in the forest near their hunting castle of Tervuren, thought to mark the site of the saint's death, was rebuilt in brick according to the designs of court architect and engineer Wenceslas Cobergher between 1616 and 1617.⁹ The altar of the chapel was refurbished, as was the wooden statue of Saint Hubert. A pair of monumental paintings depicting the main events of the saint's life, including his conversion, were commissioned from Theodoor van Loon (1590–1660) to decorate the

chapel.¹⁰ Renovations were also carried out in the chapel dedicated to Saint Hubert in the church of Saint Gudula near the Coudenburg in Brussels (today the Cathedral of Saints Michael and Gudula), which was apparently still decorated in the early 1620s with a diptych portraying episodes from his life by Rogier van der Weyden (1399/1400–1464) and his workshop.¹¹ At her death in 1633, Isabella bequeathed works of art from her oratory, including “a Saint Hubert, painted on panel, by Bruegel” to the church of Saint Gudula.¹² While *The Vision of Saint Hubert* cannot be connected conclusively with either the chapel dedicated to Saint Hubert at Tervuren or the one in Brussels, it must have been executed during this period of intense interest in the saint's cult, possibly as early as 1617.¹³

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens painted another version of *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, formerly in the collection of the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin (fig. 51), suggesting that it was both popular and significant enough to be repeated.¹⁴ Although the Madrid and Berlin compositions are similar, certain landscape details (for example, the large tree in the upper right) differ between the two panels. More significantly, the stag in the Berlin *Vision* has a larger set of antlers, and there are two additional animals in the foreground: a thickset hound stands directly behind the stag and a small monkey sits on the ground to the left. While the question of the primacy of the Berlin versus the Madrid panel has long been debated, the loss of the Berlin *Vision of Saint Hubert* and resultant lack of technical information make it difficult to determine with any certainty the order of their execution.¹⁵ It was not unknown for particularly admired compositions, including collaborative works, to be reiterated, and the subject of Saint Hubert's conversion might well have been popular at the Brussels court.¹⁶ However, the numerous small adjustments made by Brueghel in the Madrid panel and the anomalous additions of animals to the Berlin panel (discussed below) may indicate that the Madrid painting was the initial version.

The process of the collaboration between Brueghel and Rubens in *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, and Rubens's minimal share in the execution, has contributed to confusion over its attribution.¹⁷ As in other joint paintings, Brueghel began work on the panel and returned later to integrate and, in this case, equip Rubens's figure. Infrared reflectography reveals that Brueghel required very little preparation to establish the landscape and spatial recession; he used just a few drawn verticals indicating tree trunks along the right side to help



FIGURE 51 Jan Bruegel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *The Vision of Saint Hubert*. Oil on panel, 60 × 90 cm (23⁵/₈ × 35³/₈ in.). Formerly Berlin, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, inv. 765 (presumed lost in 1945)

FIGURE 52 Infrared reflectogram, detail, *The Vision of Saint Hubert*

him plan the setting.¹⁸ The gravity of the scene owes much to Brueghel's landscape, which is characterized by an open foreground and airy canopy, with a relatively central recession and low viewpoint.¹⁹ As in the allegories of the Five Senses series (see cat. no. 8), Rubens's figural contribution to the landscape is an important but limited one. The simple small-scale figure of Saint Hubert resembles the female personifications and the satyr in these works. Following the execution of the figure of the saint by his colleague, Brueghel added Hubert's primary attributes, a hunting horn and a sword, as well as the saint's plumed hat, details that confused later authors who noted how finely the figure was painted and attributed the entire figure to Brueghel.²⁰ The long plumes of the hat cover the horse's tail, indicating that this element was inserted after the horse had been painted (fig. 52). The hound sitting in front of Hubert was painted up to the leg of the saint. Even the small motif of the hunting horn and the minutely described laces of the bandolier the saint wears across his body demonstrate Brueghel's attention to detail. Brueghel evidently studied similar equipment, as demonstrated by the existence of drawn studies of the hunting horns and other paraphernalia which feature in the hunt scenes of *Diana* (see fig. 64). The hunting horn was a particularly important attribute of Hubert's and was the principal relic of the saint preserved in the renovated Tervuren chapel.²¹

The animals Brueghel chose to surround the saint help to situate *The Vision of Saint Hubert* between the paradise landscapes of about 1615–17, *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (1615; London, Wellington Museum) and *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4), and the slightly later mythological scenes of the huntress *Diana* from about 1620. One of the recurrent reminders of Brueghel's friendship with Rubens is his portrayal of a gray stallion that draws on the type Rubens used for the *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (see fig. 22).²² The Prado stallion stands squarely and closely resembles the horse in the corridor of Rubens and Brueghel's *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2).²³ Despite using what must have been a familiar figure, Brueghel adjusted the angle of the steed's ears inward (fig. 52). He made a similar, and evidently significant, modification to the ears of the gray stallion in the 1613 *Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (cat. no. 26).²⁴

The hounds, whose attitudes reflect the gravity of their master's encounter with the heavenly apparition, are a particularly important component of the scene. The variety of their



FIGURE 53 Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), *Saint Eustace*, ca. 1501. Engraving, 361 × 262 mm (14¼ × 10⅜ in.). London, British Museum, inv. 1868-8-22-183 © Trustees of the British Museum

poses (curled, standing, profile) and coats demonstrates Brueghel's powers of observation and inventiveness, echoing Albrecht Dürer's inclusion of an elegant group of hounds in his print of *Saint Eustace* (fig. 53). Dürer's canines were remarked upon by Giorgio Vasari, and the composition was well known in the Netherlands as a result of Dürer's visit in 1520–21.²⁵ The discrete group around the kneeling figure in *The Vision of Saint Hubert* may have been inspired by this famous composition, an idea which Brueghel then elaborated upon for *Diana at the Hunt* and *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (cat. nos. 10 and 11). The cream and tan hound behind the stallion, for example, appears with a companion in *Diana at the Hunt*, and the stocky, jowled hound

at the extreme right here also appears in the same location in *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs*. The back of the black and white hound grooming himself in the foreground was reduced slightly, and the position of his eyes changed in the Madrid panel. The same animal appears in both *Diana at the Hunt* and *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs*. While a number of animals resemble sketches in the *Studies of Hunting Dogs* (cat. no. 27), none have been repeated precisely in the present painting. Like *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, the Vienna sketch reveals the individuality and liveliness that illustrate their study from life, perhaps even from the many hounds kept by the archduchess.²⁶ A contemporary group portrait of the archduchess's hounds was commissioned for Tervuren. The apes included among its forested landscape allude to the royal menagerie and may explain the presence of the ape in the Berlin *Vision of Saint Hubert*. Although not in keeping with the solemnity of the primary theme of Hubert's confrontation and conversion, the ape and extra hound may have been included to broaden the association of the scene with the court.²⁷

The magnificent stag at the center of *The Vision of Saint Hubert* almost certainly derives from studies of live animals, which Brueghel could have seen firsthand in the royal park in Brussels, as well as at the castle of Mariemont.²⁸ Contemporary visitors describe feeding tame animals, including deer, in the Brussels Warande.²⁹ While the painting by Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Archdukes in the Garden of Their Palace in Brussels* (1621; Antwerp, Rubenshuis), in which the archduchess offers a morsel to a doe, portrays the park's gentle menagerie, Brueghel the Elder's drawing *Archdukes at the Chase* attests to the archduke's sportive pursuits.³⁰ A sinuously drawn stag from another study (see fig. 45) was incorporated into The Hague paradise landscape (cat. no. 4) in an elegant portrayal of this noble animal. It could similarly have served as a point of departure for the stag in *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, where Brueghel has minutely rendered the different lengths and colors of fur on its head and neck. ATW

NOTES

1. "No. 38 otra pintura de san huberto de mano de Rubens el pais cierbo perros y caballos de mano de bruxel" (March 30, 1642): Volk 1980, p. 267. See also Mary Crawford Volk, "On the Collection of the Marquis of Leganés in 1642: 'One of the Greatest Connoisseurs of this Age,'" unpublished manuscript, Getty Research Institute, Provenance Index, Collectors File (under Leganés), ca. 1980.
2. "No. 38 otra pintura de san huberto de mano de Rubens, el pais cierbo, perros y cauollos de mano de brugel" (April 6, 1655): Navío 1962, p. 271. See also Rooses 1900, p. 169.
3. Following his conversion, Hubert traveled to Maastricht and became the spiritual pupil of Saint Lambert. He then made a pilgrimage to Rome, during which time Lambert was assassinated and Hubert was appointed his successor by Pope Sergius. Hubert's legend dates from the early fifteenth century and is not recounted in Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea (Golden Legend)* of ca. 1280. See Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 2, pp. 653–58; and C. F. Wemyss Brown, "St. Hubert," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7 (1910), pp. 507–8.
4. See Réau 1955–59, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 468–71.
5. Acts 9:1–9.
6. See Brussels 1998–99, p. 259; and Huyghebaert 1927.
7. A more exaggerated portrayal of the stag addressing Saint Hubert appears in Theodoor van Loon's *Conversion of Saint Hubert* of ca. 1620, see note 10 below.
8. On the archdukes' religious policy, see Pasture 1925 and Elias 1931.
9. See Meganck 1998, pp. 114–16. Work on the chapel of Saint Hubert was carried out at the same time as a major building project, also designed by Cobergher, at the pilgrimage site of Scherpenheuvel.
10. Hieronymus Duquesnoy I refurbished the high altar and the statue of the saint in 1617; see De Maeyer 1955, pp. 210–11, doc. 156. For Van Loon's paintings, *The Conversion of Saint Hubert* (ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 278 × 199 cm [109½ × 78¾ in.]; Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 273) and *Saint Hubert Receiving the Stole* (ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 241 × 171 cm [94⅞ × 67⅞ in.]; Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 6147), which were joined by *The Virgin and Child between Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist* (ca. 1620, oil on canvas, 237 × 171 cm [93¼ × 67⅞ in.]; Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, inv. 6146), see De Maeyer 1955, doc. 124, 125, 156, and 272 (for the 1667 inventory describing the paintings in the chapel); and Brussels 1998–99, pp. 260–61. For the history of Tervuren castle, see cat. no. 9.
11. The chapel, also called Our Lady of the Flowers (Notre Dame de Fleurs), and the paintings were described by French tourist François-Nicholas Baudot, sieur de Buisson et d'Aubanay, who traveled in the Netherlands between 1623 and 1627; see the account published by Halkin 1946, pp. 59–61. For the paintings, by Rogier van der Weyden and his workshop, *The Dream of Pope Sergius* (late 1430s; Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. 72.PB.20) and *The Exhumation of Saint Hubert* (late 1430s; London, National Gallery of Art, inv. NG 783), and their history, see Campbell 1998, pp. 407–27, particularly pp. 418–19.
12. For the inventory of Isabella's collection (July 27, 1639), see De Maeyer 1955, doc. 255, pp. 405–10 ("Saint Hubert" appears as no. 28: "Un Saint Hubert, peint sur panneau, par Brueghel, a couté 200 florins.").
13. But not later than 1621, the year the variant by Jan Brueghel the Younger was signed, see note 14 below.

14. Presumed lost in the fire of 1945. See Berlin 1911, p. 325; Bernhard 1965, p. 14, pl. 99; Ertz 1979, pp. 393, 480, 619, no. 365; and Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 226. According to Rooses (1886–92, vol. 2, p. 285), the Berlin *Hubert* was previously in the collection of the king of Prussia. For the variant by Jan Brueghel the Younger, *Forest Landscape with Saint Hubert* (signed and dated 1621, oil on copper, 52 × 72.5 cm [20½ × 28½ in.]; Neuburg an der Donau, Staatsgalerie, inv. 2178), see Ertz 1984, p. 333, no. 168; and Renger and Schleif 2005, p. 84.
15. Vlieghe (1980, p. 652), in his review of Díaz Padrón's 1975 catalogue, stated that "Rubens's hand is not recognizable in this copy [the Prado *Vision of Saint Hubert*]. Judging from a photograph it seems to me that the version formerly in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, Berlin, was of higher quality."
16. An inventory of the collection of paintings at Tervuren (1667) reveals many paintings of hunting subjects; see De Macyer 1955, pp. 448–53, doc. 272. See also, for example, cat. nos. 2, 10, and 11.
17. The attribution of the Madrid panel has varied, from the earliest mention in the 1642 inventory of the collection of the marquis of Leganés, where it was clearly described as by Rubens and Brueghel, to the 1686 inventory of the Alcázar, which ascribed it to Rubens (and identified the subject as Saint Eustace) ("681 Otra Pintura de vara y quarta de largo y tres quartas de ancho en lamina de vn Sⁿ Eustaquio de mano de Rubenes"): Bottineau 1958, p. 306. Rooses (1886–92, vol. 2, p. 285) and Posse (1909–11, p. 325) attributed the Madrid panel to Brueghel; it was catalogued as Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens by Díaz Padrón (1975, pp. 65–67), an attribution disputed by Vlieghe (see note 15 above) but maintained in Balis et al. 1989a, p. 267; and Vergara 1999, p. 171 (as Rubens and Brueghel).
18. See the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume, p. 240. I am grateful to Tiarna Doherty and Mark Leonard at the J. Paul Getty Museum and to Alexander Vergara and Ana González Mozo at the Museo Nacional del Prado for discussing the infrared reflectograph with me.
19. Brueghel's landscapes take on a greater monumentality and openness in the late 1610s, and the present composition may be compared with Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Busy Highway* (oil on copper, 25.8 × 37 cm [10¼ × 14½ in.]; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, no. 1877), and Jan Brueghel the Elder and collaborator, *Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils* (fig. 68 in this volume), which are usually dated about 1620. See Renger and Denk 2002, p. 112; and Renger and Schleif 2005, pp. 78–79.
20. See note 17 above. As Doherty, Leonard and Wadum observe (p. 240), the hat inserted by Brueghel serves to "bridge" the space between the saint and the horse.
21. Brussels 1998–99, pp. 259–60.
22. For the portrait, see Vergara 1999, pp. 11–16.
23. Contrary to Díaz Padrón's assertion (1975, p. 66), the horse in *The Vision of Saint Hubert* is distinct from the prancing gray stallion that appears in *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (cat. no. 26) and *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4). For Brueghel's use of the horse, see Kolb 2005, especially pp. 63–68.
24. See Kolb 2005, p. 9, fig. 13.
25. Vasari 1966–, vol. 5, p. 8: "la quale carte è mirabile, e massimamente per la bellezza d'alcuni cani in varie attitudini, che non possono essere più belli."
26. See Kolb 2005, p. 12.
27. Artist unknown (Southern Netherlands), *Portrait of Dona Juana de Lunar and the Dogs of the Infanta Isabella* (Brussels, Koninklijke Musca voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 6417). The canvas is thought to have come from Tervuren; see De Macyer 1955, p. 171, 376, doc. 133. The painting is discussed and reproduced in Brussels 1985, pp. 637–38, cat. no. D18. The marquis of Leganés owned a copy of *Dona Juana de Lunar and the Dogs of the Infanta Isabella*; see Navío 1962, p. 296, no. 662. The marquis's connection with the archdukes and with Tervuren is reflected in Willem van Haecht (1593–1637), *Gallery of Archduchess Isabella* (Kent, Hawkhurst, Hardcastle private collection), which is thought to portray the interior of Tervuren about 1628 and includes the marquis's portrait along with that of Ambrogio Spinola. See Speth-Holterhoff 1957, pp. 108–9, figs. 39–41.
28. See, for example, Brueghel's drawing *Deerpark of Archduke Albert at Mariemont* (Winner 1972, pp. 154–55, fig. 35).
29. Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, p. 76.
30. For the Rubenshuis painting (inv. RH S130) and the archducal menagerie, see Kolb 2005, pp. 13–17, fig. 23. For the drawing of the archdukes at the hunt (sold, Sotheby's, Amsterdam [November 11, 1997, lot 66]), see Winner 1961, p. 232, fig. 41; and Zwollo 2000, p. 452.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

Allegory of Taste

1618

Oil on panel, 64 × 108 cm (25¼ × 42½ in.)
 Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1397

INSCRIPTION

At lower right, BRVEGHEL.FE.1618

PROVENANCE

Presented by Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg to Cardinal Infante Ferdinand, 1634; possibly collection of the duke of Medina-Sidonia de Las Torres, 1634–36; presented to King Philip IV of Spain; transferred to the Prado upon its foundation, 1819

LITERATURE

De Maeyer 1955, pp. 42–43, 112, 114, 118;
 Speth-Holterhoff 1957, pp. 29, 46–54; Ertz
 1979, pp. 328–56, no. 330; Müller Hofstede

1984; Madrid 1992, pp. 114–53; Scarpa Sonino
 1992, pp. 21–27; Härting 1993, pp. 129–31;
 Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 265–86; Welzel 1997;
 Paulussen 1997, pp. 91–132; Welzel in Brussels
 1998–99, pp. 99–106; Welzel in Madrid
 1999–2000, pp. 82–97; Van Mulders 2000,
 p. 120; Kolb 2000, pp. 161–65; Welzel 2002,
 pp. 337–39; Welzel 2004; Kolb 2005,
 pp. 60–63

EXHIBITION

Brussels 1980, cat. no. 142

ONE OF THE BEST-KNOWN COLLABORATIVE WORKS of Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens is without doubt the series depicting the Five Senses in the Museo Nacional del Prado, represented in this exhibition by the *Allegory of Taste*. Five panels, each measuring approximately 65 × 100 cm (twenty-five by forty inches), display female personifications of the Five Senses, portrayed against a backdrop of princely collections that together seem to paint an idealized picture of the court of the Habsburg rulers of the Southern Netherlands, the archdukes Albert and Isabella, whose castles in and near Brussels are depicted in the distance. In these ambitious allegories, encyclopedic collections of artifacts and naturalia epitomize the cosmos of sensory experience. The portrayal of the Five Senses as female personifications with attributes has its roots in sixteenth-century Flemish printmaking,¹ but Brueghel first

tackled the subject as a means of depicting an abundance of objects related to art, culture, science, and warfare, augmented by the rich fruits of the earth and the spoils of the hunt, all of which are experienced through the senses. With unparalleled precision and an unerring touch, he reproduced countless paintings, many of which are identifiable: in *Taste*, for example, we see his own *Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons*, with figures by Hendrick van Balen (cat. nos. 20 and 21).

The depictions are set in princely chambers that reflect the wealth and splendor of court culture.² The figure of Sight contemplates a painting in a *Kunstkammer*, or collector's cabinet, filled with paintings, antique busts, ornate objects, tapestries, and scientific instruments (fig. 54); Hearing plays her lute in the midst of a collection of musical instruments and clocks (fig. 55); Touch kisses a cupid amid a princely





FIGURE 54 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of Sight*, 1617. Oil on panel, 65 × 109 cm (25⁵/₈ × 42⁷/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1394

FIGURE 55 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of Hearing*, 1617–18. Oil on panel, 65 × 107 cm (25⁵/₈ × 42¹/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1395



FIGURE 56 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of Touch*, 1617–18. Oil on panel, 65 × 106 cm (25⁵/₈ × 41³/₄ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1398

FIGURE 57 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Allegory of Smell*, 1617–18. Oil on panel, 64 × 109 cm (25¹/₄ × 42⁷/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1396

armory (fig. 56); Smell sits in a garden among blossoming flowers (fig. 57); Taste, seated at a sumptuously laid table overloaded with food and drink, nibbles an oyster and allows a satyr to fill her wineglass. When Brueghel had finished painting his richly detailed settings, Rubens painted his female personifications in the reserves, providing each one with a companion in the form of a putto or a satyr. Brueghel then added the finishing touches, making the small adjustments necessary to integrate Rubens's figures into their surroundings. The reserve for Taste, for example, was a bit too ample around the legs, so Brueghel made changes to the white tablecloth at that spot. He also decorated the satyr's head with a vine wreath. Rubens, for his part, had already adjusted his contribution to fit what Brueghel had painted, as evidenced by his satyr, whose body reflects the green of the fruit on the table. That Brueghel may be regarded as the originator of the series is confirmed by the fact that he alone signed three of the five panels. The dates of 1617 and 1618 next to Brueghel's signature on *Sight* and *Taste*, respectively, also offer an important clue as to the chronology of the usually undated collaborative works by Brueghel and Rubens.

It has often been assumed that this costly series of paintings was commissioned by Archdukes Albert and Isabella.³ Rubens had, after all, held the post of court painter since his return from Italy in 1608,⁴ and Brueghel regularly worked for the court at Brussels. The couple's palaces serve as background scenery in three of the five depictions, and *Sight* contains a double portrait of the regents and an equestrian portrait of Albert, as well as a brass chandelier crowned with the Habsburgs' double-headed eagle. Despite these references, it is unclear to what extent the series actually represents the archducal collections, although some of the paintings and other works depicted could have belonged to the couple. It seems more likely that this series presents an idealized view of the princely culture of collecting, inspired by the court of Albert and Isabella.⁵

This series was first recorded in 1636, when the paintings were listed in an inventory of the Royal Alcázar Palace in Madrid.⁶ Their description states that the paintings were given in 1634 by Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg (1578–1653) to Cardinal Infante Ferdinand (1609–1641), who had become the new ruler of the Southern Netherlands after the deaths of Albert and Isabella in 1621 and 1633, respectively. Through the offices of the Spanish duke of Medina de las Torres, Ferdinand subsequently presented the paintings to his brother, King Philip IV of Spain, who had them hung in

the reading room of the Alcázar. It is possible that Wolfgang Wilhelm's gift to Ferdinand was prompted by his gratitude for the victory at the Battle of Nördlingen in September 1634, an important turning point in the Thirty Years' War.⁷ It was near this town in southern Germany that the Swedes and their German Protestant allies were halted in their advance by imperial Catholic troops under the command of Ferdinand, thereby averting the threat to Wolfgang Wilhelm's territories around Regensburg and Neuburg.

The duke, ruler of the small principality of Pfalz-Neuburg (in 1614 the strategically important county of Jülich-Berg in the Lower Rhine Valley also devolved upon him), had been a staunch Roman Catholic since his conversion in 1613–14. Prompted by the Counter-Reformation, he undertook to restore the Catholic faith in the territories in his domain.⁸ He was a brother-in-law of Maximilian of Bavaria (leader of the Roman Catholic League) and a faithful ally of Albert and Isabella, to whom he had paid a state visit in the winter of 1614–15. In 1617 Rubens accepted a commission from the duke to paint the main altar of the court church in Neuburg, followed in 1619 by commissions for two altarpieces for side altars.⁹ This court church had been founded as a Protestant church in 1607, but the duke had handed it over to the Jesuits in 1614. In 1622 Rubens completed a commission from Wolfgang Wilhelm for an altarpiece for the Church of Saint Peter in Neuburg representing the Fall of the Rebel Angels, a popular Counter-Reformationist subject.¹⁰

How and when the series came into the possession of Wolfgang Wilhelm before he gave it away in 1634—whether directly from the artists or indeed from other owners, possibly the archdukes—we will probably never know.¹¹ At any rate, during the same period in which the present series of the Five Senses was painted, Brueghel was working on another important commission depicting the same subject in two paintings that were certainly intended for Albert and Isabella: in October 1618 the city of Antwerp bought from Brueghel “two ingenious paintings, representing the Five Senses, on which twelve of the best masters of this city have worked, to be presented to Their Most Illustrious Highnesses.”¹² In 1619 these large and valuable paintings were hanging in the audience hall of Tervuren castle; in 1731 they were lost in a fire in Coudenberg Palace. The versions preserved in the Prado (figs. 58 and 59), which were already in Spain by 1633, have proved to be faithful copies of the original paintings.¹³ For Brueghel and his colleagues, these two collaborative paintings were without precedent, for no



FIGURE 58 After Jan Brueghel the Elder and other artists, *Allegory of Sight and Smell*, ca. 1618. Oil on canvas, 176 × 264 cm (69¼ × 104 in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1403

FIGURE 59 After Jan Brueghel the Elder and other artists, *Allegory of Hearing, Taste, and Touch*, ca. 1618. Oil on canvas, 176 × 264 cm (69¼ × 104 in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1404

fewer than twelve otherwise unnamed masters contributed their own paintings within the painting, thus enabling the passionate collectors Albert and Isabella to possess in these two pictures representative works of the entire Antwerp school of painting of their day. In the series discussed here, Brueghel chose a different approach, himself reproducing his colleagues' paintings as well as his own. Nevertheless, the Madrid paintings also offer—especially in the *Allegory of Sight*, the sense that is so vital to the art of painting—a splendid sample of the Antwerp school of the early seventeenth century.

Sight is often seen as the core of the series of the Five Senses, a position earned by virtue of its exceptionally rich and multilayered iconography. Furthermore, the date—1617—indicates that the series began with this painting. Even so, it is important to consider the individual paintings in the context of the whole series.¹⁴ Just as Brueghel had previously attempted, in various series of the Four Elements, to document the natural world in its infinite diversity, in his allegories of the Five Senses he paints an idealized picture of every facet of courtly life, presenting a tableau in which these paintings cannot be seen separately but only as part of the larger picture. Amassing collections of artifacts and naturalia, developing a profound appreciation of music, and taking an active interest in scientific pursuits were integral parts of court culture, as were the management of the family estates and the popular pastime of hunting, as reflected, for example, in the *Allegory of Taste*. Each painting in the series, moreover, contains appropriate allusions to the role played by the individual senses in the doctrine of salvation.

The *Allegory of Sight*, with the archdukes' Brussels residence of Coudenberg in the background, is situated in a collector's cabinet filled with art and scientific instruments.¹⁵ This type of *Kunstkammer*, first painted by Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642), would eventually develop—partly through the efforts of Brueghel—into a popular genre typical of the Antwerp school.¹⁶ Almost every genre of painting is represented in this work, from still life to history painting and from portraiture to seascape. Perhaps it is only natural that the paintings by Rubens and Brueghel occupy the most prominent places and are more numerous than the works of other artists.¹⁷ The personification of Sight studies a painting—held up by a winged putto—that depicts Christ's healing of the blind man, probably a painting by Brueghel himself. Propped against the wall below the shelves of antique portrait busts is a painting—after Pieter Bruegel the

Elder—that represents the antithesis of this biblical story: the fall of the blind man.¹⁸ This illustrates the contrast between the vision that derives from true faith and the blindness of the unbeliever. Similarly, an attempt has been made to interpret all the details in the picture symbolically, as *exempla bona* or *exempla mala* of the true vision of Roman Catholic believers.¹⁹ All the same, the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers*, for example, which is based on the collaborative painting by Brueghel and Rubens in the Louvre (see fig. 69), seems to have been reproduced mainly to advertise this new composition by the two friends and not as a Christian pendant to the personification of Sight. Brueghel's garland does have a counterpart in the vase of freshly cut flowers standing on a cupboard to the left. A lot of philosophizing was done at the time on the relative merits of painted flowers as opposed to real ones, in the light of the *topos* of the rivalry between art and nature: Brueghel's artistry was, after all, capable of transforming short-lived flowers into immortal blooms.²⁰

In the *Allegory of Sight*, Brueghel included not only the *Madonna and Child* on which he had collaborated with Rubens but also several of his friend's recent compositions. The tiger hunt on the back wall, for example, was a brand-new composition by Rubens,²¹ as was *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, a fragment of which is visible at the upper left.²² The *Drunken Silenus* in the right foreground is also by Rubens,²³ as is the double portrait of Albert and Isabella—the prototype of which has not survived²⁴—and the equestrian portrait of Albert.²⁵ The depiction above the gate of Venus and Psyche is based on a painting by Titian,²⁶ while on the right, in front of the antique busts, is a *Saint Cecilia* by Raphael,²⁷ half of which is covered up. Among the antique busts are famous portraits of Marcus Aurelius, Nero, Augustus, and Alexander the Great. The upper shelf holds scaled-down replicas of statues by Michelangelo. Antique statues are prominently displayed in the gallery of paintings at the back right. In addition to paintings and statues and the pile of folded-up carpets in the left foreground, Brueghel depicted magnificent objects in gold and silver, including a cupboard with ornate jugs, vases, and dishes. The numerous optical instruments displayed—such as the newly developed telescope between the woman and the putto—embody the scientific dimension of sight.²⁸

The personification of Hearing plays the lute and sings along with the putto at her feet, accompanied by two songbirds perched on a stool; the archdukes' summer castle of

Mariemont (compare cat. no. 9B) figures in the background. A group of musicians plays in the back left corner. In between a harpsichord made by the famous Antwerp firm of Ruckers and a round table with seven music stands attached to it, Brueghel depicted a large number of musical instruments. The music on the stand closest to the viewer bears the archducal arms and the name of Albert and Isabella's court composer, the Englishman Peter Philips (1560/61–1628).²⁹ Various hunting horns lie on the floor in the right foreground (see fig. 64), while a number of beautifully designed clocks grace the table and the back wall—in those days the measurement of time was perceived mainly by the sense of hearing. Next to the caged parrots stands an artificial bird with a chirping mechanism.³⁰ Artificial birdsong was often incorporated into garden architecture to confound the senses in a game of illusion versus reality that greatly appealed to the popular imagination. The paintings hanging on the walls include a triptych with the Annunciation to the Virgin (who *hears* the divine word); similarly, the lid of the harpsichord is decorated with an Annunciation to the Shepherds after Hendrick van Balen.³¹ The *Concert of the Muses* above the triptych is a composition by Van Balen or Hendrick de Clerck, with whom Brueghel also collaborated (see cat. no. 16). Hanging on the right is one of Brueghel's own compositions of a very appropriate subject: *Orpheus Charming the Animals with His Music*.³²

The *Allegory of Touch* is situated in a half-open room—containing paintings, medical instruments, and shelves of armor—in which the personification of Touch tenderly kisses her putto. The left half of the depiction is filled with weapons and suits of armor; in the middle distance, weapons are forged in an outdoor smithy set amidst ruins. Directly behind the kissing personification, a dog lunging at a deer's throat is depicted in the tapestry on which the paintings hang. After all, pain as well as pleasure is experienced through the sense of touch. This is keenly expressed by the medical instruments (including a frightfully large amputating saw), the two pulled teeth lying on the table, a bird of prey hovering in the air with its quarry, and the array of weapons and armor. On a metaphorical level, the arms represent the pain and heat of battle. In the context of these paintings, these objects represent both the culture of collecting indulged in by the higher nobility and their prestigious courtly armories.³³ The weapons and armor of illustrious ancestors were cherished as mementos of heroic deeds of the past, the preeminent embodiment of a family's dynastic ambitions,

and weapons seized from one's enemies were proudly displayed as trophies. Suits of armor were put on dummies, thus becoming a kind of portrait of their former owners. The importance attached to these relics emerges from the fact that in 1594 Philip II had the armory belonging to his father, Charles V, declared an inalienable possession—the first of his collections to be thus entailed.³⁴ The armor on the wooden stand that rises out of the display of arms on the floor is possibly a piece (formerly preserved in Brussels) that once belonged to Maximilian I (1459–1519) or Philip the Handsome (1478–1506).³⁵ Lying on the floor are pieces of a suit of armor bearing engraved and gilded ornamental bands of a kind mass-produced in Italy in the sixteenth century and therefore not associated with any specific rank: this motif belonged to the standard repertoire of Brueghel's workshop (see cat. no. 2).³⁶ The largest painting within the painting in this allegory is a depiction of the Last Judgment, with leading roles for the pain of the damned and the heat of hell fire. This work bears a strong resemblance to Brueghel's scenes of hell and purgatory (compare cat. no. 15). *The Defeat of Sennacherib* below this is based on a composition by Rubens and depicts the victory of the biblical king Hezekiah over the pagan enemies of Israel.³⁷ Other subjects well suited to this allegory are of course *The Flagellation of Christ* and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, the painting cut off at the lower right. The latter work is based on an altarpiece that Philip II commissioned Titian to make for the Escorial;³⁸ in the caption to Cornelis Cort's famous print after this composition, the subject—which refers to Philip II's victory over the French near St. Quentin on the feast of Saint Lawrence in 1557—is interpreted as symbolic of the victory of the Habsburg dynasty over its enemies.³⁹

In the *Allegory of Smell*, the naked protagonist appears in a beautiful garden, sitting on a cushion amidst fragrant flowers, which her putto holds out to her. The castle in the background is not identifiable, but it naturally alludes to a courtly lifestyle in which it was a matter of course to have splendid gardens amply filled with rare plants and bulbs. Albert and Isabella also had gardens laid out at their residence in Brussels, for which they collected exotic flowers: in one of his letters to Cardinal Borromeo, Brueghel said that he had gone to Brussels to study a number of rare flowers at first-hand.⁴⁰ The building on the left in the middle distance must be a perfume distillery, as evidenced by the various glass vessels and the open fire,⁴¹ whereas the building on the right is an artificial grotto with fountains and cascades of the type

designed for the archdukes by the engineer and garden architect Salomon de Caus (1576–1626) (see cat. no. 6).⁴²

While *Smell* allowed Brueghel once again to exhibit his special skills as a flower painter, in the *Allegory of Taste* he proves himself as a painter of still lifes of game. The foreground contains an extremely well-rendered pile of game, with a colorful assortment of songbirds, pheasants, deer, hares, partridges, doves, a peacock, and a wild boar. Just as Brueghel's flower pieces are composed of flowers that do not actually bloom at the same time of year, this painting contains specimens of wild game that are not hunted in the same season. In the left foreground lie several pieces of salmon and some fish. In the kitchen at the back, game is being roasted and fish prepared; the painting hanging above the door depicts a Fat Kitchen in the style of Pieter Bruegel the Elder.⁴³ On the table at which Taste is seated, the game and fish appear to have been delightfully transformed by the culinary art into pies of swan, pheasant, dove, and peacock, and plates full of lobsters, oysters, and roast fowl. The personification of Taste feasts on this delicious fare, while a satyr fills her wineglass. It is not only this satyr but other objects as well—the vines at the top of the picture, the basket of grapes in the central still-life arrangement, and the wine cooler and jugs on the left—which represent the wines produced on the princely estates. Taken altogether, these elements portray the rich and wide-ranging yields of the domains of Albert and Isabella, whose hunting lodge, Tervuren Castle—with its game park and fishponds—is depicted in the background (compare cat. no. 9A). Behind the table, hanging on the gold-leather wall covering, is a painting depicting *The Marriage at Cana*—perhaps after the example of Frans Francken—a subject that can naturally be seen as the biblical pendant of the sumptuous table depicted here. Rather than regarding the *Allegory of Taste* as a warning against the intemperance possibly expressed by the wine-drinking woman and her satyr,⁴⁴ it seems more natural to interpret this bounteous repast as a reference to courtly cuisine and the culture of feasting which, like the hunt, were integral parts of an aristocratic lifestyle.⁴⁵ A law enacted in the Southern Netherlands in 1613 prohibited hunting to all but the lords in power; it was strictly forbidden—on pain of a heavy fine—to hunt in or near the princely domains, to possess wild game, or to keep hunting dogs.⁴⁶ This confirmed the notion that hunting costly game was a princely prerogative. In this painting, the rich spoils of the hunt serve as further evidence of the luxurious life at court which

forms the setting for this series of the Five Senses. Indeed, the reproduction in the left foreground of the *Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* by Brueghel and Van Balen is a very appropriate addition to the abundance pictured here. In reproducing this recent composition, Brueghel again advertises the very latest product that he and his artist friends in Antwerp had to offer. The presence of the silky marmoset on the back of the chair can be traced, in fact, to traditional portrayals of the senses in which a monkey is the constant companion of Taste, just as a dog traditionally appears with Smell and a deer with Hearing.

For Brueghel, the portrayal of the Five Senses provided the perfect opportunity to document all aspects of idealized courtly culture. These pictures were clearly inspired by the elegance of the archdukes' court and the high quality and ambitious scope of their collections. On a symbolic level, these paintings express the prosperity and peace that prevailed in the Southern Netherlands during the reign of Albert and Isabella, when art, culture, and science could again blossom and the land could again bear fruit. AvS

NOTES

1. See Nordenfalk 1985.
2. Jan Brueghel the Younger spoke of the possibilities offered by the subject in a letter he wrote in 1631 to the art dealer Chrisostomo van Immerseel, "As regards the Five Senses, I am working on them with pleasure, doing everything from life, since the subject is agreeably suited to depicting everything under the sun." (Wat belanct de Vyf sinnen, hebbe die met lust onder handen om alles naert leven te doen, als ooc het subject playsant is om al wat ter werelt is daer in te connen maken.): Denucé 1934, p. 71.
3. For various theories on the provenance of the paintings, see De Maeyer 1955, pp. 42–49; Ertz 1979, pp. 336–37; Müller Hofstede 1984, pp. 243–45; and Welzel 1997.
4. See C. Brown, "Rubens and the Archdukes," in *Brussels 1998–99*, pp. 121–28.
5. Balis 1986, vol. 2, pp. 138–39. The inventories of Albert and Isabella's collections of paintings (as published in De Maeyer 1955) are too vague and incomplete to provide the basis for a reconstruction of their collections.
6. See Madrid 1992, p. 115.
7. Müller Hofstede 1984, p. 245.
8. See, for instance, Düsseldorf 2003.

9. Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 320–23 (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. 890; now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich) and pp. 305–16, 320–23 (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. 303 and 999; both now in the Staatsgalerie Neuburg an der Donau).
10. Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 312–16 (Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, inv. 306; now in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich).
11. It is possible that Albert and Isabella ordered the paintings from Brueghel and Rubens and that they later came into the possession of Duke Wolfgang Wilhelm, as a gift from the archdukes, for example, or from Isabella after the death of her husband. It is also conceivable that Albert and Isabella ordered the paintings specifically to present them to their important ally. Wolfgang Wilhelm could have had the paintings made for himself, but he might also have ordered them as a gift for Albert and Isabella, in which case the paintings could have been returned to him at some later date. See note 3 above for the various theories regarding the provenance of these paintings.
12. “twee constige schilderijen, representerende de Vijff Sinnen, waerinne gevrocht hebben twelff diversche van de principaelste meesters deser stadt, om geschoncken te worden aen Hare Doorluchtichste Hoocheden.”: De Maeyer 1955, doc. 139. See also Ertz 1979, pp. 356–57; Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 236–45; Brussels 1998–99, cat. no. 60; and B. Welzel, “El ciclo de los sentidos de Jan Brueghel el Viejo y Peter Paul Rubens como espejo de la cultura de corte de Alberto e Isabel,” in Madrid 1999–2000.
13. Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 236–45, nos. 1403–04.
14. On series of the Five Senses, see especially Welzel 1997.
15. This female personification has often been identified as Venus (Speth-Holterhoff 1957, p. 53; and Ertz 1979, pp. 343–45) or Juno (Müller Hofstede 1984).
16. See Härting 1989, pp. 83–91.
17. For the paintings within this painting, see Madrid 1992, pp. 117–25; and Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 268–73.
18. The artist is Sebastian Vrancx (1573–1647); see Madrid 1992, cat. no. 10.
19. See Müller Hofstede 1984.
20. On this subject, see Welzel 2002 and 2002a.
21. In the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Rennes there is a version of this work from the estate of Maximilian of Bavaria, which was made in 1615 to decorate his castle at Schleissheim (Madrid 1992, p. 119, fig. 73).
22. Compare the version in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. (Madrid 1992, pp. 117–18; and Díaz Padrón 1995, p. 268). In 1618 Rubens offered to sell this painting to the English diplomat and art collector Sir Dudley Carleton. There was also a version in the collection of the Spanish marquis of Leganés (see cat. nos. 7 and 12).
23. It is possible that this work was listed in an inventory of 1659—“a Bacchus by the hand of Rubens” (Un Bacus de mano de Rubens)—when some of Isabella’s former possessions were brought to Spain; see De Maeyer 1955, p. 435, doc. 270, no. 1; p. 448, doc. 271, no. 230; p. 461, doc. 276, no. 2.
24. According to Ertz (1979, pp. 338–39), this double portrait is based on Rubens’s portraits of Albert and Isabella in the Prado (cat. nos. 9A and 9B).
25. Compare, for example, Kolb 2000, fig. 63.
26. Madrid 1992, p. 119.
27. Madrid 1992, p. 121.
28. Ertz (1979, p. 342) attempted to interpret the musical instruments as an Allegory of the Liberal Arts.
29. De Maeyer 1955, p. 46.
30. See Welzel 1997, p. 258.
31. Madrid 1992, cat. no. 13.
32. Ertz 1979, p. 249. For another picture by Jan Brueghel with the same subject, dated 1600, see Antwerp 1998, p. 126, fig. 35b.
33. See B. Welzel, “Armoury and Archducal Image: The Sense of Touch from the Five Senses of Jan Brueghel and Peter Paul Rubens,” in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 99–106.
34. Brussels 1994, pp. 117–19.
35. Welzel (note 33 above), p. 101, figs. 1 and 2.
36. Welzel (note 33), pp. 102, 105, n. 16; see Ertz 1979, no. 252 (lost in 1945).
37. Madrid 1992, p. 286. See also a version in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow. A variation of this depiction—a copy by Hans von Aachen after Christoph Schwarz (Balis 1986, p. 145, n. 31)—from the estate of Emperor Rudolf II had possibly been in the possession of Archduke Albert since 1615; see De Maeyer 1955, doc. 104.
38. Welzel (note 33), pp. 103–04.
39. Rotterdam 1994, cat. no. 60.
40. For Brueghel’s letter to Borromeo of April 14, 1606, see Crivelli 1868, p. 63.
41. Welzel 1997, p. 221.
42. See Welzel 1997, p. 229, fig. 109.
43. See Madrid 1992, p. 146, fig. 82.
44. Compare Ertz 1979, pp. 352–54.
45. On the interpretation of the *Allegory of Taste*, see Welzel 1997, pp. 161–98.
46. Welzel 1997, pp. 182–83; see also Galesloot 1854, pp. 27–51.

9A

Peter Paul Rubens and Workshop and Jan Brueghel the Elder

Portrait of Archduke Albert of Austria

ca. 1618–20

Oil on canvas, 112 × 173 cm (44¹/₈ × 68¹/₈ in.)

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1683

Exhibited in Los Angeles only

9B

Peter Paul Rubens and Workshop and Jan Brueghel the Elder

Portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia

ca. 1618–20

Oil on canvas, 102 × 173 cm (40¹/₈ × 68¹/₈ in.)

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1684

Exhibited in Los Angeles only

PROVENANCE

Documented in the inventory of the Spanish Royal Collections, Alcázar, Madrid in 1636 (as Rubens);¹ transferred to the Prado upon its foundation in 1819

LITERATURE

Cruzada Villaamil 1874, p. 364, nos. 28 and 29; Rooses 1903, p. 204; De Macyer 1955, pp. 112; Ertz 1979, pp. 158, 338–40, nos. 309 and 310; Vlieghe 1987, pp. 43–45, nos. 66 and 67; Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 2, pp. 1076–83,

nos. 1683 and 1684; Vergara 1999, pp. 21–24; Van Mulders 2000, pp. 118–20

EXHIBITIONS

Brussels 1975, cat. nos. 29 and 30; Brussels 1985, cat. nos. B20 and B21; Brussels 1998–99, p. 149, cat. nos. 202 and 203; Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 176–77, cat. nos. 30 and 31

ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF a court painter was to create official portraits of the sovereign. These handsome canvases, the only formal portraits of the governors of the Southern Netherlands set against landscape backgrounds, unite both Rubens's and Brueghel's contributions as portraitists with the iconography of the Brussels court. The imposing images of the archdukes were devised by Rubens and largely executed in his studio, while the meticulously executed views of two of their principal residences, the castle of Tervuren behind Archduke Albert and the Mariemont castle behind Archduchess Isabella, were painted by Jan Brueghel the Elder.² Both Rubens and Brueghel utilized portrait types they had earlier developed for other commissions to create a pair of double portraits that promote the vital attributes of authority and dominion required for images of the sovereign. As collaborative undertakings, the portraits of Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella represent a clear and practical working process of discrete contributions by each studio.

Seated on red-velvet-covered chairs on terraces set apart from the landscape by a balustrade, with a heavy red fringed curtain draped behind them, Albert and Isabella regard the viewer steadily. The archduke appears to be positioned close to ground level—there are roses growing in front of the balustrade—while Isabella is seated at a greater distance from the castle and considerably higher, above the treetops. Bright light illuminates their features and the details of their elegant costumes. Archduke Albert, who was in his late fifties when the portrait was painted, wears a wheel ruff and corresponding cuffs and a black costume ornamented with gold buttons. Expressive brushwork describes his austere features. Around his neck hangs the Order of the Golden Fleece, of which he became a member in 1599, and he holds a pair of gloves across his knee. By contrast, Isabella's severe countenance is more stiffly painted.³ Her red hair is swept upward and decorated with pearls, a central jewel, and flowers, including a spray of lily of the valley. She wears a large wheel ruff, and her rich black gown is adorned with six long strands of pearls, a large jeweled cross, and an oval jewel with an image of the Virgin and Child on a crescent moon.⁴ She holds an open fan and a handkerchief lies across her lap. Behind Archduke Albert stands the hunting castle of Tervuren on the river Voer. The wooden bridge, intersected by a garden, is clearly visible. Swans and the activities of a number of small figures animate the view. In the portrait of the archduchess, the castle of Mariemont stands atop a

knoll, from which spreads out the rolling landscape of the Hainault region, bisected by *allées* of trees. The castle's famous deer park is visible in the foreground.

Archduke Albert (1559–1621) and Isabella Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) were married on April 18, 1599. Albert was the youngest son of the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II and Maria, daughter of Charles V, and his career embraced both rigorous military training and diplomatic service as viceroy to Portugal (1583–93). Named archbishop of Toledo in 1594 (a rank he renounced before his marriage), he was appointed governor general of the Southern Netherlands by Philip II at the death of his brother, Archduke Ernst, in 1596. He is often depicted as solemn in demeanor and was described by a contemporary as “not easily moved to laughter.” An equestrian portrait by Rubens, presumably lost but perhaps reproduced in the *Allegory of Sight* (see fig. 54), commemorates his military prowess at the capture of Oostende in 1604.⁵ Isabella, the favorite daughter of Philip II of Spain, was destined to play a major part in the fortunes of the Low Countries. Upon their marriage, the couple ruled jointly until Albert's death in 1621, after which the archduchess continued to govern the region and to rely on the diplomatic services of Rubens. Evidently of a lively and energetic disposition, she assumed the habit of the Poor Clares upon the death of her spouse.⁶

Albert and Isabella shared a rigorous piety as well as a dogged commitment to sympathetic governance of the beleaguered and economically weakened provinces. Upon their arrival in the Low Countries in 1599, they were received with hopeful expectations of a prosperous and peaceful new era.⁷ The strategy of their rule was, in essence, to establish themselves as sympathetic resident regents rather than as a remote, wholly Spanish presence. Emphasizing their strong historical and familial ties to the region, the archdukes pursued a domestic policy that featured high public visibility in the form of attendance at local fêtes (see fig. 14). The couple early on began to refurbish a number of properties that had formerly been in the possession of Charles V and Mary of Hungary (regent 1531–55), as part of the process of establishing their presence in the Low Countries. Foremost among these projects was the renovation of the beloved hunting castles of Tervuren and Mariemont.

Tervuren had served as a hunting castle from the twelfth century, entering the dominions of the duke of Burgundy in 1406 and the possession of Charles V in 1515.⁸ Located in the forest known as the *Zoniënwoud* (also the *Fôret de Soignes*)





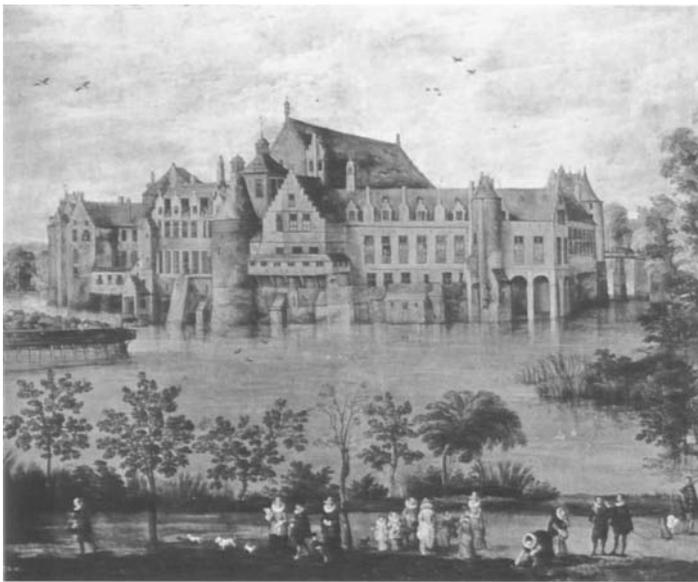
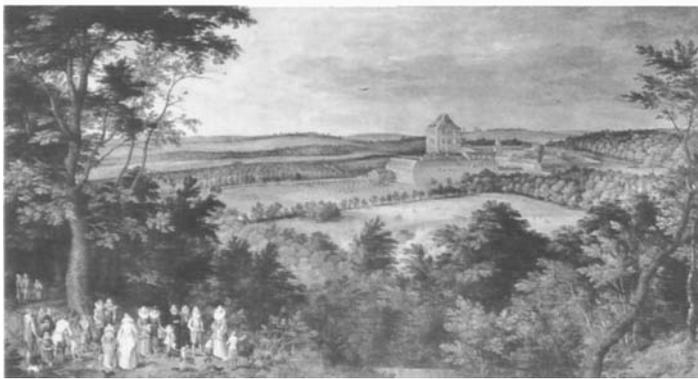


FIGURE 60 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Palace of Isabella Clara Eugenia at Tervuren*, ca. 1621. Oil on canvas, 126 × 153 cm (49⁵/₈ × 60¹/₄ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1453

FIGURE 61 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Hunting before Castle Mariemont*, 1611. Oil on canvas, 135 × 246 cm (53¹/₈ × 96⁷/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1434



southeast of Brussels, it was an easy journey from the Coudenberg Palace. Brueghel's portrayal of the castle in Albert's portrait clearly evokes its picturesque situation, surrounded by water, with the distinctive high roof of the Gothic great hall clearly visible.⁹ Major alterations were carried out at the castle between 1608 and 1617 under the direction of court architect and accomplished painter Wenceslas Cobergher (ca. 1560–1632), including the addition of a Renaissance-style gallery to house a portion of the archducal collection, which numbered almost two hundred paintings.¹⁰ Between 1616 and 1617 a chapel dedicated to Saint Hubert, a particularly popular local figure (see cat. no. 7), was refurbished according to designs by Cobergher. The archdukes themselves repaired to Tervuren for elaborately staged hunts and other festivities. Brueghel drew the aspect of the castle seen here, with its complicated rooflines, prior to this work on the castle¹¹ and included a clearly later vista in the center background of the *Allegory of Taste* (cat. no. 8) of 1618. The views in the drawing and in *Taste*, however, predate the addition of the wooden gallery, visible in the present painting and in the majestic large canvas of the castle from about 1621 (fig. 60).

The palace of Mariemont was a favorite residence of Albert and Isabella. Situated in Hainault, the palace was farther from the Brussels court than Tervuren and thus suited to longer summer stays and to hunts staged early in the season, which began in July. The castle was built with a distinctive square plan by Jacques Dubrœucq for Isabella's great-aunt, Mary of Hungary, between 1546 and 1549 and was situated on a hill at the edge of a forest, with the river Haine below. Mary used it frequently for hunts, which may explain its presence in the portrait of the archduchess. The castle was badly damaged by French troops in 1554 and rebuilt in 1560. Albert and Isabella first renovated the castle between 1606 and 1608.¹² Brueghel may have visited the castle on several occasions, as it appears as both the subject and the setting for a number of compositions. *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella before Castle Mariemont* (1611; Munich, Alte Pinakothek), which is among the earliest views of the castle, gives a sense of the main changes to the building, which was now three stories in height, with a polygonal garden house.¹³ A much larger painting of 1611, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Hunting before Castle Mariemont* (fig. 61), demonstrates the strong connection of the archdukes to the palace and to its primary function as a hunting lodge. Part of the archducal



FIGURE 62 Jan Muller after Peter Paul Rubens, *Albert, Archduke of Austria*, 1615. Engraving, 418 × 289 mm (16½ × 11¾ in.). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. no. v.s. 190

FIGURE 63 Jan Muller after Peter Paul Rubens, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain*, 1615. Engraving, 418 × 289 mm (16½ × 11¾ in.). Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. no. v.s. 191

art collection was also housed at Mariemont, although no inventory from the period around 1620 survives.

Further renovations were carried out between 1611 and 1617, and although one must be wary of assuming that each depiction of the castle is topographically precise, Brueghel's highly specific views seem to chart the ongoing changes to the palace.¹⁴ In the *Allegory of Spring* of 1616 by Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen (see fig. 49), the castle and its outbuilding can be seen to have been expanded even further. Between 1618 and 1621, four distinctive corner towers were completed under Cobergher's supervision. These elements, absent from the view of Mariemont in the *Allegory of Hearing* of 1617–18 (see fig. 55) but clearly visible in this work and in an *Allegory of Hearing, Taste, and Touch* of about 1618 (see fig. 59), help to date the present painting to the last years of the second decade.

From the commencement of his appointment as “*peintre de nostre hotel*” on September 23, 1609, Rubens was responsible for establishing the “official” images of the rulers of the Southern Netherlands.¹⁵ According to Rubens's biographer, Francisco Pacheco, “Their Highnesses the archduke Albert and the infanta Doña Isabel, his wife, always esteemed him greatly, because having done two famous portraits of them sitting in chairs shortly after his arrival, the infanta, in the presence of her husband, fitted a sword around his

waist, and she put a very rich golden chain around his neck, calling him the honor of his homeland.”¹⁶ Guided by the wishes of his patrons, Rubens adhered to the conventions of court portraiture and to types established by previous court painters Frans Pourbus the Elder (1569–1622) and Otto van Veen (1556–1629). All of the images convey the decorum and sobriety in keeping with the restrained magnificence of the archducal court, where taste reflected the severe Spanish fashions. Within this rather circumscribed realm, however, Rubens brought a new freshness and regality to the official portraits of the archdukes, which were often disseminated through copies.

Before Albert's death in 1621, Rubens created a number of portrait types, the relationship and chronology of which are complex and disputed.¹⁷ Two types in particular, established 1615–17, provided the precedents upon which the Museo Nacional del Prado portraits are based. Three-quarter-length pendants of about 1615, apparently lost but preserved in prints by Jan Muller, show the figures seated against a neutral textile background (figs. 62 and 63).¹⁸ The present portrait of Isabella in particular recalls the print in its composition, though not in the costume she wears. The formal pose epitomizes sovereignty and deliberately links these images with earlier portraits of regents in the Netherlands by Antonis Mor (ca. 1519–ca. 1575), Van Veen, and Pourbus.

The archdukes seem somewhat older in the paintings under discussion than they appear in the prints. In fact, Isabella more closely resembles the likeness in London (National Gallery) from Rubens's studio, which is also based upon the 1615 composition, though probably executed about 1620.¹⁹ The pendant canvases of the archducal couple in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum), often described as unfinished, and certainly painted loosely, portray the subjects with a certain vividness not found in many of the painted versions of the 1615 type. Notably, as in the Madrid portraits, the brilliant red curtain background in the Vienna paintings served as a vibrant foil for the heads of the sitters and their rich black garments.²⁰ A second type, for which the original paintings are presumed lost but which are represented by copies, provided the precedent for the costumes, and in particular for the head and hands of Albert.²¹ The prototypes for these works may be the portraits referred to by Jan Brueghel, who had by this time grown accustomed to Rubens's help with his Italian letters: "My secretary Rubens has gone to Brussels to finish the portraits of their highnesses."²² Bust-length variations, combined in a single field, appear prominently in the *Allegory of Sight* (see fig. 54). Considering all the different portraits of the couple, the likeness of Albert often seems the more subtle and slightly modulated of the two figures. The archduke was thought to have had a close relationship with Rubens, and it may be that their frequent contact is reflected in the freer handling of the Madrid portrait.

Rubens and Brueghel's working process in these portraits appears to have been relatively straightforward. Beginning in Rubens's studio, the figures were painted, followed by the curtain and the balustrade. In the case of *Archduke Albert*, a small reserve area is visible around the edge of the ruff, while in *Isabella*, a correction was made to the upper left contour of her ruff and to the upper folds of the red curtain. Chairs of the type seen in both portraits, with a curled armrest, are found in other portraits by Rubens and may have been a studio prop.²³ The shallowness of Isabella's position in the chair is closely echoed in her seated pose in the Muller print. Brueghel painted the roses in *Albert*, and in both canvases the landscape was painted right up to the edges of elements such as the balustrade supports, suggesting that they had already been established. Small adjustments to the outline of the roof of Tervuren castle are also visible.

Archduke Albert and *Archduchess Isabella* represent a stately development in the Netherlandish tradition of depicting sovereigns before their palaces, views that virtually required

a collaborative approach. The tradition of topographical portraits was splendidly established in manuscript illumination, notably by the Limbourg brothers in the *Très Riches Heures* (ca. 1411–16), in which the chateaux of Jean, duc de Berry, were incorporated into the depictions of the twelve months of the year. In *Departure for the Hunt (Month of March)* (ca. 1528–31), one in the series of tapestries known as the Hunts of Maximilian designed by court painter Bernard van Orley (ca. 1488–1541), the hunt is set against the commanding exterior of the Coudenberg Palace, an edifice also represented by Brueghel in the background of the *Allegory of Sight* as well as in other large-scale compositions by his circle.²⁴ Associating the archdukes with the courtly sport of the hunt was intended to solidify their identification not only with earlier Habsburg rulers but also with the countryside over which they now ruled. Interestingly, the formal presentation of the palaces in the Madrid canvases belied the informal persona of the archduchess, who is known to have won local shooting contests hosted by the crossbowman's guild.

Portraits of the archdukes served many purposes. Antoine Sallaert's *Procession in the Place du Grand Sablon at Brussels* (1615; Turin, Galleria Sabauda), for example, shows bust-length portraits of Albert and Isabella, and perhaps full-length images as well, ceremoniously decorating the parade route.²⁵ On October 13, 1615, Rubens received a payment of 300 guilders from Archduke Albert for portraits of the archdukes to be sent to Spain for the marquis of Siete Iglesias, Don Rodrigo Calderón.²⁶ Vergara has argued that those portraits were probably the canvases discussed here. However, the age of the sitters and the configuration of Mariemont with the four corner towers that were only completed about 1620 preclude that possibility. As Vergara has observed, *Archduke Albert* and *Archduchess Isabella* would have been very striking images at the Spanish court, where landscape painting was unusual.²⁷ Perhaps these double portraits served not only to promote Habsburg jurisdiction of the Southern Netherlands but also to introduce the particularly Netherlandish specialties of landscape and portraiture to the Spanish court audience. ATW

NOTES

1. "Dos lienzos al óleo, 7 piés de largo poco más ó ménos; en el uno el retrato del señor archiduque Alberto, de medio cuerpo arriba vestido de negro, la mano izquierda sobre los guantes y en léjos una casa de

- campo. El otra de la señora Infanta doña Isabel, su mujer, del mismo tamaño, vestida de negro, asentada en una silla, abriendo un abianco con ambas manos, y en léjos otra casa de campo. Son de mano de rubens.”: Cruzada Villamil 1874, p. 364. The two portraits are mentioned in subsequent royal inventories; see Díaz Padrón 1975, vol. 1, pp. 315–17.
2. Although an early Alcázar inventory attributed the Madrid portraits of Albert and Isabella to Rubens (see note 1 above), recent scholarship has often ascribed the portraits of the archdukes to the workshop of Rubens, with the exception of Ertz (1979, pp. 608–9), who accepted Rubens’s authorship and associated the Madrid canvases with portraits mentioned by Brueghel in a letter to Ercole Bianchi (see note 22 below). Vlieghe (1987, p. 44) considered them studio copies made in the workshop “under his [Rubens’s] direct supervision.” Brown likewise found the archducal portraits “disappointing” and difficult to accept as an original and separate portrait type by Rubens; see C. Brown, “Rubens and the Archdukes,” in Brussels 1998–99, p. 123. However, the portraits were the product of Rubens’s invention, and together with the autograph views of the two castles by Jan Brueghel the Elder, have continued to be attributed to Rubens himself in some recent Prado publications, notably Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 1076–83; and Vergara in Madrid 1999–2000, p. 176, but not in Balis et al. 1989a.
 3. The difference in quality between the heads of Albert and Isabella was not noted by Roblot-Delondre (1913, p. 147) but was observed by Vergara (1999, p. 22).
 4. The jeweled cross appears in many portraits of the archduchess, notably the standing portrait by Frans Pourbus of ca. 1599 (Hampton Court); see Madrid 1999–2000, p. 150.
 5. For Albert’s career, see Miraeus 1621–22; J. Lefèvre, *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1964), cols. 14–22; De Maeyer 1955, pp. 20–27; and the essays in Brussels 1998–99, notably Johan Verbeckmoes, “The Archdukes in Their Humour,” pp. 137–38. For *Albert, Archduke of Austria on Horseback*, see Vlieghe 1987, pp. 35–37, no. 58.
 6. For Isabella’s life, see De Villermont 1912 and Terlinden 1943; for portraits of Isabella Clara Eugenia, see Roblot-Delondre 1913; and De Maeyer 1955, pp. 20–27. For Rubens’s portrait, *Isabella, Infanta of Spain, in the Habit of a Poor Clare* (1625; Pasadena, Norton Simon Museum of Art), see Vlieghe 1987, pp. 121–22, no. 111.
 7. For the government of the archdukes, see Elias 1931 and W. Thomas, “The Reign of Albert and Isabella in the Southern Netherlands,” in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 1–14. For the archducal policies of Catholic reform, see Pasture 1925 and Brussels 1998–99.
 8. Meganck 1998, p. 114.
 9. Zwollo (2000) attributes two drawings showing a different aspect of the castle to Jan Brueghel the Elder.
 10. Terlinden 1922 and De Maeyer 1955, pp. 35–38.
 11. For the drawing, see Winner 1972, pp. 150–51, fig. 29.
 12. Demeester 1981 and Hamm–Mainz 2001, pp. 220–24.
 13. See Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 126–27.
 14. The primary images of Mariemont as subject and landscape are discussed in Ertz 1979, pp. 157–63; and listed in Demeester 1981, pp. 219–20. The 1659 inventory of the collection at the Brussels palace includes “Quatro pieças de Juan Brugel, representando las bodas de Marimont”: De Maeyer 1955, doc. 271, p. 447.
 15. De Maeyer 1955, pp. 96, 293–94, doc. 62; and C. Brown, “Rubens and the Archdukes” in Brussels 1998–99, p. 123. At the ceremony, he received a gold medallion with the portraits of Albert and Isabella on either side, perhaps similar to those on the medals that constituted the first images of the couple. See Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 233–37.
 16. “Sus Altezas del Archiduque Alberto i la Señora Infanta doña Isabel su muger, le estimaron siempre mucho, porque aviendo hecho, rezien venido, dos famosos Retratos de los dos, sentados en sus Sillas, le Señora Infanta en presencia de su marido le ciñó la espada, i puso al cuello una riquis fima cadena de oro llamadole onra de su Patria”: Pacheco 1649, p. 49; translated in Vergara 1999, p. 189.
 17. See Vlieghe 1987, pp. 22–23, 35–47; and C. Brown, “Rubens and the Archdukes,” in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 122–23.
 18. Madrid 1999–2000, pp. 158–59.
 19. G. Martin 1970, pp. 227–29, inv. 3818 and inv. 3819.
 20. For the Vienna portraits (inv. 6344 and 6345), see Vlieghe 1987, pp. 45–46; and Vienna 2004, pp. 252–55.
 21. *Albert, Archduke of Austria* (Althorp, Collection of the Earl Spencer) and *Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (Virginia, The Chrysler Museum). Both works have been attributed to Gaspar de Crayer by Vlieghe (1987, pp. 39–43).
 22. “Mio secretario Rubens e partita per Brussello, per finire i ritratti di sua altezza ser.ma.” (letter to Ercole Bianchi, December 9, 1616): Crivelli 1868, p. 241. See also Vlieghe 1987, p. 41.
 23. See, for example, Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a Woman, Possibly Clara Fourment* (ca. 1630, oil on panel, 114.5 × 90.5 cm [45 1/8 in. × 35 5/8 in.]; The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 1132).
 24. Van Orley was court painter to two regents of the Netherlands, Margaret of Austria and Mary of Hungary. For the *Departure for the Hunt (Month of March)*, see New York 2002, pp. 329–38. For Van Orley’s collaborators and the use of the palace as a backdrop, see Balis et al. 1993. Views of the Brussels palace based on Brueghel’s studies include: Attributed to Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Royal Palace in Brussels* (ca. 1625–30, oil on canvas, 125 × 228 cm [49 1/4 × 89 3/4 in.]; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1451), and Jan Brueghel the Younger, *The Archdukes Albert and Isabella in the Park of the Coudenberg Palace in Brussels* (1615–21, oil on panel, 46.2 × 75 cm [18 1/8 × 29 1/2 in.]; Antwerp, Rubenshuis, inv. s130).
 25. Campbell 1990, p. 201.
 26. “. . . El Archiduque . . . que por mi mandado haveis dado a Pietro Paolo Rubens, pintor, los 300 fl. por 2 retratos que a hecho, uno de la Infanta, mi Señora, y otro mio, los quales mane ynbiar a España al marques de Siete Ygelsias”: De Maeyer 1955, p. 322, doc. 109.
 27. Vergara 1999, pp. 21–23, 204 n. 15.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

Diana at the Hunt

ca. 1620

Oil on panel, 57 × 98 cm (22³/₈ × 38⁵/₈ in.)

Paris, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, inv. 68.3.1

PROVENANCE

Collection of the duke of Richelieu, before 1677, probably sold before 1681; ca. 1700 acquired by the elector of Bavaria, Munich, transferred to Augsburg, 1869; sold in 1938; Paris (art dealer), 1939; acquired by Hermann Göring from a Belgian collection; in 1961 restored to the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (inv. 13182); sale, Cologne (Lempertz), November 17, 1966,

lot 489, to Gustav Rochlitz, Essen, Füssen; J. O. Leegenhoek (art dealer), Paris; in 1967 acquired by François Sommer; in 1968 donated to the Fondation de la Maison de la Chasse et de la Nature

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1977–78, cat. no. 131; Paris 2000–01, pp. 101, 141; Lille 2004, cat. no. 49

LITERATURE

De Piles 1677, p. 156; Zoega von Manteuffel 1923, pp. 14, 18; Speth-Holterhoff 1957, p. 98; Teyssèdre 1963, p. 292; Müller Hofstede 1968, pp. 200–207; Winner 1972, p. 148; Ertz 1979, pp. 391–94, 406, no. 354; Balis 1986, p. 57; Van Mulders 2000, pp. 120–21

BOTH OF THESE HUNTING SCENES ENDED UP ON the art market in Paris in 1967, having come from different collections. They were acquired at that time by the founder of the Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature in Paris, who donated them a year later to the museum, where they now hang side by side as pendants.

It is possible that the paintings came from Rubens's own collection. The inventory drawn up after his death in 1640 describes one painting as "a Diana riding out to the hunt" and the next one as "a Diana returning from the hunt," both painted by Rubens and Jan Brueghel.¹ Hunting scenes with Diana and her nymphs must have been very popular in those days (see also cat. no. 23).² The sixty paintings from the estate of Jan Brueghel the Elder that were sold by his son in 1626–27 included no fewer than seven depictions of Diana, presumably in part by the hand of the late master: five hunt-

ing scenes—one of which was described by Jan Brueghel the Younger as a "copy after father's"—and two fishing scenes.³ *Diana at the Hunt* was reproduced repeatedly in representations of Antwerp collectors' cabinets—by Frans Francken the Younger (1581–1642), Willem van Haecht (1593–1637), and Jan Brueghel the Younger—and must therefore have enjoyed a certain renown.⁴ This painting was described by the French art critic Roger de Piles in 1677, when it was still in the possession of the duke of Richelieu, an art collector and relative of the famous cardinal.⁵ De Piles reported that the painting was monogrammed P.P.R. on the tree below Diana, and that Brueghel had signed it at the lower right, though these inscriptions—both probably spurious—have meanwhile disappeared.⁶ Furthermore, De Piles drew attention to the pack of hounds, which he identified—perhaps not incorrectly—as

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs

ca. 1620

Oil on panel, 61 × 98 cm (24 × 38⁵/₈ in.)

Paris, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, inv. 68.3.2

PROVENANCE

Collection of Friedrich II of Prussia, Potsdam, Sanssouci; in 1760, during the occupation of Potsdam, taken by the Austrians in the person of Count Emmerich Esterházy to Vienna; in 1763, the Empress Maria Theresa, at Esterházy's behest, returned the painting to Friedrich II, who gave it to Esterházy

as a token of gratitude for having protected Sanssouci against plundering; until the Second World War in the collection of the Esterházy family, Redé (hunting lodge), Veszprém, Hungary; until 1967 in a private collection, Zürich; J. O. Leegenhoek (art dealer), Paris; in 1967 acquired by François Sommer; in 1968 donated to the Fondation de la Maison de la Chasse et de la Nature

LITERATURE

Esterházy 1901, pp. 212–14; Müller Hofstede 1968, pp. 216–19; Ertz 1979, pp. 394, 395, 398, 400, 406, no. 355

EXHIBITIONS

Paris 1977–78, cat. no. 132; Paris 2000–01, p. 15; Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 22

belonging to the Archduchess Isabella, who was a great lover of dogs.⁷

In both paintings, the hunting dogs painted by Brueghel have been lavished with nearly as much attention as the figures by Rubens. They are fine, well-cared-for purebreds, all portrayed with alert, wide-open eyes. Many of the animals are leashed together in pairs. In *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*, two of the dogs are caparisoned, which reinforces their status as valuable animals. A winged putto holds the reins of this pair, cautioning them with his index finger to be still, so as not to wake the nymphs. Several dogs are depicted in exactly the same pose in both paintings, an example being the pair lying together, one resting its head on the other's neck. The two dogs washing themselves also occur in both paintings; one of these animals also appears in *The Vision of Saint Hubert* (cat. no. 7). The dog to

the right of the personification of Smell in the series of the Five Senses at the Prado (see fig. 57) appears in both of the paintings discussed here.

That Brueghel based his dogs on preparatory sketches is confirmed by the study material that has survived. Brueghel's oil sketch of dogs in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (cat. no. 27) displays several of the animals seen in these paintings. Two black-and-white dogs that appear at the upper left in the sketch are included in *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*, while Diana holds one of these two by the leash in the other painting. The light brown dog seen from the back, appearing on the right in the sketch, is also recognizable at the far right in *Diana at the Hunt*. In addition to the oil sketch of dogs, there is also a pen-and-ink drawing of hunting requisites (fig. 64).⁸ Both of the hunting horns in Brueghel's study occur in these paintings and were



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FIGURE 64 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Study of Hunting Requisites*. Pen and brush, 18.7 × 29.5 cm (7³/₈ × 11⁵/₈ in.). Hamburg, Kunsthalle, inv. 21652

also used in other compositions, such as the *Allegory of Hearing* (see fig. 55).⁹ Very little of Brueghel's studio stock of oil sketches and preparatory designs has survived. This lack has been compensated for to some extent by Wenceslas Hollar (1607–1677), who copied a number of Brueghel's studies of dogs, wild game, and hunting requisites in a series of etchings in 1646.¹⁰ The etchings of the dog studies display in reverse various animals seen in the works discussed here: the two dogs lying together, one resting its head on the other's neck (fig. 65), the two dogs washing themselves (fig. 66), and the pair sitting in the right-hand corner in *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (fig. 67).

These scenes of Diana and her nymphs, both before the hunt and afterward—asleep and being spied on by lecherous satyrs—offer narrative frames for the depiction of hunting dogs in a wooded landscape. In the first painting, Diana—sitting beneath a tree, with a spear resting against her shoulder—holds two of her dogs by the leash while a nymph ties on her sandals. The goddess of the hunt wears a fur slung across her shoulder. Her companions arm themselves with spears and bows, and one of the nymphs blows a horn to give the signal for the chase. In the other painting, none of the four sleeping women is immediately recognizable as Diana. In the left foreground lie the spoils of the hunt—a still life comprising small game, including hares, pheasants, and martens.¹¹ The pale skin of the nymphs makes a fine

contrast to the dark complexion of the two satyrs who spy on them from behind a tree (compare also cat. nos. 5 and 8).

Which of the two masters was the first to paint is difficult to determine, though some of the details suggest that it was Brueghel. For example, in *Diana at the Hunt*, the right leg of the nymph with the spear, standing in the middle of the scene, was painted around the nose of the black-and-white dog, and the forms of Diana and one of her nymphs were left in reserve by Brueghel when painting his tree. In *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* it also seems to have been Brueghel who made a start, painting around the reserves for the figures. The reserve for the satyr on the right was not completely filled in along his back. After the figures had been painted in, Brueghel again took the painting in hand to apply his last retouches, at which time he supplied the putto with wings and a quiver of arrows. He also applied a last layer of green paint to the tree, around the arms and hands of the satyrs, and used the same green hue to apply accents to the hair and beard of the satyr on the right. It seems natural to assume that, as with most of the collaborative works by these two painters, it was Brueghel who initiated this collaborative effort. That Rubens adapted his figures to fit the small scale of Brueghel's compositions is obvious if we compare these works with Rubens's depiction of a similar subject, *Diana Returning from the Hunt* (cat. no. 23).¹²

FIGURE 65 Wenceslas Hollar (1607–1677) after Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Study of Hunting Dogs*, 1646. Etching, 135 × 195 mm (5¼ × 7⅝ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, Parthey no. 2050

FIGURE 66 Wenceslas Hollar after Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Study of Hunting Dogs*, 1646. Etching, 130 × 195 mm (5⅛ × 7⅝ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, Parthey no. 2046

FIGURE 67 Wenceslas Hollar after Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Study of Hunting Dogs*, 1646. Etching, 130 × 190 mm (5⅛ × 7½ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, Parthey no. 2048

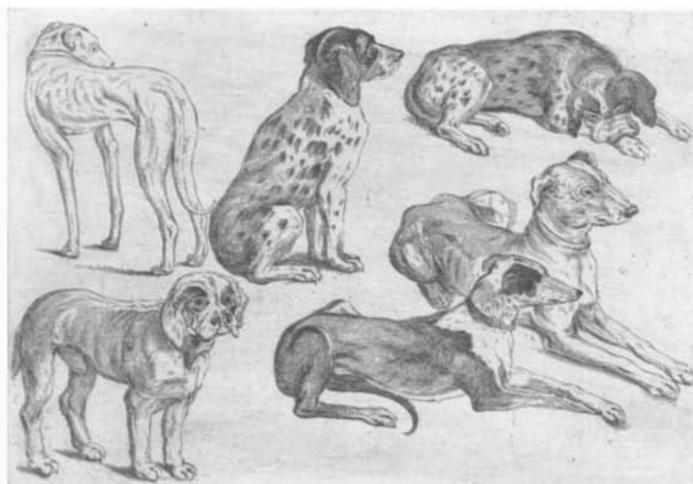




FIGURE 68 Jan Brueghel the Elder and an unknown figure painter, *Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils*, 1620. Oil on panel, 63.7 × 97.2 cm (25¹/₈ × 38¹/₄ in.). Neuburg an der Donau, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Staatsgalerie, inv. 842

The large-scale monumentality of the figures lends this work of about 1616 a completely different character.

Brueghel's hunting scenes were popular compositions, and numerous replicas and variations are known, not all of them autographed.¹³ His *Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils* in Neuburg (fig. 68) fits in perfectly, as regards subject and size, with both of the works discussed here; it is, moreover, signed by Brueghel. An unknown painter from the circle of Rubens painted the nymph sitting among the dogs in the right foreground.¹⁴ In this picture the focus has shifted from the rendering of the dogs to the portrayal of a hunting tableau with large game. This painting is dated 1620, which provides a clear indication for the dating of the present paintings.¹⁵

According to an eighteenth-century source, Archduchess Isabella ordered three hunting scenes from Brueghel for Tervuren Castle, the archdukes' hunting lodge.¹⁶ It has sometimes been assumed that these paintings must have been the two discussed here and the one in Neuburg;¹⁷ together these works supposedly portray riding out to the hunt, resting during the hunt, and the spoils of the hunt. Although it is impossible to prove that these paintings actually belonged to Isabella's collection,¹⁸ it is natural to assume that it was mainly the higher nobility who were interested in such scenes, since hunting was the preserve of the princely elite. A law enacted in the Southern Netherlands in 1613 stipulated that only the ruling lords were allowed to keep hunting dogs.¹⁹ AvS

NOTES

1. “Une Diane allant à la chasse” and “Une Diane revenant de la chasse”; see Antwerp 2004, p. 332, cat. nos. 269 and 270. The inventory drawn up in Dutch of all the paintings in Rubens’s estate has been lost. Only English and French translations have been preserved (the English version of the inventory lists both paintings as “A huntinge of Diana”).
2. For depictions of Diana by Brueghel, see Ertz 1979, nos. 356–58, 373–77. For Brueghel’s depictions of Diana made in collaboration with Hendrick van Balen, see Werche 2004, nos. A 80–85, 89; see also nos. E 29–34.
3. “cöpye naer vaders”: Vaes 1926–27, pp. 207–9; and Denucé 1934, pp. 140–43.
4. See, for example, Frans Francken II, Brussels, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 6853; Willem van Haecht, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. 266; and Jan Brueghel the Younger, private collection. For the last, see Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, cat. no. 9.
5. De Piles 1677, p. 156; see also Müller Hofstede 1968, pp. 205–6. De Piles 1681 no longer mentions the painting, so it is likely that the duke had sold it by then; see also Paris 1977–78, p. 178.
6. Listed in Augsburg 1869, as no. 463, with a transcription of both signatures, neither regarded as autograph. In the subsequent catalogue, Augsburg 1905, under no. 463, no mention is made of Brueghel’s signature.
7. Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 206. Compare the *Portrait of Dona Juana de Lunar and the Dogs of the Infanta Isabella* (Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 6417) with portraits of individual dogs, identifiable by the inscriptions; see Kolb 2005, fig. 20. Ertz (1979, p. 393) even thought it possible that *Diana at the Hunt* contained an allegorical portrait of Isabella.
8. Winner 1972, fig. 27.
9. That this study was done from life is apparent from the way the hunting horn (an object that Brueghel painted several times) is depicted at the upper left. Its attached cord hangs down in the drawing, probably representing how it hung over the edge of a table on which the instrument was lying when it was drawn; in the paintings, by contrast, this cord is always draped on the ground. The same hunting horn is depicted in the painting reproduced here from the Staatsgalerie Neuburg an der Donau (fig. 68).
10. See Zoega von Manteuffel 1923.
11. Ertz (1979, p. 402) thought these small animals could have been painted by Frans Snyders, as was the game in the painting in Neuburg an der Donau (fig. 68). These passages, however, are perfectly in keeping with the work of Brueghel and derive, moreover, from Brueghel’s sketches, as preserved in Hollar’s etchings (see note 10 above and K. Renger in Vienna–Essen 2002, p. 50).
12. See Rosenberg 1905, pp. 133, 336, 384; compare also Rubens’s *Cimon and Iphigenia* (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 532).
13. See note 2 above.
14. Konrad Renger has convincingly demonstrated that the figure in the right foreground could not have been painted by Rubens. The nymphs in the background were possibly done by a third hand, though they could also have been painted by Brueghel himself; see Vienna–Essen 2002, pp. 50–51, cat. no. 8 (listed as by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens [?]). See also Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 21.
15. See K. Renger in Vienna–Essen 2002, p. 50. Müller Hofstede (1968, pp. 207, 221) dates both paintings to about 1623–24, whereas Ertz (1979, p. 398), who thinks that Isabella commissioned the paintings, dates the works to about 1620, that is, from before Albert’s death in 1621.
16. De Maeyer 1955, p. 157, n. 5. According to De Maeyer, this source could not be verified.
17. Ertz 1979, p. 394, nos. 354–56.
18. The paintings do not occur in any of the inventories traceable to Isabella’s collections. See De Maeyer 1955, doc. 269–72; see also Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, p. 153.
19. Welzel 1997, p. 183.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens

Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers

ca. 1620

Oil on panel, 79 × 65 cm (31¹/₈ × 25⁵/₈ in.)
Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1418

PROVENANCE

Collection of Diego Mexía Felípez de Guzmán, marquis of Leganés, Madrid, 1630; presented by Leganés to King Philip IV of Spain; inventory, collection of King Carlos II, Alcázar, Madrid, 1666

LITERATURE

Crivelli 1868, p. 272; Ratti 1910; Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 225; Ertz 1979, pp. 304–6, 311, 320, 620, no. 368; Volk 1980, pp. 259–60, 267; Freedberg 1981, pp. 118–19, 121; A. Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 44; Freedberg 1984,

p. 577; Jones 1993, p. 238, no. 36; Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 290–91; U. Kleinmann in Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 54–55, 58–59; Van Mulders 2000, pp. 117–18, 120; W. Prohaska in Vienna–Essen 2002, p. 325, n. 5

EXHIBITION

Madrid 1999–2000, cat. no. 77

ARICHLY DETAILED GARLAND OF FLOWER BLOSSOMS, ripe fruit, vegetables, and plants surrounds an octagonal representation of the Virgin Mary, depicted as a half-length figure holding the Christ child, who has his arm around her neck, with two angels holding a small wreath of flowers above her head. This recently restored painting from the Museo Nacional del Prado is one of three surviving collaborative works containing garlands by Jan Brueghel around a Virgin and Child by Rubens (compare figs. 1 and 69).¹ The garland from which the painting within the painting is suspended is fastened to trees in a landscape with various animals in the foreground and, in the background, a herd of deer partly concealed behind the octagon. Numerous birds and monkeys are discernible—including two South American silky marmosets below the garland—all feasting on a profusion of edibles. The foreground features—in addition

to a porcupine, a North American chipmunk, and the usual rabbits, guinea pigs, and tortoises—a peculiar animal not seen in any other painting by Brueghel: a hare with horns. Since the publication in the mid-sixteenth century of this “*lepus cornutus*” (a jackalope, or horned hare), few people doubted the existence of this animal, which was regularly described and even depicted by, among others, Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601).² Skeletons of the animal—presumably counterfeit—were even found in cabinets of curiosities, such as that of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague.³ In view of Brueghel’s extraordinary fidelity to nature in the rendering of plants and animals, it seems that he, too, must have been deceived into believing in the existence of this mythical creature.

It has recently been demonstrated that Brueghel originally planned to have an oval representation in his garland: the outlines of the oval he sketched in to demarcate his colleague’s





contribution can be seen with the infrared camera.⁴ Rubens, however, used as much room as he thought fit, and exceeded the bounds of this oval, just as he did in the *Fruit Garland* in Glasgow (see fig. 83), where he painted right over the border of the scratched-in oval, and in *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* in the Getty Museum (cat. no. 2), where he did not hesitate to paint out part of Brueghel's depiction to make room for his own figures. The eventual octagonal framing of Rubens's depiction, which also has an underdrawing, was painted by Brueghel; this frame is illuminated on the left and at the top by light falling from the left. Finally, in the small reserve above Mary's head, Brueghel added a wreath of flowers held by angels and a few leaves that overlap Rubens's painting—in the process also removing a couple of leaves. Even though Brueghel can probably be regarded as the originator of this painting as well, he found in Rubens a self-assured collaborator who was evidently capable of claiming his own space.

As is customary in Brueghel's work, in this garland all the flowers are in full bloom and all the fruits are fully ripe, despite the fact that the various species do not blossom or mature at the same time.⁵ In this densely conceived and extremely precise garland, in which each fruit and flower is identifiable, there is not one wilted flower or worm-eaten fruit. Nature is thus presented in its ideal form, with no allusion whatsoever to the transience of earthly things. Brueghel boasted in his letters that he painted his flowers from life, without recourse to drawings or other preliminary studies.⁶ In 1606, for example, he reported having journeyed to Brussels to visit the archducal gardens, where he was able to paint flowers from life that were not to be found in Antwerp.⁷ In his letters, Brueghel repeatedly stressed the diligence required to make his flower paintings,⁸ partly because of the constraints placed on him by their flowering times, all of which occurred within the space of four months.⁹ Even so, he must have been taking some poetic license when he said that he painted everything "from nature" (*del naturel*), if only because some species seem to have been based on examples in prints.¹⁰ Brueghel also worked from preparatory studies, despite his assertion to the contrary,¹¹ for his garlands have many identical elements, one being the white lilies to the right of Mary's face—a motif appearing in a number of his garlands—which probably refer to her virginity. It is obvious that the same preparatory studies of flower ensembles were used for the garlands in Munich and Paris, as well as for the fruit-and-flower garland discussed here. Using

those studies, Brueghel created a different garland every time by adding extra flowers, for example, or by painting arrangements of fruit and vegetables between the flowers, as he did in this painting.¹² The same fruit and vegetables are recognizable in Brueghel's fruit garlands in Antwerp (cat. no. 20), the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 21), and Glasgow (fig. 83). His workshop practices must have been characterized by far-reaching standardization, in which extensive use was made of his standard repertoire of drawings and preparatory studies in color. It is remarkable, in fact, how fresh and original his paintings look, despite the frequent repetitions. Unfortunately, the studies he had in stock, which his son Jan II later made use of, have largely been lost.

As the Milanese cardinal Federico Borromeo wrote in 1625 in his *Musaeum*, a guide to his Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Brueghel was not content to paint common garden flowers.¹³ He preferred to portray exotic species, some of which were recent discoveries imported from far-off lands for such aristocratic collectors as Albert and Isabella, and indeed Borromeo himself. The exotic animals also elevate the framing of Rubens's picture to an exceptional level of sumptuousness, seemingly symbolizing the abundance and richness of nature and possibly the fertility of the Virgin (compare cat. nos. 20 and 21). In *Musaeum*, Borromeo describes his own garland by Brueghel—probably the painting now in the Musée du Louvre—as a "garland consisting of so many flowers, and so varied, that one may well call it a triumphal arch." That the art lover in him sometimes got the better of the God-fearing cardinal is apparent from his comment on the painting of the Madonna: "We need not speak about the figure surrounded by the garland, because, like a dim light, it is overwhelmed by the surrounding depiction."¹⁴ The appreciation of Brueghel's garlands was reflected in the astronomical prices paid for them by his patrons, most of whom were members of the highest nobility.¹⁵

It has often been wrongly assumed that the present painting was the subject of a spirited exchange of letters in 1621–22 between Brueghel and Cardinal Borromeo and his agent, Ercole Bianchi.¹⁶ The work discussed in these letters, however, is in all likelihood the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* in the Louvre (fig. 69),¹⁷ which was stolen by Napoleon's troops from the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in 1796. An earlier version of this garland is reproduced as a painting within a painting in the *Allegory of Sight* (see fig. 54).¹⁸ In the summer of 1621, Brueghel had of his own accord sent Borromeo a picture—a flower garland surrounding a Virgin



FIGURE 69 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers*, 1621. Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 83.5 × 63 cm (32⁷/₈ × 24³/₄ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 1764 © Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, New York

and Child by Rubens—which Brueghel himself praised as “the most beautiful and rarest thing I have ever made.”¹⁹ He then heard nothing for a long time. After a distressed Brueghel had sent several letters to Milan and apparently received no reply, the archbishop of Antwerp, Laurentius Beyerlinck, intervened in the spring of 1622, asking his Italian colleague for news of this masterpiece by Rubens, the “Belgian Apelles,” enclosed in a flower garland by Brueghel.²⁰ The bishop said that he wanted to help Brueghel in this matter because the famous painter had been plagued by setbacks, such as the death in 1621 of one of his most important patrons, Archduke Albert. At last, in the summer of 1622, Brueghel received his payment, and gave one of the golden medallions he likewise received to Rubens.²¹ As regards the collaboration between the two masters, it is interesting to note that Brueghel was evidently the inventor of this work and the one who offered it for sale. In his letter to Bianchi of September 5, 1621, Brueghel said that “the birds and animals were done from life from several of Her Highness’s specimens.”²² As emerges time and again from his letters, Brueghel regarded the fidelity to nature shown by his birds and animals, and of course his flowers, as one of the best recommendations of his work.

That the present painting is not the garland sold to Borromeo in 1621–22—described, incidentally, as a garland simply of flowers, not of fruit—seems to be confirmed by its provenance from the collection of the Spanish marquis of Leganés.²³ This nobleman, who had long served as a page at the court of Albert and Isabella in Brussels, became an important courtier of the Spanish king Philip IV. He married a daughter of the supreme commander of the Habsburg troops, Ambrogio Spinola, and in the 1620s and ’30s regularly stayed in the Southern Netherlands, where he bought paintings on a grand scale. In 1628 Rubens praised the marquis as one of the most important collectors of his time.²⁴ In the earliest inventory, dating from 1630, of Leganés’s extensive collections, this garland was recorded under number “4” (the number at the lower right on the panel) as a work by both masters.²⁵ At his death in 1655, the marquis owned more than 1,300 paintings, including *The Vision of Saint Hubert*, another work by Brueghel and Rubens (cat. no. 7).²⁶ At the court in Brussels, Leganés had had the opportunity to admire various paintings made jointly by these two luminaries from Antwerp, so it is no wonder that the connoisseur also wanted to enrich his own collection with several of their collaborative works. AVS

NOTES

1. See Ertz 1979, nos. 325–26; Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 336–41. Sources reveal that these two masters must have collaborated on many more garlands; see, among others, Vaes 1926–27.
2. See A. Balis, “Facetten van de Vlaamse dierenschilderkunst van de 15de tot de 17de eeuw,” in Antwerp 1982, pp. 44, 53, nn. 36, 37; for Hoefnagel’s depiction, see Kolb 2005, fig. 39. Konrad Forer’s *Historia Animalium Liber I: De Quadrupedibus Viviparis* (1563) contains an illustration of a head and a skull of a horned hare (Kompanje 2004, fig. 3).
3. Kompanje (2004) suggests that the horned hare is actually an animal showing symptoms of infection by the papilloma virus, which causes hornlike growths on the head and elsewhere.
4. The painting was examined with an infrared camera in the spring of 2005 by Ana González Mozo and Jaime García Maíquez of the Museo Nacional del Prado. With thanks to Alejandro Vergara.
5. On Brueghel’s flower paintings and garlands, see, for example, Ertz 1979, pp. 252–326; Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1990; and Welzel 2002.
6. In a letter of April 22, 1611, to Ercole Bianchi, Cardinal Borromeo’s agent, Brueghel explained how he set about making his flower paintings: “The flowers are troublesome to make... but neither in that nor in other endeavors do I accept any help. The flowers must be made in one sitting, without designs or sketches: all the flowers come [i.e., blossom] in four months...” (Gli fiori sono fastidioso a farle... in questa ne in altre non me laisse aiutare. Gli fiori bisogno fae alle prima, senza desseigni o boitssaturo: tutti fiori vengeno in quatra mesi...): Crivelli 1868, p. 168.
7. Letter to Borromeo of April 14, 1606: “for which reason I was in Brussels to portray some flowers from nature that are not to be found in Antwerp” (per quella io son stata a Brussella per ritrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non si trove in Anversa): Crivelli 1868, p. 63.
8. On Brueghel’s use of the concept of “diligenza” in his letters to Borromeo and his agent, see Cutler 2003.
9. See Paris 1979, p. 39.
10. Compare Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1990, pp. 234–35.
11. See Brenninkmeyer-de Rooij 1990. Brueghel’s surviving flower studies are extremely rare; see Winner 1961, fig. 47.
12. See also a garland by Jan Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen (Ertz 1979, no. 367, fig. 384) in the Prado and *The Holy Family in a Garland of Flowers* by Jan Brueghel and Pieter van Avont in Munich (fig. 86 in this volume).
13. Quint 1986, p. 238.
14. Quint 1986, pp. 238–39.
15. In a 1631 letter to the art dealer Chrisostomo van Immerseel, Jan Brueghel the Younger praised the work of his father as extremely costly: “There is another garland of flowers, but that one is valued at 1,800 guilders... the previous one was bought by the duke of Buckingham for 3,000 guilders” (daer is noch eenen Crans van bloemen, maer die wort ghehauden 1800 gulden... den hertoch van Bucingam heeft de voerge gekocht 3000 gulden): Denucé 1934, p. 70.
16. For this exchange of letters, see Crivelli 1868, pp. 272, 275, 283, 294–300. Ertz (1979, pp. 304–6) thinks the letters refer to the present painting in the Prado, as do the following authors: Jones 1993, p. 238, no. 36; Ratti 1910; and Freedberg 1981, p. 119, n. 25. Later Freedberg (1984, p. 577) corrected his earlier assumption.
17. See also Paris 1979, p. 39.
18. See Jones 1993, p. 238, no. 35. The work depicted in the *Allegory of Sight* lacks the animals and birds seen in the Louvre painting.
19. “il più bello et rara cosa che habbia fatta in vita mia” (letter to Bianchi of September 5, 1621): Crivelli 1868, p. 272.
20. For the Italian translation of this letter written in Latin, see Crivelli 1868, pp. 286–90.
21. See Brueghel’s letter to Borromeo of July 8, 1622. The payment was for the garland and an *Allegory of Air*; for the latter, see Jones 1993, no. 34d (this painting, with figures by Hendrick van Balen, is now in the Louvre, inv. 1921). In a letter of the same date from Rubens to Borromeo, the painter thanked the cardinal for the golden medallion displaying a likeness of Saint Carlo Borromeo, the cardinal’s cousin; see Crivelli 1868, pp. 299–300.
22. “Li oitcelli, et animali son fatto ad vivo de alcuni delli seren.ma Infanto”: Crivelli 1868, p. 272. See also cat. no. 4, n. 40.
23. Volk 1980, pp. 259, 267; and Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 290–91.
24. Letter of January 27, 1628; see Magurn 1955, letter 145.
25. See Volk 1980, p. 267: “another picture of another image of Our Lady with its original ebony frame by Rubens and a border of flowers and animals around it, originals by Brueghel the Elder” (otro quadro de otra ymagen de nra s^{ra} con su marco de ebano original de rubens y una orla de flores y animales alrededor originales de bruxel el biejo).
26. Inventory of the Leganés collection, March 30, 1642, no. 38; see Volk 1980, p. 267.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Workshop of Peter Paul Rubens

Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia

ca. 1615

Oil on panel, 67.4 × 106 cm (26½ × 41¾ in.)

The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, inv. 234

Exhibited in The Hague only

INSCRIPTION

On the reverse, panelmaker's mark RB
[in ligature]

PROVENANCE

Het Loo, Apeldoorn, 1757; Gallery of
Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1774–95;
Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), Paris,
1795–1815; Gallery of Willem V, The Hague,
1815–22; Mauritshuis, since 1822

LITERATURE

Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3,
pp. 706–07; Drossaers and Lunsingh

Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 2, p. 644, no. 103;
vol. 3, p. 214, no. 54; Ertz 1979, pp. 390,
535, n. 611; Ertz 1984, no. 218; Broos and
Wadum 1993; Broos 1993, p. 380; Broos 1995,
pp. 22–24; Wadum 1996; Härting and
Borms 2003, p. 42; Werche 2004, no. E 56;
Mauritshuis 2004, pp. 82–83

EXHIBITION

Antwerp 1930, cat. no. 231

IN A WOODED LANDSCAPE, NYMPHS FILL A HORN OF plenty (cornucopia) with fruit plucked from the trees and handed to them by satyrs, putti, and other nymphs.¹ The key to the story depicted here is the scene in the left background, where Hercules can be seen fighting the river god Acheloüs, who appears in the form of a bull.² During the banquet Acheloüs lays on for Theseus (see cat. no. 3), the river god tells how he competed with Hercules for the hand of Deianira, the daughter of another river god (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.1–92). During their struggle, Acheloüs first transformed himself into a writhing snake and then into a bull. Hercules defeated him, however, by breaking off one of his horns, but, as Acheloüs relates: “This horn the naiads took, filled it with fruit and fragrant flowers, and hallowed it. And now the goddess of glad Abundance is enriched with my horn.”³ No sooner does he say this than one of his

nymphs brings to the table a richly filled cornucopia—the second course of the banquet—as depicted on the left in *The Feast of Acheloüs* from the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (cat. no. 3). The latter work is a splendid example of the collaboration between the friends Rubens and Brueghel, whereas the attribution of the present painting has often been cast into doubt.

In 1757 the painting was listed in the inventory of Het Loo Palace in Apeldoorn as a work by Rubens; in 1763 this description was correctly emended to say that the landscape and the fruit had been painted by Brueghel.⁴ After Willem V had the painting transferred to The Hague, Pieter Terwesten—in his 1770 catalogue of the stadholder's cabinet of paintings—listed it immediately after *The Garden of Eden* (cat. no. 4), describing it as a “ditto first-rate piece . . . being figures by, or in the manner of, Rubens, and the landscape





FIGURE 70 Peter Paul Rubens, *Studies of a Female Nude*. Pen and brown ink, 27.1 × 17.7 cm (10⁵/₈ × 7 in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 66:67

with fruit by the aforementioned Brueghel.”⁵ During the enforced stay of the stadholder’s collection in Paris (1795–1815), this “Triomphe de la Terre” was reattributed to Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen.⁶ Since then, doubt has clung to the attribution of this panel, whose figures have been assigned alternately to Van Balen, Rubens, and “the manner of Rubens.” From 1949 to 1990, it lay dormant in the storeroom of the Mauritshuis under the name of Van Balen. During the same period, there was even doubt cast on the attribution of the landscape to Jan Brueghel the Elder, and the names of his pupils Abraham Govaerts (1581–1642) and Jan Brueghel the Younger were put forward as possible candidates.⁷

Since its restoration in 1990, however, the painting has been reassessed.⁸ The piece proves to have been beautifully preserved, unmistakably displaying in the landscape and fruit the precise style of Jan Brueghel the Elder. The robust nudes with their well-articulated muscles bear little resemblance to Van Balen’s elegantly polished figures; instead, each and every one is a quotation from Rubens’s oeuvre of the years around 1615, although the rather hard modeling makes it unlikely that Rubens is the author. These figures are probably the work of a collaborator from Rubens’s studio, who was able to draw directly upon the master’s repertoire.⁹ The seated woman in the middle, for example, who fills the cornucopia with fruit, is very like Theseus’s friend Lelex, seated on the right in *The Feast of Achelouïs* (cat. no. 3), and also

resembles Adam in *The Garden of Eden* (cat. no. 4), albeit in reverse. The classic profile and hairstyle of this nymph relate her to the nymph bringing in the cornucopia at the far left in the former painting and to the personification of Sight in the series of the Five Senses in the Museo Nacional del Prado (see fig. 54). The crouching female satyr to the left of the cornucopia clearly resembles a similar, cloven-hoofed female in *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* by Rubens and Brueghel in Glasgow (see fig. 83); this figure harks back to a well-known antique statue of the “crouching Venus,”¹⁰ which also inspired Rubens’s rendering of the nymph tying on Diana’s sandal in *Diana at the Hunt* (cat. no. 10). The satyr in the tree, the tip of whose tongue sticks out of his mouth, is a variation on Rubens’s satyrs in the above-mentioned painting in Glasgow. The nymph on the right, seen from the back, who leans rather uncomfortably against a tree, was also borrowed from Rubens, as evidenced by a sheet with pen-and-ink studies of female figures by Rubens’s hand (fig. 70), on the verso of which he recorded his impressions of the *Venus Pudica* (see fig. 46).¹¹ With her left hand this nymph places an apple in the basket shouldered by a winged putto; this figure, too, stems from Rubens’s repertoire and appears, among other places, in his *Putti with a Garland of Fruit*, in which Frans Snyders painted the fruit and Jan Wildens (1585/86–1653) the landscape (fig. 71).¹² The standing nymph on the left—who is seen in profile, reaching upward with her right hand—is recognizable from several of Rubens’s representations of the three graces.¹³ No doubt one could add to this list of derivations from Rubens’s stock motifs; it is obvious that these figures were plucked from the master’s existing oeuvre and assembled, collage-like, to form the group seen here.¹⁴ For the rest, the figures surrounding Hercules and the bull in the left background display the short, easily distinguishable brushstrokes characteristic of Brueghel.

Close examination of the wood from which the panel is made has yielded important information for the dating of this work. The wood proves to have originated from the same tree as several other Antwerp panels, including a *Wooded Landscape with Gypsy Women* of 1612 by Abraham Govaerts (1581–1642) in the Mauritshuis; the grain of the wood in these panels does not display a regular pattern; rather, it describes a large arc up to the right.¹⁵ An identical panelmaker’s mark (RB in ligature) was found on the back of both *Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia* and Govaerts’s painting. This mark—which has not yet been identified—has thus far

been found on eight paintings dating from the years 1611 to 1613, including Jan Brueghel's *Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* of 1613 (cat. no. 26).¹⁶ This allows us to assume that *Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia* originated not long after 1612–13, that is, about 1615, which is confirmed by dendrochronological research.¹⁷ The motifs quoted from Rubens also date from the same period, having originally appeared in works made about 1615.

The painting thus originated in the period in which the collaboration between Brueghel and Rubens was flourishing. It was surely made under the eye of Brueghel's famous colleague, as also emerges from examination of the painting technique. Infrared imaging enabled the detection of a sketchy underdrawing in the landscape that is typical of Brueghel (compare, for instance, cat. no. 4).¹⁸ A few perspective lines were all he needed to mark the depths in the background, and with a few swiftly drawn lines he indicated

the approximate position of the trees, sometimes adding undulating lines to suggest the foliage. With only a few strokes and lines, Brueghel made an underdrawing of the group in the left background, but this, too, was merely a rough indication, which he blithely ignored at the painting stage. The contours of the main figures bear traces—visible with a microscope—of a preparatory sketch in red-brown paint, a sketch not discernible with the infrared camera owing to the absence of carbon in the paint mixture. Indeed, it seems to have been customary, when Rubens and Brueghel collaborated, for Rubens to mark out his share of the composition with a sketch in brownish paint (compare cat. nos. 5, 6, and 8). In the present painting, the outlines of the figures have been corrected in places and emphasized with darker, fairly heavily applied paint that is now largely obscured by the paint used for the background, but which could be rendered visible with the aid of the infrared camera.



FIGURE 71 Peter Paul Rubens, Frans Snyders, and Jan Wildens (1586–1653), *Putti with a Garland of Fruit*. Oil on canvas, 120 × 203.8 cm (47¼ × 80¼ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 330

These corrections are comparable to certain heavily applied corrections to nudes in several autograph drawings by Rubens, so it is in fact possible that the master himself intervened here to make several adjustments to the group of figures.¹⁹

Around the red-brown sketch delineating the figures, Brueghel first painted the background and then his collaborator executed the figures that slightly overlap the background in numerous places. The fingers of the female satyr holding the cornucopia, for example, clearly overlap the skimpy reserve in the horn. Another interesting detail is the leaf of the artichoke in the right foreground, which was painted before the leg of the nymph—against which it stands out; here, therefore, Brueghel did not apply the leaf over the figure at the end of the painting process, as more usually seen. The figures are composed of layers of paint applied in a technique very similar to that of Rubens, the female nudes being built up from an undermodeling, while the darker-complexioned satyr is painted very thinly with only a single layer of transparent paint on the light gray ground.

The subject of the present painting naturally offered an excellent opportunity to depict idealized nudes in a landscape. The story corresponds closely to that of *The Feast of Acheloius* (cat. no. 3), in which Rubens rendered nudes based on classical examples and, on the left, depicted a comparable group of nymphs filling a horn of plenty. The theme is also closely related, of course, to Brueghel's fruit garlands surrounding allegories of abundance and fertility, such as the *Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* by Brueghel and Van Balen (cat. nos. 20 and 21), in which Ceres is presented with a cornucopia, and the *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* by Brueghel and Rubens (fig. 83).

Regarding the whereabouts of *Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia* before it was inventoried at Het Loo Palace in 1757, a partly preserved note in seventeenth-century handwriting glued to the back of the panel provides an intriguing indication of its provenance. In the nineteenth century, when it was still reasonably legible, it was transcribed as follows: "This painting is to be delivered to the house of Mr. Samuel Suerius, steward of His Highness's domains, etc. . . at B[reda]."²⁰ A relative and friend of Constantijn Huygens, private secretary to the princes of Orange, Samuel Suerius (1633–1686) was the steward of the Breda domains of the House of Orange. He was succeeded in this capacity by his son of the same name, which makes it uncertain if the painting was delivered to the father or the son. It is

possible, therefore, that the painting was already in the possession of the Oranges in the late seventeenth century, but further documentation substantiating this is lacking.²¹ AVS

NOTES

1. Since the nineteenth century, the painting has been called *Naiads Filling the Horn of Plenty*; see, for example, Mauritshuis 1993, p. 29. Because this picture contains no direct reference to water (naiads are water nymphs), it is more correct to speak of nymphs.
2. According to Ovid (*Fasti* 5.121–24), the horn of plenty, or cornucopia, was the horn of the goat Amalthea, who suckled the infant Jupiter. In his *Metamorphoses* (9.1–92), Ovid describes the origin of the cornucopia, as seen in this depiction. See Hall 1974, pp. 75, 152.
3. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.87–88 (translation by Frank Justus Miller, revised by G. P. Goold); see *Metamorphoses, Books IX–XV* (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1984), p. 9.
4. On May 13, 1716, in Amsterdam, an "Amalthea, adorning the horn of plenty with flowers" (Amaltea, die de Hoorn van overvloet met Bloemen ciert) by Rubens and the "Velvet [Jan] Brueghel" was sold from the collection of Jan van Beuningen; see Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 1, pp. 201–2, no. 37. Its identification as the work discussed here was first published by Victor de Stuers (Mauritshuis 1874, p. 203). The question mark placed by De Stuers next to this provenance was omitted from all subsequent publications; see, for example, Mauritshuis 2004, p. 82. However, the painting sold at this auction was some 20 cm (about 8 in.) larger in both height and width than the present painting, in which, moreover, there are no flowers to be seen, which makes this provenance unlikely. Regarding Amalthea, see note 2 above.
5. "dito uitmuntend Stuk . . . zynde de Figuren door, of in de manier van Rubbens, en het Landschap met de Vrugten door voorn. van Breugel.": Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, pp. 706–7.
6. Pommereul 1798, p. 299.
7. In a 1774 catalogue of the cabinet of paintings, the figures were attributed to "van der Hoek" and the landscape and the fruit to Brueghel. The artist in question was perhaps Jan van den Hoecke (1611–1651) or Caspar van den Hoecke (ca. 1585–1659); see Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 3, p. 214, no. 54. After the French era, the attribution of the figures to Van Balen kept cropping up (see Mauritshuis 1874, p. 203), even though in the nineteenth century the figures were usually described as "in the manner of Rubens." Rooses (1886–92, vol. 5, p. 339) listed the figures as probably by Rubens; Antwerp 1930, no. 231, as by Rubens and Brueghel the Elder. According to Martin (Mauritshuis 1935, pp. 292–94, no. 234), Ludwig Burchard considered them to be by Van Balen. In Mauritshuis catalogues from 1949 through 1993, the figures are attributed to Van Balen. Ertz (1979, p. 390) concurred with this attribution but subsequently thought he recognized the hand of Jan Brueghel the

- Younger in the landscape (Ertz 1984, no. 218). Broos (1993, p. 380, and an unpublished text in the archives of the Mauritshuis) and Wadum (1996) rightly place the painter of the figures in the studio of Rubens. Compare, finally, Härting and Borms 2003, p. 42 (the landscape as by Jan Brueghel the Elder or Abraham Govaerts); and Werche 2004, no. 56 (figures not by the hand of Van Balen).
8. The painting was restored by Erma Hermens and Jørgen Wadum.
 9. See unpublished texts by Jørgen Wadum and Ben Broos in the archives of the Mauritshuis.
 10. Haskell and Penny 1981, pp. 321–23, no. 86.
 11. Kassel–Frankfurt 2004, cat. no. 17.
 12. Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 380–81.
 13. See, for example, Peter Paul Rubens, *The Three Graces* (Vienna, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der bildenden Künste, inv. 646).
 14. On the practice of taking motifs from the work of others (the term commonly used at that time was *vapen*, which means to “gather” or “collect”), see Van Mander/Miedema 1973, vol. 2, pp. 388–89. On the art of *vapen*, see also Samuel van Hoogstraeten (1678, p. 193), who cites the example of Rubens: When Rubens was reproached for “borrowing whole figures from the Italians” (geheele beelden uit d’Italiaenen ontleende), he replied that everyone was welcome to imitate him, “if they thought it advantageous” (indien zy’er voordeel inzagen), thereby suggesting that not everyone was capable of benefiting from this exercise.
 15. See Broos and Wadum 1993.
 16. Ibid. With thanks to Jørgen Wadum for allowing me to inspect his database of Antwerp panelmakers’ marks.
 17. Report compiled by Dr. Peter Klein, University of Hamburg, October 20, 1995.
 18. During restoration of the painting in 1990, Jørgen Wadum examined it by means of infrared reflectography using the Hamamatsu camera; see Wadum 1996, p. 394, fig. 4. On December 24, 2004, the painting was again examined with the aid of the stereomicroscope by Sabrina Meloni, Ariane van Suchtelen, and Jørgen Wadum in the studio of the Mauritshuis. On January 6, 2005, infrared images were made with the Artist camera (Art Innovation, Hengelo) mounted with a CCD progressive scan image sensor (1360 × 1036 pixels) and a Schneider Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 mm CCTV-lens in N12 with a 1000 nm long-wave pass filter.
 19. On this subject, see Wadum 1996.
 20. “Dese schildery sal men bestellen ten huysse van de h. Samuel Zucrius Rentmeester van syn Hoocheyts Domeynen etc... tot B[reda].”: Mauritshuis 1874, p. 203. For a drawn copy depicting the letter, see, among others, Mauritshuis 1935, p. 293.
 21. Anspach 1881, p. 172; and *Register op de journalen van Constantijn Huygens Jr.* (Amsterdam, 1906), p. 285. See an unpublished text by Ben Broos in the archives of the Mauritshuis.

14

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer

The Rest on the Flight into Egypt

ca. 1595

Oil on copper, 22 × 29.1 cm (8⁵/₈ × 11¹/₂ in.)

The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, inv. 283

PROVENANCE

Stadholder-King Willem III, Het Loo, Apeldoorn, 1712; Gallery of Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1774–95; Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), Paris, 1795–1815; Gallery of Willem V, The Hague, 1815–22; Mauritshuis, since 1822

LITERATURE

Peltzer 1916, pp. 318, 332, 345, no. 31, p. 348, no. 74; Tóth-Ubbens 1968, pp. 10–11; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 2, p. 645, no. 119; vol. 3, p. 205, no. 9; Ertz 1979, pp. 204–6, no. 1; Ertz 1984, no. 150; Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. K 3; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 111, 112;

Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, pp. 149, 150, n. 8; Werche 2004, p. 236, no. E 7; Mauritshuis 2004, pp. 82–84; Jonckheere 2004–05, p. 215

EXHIBITIONS

Dordrecht 1955, cat. no. 27; The Hague 1988–89, cat. no. XIV

15

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer

The Descent into Limbo

1597

Oil on copper, 26.2 × 35.4 cm (10¹/₄ × 13⁷/₈ in.)

The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, inv. 285

INSCRIPTION

At lower right, .BRUEGHEL.1597

PROVENANCE

Stadholder-King Willem III, Het Loo, Apeldoorn, before 1697; Gallery of Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1774–95; Musée Napoléon (Musée du Louvre), Paris,

1795–1815; Gallery of Willem V, The Hague, 1815–22; Mauritshuis, since 1822

LITERATURE

Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, p. 693; Peltzer 1916, pp. 332, 345, no. 32; Tóth-Ubbens 1968, p. 11; Drossaers and Lunsingh Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 1, p. 677, no. 839, p. 698, no. 69; vol. 2, p. 479, no. 24, p. 640, no. 24; vol. 3, p. 206, no. 16; Ertz 1979, pp. 116, 119, 124, 135, 501, 519 (nn. 76, 87, 88),

562 (under no. 32); Ertz 1984, pp. 44, 65, 301–2, no. 128; Freedberg 1984, p. 576; Broos 1993, pp. 79–87, no. 7 (with additional literature); Costaras 1994; Mauritshuis 2004, p. 84; Jonckheere 2004–05, p. 215

EXHIBITIONS

The Hague 1988–89, p. 119 (in exhibition); Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, cat. no. 8e

COLLABORATIONS IN WHICH A STAFFAGE PAINTER added his figures to a landscape by another artist were common in Flemish art from the sixteenth century onward. As a staffage painter, Jan Brueghel made many contributions to landscapes painted by his friend Joos de Momper (1564–1635).¹ However, in *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* of about 1595 and *The Descent into Limbo* of 1597 it was the German figure painter Hans Rottenhammer who first took the copper plates in hand. In the former work, he painted the Holy Family and the two flying angels in the foreground, whereupon Brueghel added the wooded landscape and the flowers, as well as the ass, whose body is largely hidden by the imposing tree that closes off the composition on the right.² Rottenhammer, who began *The Descent into Limbo* by painting the nude figures in the foreground, is the author not only of the main group—Christ with Adam and Eve—but also of the righteous whom Christ liberates, the three devils in the left foreground, and five of the doomed souls in the abyss on the right. Brueghel then completed the composition by adding the infernal landscape with its myriad monsters and devils.³

Hans Rottenhammer, a native of Munich, left for Italy in 1589; after a stay in Venice, he arrived in Rome around 1591.⁴ There he met the Flemish-Roman landscape painter Paul Bril (1553/54–1626), as well as Jan Brueghel, first recorded as being in Naples in 1590 and subsequently active in Rome until 1595.⁵ These artists belonged to the circle of Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), a theologian and important collector of art, and it was in his palace facing the Piazza Navona in Rome that Brueghel took up residence.⁶

Karel van Mander wrote the following about Rottenhammer: “When he arrived in Rome he devoted himself to painting on plates as is customary with the Netherlanders.”⁷ Italian painters occasionally used copper plates as supports as early as the first half of the sixteenth century, but this is first seen among Netherlandish artists when Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611) of Antwerp painted on copper during his stay in Rome (1566–75).⁸ It was however the Flemings Paul Bril and Jan Brueghel, as well as the German Hans Rottenhammer, who were responsible for the popularity painting on copper achieved from the early 1590s in Rome.⁹ All three found the smooth, glossy surface eminently suitable as a support for their meticulously detailed paintings. Bril produced the earliest known landscape on copper in 1592.¹⁰ He was soon followed by Jan Brueghel, who used copper almost exclusively for the paintings he made in Italy.¹¹ After

returning to Antwerp in September 1596, Brueghel introduced this new technique to his native city, where he continued to paint on copper with great regularity: about half of his extant paintings—some four hundred altogether—have copper supports.¹²

The figure painter Hans Rottenhammer collaborated with both Bril and Brueghel on various paintings on copper, to which the Flemings contributed the backgrounds.¹³ After Rottenhammer moved to Venice in the summer of 1595, his collaboration with Bril and Brueghel continued for a while, thanks in part to the small size and robust nature of copper plates, which made them easy to transport.

In *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Rottenhammer’s smooth, enamel-like brushwork in the figures is clearly distinguishable from the manner of Brueghel, in which the individual brushstrokes are plainly visible.¹⁴ That the background was painted around the figures is apparent from the places where the brushstrokes overlap the contours. The ass displays Brueghel’s characteristically precise style, featuring short, separate brushstrokes.¹⁵ Where the ass’s head touches Joseph’s tunic, Brueghel retouched the garment, using a slightly different shade of yellow, on which he painted the animal’s mane wet-in-wet. Joseph’s right hand, which holds some grass up to the beast’s mouth, also appears on close inspection to have been added by Brueghel: this hand is not modeled as smoothly as Joseph’s left hand, which is the work of Rottenhammer. It is possible that Brueghel was also responsible for the decoration on the Holy Family’s saddlebag, which displays his characteristic detailing.

Rottenhammer’s contribution to *The Descent into Limbo* is also obvious: his smooth, polished figures are easily recognizable. The faces, too—with their high foreheads and pronounced eyelids—are characteristic of his style. If one compares, for example, Christ’s naked torso with that of Brueghel’s devil in the sky at the upper left, the differences are obvious: Rottenhammer’s brushstrokes flow together, whereas Brueghel used short, pastose brushstrokes to apply hatching within clearly delineated contours. Brueghel filled in the edges of Rottenhammer’s contributions: at the back left, for example, he added hands reaching out from the throng of people, and at the front left he added pointed wings to the devil kneeling in shadow. He supplied Christ’s head with an aureole and also added the cross and the banner of the Resurrection (a red cross on a white ground) to the Savior’s staff, which Rottenhammer had already indicated when laying in the composition. Brueghel enhanced the





FIGURE 72 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hans Rottenhammer, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1595. Oil on copper, 26 × 35.5 cm (10¼ × 14 in.). Private collection



group of devils in the left foreground by making their eyes and mouths spout fire. In the far right foreground, a striking detail was discovered in the figure of the naked woman being carried off by two of Brueghel's demons: infrared light revealed a reserve in her leg, which means that, when painting her, Rottenhammer must have taken into account the demon's arm that was to be painted by Brueghel.

Of the eight to ten known paintings Brueghel and Rottenhammer made together, no fewer than four depict the Rest on the Flight into Egypt;¹⁶ in each case Brueghel painted a different landscape behind the nearly identical group consisting of Joseph, the two angels, and Mary breastfeeding her child. With production-line efficiency, Rottenhammer supplied copper plates with this motif—evidently a popular theme—and Brueghel then individualized them by adding different landscapes. In a painting dated 1595, for example, he painted a vast mountainous landscape with the Roman temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli (fig. 72),¹⁷ whereas the present painting's forest clearing and pool of water offer the Holy Family a more secluded resting place. The date on the former work suggests that the Mauritshuis painting and the other versions of the same theme all date from about 1595.

Paul Bril, who had stayed behind in Rome, also collaborated with Rottenhammer on a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 73), but this work of 1600 shows the Holy Family in a different constellation and lacks the angels.¹⁸ Here, too, it appears that the figures were painted first: Rottenhammer's copper plate must have been sent from Venice to Rome, where Bril added a Flemish landscape with a windmill. This procedure is confirmed by the artists' biographer Carlo Ridolfi, who in 1648 reported that various people had commissioned collaborative works, having Rottenhammer in Venice paint the figures and then sending the pictures to Rome, where Bril supplied the landscapes.¹⁹

The Descent into Limbo of 1597 fits into a series of scenes of the Underworld, which Brueghel painted over the course of about ten years, starting in 1594 in Italy and continuing in Antwerp.²⁰ Against a fire-lit background with a broad river and high cliffs—dotted with ancient ruins and burning Catherine wheels—Brueghel indulged himself freely, depicting gruesome events and fanciful creatures derived from the tradition of Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516). Fuzzy monsters with cloven hoofs, a helmeted head on short legs, a horned marmot tending a brazier, a chopped-off head dangling from a tree, a winged, fire-spewing fish-mouth

—the eye can roam endlessly and never fail to discover new details.²¹ The subject of this story—Christ’s descent into limbo to liberate the souls of the Old Testament saints—naturally lent itself to elaborate depictions of the Underworld. The story, first recorded in the fifth century in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, was later retold in the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*.²² Since Byzantine times it had been a popular subject in art—its depictions include a print after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (fig. 74)²³—but after the sixteenth century the theme fell into disuse. Brueghel was probably inspired by his father’s design, which contains similar Boschian beasts as well as the motif of the broken doors of Limbo.

In the summer of 1595, Federico Borromeo moved from Rome to Milan, where he had been appointed cardinal. Brueghel followed his patron, staying for a year in Milan before returning to Antwerp with a letter of recommendation from Borromeo to the Bishop of Antwerp.²⁴ Rottenhammer returned to Venice, where he was active until 1606, after which he settled in Augsburg. The 1595 *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 72) could have been made in Rome, although it is also possible that Brueghel took this and other copper plates—already begun by Rottenhammer—to Milan and completed them there. At any rate, Brueghel did not finish *The Descent into Limbo* until 1597, after his return to Antwerp.

In a letter of July 8, 1605, Brueghel wrote to Borromeo: “Before long I shall be expecting the paintings from Your Highness, in order to decorate them with landscapes and other things befitting the figures’ stories.”²⁵ Apparently it was not unusual for Brueghel (or Paul Bril, for that matter) to adapt his work to that of a figure painter, as evidenced by these two paintings made with Rottenhammer. Although Brueghel did not mention the figure painter by name, he was almost certainly referring in this letter to Rottenhammer and not to Hendrick van Balen,²⁶ since the first figure painting by Van Balen that Brueghel “decorated” was one made for Cardinal Borromeo in 1607–08 (see fig. 82). Brueghel’s letter perhaps refers to the two Rottenhammer–Brueghel paintings that Borromeo owned—*Music-making Angels with Flowers* and *Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers*—in which case these would be the last collaborative works by these two masters.²⁷ These paintings are still to be found in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana in Milan, the museum Borromeo founded in 1618.²⁸ Borromeo describes the *Winter Landscape* in his 1625 treatise on art titled *Musaeum*, an introduction to



FIGURE 73 Paul Bril (1553/54–1626) and Hans Rottenhammer, *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 1600. Oil on copper, 21.9 × 30 cm (8⁵/₈ × 11³/₄ in.). Private collection

FIGURE 74 After Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Descent into Limbo*, ca. 1561. Engraving, 233 × 287 mm (9¹/₈ × 11¹/₄ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet

his art collection, in which he philosophizes on the extremes of nature depicted in that work.²⁹

It was the fruitful partnership with Hans Rottenhammer, begun in Rome, which seemingly inspired Brueghel to seek the cooperation of other figure painters after his return to Antwerp in September 1596. It was probably the differing styles of such masters as Rottenhammer, Hendrick de Clerck, Van Balen, and Rubens that represented for Brueghel the added value of artistic collaboration. AVS

NOTES

1. See, for example, Ertz 1979, pp. 470–91.
2. Brueghel's name is scratched into the center of the back of the copper plate in the capital letters characteristic of the painter; see also The Hague 1988–89, p. 121. However, the fact that we know of no other contemporary example of an artist's name scratched into a copper plate (letter from Isabel Horovitz to Luuk Rutgers van der Loeff, dated June 22, 1988, as well as a communication from Jørgen Wadum, November 2004) casts doubt on the authenticity of this "signature." Ertz (1979, pp. 204–6, fig. 248 [on p. 501]) wrongly rejected *The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* as the work of Jan Brueghel the Elder; in his opinion the painting, done in the style of Adam Elsheimer (1578–1610), could not have originated before 1600 and must therefore be the work of a follower. Later, Ertz (1984, no. 150) attributed it to Jan Brueghel the Younger, with figures by Hendrick van Balen. Following Ertz, Schlichtenmaier (1988, no. κ 3) also regarded it as a copy.
3. Both paintings were examined on January 4 and 5, 2005, in the restoration studio of the Mauritshuis by Sabrina Meloni and Ariane van Suchtelen, who viewed them under the stereomicroscope and made infrared images with the Artist camera (Art Innovation, Hengelo) mounted with a CCD progressive scan image sensor (1360 × 1036 pixels) and a Schneider Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 mm CCTV-lens in N12 with a 1000 nm long-wave pass filter. Ertz (1979, no. 32) also mistakenly rejected *The Descent into Limbo* as a work by Brueghel and Rottenhammer, attributing it instead to Jan Brueghel the Younger (Ertz 1984, no. 128). Ertz questioned the authenticity of the signature (in his opinion J BRUEGHEL 1597). However, during the restoration carried out in 1992 it became clear that the signature (without the letter J before the name) was indeed authentic. Schlichtenmaier again followed Ertz's rejection (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. κ 40); a copy of *The Descent into Limbo* in Aschaffenburg was regarded by Schlichtenmaier as an autograph work by Rottenhammer and Brueghel (ibid., no. G I 11). On the provenance of the two paintings from the English royal collection, see The Hague 1988–89, pp. 119–22.
4. On Rottenhammer, see Peltzer 1916, Schlichtenmaier 1988; and K. Andrews in *Dictionary of Art*, J. Turner, ed., vol. 27 (New York, 1996), pp. 227–29.
5. See Winner 1961 and Ertz 1979, p. 14.
6. On the Roman palaces in which Borromeo offered accommodation to artists and pilgrims alike, see Vaes 1926–27, pp. 171–72 (with a reference to Giuseppe Rivola, *Vita di Federico Borromeo* [Milan, 1656]). For the contact between these artists—Bril, Rottenhammer, and Brueghel—and Borromeo, see, among others, Bedoni 1983, pp. 38–49; and Jones 1993.
7. "Te Room ghecomen wesende/ begaf hem op platen te schilderen/ gelijck de wijze der Nederlanders is": Van Mander 1604, fol. 296r (Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, pp. 442–44; see also vol. 6, p. 70).
8. See E. Peters Bowron, "A Brief History of European Oil Painting on Copper, 1560–1775," in Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, pp. 9–30.
9. See Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, pp. 146–58, 266–69.
10. *Landscape with Saint Jerome*; see Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, p. 147, n. 3.
11. See Ertz 1979, nos. 1–32, the earliest of which (nos. 4–5) are dated 1594. Of this group, only nos. 17, 20, 21, and 23 are painted on panel. Most of Brueghel's Italian copper plates measure ca. 25 × 35 cm (about 10 × 14 in.).
12. Ertz 1979 includes 390 paintings, of which 183 are painted on copper, 175 on panel, and the rest on canvas, paper, or parchment. For a critical discussion of Ertz's selection, see Freedberg 1984. Klaus Ertz is preparing a revised edition of his 1979 monograph.
13. Regarding collaborations between Rottenhammer and Bril, see Pijl 1998 and Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, cat. no. 6; Schlichtenmaier (1988) does not mention any collaborative paintings by Rottenhammer and Bril. For the collaboration between Rottenhammer and Brueghel, see Schlichtenmaier 1988, pp. 32–34, 86–96. See also Ertz 1979, pp. 499–504, 552 (sources 588–97) and nos. 10, 15 (see Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 69), 19a, 27, 42, 121, and 124 (for the last two, see Jones 1993, nos. 1A 29b and 1A 100); Ertz 1984, no. 148; and Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 30. On relations between Bril and Brueghel, see Pijl 1996, pp. 74–76, 78, n. 41.
14. Compare, for example, Hans Rottenhammer's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in Schwerin (Staatliches Museum); see Pijl 1998, fig. 2.
15. The Artist camera (see note 3) revealed that the ass's muzzle was at first placed lower and more to the right.
16. In addition to the present painting, these include two works in private collections (one of which is reproduced here as fig. 72) and one in Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum). For the first two, see Antwerp 1998, cat. nos. 29 (Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. G I 6) and 30; for the Vienna painting, see Ertz 1979, no. 19a; and Schlichtenmaier 1988, no. G I 7. A copy of the last-mentioned painting is to be found in the St. Annen-Museum, Lübeck. For a copy after the painting in the Mauritshuis, see Ertz 1979, under no. 10; Ertz 1984, no. 151; and The Hague 1988–89, p. 122, fig. b (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 11, 1990, lot 38). See also Schlichtenmaier 1988, nos. G I 6–10, κ 2–11.

17. See Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 29. The depiction of the classical temple is based on Brueghel's drawing of 1593 (Paris, Fondation Custodia); see Ertz 1979, fig. 199.
18. See Phoenix–Kansas City–The Hague 1998–99, cat. no. 7.
19. See Pijl 1998, p. 660, n. 7. The close relations between Bril and Rottenhammer were documented in 1610; *ibid.*, n. 4.
20. See Ertz 1979, pp. 116–36, nos. 5, 9, 25–27, 32, 65–67, 80, 81, 99, and 107.
21. Brueghel sometimes used the same motifs in his Hell scenes; see Broos 1993, pp. 79–87.
22. Compare, among others, Réau 1955–59, vol. 2, pp. 531–37; see also Hall 1974, p. 100. Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (*Golden Legend*) (ca. 1280) was a popular volume treating the lives of the saints; the first Dutch translations appeared in 1505 and 1516.
23. Hollstein 1949–, vol. 3, p. 268, no. 115.
24. See Crivelli 1868, pp. 3–4.
25. “Fra tanto io staró aspettando gli quadri de VS Ill.mo per ornare de paiesi et altri cosi seconde l'istori delli figuri.”: Crivelli 1868, pp. 50–51. Between 1596 and 1625, Jan Brueghel wrote at least eighty letters to Federico Borromeo and to his agent, the Milanese nobleman Ercole Bianchi. These letters are kept in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; see *Cardinal Federico Borromeo, arciv. di Milano: Indice delle lettere a lui dirette, conservate all'Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1960). Brueghel's letters to Bianchi, which ended up in the Ambrosiana in the late seventeenth century, are bound together in one volume (MS. G280inf). Almost all these letters were published in Crivelli 1868. Brueghel's first letter to the cardinal is dated October 10, 1596; the next surviving letter dates from July 8, 1605, followed by extant letters from every year up to 1625.
26. See Crivelli 1868, p. 51. Rottenhammer is not actually mentioned by name in any of Brueghel's surviving letters.
27. See Ertz 1979, nos. 124 and 121; and Jones 1993, nos. 1A 100 and 1A 29b (as ca. 1605–06). The angels in the *Winter Landscape* were attributed by Schlichtenmaier (1988, pp. 34–35) to Hendrick van Balen, following Jost (1963, p. 92). Rossi and Rovetta (1997, pp. 124, 127–28) date both paintings in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana to 1594–95.
28. In the deed of gift (dated April 28, 1618) preserved in the Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, *Music-making Angels* is attributed to Rottenhammer and Brueghel; see Jones 1993, p. 352, no. 1A 100.
29. See also Bedoni 1983, p. 45; and Quint 1986.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick de Clerck

The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man

ca. 1597–98

Oil on copper, diam. 27.4 cm (10³/₄ in.)

Neuburg an der Donau, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen,
Staatsgalerie, inv. 1274

PROVENANCE

Galerie Düsseldorf, 1730 inventory, no. 88

LITERATURE

Terlinden 1952, p. 102; Laureyssens 1967,
p. 175; Renger and Schleif 2005, pp. 28–31

THIS PARADISE LANDSCAPE WITH THE FALL OF MAN—painted on a round copper plate—has traditionally been seen as a collaborative creation by the Brussels painters Denis van Alsloot (ca. 1570–ca. 1626) and Hendrick de Clerck, the latter being responsible for the figures.¹ As regards the rendering of the animals and the landscape, however, the picture is so closely related to several early paradise depictions by Jan Brueghel that there can be little doubt that these passages were painted by the Antwerp master.²

Of importance is this painting's similarity to one of Brueghel's earliest-known paintings, a *Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam*, signed and dated 1594, which he painted during his stay in Rome (fig. 75).³ On that copper plate, Brueghel combined a wooded landscape and numerous animals and birds with a stream full of fish and a view to a sea with whales in the left background. Because the work

was made without the help of a figure painter, the biblical story is depicted on a small scale and in the distance, not prominently in the foreground. The lion—seen from the side and turned toward the right—is identical in both paintings, and other animals, such as the cats and the rabbits, correspond very closely. The style of foliage in both these works also points to the same hand, as does the use of fine, nearly white brushstrokes for the detailing in the distant background, where several animals (including a llama) are depicted in silhouette. When Brueghel painted this paradise scene, he had apparently never seen a live guinea pig. The animal depicted here does not look particularly lifelike—its head seems simply stuck onto its body—and must have been based on knowledge gained from prints. An identical lion occurs in a *Paradise Landscape with the Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark*, signed and dated 1596,⁴ in





FIGURE 75 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam*, 1594. Oil on copper, 26.5 × 35 cm (10³/₈ × 13³/₄ in.). Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, inv. FC 274

which the same sheep—with its curiously close-set eyes—is recognizable in the right foreground. In the context of the present picture, this animal can perhaps be interpreted as a reference to the Lamb of God, whose sacrifice redeemed humankind from the original sin of Adam and Eve.

A striking detail to the left of Adam and Eve is the ass with antlers, which was originally depicted somewhat larger and in profile, as revealed by infrared imaging.⁵ It is not clear how Brueghel hit upon the idea of including this mythical beast, which neither he nor anyone else seems subsequently to have depicted. Its source was possibly the Greek

writer Herodotus, who in the third century before Christ wrote about the “horned ass” of Africa. His mention of this animal is in fact regarded as the source of the legend of the unicorn; a creature that appears, among other places, in the background of Brueghel’s *Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam* (fig. 75). In contrast to Brueghel’s two above-mentioned paradise scenes dating from 1594 and 1596, there are practically no birds in the Neuburg painting, which means that the wooded landscape makes a less crowded—and hence more natural—impression.⁶

In making this small painting, Jan Brueghel sought the collaboration of the Brussels court painter Hendrick de Clerck, who, like Brueghel, had worked for several years in Italy.⁷ De Clerck's somewhat mannered nudes are recognizable by their elegant poses, the smooth modeling of their bodies (the painted surface of which seems almost enameled), their elongated proportions and small heads, and such details as their long toes, of which the second is the longest.⁸ De Clerck was recorded in Rome in 1586–87, but by 1590 he was already back in Brussels, before Brueghel had even set foot in the holy city. After returning from Rome, De Clerck painted large altarpieces for churches in Brussels and its environs, as well as small cabinet pieces depicting mythological and biblical subjects, which were popular among high-placed collectors, including Emperor Rudolf II. In 1596 the emperor recommended De Clerck to Archduke Albert; indeed, De Clerck had already worked for Albert's predecessor, Ernst of Austria (Rudolf, Albert, and Ernst were brothers).

Given its strong similarities to Brueghel's earliest paradise scenes, this collaborative painting depicting Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden must have been painted early on, probably not long after Brueghel returned from Italy in the autumn of 1596. The few known collaborative paintings by Brueghel and De Clerck are generally dated 1606–08 and include an ambitious portrayal of *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Paris, Musée du Louvre) and an *Allegory of the Four Elements* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado).⁹ The present painting—which, as far as we know, is the first the masters made together—proves that they were acquainted as much as a decade before collaborating on the two above-mentioned paintings. Even so, they collaborated only occasionally, which probably had to do with the distance between their respective places of residence. Brueghel often worked with his fellow townsmen Hendrick van Balen and Rubens, whereas De Clerck regularly asked Denis van Alsloot, who also lived in Brussels, to execute the landscape settings for his figures.¹⁰

This small painting from Neuburg shows the same episode in the story of the Creation as *The Garden of Eden* by Rubens and Brueghel in the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 4), with Eve reaching up in similar fashion to take the apple offered to her by the serpent in the tree.¹¹ It is remarkable that at this early stage in his career Brueghel collaborated with another artist on a Fall of Man, some twenty years before he portrayed the subject with Rubens. AVS

NOTES

1. See N. Schleif in Renger and Schleif 2005, pp. 28–31. For a variant in a much larger scale of the painting discussed here, see Essen–Vienna 2003, cat. no. 104 (as by Denis van Alsloot and Hendrick de Clerck); the execution is too weak, however, to justify this attribution.
2. In Schleissheim 1905, p. 216, no. 1001, the painting is assigned to Hendrick de Clerck and the animals to Jan Brueghel the Elder. In Schleissheim 1914, p. 56, no. 4001, the background is attributed to Denis van Alsloot. Terlinden (1952, p. 102) likewise considers the work a collaborative effort of Hendrick de Clerck and Jan Brueghel the Elder.
3. Essen–Vienna 1997–98, cat. no. 36.
4. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Paradise Landscape with the Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (inscribed at lower left, BRUEGHEL 1596, oil on copper, 27 × 35.5 cm [10⁵/₈ × 14 in.]; private collection); see Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 35.
5. See Renger and Schleif 2005, p. 30.
6. On the importance of Brueghel and Paul Bril (1553/54–1626) for the development of the wooded landscape in Flemish art, see Pijl 2005, p. 560.
7. On Hendrick de Clerck, see W. Laureyssens in *Dictionary of Art*, J. Turner, ed., vol. 7 (New York, 1996), pp. 413–15.
8. Infrared imaging has shown an elaborate underdrawing of the figures; see Renger and Schleif 2005, p. 30.
9. Hendrick de Clerck and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (signed at lower left H.D.C., oil on copper, 54.5 × 76.5 cm [21¹/₂ × 30¹/₈ in.]; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. R.F. 1945-17); see Ertz 1979, no. 148, fig. 499; Hendrick de Clerck and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Allegory of the Four Elements* (oil on copper, 51 × 64 cm [20¹/₈ × 25¹/₄ in.]; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1401); see Ertz 1979, no. 145, fig. 438; Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick de Clerck, *Diana and Actaeon* (oil on panel, 51 × 89.5 cm [20¹/₈ × 35¹/₄ in.]; Prague, Narodni Galerie, inv. DO-4130); see Ertz 1979, no. 146, fig. 626. See also De Maeyer 1955, pp. 155–56, 437; Terlinden 1952, pp. 105–06; Laureyssens 1967, pp. 164–66; and Ertz 1979, p. 513 and figs. 627 and 628.
10. On the collaboration between Hendrick de Clerck and Denis van Alsloot (eight collaborative paintings dated between 1608 and 1612 are known), see Laureyssens 1967 and Brosens 1998. Compare, for example, *Paradise Landscape with the Four Elements*, by De Clerck and Van Alsloot in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (inv. 2890), which is signed by both painters; see Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 138–40.
11. Regarding this gesture, see Frans Pourbus's *Garden of Eden* of 1566 (Broos 1993, p. 93, fig. 5).

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen

Allegory of Fire

ca. 1608–10

Oil on panel, 53.8 × 94.3 cm (21¹/₈ × 37¹/₈ in.)

Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj, inv. 332

PROVENANCE

In the Galleria from 1819

LITERATURE

Tonci 1794, pp. 132–33; Sestieri 1942, pp. 238–39; Eemans 1964, p. 84; Torselli 1969, no. 24; Ertz 1979, pp. 364, 368, 369, 372, 599, no. 251; Safarik and Torselli 1982, p. 110; Bedoni 1983, pp. 116–17; Paris–Lyon 1991, p. 30; Genoa 1996, pp. 76, 78

THE SPLENDID VAULTED INTERIOR WITH A FORGE was one of Brueghel's most effective and versatile inventions. Inspired by his own experience of the ancient monuments of Rome and by the artistic responses of other Northern artists to the city's ruins, Brueghel created a magnificent stage set suitable for a variety of related allegorical themes.¹ In this work, the element of Fire is represented by Vulcan's forge. At left, the muscular god of fire and metalworking hammers out the shield of Aeneas on an anvil, observed by Venus, his wife and the mother of Aeneas, and Cupid. The dramatic setting portrays the "underground cavern and galleries leading from [Mount] Etna" on the island of Vulcania, site of Vulcan's forge as described in *The Aeneid* (8.370–453), where the terrible arms of war were made by the Cyclopes and where "bronze and pure gold-ore flowed along the conduits, and wounding steel melted in a

great furnace," and "the cavern rumbled under the anvils planted on its floor."²

Allegories of the elements were part of Flemish pictorial tradition, popularized in the late sixteenth century through print series.³ Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen transformed the symbolic vocabulary of these scenes into delightfully lush and abundant landscapes. Brueghel first undertook allegorical subjects in Antwerp during the first years of the seventeenth century, painting the atmospheric and primal *Allegory of Fire* (fig. 76) for Cardinal Borromeo in 1608, one of his first treatments of the vaulted interior. Perhaps as a result of the success of this panel, he created a series of elements, painting three additional panels for Borromeo, with allegorical figures by Van Balen, completing the group in 1621.⁴





FIGURE 76 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Allegory of Fire*, 1608. Oil on panel, 46 × 66 cm (18 $\frac{1}{8}$ × 26 in.). Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 68

The panel in the Doria Pamphilj collection is related to another treatment of the element of Fire, which employs a more insistent, three-part, vaulted interior with a lower viewpoint and smaller-scale still life. Brueghel's first version of the composition, *Allegory of Fire* (1606; Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) may have been conceived as an independent panel, the subject of which was Venus and Cupid in the Smithy of Vulcan.⁵ Brueghel and Van Balen subsequently executed the elements of Earth, Air, and Water to form a series of the Four Elements.⁶ Virtually identical to the Lyon panel, the Doria Pamphilj *Allegory of Fire* was probably completed slightly later, about 1608–10, and was also part of a series of Elements.⁷ In the Doria Pamphilj *Allegory of Fire*, the top, right, and lower edges of the composition have

been extended, and small implements have been added to the foreground.

The elegantly disposed architecture of the *Allegory of Fire*, overgrown in places with foliage, recalls Brueghel's drawings of the immense interiors of the Roman Colosseum, with its flickering dark corners and textured masonry (see fig. 7). A detailed drawing of an antique ruin on the Palatine Hill (fig. 77) demonstrates the powerful impact these architectural remains had on Northern artists and has often been seen as the direct source for the Rome and Lyon panels and their variants.⁸ However, a recently discovered drawing (fig. 78) reveals that Brueghel based his overgrown ruined setting, and the subject of Venus in the Forge of Vulcan within it, on a composition by Paolo Fiammingo (1540–

1596), an Antwerp painter active in Venice.⁹ That he may have known the composition only in the form of a print is indicated by the fact that the angle of the main tunnel and the bay with the forge as well as the placement of the stepped display of objects and the large wooden waterwheel opposite are reversed in Brueghel's paintings. Notably, Brueghel included a number of the small elements that refer to the theme of metalworking, including the precious objects displayed on shelves and the mysterious chandelier. Fiammingo was adept at devising detailed and clever mythological landscapes for his patrons, who included the German banker Hans Fugger.¹⁰ It is not surprising that Brueghel, aware of other Venetian innovations, such as the paradise landscapes of Jacopo Bassano (ca. 1510–1592), was also interested in the lively and detailed compositions of his older colleague.

While Fiammingo's ideas for the Forge of Vulcan stimulated Brueghel, the imposing distant landscape and particularly the dazzling array of objects strewn across the floor of the cavern in the *Allegory of Fire* were the product of his own lively imagination. In its prolific detail, the vaulted interior was ingeniously and even conscientiously conceived. An entire industry takes place around the main figures. On the left, several men are seen working around a second anvil, while another tends the forge. Still farther into the interior, a worker chases a cannon with a hammer and chisel and a horse moves a large windlass, turning a drill for boring cannon. In the right foreground, two men work molten metal into a sheet beside a water-powered battering mill, while two others polish finished objects on small buffing wheels.¹¹ Details such as the little footbridge over the stream and the rickety wood bridge at the right invite the viewer to meander through the forge and into the formidable landscape. In the foreground, the still-life items represent the diversity of fire's products. Precious gold and pewter items cascade over a rough-hewn sideboard. Spread across the foreground, appropriately adjacent to Vulcan, are pieces of steel armor, elegant damascened armor, a crossbow, sword, and rapier, as well as the copper pots used in the armorer's craft.¹² In front of the foreground trough, bench shears sit upright in a vice, while Vulcan's anvil, and the anvil used by the Cyclopes in the background, sit correctly on a wood support.¹³ In the corridor behind the Cyclopes stand the main products of the foundry and the source material for ordnance: a cannon and a bell.

Brueghel was immensely proud of his inventive allegories of Fire. In a letter to Ercole Bianchi, agent for his patron



FIGURE 77 Unknown Northern artist, *View of Antique Ruins*, ca. 1595. Pen and ink, 19.3 × 27.1 cm (7⁵/₈ × 10⁵/₈ in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. 1989–187

FIGURE 78 Paolo Fiammingo (1540–1596), *The Forge of Vulcan*, ca. 1575. Pen and brown ink over black chalk, 14.6 × 20.8 cm (5³/₄ × 8¹/₄ in.). Location unknown



FIGURE 79 Studio of Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Venus in the Smithy of Vulcan*, ca. 1608. Pen and ink with wash, 21.4 × 36 cm (8³/₈ × 14¹/₈ in.). Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. C 3775

Cardinal Borromeo, the artist stated (referring, perhaps, to the 1608 *Allegory of Fire*) that he had a painting of Fire of “various devilish invention and painstakingly made.” A few months later, he wrote to Cardinal Borromeo, noting that in a few days he will send a painting of the element of Fire in which “one sees every sort of arms, gold silver metals and fire, also alchemy and distillation, everything done from nature with the greatest diligence.”¹⁴

Some of the relationships between still-life elements in the *Allegory of Fire* may have been planned in advance. A sheet of birds apparently served as a starting point for the arrangement of birds in the *Allegory of Air* in the Lyon and Doria Pamphilj series.¹⁵ Though none are known today, when composing the still-life elements Brueghel may have relied on drawn studies of certain pieces of armor, tools, and other objects that would have been similar to an existing sheet of hunting gear (see fig. 64).¹⁶ Many pieces of armor and other objects recur in other compositions, sometimes in similar arrangements, but more often rearranged (see cat. no. 16). The sideboard, bench, and stool were part of his initial campaign on *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) but were later obscured by Rubens. Brueghel delighted in meticulously described surfaces and in contrasting volumes, creating a visual counterpoint of protrusions and recesses in the central pile of accouterments.

Hendrick van Balen, Brueghel’s primary collaborator in these years, painted the main trio of figures in this work

and the female personifications in the rest of the series.¹⁷ Van Balen’s elegant, polished forms contrast with the minute, textured brushwork of his colleague and served to set the gods subtly apart from other figures in the interior. A drawing often considered a preparatory sketch for the Doria Pamphilj allegory (fig. 79) is neither the work of Jan Brueghel the Elder nor Hendrick van Balen and may simply record the relationship of the figures to the forge interior and the primary features in it.¹⁸ ATW

NOTES

1. See pp. 6–9 in this volume.
2. Virgil, *The Aeneid*, W. F. Jackson, trans. (Harmondsworth, 1956), pp. 213–14.
3. For example, Frans Floris (1516–1570), *The Elements*, ca. 1568; see Van de Velde 1975, vol. 1, pp. 422–23, no. P103–106.
4. For the Milan *Allegory of Fire*, signed and dated BRUEGHEL 1608, see Ertz 1979, pp. 374, 589, no. 190; Jones 1993, pp. 79–80, 86, 237 (noting that *Fire* may have been returned to Brueghel for changes); and Rossi and Rovetta 1997, p. 138. The *Element of Water* (Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 65) was the second piece in the series to be completed and was sent to the cardinal in the spring of 1614; see Ertz 1979, pp. 374, 607, no. 302. The *Element of Earth* (ca. 1618) and the *Element of Air* (dated 1621) are today in the collection of the Musée du Louvre, inv. 1092 and 1921; see Ertz 1979, pp. 614–15, no. 342, and p. 620, no. 372, respectively. Borromeo already owned the Brueghel–Van Balen

- collaboration, *Ceres with the Four Elements* (Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 74–16), which may be the “Ceres” mentioned by the artist in a letter to Borromeo dated July 8, 1605; see Crivelli 1868, p. 50. See Ertz 1979, pp. 363–64 (not an autograph work by Jan Brueghel the Elder); and Bedoni 1983, p. 108. For Brueghel’s treatment of the Four Elements theme and its relationship to the paradise landscape, see Kolb 2005, pp. 52–59.
5. Signed and dated on the side of the table at left: BRVEGHEL / 1606, oil on panel, 46 × 83 cm (18¹/₈ × 32⁵/₈ in.); Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. 75–78.
 6. *Air* is signed and dated BRVEGHEL 1611; *Earth* is signed and dated BRVEGHEL 1610. The series appears in the 1659 inventory of the collection of Archduke Wilhelm Leopold; see Buijs in Paris–Lyon 1991, pp. 26–31; and Werche 2004, pp. 191–93, nos. A 136–A 139.
 7. The other three paintings in the series are all in Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj: *Allegory of Earth*, oil on panel, 54.2 × 94.5 cm (21³/₈ × 37¹/₄ in.), inv. 322; *Allegory of Water*, oil on panel, 54 × 94 cm (21¹/₄ × 37 in.), inv. 348; and *Allegory of Air*, oil on panel, 50.3 × 80.1 cm (19³/₄ × 31¹/₂ in.), inv. 328. See Ertz 1979, p. 599, nos. 248–50; and Safarik and Torselli 1982, p. 22. Several versions of the Lyon–Rome *Allegory of Fire* are known; see Paris 1977–78, p. 50; Ertz 1979, nos. 252, 254; and Werche 2004, p. 192. For later versions by Jan Brueghel the Younger and his studio, see Vaes 1926–27, p. 184; and Paris 1977–78, p. 50.
 8. Formerly Vosmaer Collection, Leiden. Gerson considered the drawing to be the work of Jan Brueghel the Elder (Gerson and Ter Kuile 1960, p. 59), an attribution doubted by Winner (1961, pp. 194–95). Ertz (1979, p. 373, fig. 444) tentatively attributed the drawing to Paul Bril. The drawing does not appear in Ruby 1999. See also Buijs in Paris–Lyon 1991, p. 30, n. 17.
 9. Sold Sotheby’s, Amsterdam, November 4, 2003, lot 7.
 10. For Fiammingo’s drawings, see Meijer 1975 and Meijer 1983; for his commissions for the Fugger, see Fučíková and Konečný 1983.
 11. Ffoulkes 1911, pp. 42, 47.
 12. The apothecary bottles in the Lyon Fire are labeled: TINTVRA CORALORV; ARAM POTABI; AQVA PARADISI; see Buijs in Paris–Lyon 1991, p. 26. For discussion of the Milanese-style parade armor, see cat. no. 2.
 13. The wood support increases the spring of the anvil; see Webber 1972, p. 53.
 14. “. . . che ha in mane il quadro del fuoco qual sera de uario invencion diabolica peina de lauor.” (letter of June 13, 1608, to Bianchi): Crivelli 1868, p. 104; and Bedoni 1983, p. 115; “In pochi giorni mandera il quadro Elementa del fuoco, en quael e de vedere oigni sorte d armeria, metali oro argento e fuoco, ancho l’alchimio et distilattioni, tutti fatti del natural con grandismo diligenc.” (letter of September 26, 1608, to Cardinal Borromeo): see Crivelli 1868, p. 112; and Bedoni 1983, p. 116.
 15. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Bird Study for an Allegory of Air* (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, inv. KK 79). Winner (1972, p. 159, fig. 38) believed this sheet was a preparatory sketch for the Doria Pamphilj *Allegory of Air*.
 16. See Winner 1972, pp. 146–48.
 17. Werche (2004, pp. 193–94, nos. A 140–A 143) dates the Doria Pamphilj panels ca. 1606–ca. 1611 on the basis of Van Balen’s figure style.
 18. The sheet does not correspond to any of the known versions of this composition. Gerson (Gerson and Ter Kuile 1960, p. 59) considered the Dresden sheet a preparatory drawing for the Doria Pamphilj panel, but the attribution of the sheet to Jan Brueghel the Elder was questioned by Winner (1961, p. 231) and Ertz (1979, p. 372).

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen

The Prophecy of Isaiah

ca. 1609

Oil on copper, 40.2 × 50.4 cm (15⁷/₈ × 19⁷/₈ in.)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 1999

INSCRIPTIONS

On the tablet held by Isaiah, *IUDICABIT / GENTES, ET AR: / GVET POPVLOS MVLTO; / ET / CONFLABVNT / GLADIOS SVOS / IN VOMERES, / ET / LANCEAS / SVAS / IN FALCES. / ISAIAS. II*; beneath the putto, *PAX*; at far right, beneath seated female, *FOELICITAS*; on the cross, *PIETAS*; on the cornucopia, *ABUNDANTIA*

PROVENANCE

Prince Elector Maximilian I, Kammergalerie, Residenz, Munich, by 1628 (no. 16); in the Electoral inventories of 1641/42, 1775, 1885, and 1905 (Schloß Schleißheim)

LITERATURE

Schleißheim inventory of 1775, no. 797 (Brueghel with Van Balen); Rittershausen 1788, p. 305; Müller Hofstede 1962, p. 119; Jost 1963, pp. 119–20; Baumstark 1974, pp. 136–37, 146–47; Ertz 1979, p. 383, 591, no. 202; Diemer 1980, pp. 164 (no. 16), 233; Müller Hofstede 1984, p. 246; Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 78–79; Werche 2004, vol. 1, pp. 83–85, 140, no. A 14; vol. 2, p. 324

EXHIBITIONS

Munich 1980, vol. 2, cat. no. 264; Munich 1993, cat. no. 32

THE SPACIOUS, ARCHED INTERIOR OF A RUIN PROVIDES the setting for a complex and unusual allegory of Peace that unites biblical prophesy with the classical accouterments of concord. Standing amid a profusion of metal items produced in the smithy, including armor, copper vessels, and swords, the Old Testament prophet Isaiah holds a tablet bearing the Latin text of his prophesy of peace: “and he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.”¹ In the forge behind him, muscular workmen refashion swords to more peaceable purposes on an anvil. With his left hand, Isaiah gestures toward the discarded implements of war that lie before him, emphasizing their disuse. A putto at his feet, identified by an inscription as *Pax* (Peace),

holds an olive branch in his left hand and an ornate helmet over the flames of a small fire—a motif from antiquity signifying the end of war.² At the right, three female figures personify the rewards that accompany freedom from strife: Felicity, seated and holding Mercury’s caduceus, the traditional attribute of peace, embodies divine happiness. Behind her stand Piety in blue, holding a radiant cross, and Abundance, who embraces a brimming cornucopia and holds a sheaf of wheat.³ A solitary artichoke, an additional symbol of fruitfulness, visually bridges the space between the two groups of figures, while a spaniel and a basket of flowers signify faithfulness and the flourishing of concord. The allusive visual language almost certainly refers to the Twelve Years’ Truce signed in Antwerp on April 9, 1609, bringing hostilities between the Northern Netherlands and Spain to a halt.⁴ The combination of the Old Testament subject with





symbols and personifications drawn from classical and emblematic sources reflects not only the intertwined facets of Counter-Reformation politics in the Southern Netherlands but also the erudite clientele for such cabinet pictures in Antwerp.⁵ As the only overtly political subject in Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen's joint oeuvre, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* offers a refined counterpoint to large-scale treatments of the theme of Peace.

This beautiful work on copper is one of Brueghel's most imposing conceptions of the familiar arched interior with its long, receding corridor. The ruins served as the setting for the subject of Venus in the Forge of Vulcan, first painted in 1606 and executed with Van Balen,⁶ and several variations from 1608, along with Brueghel's *Allegory of Fire* (see fig. 76). The structure represents an amalgam of Brueghel's own observations while in Rome and the fantastic compositions of other artists, particularly those of Paolo Fiammingo (1540–1596), who also included the incongruent chandelier motif (see fig. 78).⁷ Here, the perspective is from a somewhat lower vantage point, and the distant reaches of the corridor are more luminous than in previous works by Brueghel and Van Balen, while the foreground has been closed in on the right side to form an alcove similar to the one seen in Rubens and Brueghel's *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2). A number of the still-life objects hanging on the wall nearby—including the lamp, the quiver, and the bridle—appear in both works. As in his other forge interiors, Brueghel littered the foreground with an astonishing array of metal items produced by the busy forge in the background, as well as wonderfully detailed weapons and their parts, such as the crossbows on the wall, and their winders and the musket with its ornate crutch just visible behind Felicity. Many of the implements, such as the pincers, hammers, and shears, reflect the armorer and metalworker's craft. In the left foreground are the tools and products of the goldsmith and the mint master. This highly successful and evidently popular setting was Brueghel's own invention, and thus places the origins of this work in his studio about 1608.⁸

As in his collaborations with Van Balen on similar themes, Brueghel painted the men around the forge and in the passage. The prophet Isaiah, as well as Felicity and her companions, are characteristic of Van Balen's style about 1608, with its more elongated figures, an approach that would change with the influence of Rubens, who arrived in Antwerp later that year.⁹ Isaiah resembles the tall, bearded

saint in Van Balen's *Saint John the Baptist Preaching* from 1608 and reverses his pose.¹⁰

While in other compositions of the forge by these two artists, such as the *Allegory of Fire* (cat. no. 17), Van Balen's figural contribution was a relatively straightforward addition to an elaborate landscape, the Munich painting was a somewhat more complex matter. There is a strong possibility that the subject was altered at a late stage. Close inspection reveals that drapery was added to all of the main figures. Brown legs are visible through the yellow hem of Isaiah's robe, and there appear to be objects beneath or behind him, while creamy skin is visible through the garments of Felicity and Abundance. A pentimento in the proper right hand of Felicity indicates that it was once open in an outward pointing gesture. Significantly, the sensuous seated figure of Felicity resembles that of Venus in the 1608 *Feast of the Gods* (fig. 80).¹¹ *The Prophecy of Isaiah* may have initially been conceived and executed as a Venus in the Smithy of Vulcan or perhaps as Venus Preparing Mars for War (see, for example, fig. 81), subjects Brueghel and Van Balen painted in collaboration and later modified either at the behest of a patron or to appeal to a specialized market for subjects related to the Twelve Years' Truce.¹² The additional drapery would have been required by the transition of the theme from a sensuous scene of Mars and Venus to that of elevated political discourse.

The unusual inclusion of Isaiah may also have been specified by a patron. The subject of the prophet Isaiah, while unusual, is compatible with the ancient interior. Moreover, an earlier episode in the life of the prophet, not directly alluded to in this scene, when the seraph pressed a glowing ember to his lips, links him with the element of fire.¹³ Although the additions of draperies and attributes need not have been made in early 1609 (other treatments of the theme of peace were executed by other painters within a few years of the signing of the truce), their careful integration into the scene suggests that they were made by Van Balen himself.¹⁴ In contrast to *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, with its sensuous and playful treatment of the themes of Peace and the sense of Touch, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* has a didactic quality, perhaps reflecting a concern to emphasize the revised content over the captivating setting.¹⁵

As Renger has recently suggested, the appearance of *The Prophecy of Isaiah* in the collection of the Wittelsbach prince, later elector of Bavaria, Maximilian I (1573–1651), may offer some insight into its early history and significance.¹⁶ Deeply religious and morally rigorous, Maximilian organized the



FIGURE 80 Hendrick van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Feast of the Gods*, 1608. Oil on copper, 34.5 × 46.5 cm (13⁵/₈ × 18¹/₄ in.). Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst, inv. Sp. 225

FIGURE 81 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *Venus Preparing Mars for War*, 160(8?). Oil on copper, 51 × 77 cm (20¹/₈ × 30¹/₄ in.). Formerly Königs Wusterhausen, Schloß; now at St. Petersburg, State Heritage Museum ©Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg

Catholic League of German states and was almost constantly engaged in war during his reign.¹⁷ He was also an ardent collector who expanded the princely collection and established the Kammergalerie in 1611.¹⁸ *The Prophecy of Isaiah* accompanied another Old Testament scene in the gallery, Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Jonah Emerging from the Whale* of about 1595–96 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).¹⁹ ATW

NOTES

1. Isaiah 2:4.
2. For a discussion of the motif of Peace burning arms and its sources, see Baumstark 1974, pp. 131–37. The motif of the burning of arms, though relatively uncommon in Antwerp prior to Rubens's return in 1608, was known to sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Antwerp artists who were familiar with Italian Renaissance examples, notably the fresco *Peace Burning Arms* by Francesco Salviati (1510–1563) in the Sala dell' Udienza, Palazzo Vecchio, Florence; see Woollett 2004, pp. 45–46.
3. In Cesare Ripa's emblem representing Peace (*Iconologia*, 1603, pp. 375–78), the elements of the earth's fruitfulness in times of peace, the olive and grain, and the symbol of abundance, the cornucopia, are united with the personification of Peace, a young woman holding a torch to a pile of arms.
4. Jost (1963, p. 119) first suggested a connection with the Twelve Years' Truce. See also Renger and Denk 2002, p. 79. The combination of the subject of Vulcan beating swords into ploughshares with Pax and Justitia occurred in the decorations for the triumphal entry of Albert and Isabella into Leuven in November 1599, when similar hopes for peace and prosperity were expressed by the city's inhabitants upon the accession of the couple to the governorship of the Southern Netherlands. See Werner Thomas, "Andromeda Unbound: The Reign of Albert and Isabella in the Southern Netherlands, 1598–1621," in Brussels 1998–99, p. 2.
5. The theme of Peace remained central for Antwerp artists in the decades following the Truce, particularly after its failure and the resumption of hostilities in 1621 and in light of Antwerp's own labored economic recovery. Rubens's inventive allegories abounded with both sacred and secular elements. Almost three decades later, the personifications of fruitfulness (Abundantia), Felicity, and Piety found in *The Prophecy of Isaiah* recur in Rubens's design for the Temple of Janus in his painting of the triumphal entry of Archduke Ferdinand into Antwerp in April 1635 (on the right side of the arch devoted to Peace and its attributes); see Martin 1972, pp. 164–66, 169–73.
6. *Allegory of Fire* (1606, oil on panel, 46 × 83 cm [18¹/₈ × 32⁵/₈ in.]; Lyon, Musée des Beaux Arts, inv. 75); see Werche 2004, pp. 191–93, no. A 136.
7. See pp. 8, 142–43 and fig. 76 in this volume.
8. Müller Hofstede (1984, p. 246) disagreed with Ertz (1979, p. 383) and argued that Van Balen devised the subject.
9. The main figures were identified as the work of Van Balen as early as 1775 and were later attributed to Frans Francken the Younger and Hans Rottenhammer, before their reattribution to Van Balen in 1962 by Müller Hofstede (1962, p. 119). See Renger and Denk 2002, p. 79, and Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 140, for references to previous attributions in gallery catalogues between 1775 and 1963.
10. Location unknown. See Jost 1963, p. 117; and Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 141, no. A 17; vol. 2, p. 326.
11. See Jost 1963, p. 101; Ertz 1979, pp. 409, 586, no. 170; and Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 183, no. A 117; vol. 2, p. 401.
12. For *Venus Preparing Mars for War*, see Ertz 1979, pp. 383, 589–90, no. 191, fig. 455; Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 200, no. A 164; vol. 2, p. 436; and Bartoschek and Vogtherr 2004, pp. 102–3.
13. Isaiah 6:607.
14. Given its prophetic subject, *The Prophecy of Isaiah* could also have been executed in the months leading up to the signing of the Truce. See cat. no. 2 for a discussion of other allegories of Peace.
15. It is noteworthy that all of the main figures are identified by inscriptions, despite their clear attributes.
16. Renger and Denk 2002, p. 79. The painting appears in the 1627/30 inventory of paintings in the Kammergalerie as "ein Kupfer 1 Schuech 5 Zoll hoch, und 1 Schuech 9¼ Zoll breit, darauff Pax, pietas und abundantia, in der mitten stehet der Prophet Isaia mit volgender inscription. Iudicabit gentes et arguet populos multos, et conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres, et lanceas suas in falces. Isaiae 11. Wie dann Krüeges und andere Waffen, vor und umb ihne herumblingen, alles gar mühesam, und vleissig von obgedachtem Prügel gemalt, mit No. 16": Diemer 1980, p. 164. Werche (2004, vol. 1, p. 14) notes that the painting must date after 1609 because it does not appear in the inventory of that year.
17. Pius Wittmann, "Maximilian I," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 10 (1911), pp. 75–77.
18. Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 1886; see Diemer 1980, pp. 129–174. Also discussed in Werche 2004, vol. 1, pp. 140, 262. Maximilian commissioned four hunt scenes from Rubens, including *The Hippopotamus Hunt* (ca. 1616; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 4797), for his palace at Schleißheim; see Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 448–51.
19. Numbered 16 and 14 respectively in the 1629/30 inventory of the Kammergalerie, the two paintings may have hung in proximity; see Diemer 1980, p. 164.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen

Fruit Garland with Angels

ca. 1615

Oil on panel, 25.3 × 21.2 cm (10 × 8³/₈ in.)

Private collection

PROVENANCE

Brod Gallery, London, 1979

LITERATURE

Ertz 1979, pp. 318–19, no. 352a; Freedberg
1984, p. 577; Werche 2004, p. 155, no. A 56

EXHIBITION

Amsterdam–Braunschweig 1983, cat. no. 23

THE MADONNA AND CHILD (PERHAPS IN THE COMPANY OF Joseph or Saint John the Baptist) are missing in this *Fruit Garland with Angels* by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen. A rectangle with an arched upper edge has been sawn out of the panel, and it was this very piece that must have contained a little painting, most likely by Van Balen. The garland of fruit and vegetables is suspended from ribbons held up by angels emerging from the clouds. Two other angels are poised to crown the now-missing Madonna with a wreath of flowers. Yet another two sit in the garland at the bottom, turned toward each other: one angel holds a bunch of grapes—possibly referring in this context to the Eucharist—while the other strokes a parrot.

About 1605–06 Brueghel painted his first flower pieces, depicting numerous species and varieties of flowers—often exotic ones—in full bloom.¹ Two years later he executed his

first flower garland around a small painting on a silver plate of the Virgin and Child by Hendrick van Balen (fig. 82).² By 1607 that composite work was already in the possession of Cardinal Federico Borromeo in Milan,³ but Brueghel's letters to Borromeo and his agent, Ercole Bianchi, reveal that the cardinal sent the picture back to Antwerp at the beginning of 1608 to have Brueghel paint a small landscape behind the Madonna.⁴ The foundation charter of Borromeo's Pinacoteca Ambrosiana of 1618 records that the work had "a frame and cover illuminated with gold,"⁵ offering protection worthy of a precious jewel. Unfortunately, the cover has been lost. Brueghel informed his Maecenas of the expenses he had incurred: "I spent a few *scudi* on the golden frame and the painting of the Madonna."⁶ Brueghel praised his own flower garland as "exceedingly precise" and rendered "completely from nature."⁷ The Milan work is the only surviving, intact





FIGURE 82 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *Madonna and Child in a Flower Garland*, 1607–08. Oil on panel and silver, 27 × 22 cm (10⁵/₈ × 8⁵/₈ in.). Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 71

Einsatzbild by Brueghel, who from then on painted garlands mainly around seemingly separate paintings by such artists as Van Balen and Rubens (see cat. no. 12 and figs. 1, 69, and 84). The work discussed here—Brueghel’s smallest fruit garland—is the only other example of a garland made to surround a picture on a separate support.

The restoration of Catholicism in Antwerp in 1585 (still referred to in the North as the “Fall of Antwerp”) did much to revive the worship of the Virgin Mary.⁸ New brotherhoods were dedicated to her, and there was renewed interest in miraculous images. This reaction was provoked in part by the fact that it was precisely such images of the Blessed Virgin that had fallen victim to the iconoclastic furies that raged periodically in the Netherlands between 1566 and the

early 1580s. The archdukes Albert and Isabella, demonstrating their stout defense of the Catholic faith, had a basilica built in Scherpenhevel—a place of pilgrimage in the Southern Netherlands—to house a statue of the Virgin said to possess miraculous powers.

In Italy there was a long tradition of *Einsatzbilder*: holy or miraculous images inserted into works of art specially designed to enclose them. The best-known example is undoubtedly the altarpiece Rubens made in 1606–08 for the Madonna della Vallicella in the Chiesa Nuova in Rome:⁹ the final version of the altarpiece features the miraculous image of the Virgin and Child (originally painted on the wall of a house), borne by angels forming a garland (compare cat. no. 29). The holy image—which was covered by another depiction of the Virgin and Child, this one painted by Rubens—was shown only on high feast days.

While Rubens was working in Rome on his largest Italian commission, Brueghel painted his first flower garland around Van Balen’s small painting of the Virgin and Child, probably in close consultation with his patron, Cardinal Borromeo, and perhaps with Rubens’s work on the Madonna della Vallicella in his mind’s eye, for it is not only the depiction of Mary as a half-length figure that recalls miraculous images of the Virgin but also Brueghel’s splendid flower garland, which strengthened the impression—as surely as did the costly golden cover that once protected the whole—that the image was holy. The effect of a special painting within a painting, whose significance is reinforced by the garland surrounding it, continues to crop up in Brueghel’s later garlands and also in, for instance, the work of Daniel Seghers (1590–1661).

From about 1615 Brueghel expanded his repertoire to include garlands of fruit, vegetables, and sheaves of grain (see fig. 83), at times combined with flowers (see cat. no. 12 and fig. 86). When used to frame a representation of the Virgin and Child, fruit symbolizes the fertility of the mother of God and the abundance of God’s creation (see fig. 85). These garlands, too, were painted with the utmost exactness, as evidenced by the panel displayed here, in which sundry varieties of fruit and vegetables are rendered with painstaking precision. Remarkably, not one of the fruits or plants appearing in this painting is to be found in other garlands by Brueghel—as, for example, parts of the Mauritshuis fruit garland appear identically in the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* from the Museo del Prado

(compare cat. nos. 21 and 12). After all, Brueghel generally used his stock motifs—with only small adjustments and variations—again and again. This is not the case here, however, which suggests that this fruit garland is one of Brueghel's earliest, and that while executing it he was not yet able to draw upon an extensive store of preparatory studies.

The angels in this garland recall Rubens's altarpiece for the Madonna della Vallicella—in which the holy image is supported by angels fashioned into a garland—as well as the large flower garland surrounding the Virgin and Child in Rubens and Brueghel's *Madonna in a Flower Garland* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich (see fig. 1), which can be regarded as an adaptation of the Italian altarpiece. The angels—perhaps somewhat sentimental in our eyes—were especially popular in the art of the Counter-Reformation, because they were considered capable of inducing in the viewer a state of pious rapture.¹⁰ AvS

NOTES

1. Regarding Brueghel's earliest flower piece of 1605, see Segal 1982. For Brueghel's flower paintings, see Ertz 1979, pp. 252–56.
2. See Falchetti 1969, pp. 132–33; Ertz 1979, no. 187; Freedberg 1981, pp. 116–17; Jones 1993, pp. 84–87, p. 233, no. 26; and Werche 2004, no. A 33.
3. The painting is mentioned in the codicil to Borromeo's will, which is dated September 15, 1607; see Jones 1993, appendix 1, p. 341.
4. The painting is mentioned in letters written by Brueghel to Borromeo and Bianchi on February 1 (two letters), June 13, and August 1, 1608; see Crivelli 1868, pp. 92, 99, 104, 107. Brueghel wrote to Borromeo on February 1, "I shall not fail to do my best as regards the small painting with the compartments of flowers, in which I shall accommodate a Madonna with a landscape, according to the instructions of Your Illustrious Highness [alternatively: in which I shall insert, according to the instructions of Your Illustrious Highness, a Madonna with a landscape]. I hope and believe that, if any work of mine has ever pleased Your Illustrious Highness, this will surpass them all." (Non mancho d industriarme intorno al quadretto del compertemento delli fiori: nel quale secondo l'ordine d vs ILL.ma accomederò dentro una Madonna con paesetto. Spero et credo che, si alcuna opera mia habbia piaceuto a vs Ill.m dato gusto, che questa habbia da supportare tutte.): Crivelli 1868, p. 92. This passage is ambiguous, but since Crivelli (1868, p. 100), it has been taken to mean that it was Borromeo's idea to paint a garland of flowers around Van Balen's painting. However, the painting was already in the cardinal's possession in 1607, as emerges from the codicil to his will, where it is listed as "Flower Garland *with* Madonna" (see note 3 above). It seems likely,

therefore, that Brueghel took the initiative to supply Van Balen's painting—which he himself had purchased (see note 6 below)—with a garland. In the letter quoted above, Brueghel seems simply to be saying that he is following Borromeo's instructions and adding a landscape to the existing picture.

5. "con cornice e con coperta miniata d'oro": Jones 1993, appendix 11, p. 353.
6. "io ho spesa alle cornici orefri et a le pittura delle Madona alcuni scudi" (letter from Brueghel to Bianchi of June 13, 1608): Crivelli 1868, p. 104. In his letter to Bianchi of August 1 of that same year, Brueghel wrote that he had paid four *filipi* for the frame and twelve *filipi* for the small painting of the Madonna, while the cardinal had given him 300 *filipi* for the whole. It is not entirely clear what he meant when he wrote that he was considering the money "as a small present, but not as payment" (per una gentilezza ma non per pagamento): Crivelli 1868, p. 107.
7. "fastidioso" and "tutto del naturel" (letter from Brueghel to Bianchi of August 1, 1608): Crivelli 1868, p. 107.
8. What follows is based largely on Freedberg 1981.
9. Regarding this commission, see cat. no. 29.
10. See Freedberg 1981, pp. 133–34.

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen

Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons

ca. 1617

Oil on panel, 104 × 68.9 cm (41 × 27¹/₈ in.)

Antwerp, Dexia Bank, inv. 1291

Not exhibited

PROVENANCE

Captain Montague Thomas collection, Weymouth, sale, London, July 13, 1895, lot 82; Salomon van Berg collection, New York; Bart van Berg collection, New York, 1950; sale, London (Sotheby's), June 25, 1969, lot 86; Duits (art dealer), London; acquired 1969

LITERATURE

Annual Report Mauritshuis 1895, p. 97; Jost 1963, p. XL; Ertz 1979, pp. 316, 614, no. 341; Werche 2004, no. A 98

EXHIBITIONS

London 1979, cat. no. 37; Brussels 1997–98, cat. no. 49; Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 87

A GARLAND OF FRUIT, VEGETABLES, AND BLOSSOMS depicted against a landscape background surrounds an oval medallion containing an allegorical representation of agriculture. At the upper right, winged putti fasten the garland to a tree; at the upper left, others bear the long garland up to the heavens, where Jupiter and his eagle are seated. In the foreground, two kneeling nymphs and their little helpers put the finishing touches on the garland, which consists of melons, grapes, lemons, plums, apples, strawberries, and cherries, as well as cabbages, beans, artichokes, carrots, and sheaves of wheat. Birds, monkeys, squirrels, rabbits, and guinea pigs feast on the rich pickings. In the medallion, four figures personifying the Four Seasons present the fruits of the earth to Ceres, the goddess of agriculture and abundance, who is seated beneath a red baldachin. Spring crowns the goddess with a wreath of flowers;

Summer, kneeling at her feet, presents her with a cornucopia; Autumn offers her grapes; the old man representing Winter brings her a plate of dried corncobs. The putti around them represent the signs of the zodiac; their attributes are depicted on their wings and on the objects they hold. They likewise symbolize the cycle of nature.¹ Both versions of this composition by Jan Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen are autograph paintings, but small differences between the two suggest that the panel in Antwerp was the “principael” (i.e., the original, or first version), and that it was this painting which is depicted in the 1618 *Allegory of Taste* by Brueghel and Rubens in the Museo Nacional del Prado (cat. no. 8).² The Mauritshuis painting was probably made slightly later, about 1621–22, as confirmed by the brand marks on the back of the panel.³

Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen

Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons

ca. 1621–22

Oil on panel, 106.5 × 70 cm (41⁷/₈ × 27¹/₂ in.)

The Hague, Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, inv. 233

INSCRIPTIONS

On the reverse, panelmaker's mark MV
[in ligature], A, and Antwerp city mark

PROVENANCE

Johan Anthony van Kinschot sale, Delft,
July 21, 1767, lot 29, withdrawn; sold
to Stadholder Willem V, The Hague, 1767;
Gallery of Stadholder Willem V, The Hague,
1774–95; Musée Napoléon (Musée du
Louvre), Paris, 1795–1815; Gallery of

Willem V, The Hague, 1815–22; Mauritshuis,
since 1822

LITERATURE

Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, pp. 606,
692; Thoré-Bürger 1858–60, vol. 1, p. 287;
Annual Report Mauritshuis 1895, p. 97; Jost
1963, pp. 94, 121; Drossaers and Lunsingh
Scheurleer 1974–76, vol. 3, p. 204; Ertz 1979,
pp. 313, 323, no. 340; Díaz Padrón 1995,
p. 314–15; Werche 2004, pp. 80–81, 173–74,
no. A 97

EXHIBITIONS

Ghent 1960, cat. no. 38; Brussels 1965,
cat. no. 25; Amsterdam–Braunschweig 1983,
cat. no. 22; Essen–Vienna 1997–98,
cat. no. 90; Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 86;
Amsterdam–Cleveland 1999–2000,
cat. no. 4; Den Bosch–Leuven 2002–03,
cat. no. 78

Since 1767 the Hague painting has been described as a depiction of Cybele,⁴ the ancient Phrygian goddess of the earth and nature. It must be said, however, that the specific attributes of this goddess are lacking.⁵ We do see, rather, the attributes of Ceres, or Demeter as she was known to the Greeks, such as the scythe held by a putto on the right.⁶ In the Antwerp painting, the enthroned goddess wears a crown of wheat—another of Ceres' attributes—but in the Mauritshuis painting she is bare-headed, which is possibly what caused the confusion as to her identity, for in this painting the crown of wheat is worn by the woman presenting the cornucopia. At any rate, both Cybele and Ceres personify the abundance of nature and are sometimes combined in one figure.

The estate of Jan Brueghel the Elder contained a “large fruit garland with Ceres in the middle,”⁷ which Jan Brueghel

the Younger sold after his father's death for 588 guilders, making it the costliest painting in his father's estate. Jan II recorded this in the account book he had kept since 1625, which has been partly preserved in an eighteenth-century transcription.⁸ This notation might refer to one of the fruit garlands discussed here, of which there is also an extant copy by Jan Brueghel the Younger.⁹ It could also be the *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* in Glasgow (fig. 83), in which Rubens painted the figures to accompany an identical fruit garland by Brueghel.¹⁰

With no other artist did Brueghel work so intensively as he did with Van Balen.¹¹ Brueghel seems to have collaborated with Rubens only on special occasions, but he worked with his friend and colleague Van Balen—his junior by eight years—on almost a daily basis. Indeed, a considerable part of both their oeuvres was produced in collaboration.¹²







FIGURE 83 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Peter Paul Rubens, *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces*, ca. 1615. Oil on panel, 106.7 × 72.4 cm (42 × 28½ in.). Glasgow Art Museums, Kelvingrove, inv. 609

The fact that in 1604 both painters moved to the Lange Nieuwstraat in Antwerp no doubt simplified their collaboration,¹³ since their panels and copper plates could now be carried back and forth with ease. The earliest known painting in which the hands of both masters can be recognized dates from 1600,¹⁴ presumably just after Van Balen's return from an Italian sojourn of several years. Their first allegory, *Ceres and the Four Elements*, was painted in 1604.¹⁵ In their collaborative paintings—allegories, mythological and biblical scenes, and garlanded compositions—Van Balen was responsible for most of the figures, while Brueghel painted the

landscapes, flowers, fruit, animals, and precious objects.

After Brueghel's death in 1625, Jan Brueghel the Younger took over his father's studio and continued to run it in the same way, as evidenced not only by the surviving paintings in the style of his father but also by the uninterrupted collaboration with such artists as Rubens and Van Balen. Jan II's account book for the years 1626–31 contains such passages as "made for Mr. van Balen a ground [background] behind a piece," "completed a ground . . . the little figures are by Mr. van Balen," and "made . . . a ground behind a Madonna by Mr. van Balen."¹⁶ Because the working methods of both the elder and younger Brueghel must have been nearly identical, these passages suggest that Van Balen usually painted the figures first, after which Brueghel added the backgrounds. This order was not rigidly adhered to, however, and was perhaps different when painting garlands; in the medallion of the painting from the Mauritshuis, Van Balen actually painted the figures first, after which Brueghel added the landscape and flowers. Remarkably, the order appears to have been reversed in the rest of the painting, with Brueghel painting his garland first and Van Balen his figures afterward. This sequence of events could be established only by close examination with a stereomicroscope.¹⁷ It was difficult to unravel this working procedure because Brueghel had deliberately obscured the transitions between the two hands with numerous final retouches. It has not yet been possible to determine the order in which the artists worked on the Antwerp painting.¹⁸

The Hague panel was begun by Brueghel, who painted the garland and probably also the frame around the medallion. He depicted the fruit and vegetables so precisely around the reserves that we may assume Van Balen's figures had already been sketched in. In several places there are traces of an underdrawing in the figures that could not be detected with the infrared camera, such as that seen along the thigh of the putto at the upper right, who touches the medallion with his foot. This preparatory line in red-brown paint partially disappears underneath the flesh color. Beneath the paint of the belly and foot of this same figure, several leaves were painted out; in the Antwerp version, however, these same leaves were applied over the flesh color. This suggests that the artists might have worked on the latter painting in the opposite order. Moreover, it confirms that Brueghel scrupulously followed his own example when painting the Mauritshuis garland. That he worked very close to the reserves is evidenced, for instance, by the fruit above the

head of the nymph in the left foreground: with great precision he painted only half a peach along the contour of her head. The reserve left for the head of the nymph on the right was so small that Van Balen was forced to overlap Brueghel's fruit when painting her cheek. With regard to the little boy on the right, who drags the branch of an apple tree into the picture, the working procedure appears to have been different—this figure was painted first and only afterward was the greenery added by Brueghel, who presumably also applied the final touches of flesh color bordering the leaves.

After Van Balen had painted the two nymphs in the foreground, the putti in the reserves in the garland, and the figures in the medallion, Brueghel again took the Mauritshuis painting in hand and finished it. He completed the representation in the medallion by adding the background, the flowers, and a few other details, such as the scale. Finally, he integrated Van Balen's figures into his garland by means of detailing and retouches. He painted the cutting from a plum tree that the winged putto holds against the body of the nymph in the left foreground. With the same greenish paint he used for the plums to the left above this nymph, he added—over his background—some curly strands to her hair. He also added some curly strands to the hair of the nymph on the right.

The versions in The Hague and Antwerp display a number of differences in the composition, some of which confirm that the Antwerp painting is the older version. In this painting the nymph in the left foreground is blonde instead of dark-haired, wears a white veil around her shoulders, and has a large fruited branch running along the right side of her body. This branch is missing in the Hague painting. Curiously, the same nymph's left leg—which in the Antwerp version is half hidden in the garland—was not painted at all: sloppiness of this kind occurs only in copies or variations, not in first versions. In the Antwerp painting, the same nymph's blue drapery was applied (carefully worked around the green leaves) over an underlying pink layer, whereas the drapery in the Hague version was blue from the start, in imitation of the Antwerp example. The kneeling putto in the left foreground has no wings in the Antwerp painting and holds a stalk of rhubarb instead of a plum-tree cutting. Another oversight in the Hague version is the lack of a cord with which to fasten the garland to the tree on the right, causing one of the putti to reach out and grasp nothing but thin air. Numerous small differences are discernible in

the medallion as well. The putti holding the baldachin, for instance, scatter flowers in the Antwerp painting, and the zodiacal attributes are depicted differently.¹⁹ The scale held by one of the putti at the top seems to fly through the air, whereas in the Hague variation it hangs down stiffly, conveying no sense of motion. There are different birds in the sky in the two versions, making it clear that the Hague painting is not a slavish copy: indeed, Brueghel painted out two owls in the latter work.²⁰ A striking addition to the Mauritshuis version is the suspension of the medallion on cords attached to rings. In the Antwerp version a kneeling figure offers the garland to Jupiter in the clouds, a detail which is missing in the Mauritshuis picture.

In the Antwerp painting the frame around the medallion was originally painted about a centimeter more to the right; a compositional adjustment of this kind is yet another indication that this is the first version. In this work the transitions between Van Balen's and Brueghel's contributions are somewhat more abrupt: for example, the strands Brueghel added to the figures' hair in the Mauritshuis version are missing in the Antwerp painting. Moreover, the cheek of the nymph in the right foreground was not painted over the background, as it was in the Hague painting, but the fruits do overlap her cheek somewhat, which suggests that in this case the figures were painted first.

The fact that it was not the Hague panel but the Antwerp version that was included in the *Allegory of Taste* of 1618 (cat. no. 8) emerges from small similarities in detail: the painting within a painting also displays the left leg of the blonde nymph in the foreground, the wingless putto at the front left holds a stalk of rhubarb, and the medallion is not suspended on cords. Obviously this allegorical representation of abundance and fertility was eminently suited to an *Allegory of Taste*, possibly featuring the rich yields of the lands of the archdukes Albert and Isabella. In the 1617–18 series of the Five Senses, Brueghel mostly depicted the pick of the crop produced by contemporary Antwerp painters, i.e., paintings by himself and by his co-court painter Rubens. In the *Allegory of Taste*, Brueghel seems to be advertising, as it were, the result of his latest collaboration with Hendrick van Balen, a composition that he executed at least twice and most likely numerous times.

Brueghel combined the same fruit garland with depictions by Van Balen of the Holy Family, in which the Mother of God stands in for Mother Earth, and the superabundant garland symbolizes the richness of God's creation (fig. 84).²¹



FIGURE 84 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*, late 1620s. Oil on panel, 104.8 × 74.9 cm (41¼ × 29½ in.). Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund, inv. 66-16

In similar fashion, Cornelis Galle—in his print after *Ceres Garlanded by Angels* by Rubens and Frans Snyders in the Hermitage²²—replaced Ceres with the Virgin and Child (fig. 85), who in the caption are compared with, among other things, the Tree of Life that “brings forth everlasting abundance.” Cardinal Borromeo praised the fruit and vegetables in another of Brueghel’s garlands, which “show us the wisdom and refinement of divine providence; their profu-

sion, abundance and great variety will open our eyes to the liberality and generous heart of this so magnanimous and glorious Creator.”²³ In the painting Brueghel made with Rubens that is now in Glasgow (fig. 83), the fruit garland encloses an allegorical image of the all-nurturing primeval mother,²⁴ endowed with multiple breasts, crowned by putti, and adorned with drapery by the Graces; the pedestal bears a vaguely legible inscription: MAGNAE MATRI /

TERRAE OMNIS PARENTI (To the Great Mother, Parent of All Earth). Countless satyrs betraying various degrees of beastliness were added by Rubens, whose contribution makes this picture truly spectacular. In the face of Rubens's brilliance, Van Balen seems like a lesser light. Although in this painting, too, it has not yet been possible to say with any certainty which of the two masters began to paint first, it seems that Brueghel adapted himself to Rubens's contribution. He thus made the garland a bit thicker or stretched it slightly to accommodate the figures, and he painted the melon around the fingers of the female satyr in the left foreground, for example. Viewing the painting in raking light makes it possible to discern the double and sometimes triple outline of an oval that was scratched into the middle of this panel.²⁵ Rubens, for his part, paid no attention whatsoever to this oval and painted well over its contours. Evidently, however, another type of painting had initially been planned: an image in a medallion surrounded by a garland of fruit, very comparable to the two paintings with Van Balen discussed here.

The existence in Antwerp and The Hague of two nearly identical paintings clearly shows that it was part of Jan Brueghel's daily routine to make repetitions of popular compositions, if only in order to meet the great demand for his work (see also cat. no. 7).²⁶ This was common practice in seventeenth-century Antwerp. Indeed, the fact that the painter Sebastian Vrancx (1573–1647) was opposed to copying as a matter of principle was considered very odd by his contemporaries.²⁷ Jan Brueghel the Younger, who took over the business from his father, frequently mentioned the making of copies, even for such prominent patrons as the “prince of Poland,”²⁸ although he always made a clear distinction—also in price—between originals and copies. It was not only entire compositions, however, that were repeated: Brueghel also drew upon a repertoire of motifs that he used over and over again. Parts of the fruit garland discussed here, for example—the ensemble with the artichokes and cabbages, the ears of wheat, and the arrangement consisting of lemons and bunches of grapes—can be detected in the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* from the Prado (cat. no. 12). Moreover, *The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* by Jan Brueghel and Pieter van Avont in Munich (fig. 86) also contains parts of the same garland, augmented with flowers.²⁹ Some of these flowers, in turn, have exact counterparts in the large garland surrounding the Virgin and Child by Brueghel and Rubens, also in Munich (see fig. 1).³⁰



FIGURE 85 Cornelis Galle after Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders, *The Virgin in a Niche Adorned by Angels with a Garland*. Engraving, 555 × 407 mm (21⁷/₈ × 16 in.). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. RPP-OB-67.674

It seems almost certain that Brueghel based his flower and fruit ensembles on fairly detailed preparatory studies. Only a few examples have survived, however, one of which is a study sheet depicting the left-hand part of Brueghel's garland in the above-mentioned work made with Van Avont (fig. 87).³¹ Furthermore, Brueghel's manner of painting seems to have been extremely standardized. A typical example of this can be seen in the Mauritshuis garland, namely the white cabbage with the long, trailing root on the right. A few of the leaves have been painted over the cabbage and the carrots next to it, but the white root was painted first and only afterward the medlar tree behind it: in the garland surrounding Van Avont's Holy Family, Brueghel did this in exactly the same order. To prevent the disturbing effect caused by under-

FIGURE 86 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Pieter van Avont (1600–1652), *The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*, ca. 1620–23. Oil on panel, 93.5 × 70.7 cm (36¾ × 27⅞ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 149



FIGURE 87 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Part of a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*. Pen in brown ink, brown wash, 29.6 × 11.7 cm (11⅝ × 4⅝ in.). Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, inv. D.IX.23



lying paint layers shining through the surface, Brueghel frequently took the trouble to paint from foreground to background, as demonstrated by this detail.³² Whenever he found a satisfactory way to realize a distinct element in paint, he repeated this method exactly—to whatever extent possible—the next time he had need of the motif. AvS

NOTES

1. On the personification of Agriculture, see Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Dutch edition, 1644), p. 280 (first edition, 1593).
2. See Van Mulders in Brussels 1997–98, p. 108. Compare also Ertz in Antwerp 1998, p. 270.
3. The Mauritshuis panel consists of three vertical planks. Burned into the back of the panel is the mark (MV interlaced) of the panelmaker Michiel Vrient (active 1615–37), as well as the brand of the city of Antwerp and the letter A. This last mark—perhaps denoting the year—appears on a series of panels dating from 1621–22. See Wadum 1998, pp. 192, 198. Dendrochronological analysis of the panel carried out by Dr. Peter Klein (University of Hamburg, April 11, 2005)

points to 1612 as the earliest possible dating but suggests a dating after 1618 as more plausible. The painting in Antwerp consists of one plank; the thick layer of wax on the back obscures any marks it might contain.

4. See Johan Anthony van Kinschot sale, Delft, July 21, 1767, lot 29; and Hoet and Terwesten 1752–70, vol. 3, pp. 606, 692. On Cybele, see Hall 1974, p. 89.
5. As noted in Amsterdam–Cleveland 1999–2000, p. 113.
6. On Ceres, see Hall 1974, pp. 62–63.
7. “grooten fruyt crans met Ceres in ’t midden”: Vaes 1926–27, p. 209.
8. See Vaes 1926–27 and Denucé 1934, pp. 139–60. The original account book kept by Jan Brueghel the Younger has not survived, but its contents have been preserved in part in a copy made in 1770 by Jacob van der Sanden.
9. This copy is now in Madrid (Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1414); see Díaz Padrón 1995, pp. 314–15. Considering the small differences between the Hague and the Antwerp versions, Jan Brueghel the Younger must have copied the version in the Mauritshuis (only the cords attached to the medallion are lacking).
10. For this painting, see Glasgow 1961, pp. 117–20; and Ertz 1979, no. 349. As to the possibility that Prince Vladislas Zygmunt of Poland

- once owned this painting, see Denucé 1934, p. 81; and Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 225, n. 52.
11. See B. Werche, “Die Zusammenarbeit von Jan Brueghel d.Ä. und Hendrick van Balen,” in *Essen–Vienna 1997–98*, pp. 67–74.
 12. In Klaus Ertz’s 1979 monograph on Jan Brueghel the Elder, 64 of the 384 catalogued paintings were done in collaboration with Hendrick van Balen. (It is indeed curious that Ertz did not devote a separate chapter to their working friendship.) In her 2004 monograph on Van Balen, Bettina Werche regards 78 of the 192 catalogued cabinet pieces as collaborations with Jan Brueghel.
 13. See Denucé 1934, pp. 21–22; and Werche 2004, doc. no. 15, pp. 252–53; both documents are dated December 20, 1604.
 14. See Werche 2004, no. A 106.
 15. See Ertz 1979, no. 110; and Werche 2004, no. A 128.
 16. “ghemaeckt voor S.[ignor] van Balen eenen gront acter een stuc . . .”; “voldaen eenen gront . . . de figurkens door S. van Balen”; “ghemaect . . . eenen grondt agter een Livrauken van S. van Balen”: Vaes 1926–27, pp. 210, 213, 215; and Denucé 1934, pp. 147, 151, 154. More examples could be quoted. Remarkably, Brueghel often mentioned that he had produced work for an art dealer—“for Goetkint” (Anthonie Goetkint, his wife’s uncle), “for Hans van Mechelen,” “for Peer van Liender”—which suggests that art dealers were instrumental in bringing about these collaborative efforts. See also Honig 1995, pp. 259–60.
 17. This painting was examined with a stereomicroscope on December 21 and 23, 2004, in the restoration studio of the Mauritshuis by Sabrina Meloni, Ariane van Suchtelen, and Jørgen Wadum. Infrared images were made with the Artist camera (Art Innovation, Hengelo) mounted with a CCD progressive scan image sensor (1360 × 1036 pixels) and a Schneider Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 mm CCTV-lens in N12 with a 1000 nm long-wave filter.
 18. The Dexia Bank painting was examined on April 12, 2005, in Antwerp with the aid of a stereomicroscope by Sabrina Meloni and Ariane van Suchtelen. Infrared images were made with the Artist camera (see previous note). We are grateful to Patricia Jaspers for her efforts on our behalf.
 19. A drawn copy of the scene in the medallion (Weimar, Goethe-Nationalmuseum, inv. Schuchardt I, s. 314, no. 931) seems to follow the Antwerp painting, because the angels holding the baldachin also scatter flowers; see Antwerp 1998, p. 268, fig. 86c.
 20. See also Antwerp 1998, p. 266, cat. no. 86, fig. 86b.
 21. See Ertz 1979, no. 350. Compare also variations attributed to Jan Brueghel the Younger; see Ertz 1979, fig. 389; Ertz 1984, no. 302 (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 813, as with Pieter van Avont); and sale, Sotheby’s, Amsterdam, May 9, 1995, lot 42.
 22. St. Petersburg, Hermitage State Museum, inv. 504 (Hollstein 1949–, vol. 7, no. 106). See Freedberg 1981, pp. 128, 132, fig. 17.
 23. Jones 1993, p. 86 (after Federico Borromeo, *I tre libri delle laudi divine* [Milan, 1632], p. 158).
 24. See, for example, Werche 2004, pp. 80–81.
 25. This was first mentioned in Van Mulders 2000, pp. 119–20. The triple oval, which is scratched into the ground, is approximately the same size as the oval medallion in the present paintings (thanks to Robert Wenley for this information). The contours of an oval medallion are also scratched into the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* by Brueghel and Rubens in the Louvre (fig. 69). This is not the case in the two paintings by Brueghel and Van Balen discussed here.
 26. The demand for paintings by Jan Brueghel the Elder was greater than the supply. His paintings were often sold even before he began working on them; see Vaes 1926–27, p. 181.
 27. On this Antwerp custom of copying paintings, see, among others, Honig 1995, p. 269.
 28. Another version of the “large fruit garland with the image of Mary” (grooten fruytcrans met het Marienbild), which Jan Brueghel the Younger sold from his father’s estate to Antonie Cornelissen Cheeus for 512 guilders (see Vaes 1926–27, p. 209), had previously been sold by his father for “400 *escudi*” to the prince of Poland. See a letter from Jan Brueghel the Younger to Cardinal Borromeo, dated August 22, 1625, regarding his father’s death and several interesting paintings from his estate (Crivelli 1868, pp. 339–41).
 29. See Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 92–95, no. 149 (with additional literature).
 30. See Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 336–43, no. 331 (with additional literature).
 31. See Winner 1961, fig. 50; and Ertz 1979, fig. 39. This pen-and-ink wash drawing seems more like a drawn copy than a preparatory study. Compare a study sheet displaying animals and fruit—including color indications by Jan Brueghel the Elder—in the British Museum; see Kolb 2005, fig. 5. This sheet contains motifs borrowed from Joris Hoefnagel’s illuminated books on the elements, *Earth, Air, Water and Fire* (1575–82) from the collection of Emperor Rudolf II; see Hendrix 1984, p. 333; and Kolb 2000, pp. 141–43. On Brueghel’s drawings, see, among others, Winner 1961 and 1972; most of these drawings are studies for his landscapes and village views.
 32. See also the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume.

Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders

Prometheus Bound

ca. 1611–12

Oil on canvas, 243 × 210 cm (95½ × 82½ in.)

Philadelphia Museum of Art,

purchased with the W. P. Wilstach Fund, 1950, inv. W-1950-3-1

PROVENANCE

Traded by Rubens to Sir Dudley Carleton, 1618;¹ offered to the king of Denmark in September 1618, but not sold;² possibly transferred from Carleton to King Charles I; perhaps with the Antwerp dealer Matthijs Musson, 1658; in the collection of Charles, fourth earl of Manchester, Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire, by September 28, 1687;³ in the collection of the earls and dukes of Manchester until its sale at auction at Kimbolton Castle (Knight, Frank & Rutley), July 18, 1948 (as no. 8);⁴ acquired by the

dealer Martin B. Asscher, London, from whom acquired by the Philadelphia Museum of Art for the W. P. Wilstach Collection, 1950

LITERATURE

Baudius 1616, p. 578; Rooses 1886–182, vol. 3, pp. 152–53, no. 671; vol. 5, pp. 340–41; Kimball 1952; Popham 1952; Raggio 1958, pp. 58, 61–62; Held 1963, pp. 17–32; Dempsey 1967, pp. 420–25; Stechow 1968, pp. 40–41; Martin and Bruno in Martin 1972, pp. 17, 19; Sutton 1983, pp. 270–75; Balis 1986, pp. 67, 70, 77, 83, 93; Robels 1989, pp. 35, 119, 354–56, no. 261; Sutton 1990, pp. 251–61, no. 91; C. van de Velde in Bauman and

Liedtke 1992, pp. 184–85; Koslow 1995a, pp. 18, 303–307; Bikker 2004

EXHIBITIONS

London 1850, cat. no. 142; Manchester 1857, cat. no. 534; London 1867, cat. no. 126; Cleveland 1956, cat. no. 41; Philadelphia Museum of Art, “Philadelphia: 100 Years of Acquisitions” (May 3–July 3, 1983) (no catalogue); Boston–Toledo 1993–94, pp. 35, 238–41, cat. no. 10; Lille 2004, pp. 88–89, cat. no. 43

RUBENS'S EARLY YEARS, AFTER HE SETTLED AGAIN in Antwerp, were an exceptionally fertile period in which he implemented highly innovative compositions that demonstrate his knowledge of ancient and Renaissance precedents. *Prometheus Bound*, an extraordinary depiction of torment and contained corporeal energy, epitomizes Rubens's forceful artistic ambition, which transformed Flemish painting. Shackled to the rocky side of Mount Caucasus, the Titan Prometheus contorts his muscular body in a heroic but vain effort to evade the probing beak of a great eagle, whose talons also tear at his face and groin and which returns daily to consume his regenerating liver. A joint effort between Rubens and Frans Snyders, *Prometheus Bound* is among the best-documented collaborations of the early seventeenth century. In correspondence with Sir Dudley Carleton, British ambassador to the United

Provinces residing in The Hague, Rubens described *Prometheus Bound* among a group of paintings he was offering Carleton in exchange for the latter's collection of antique marbles, “at present I have in the house the flower of my stock, particularly some pictures which I have kept for my own enjoyment; some I have even repurchased for more than I had sold them to others,”⁵ and placed it at the top of a list of twelve paintings for Carleton's consideration: “500 florins—A Prometheus bound on Mount Caucasus, with an eagle which pecks his liver. Original by my hand, and the eagle done by Snyders—9 × 8 ft.” The nature of the collaboration in the *Prometheus* is crucial to understanding the work's significance. Rubens's relationship with Snyders at this time, while less reciprocal and perhaps more business-like than his association with Brueghel, should nonetheless



be considered an artistic partnership, one in which Rubens played the dominant role.

Frans Snyders was only two years younger than Rubens and a close acquaintance of Jan Brueghel the Elder.⁶ The latter introduced Snyders to potential patrons in Italy, where Snyders traveled between the spring of 1608 and 1609. In two letters dated September 26, 1608, Brueghel enthusiastically described Snyders to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, bishop of Milan, recommending him as “a young man of good morals.” He further attests that “I am indebted to this youth by a true act of friendship,” referring to the support Snyders had shown him during a difficult period, perhaps following the death of his first wife.⁷ When Snyders suddenly left Milan for Antwerp in the spring of 1609, Brueghel apologized to the cardinal for his friend’s behavior.⁸ Once settled in Antwerp, Snyders established himself a specialist in still life. Rubens may have encountered Snyders in Italy or more likely within the circumscribed community of artists in Antwerp who had made the same journey.

Prometheus was among the first joint works Rubens executed with Snyders. Their relationship may have begun when Rubens engaged him to paint a large still life in *The Recognition of Philopoemen*, a composition depicting a subject from Greek history (see fig. 26). Rubens devised the composition, including the major elements of the game and vegetable still life, as demonstrated by an oil sketch (see fig. 27). As the sheets of drawn motifs from some years later suggest, Snyders may have made studies or sketches for particular elements.⁹ After the still life had been painted, Rubens returned to integrate and adjust certain elements.¹⁰ It was characteristic of their partnership from this point on that Snyders adopted the expressive, large scale of his partner, along with lively brushwork, and often a high-keyed palette. In the *Philopoemen*, as in *Prometheus*, the concept, design, and final integrative contributions were all made by Rubens.

Prometheus occupies a pivotal place in Rubens’s oeuvre. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether it was a work that he painted as an investigative trial and “kept” for himself, or a commission that he “repurchased.” However, it is one of several mythological and historical subjects from about 1611 in which Rubens explored figures in violent action. After 1609 Rubens increasingly pushed the boundaries of corporeal description and strove to generate a visceral reaction in the viewer. *The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (1609; private collection), notable for the extreme muscularity of the figures, and *Judith Killing Holofernes* (1609–10; Frank-

furt, Städelches Kunstinstitut), a scene of intense nocturnal violence, reveal Rubens’s study of the robust figures of Michelangelo and the physiognomies of antique sculptures such as the Laocoön (Vatican City, Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino) and the Torso Belvedere.¹¹ In particular, Rubens was fascinated by the challenges of depicting falling figures. The inverted figure of Hippolytus in *The Death of Hippolytus* (1610; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; see also an oil sketch in London, Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery) and the outstretched Argus in *Juno and Argus* (1611; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum), both provide antecedents for the figures of Prometheus. Many of these works are animated by innovative compositions. The diagonal arrangement of figures in *Prometheus* follows Rubens’s earlier implementation of figures placed on transverse orientations, for example in *Saint George* (1608; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado). Painted in Genoa, *Saint George* is made up of several different pieces of canvas and, like the *Prometheus*, was kept by Rubens in his studio.¹²

It was in the context of such artistic challenges that Rubens turned to the subject of Prometheus. The subject was well established in classical texts and was associated by the early seventeenth century with a range of conflicting moral, philosophical, and religious interpretations.¹³ Hesiod portrayed Prometheus as a rogue who deceived the gods and destroyed the golden age of mankind by stealing fire and giving it to humans, a sacrilege for which he was deservedly punished by being shackled to the top of Mount Caucasus, where a voracious eagle perpetually devoured his regrowing liver until he was freed by Hercules.¹⁴ Aeschylus saw Prometheus as providing mankind with both real and figurative fire, the flame of reason and wisdom that serves as the basis of civilization. His punishment, while just, was evidence of a tragic imbalance between the order of the gods and humanity.¹⁵ Plato conceived of fire as a creative force and Prometheus’s act of stealing fire from the forge of Vulcan as a moral failing.¹⁶ In the medieval period, the Titan was portrayed as an inventor and linked to the story of Genesis by the church fathers. Renaissance emblems portrayed Prometheus under a tree, attacked by an eagle, as an example of punished pride and as “knowledge acquired with care.”¹⁷

The sheer physicality of the Philadelphia canvas, while not precluding allegorical interpretations, suggests that Rubens was primarily seeking to evoke the horror of Prometheus’s suffering.¹⁸ Dominicus Baudius, a professor at the university of Leiden and a friend of Rubens’s brother Philip,

extolled the vividness of *Prometheus* and the terror it generated in onlookers in his *Poematum*.¹⁹ The date of these verses, April 7, 1612, helps date the canvas, which must have been finished or nearly so by that time. It may have been started early in 1611, following the *Juno and Argus*, which was finished by May 11, 1611.²⁰

Rubens's debt to antique sculpture for his powerful male figures of about 1611 has long been appreciated. His numerous drawings, several known today through copies by students, attest to his study of the Laocoön, the most influential antique portrayal of suffering and violent motion.²¹ The manner in which the chest of the central figure of the antique group, the priest Laocoön, projects is very similar to that of the inverted Prometheus, which may also reflect Rubens's study of the projecting torso of the *Centaur Tormented by Cupid* (Paris, Musée du Louvre).²² The vitally important inventions of Raphael's Stanze (the series of rooms the artist and his assistants decorated for the popes Julius II and Leo X), notably the reclining figure of Heliodorus in the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* fresco, were a key inspiration. As Held observed, Prometheus's bent leg probably derives from this source.²³ Both the Heliodorus and the Laocoön figure prominently among the quotations from the antique in the early Rubens and Brueghel collaboration *The Battle of the Amazons* (ca. 1598–1600; cat. no. 1). However, it was Michelangelo's drawing of Tityus (1532; Windsor Castle, Royal Library)—the elongated pose and outstretched arm of the figure, and particularly the parallel arrangement of the figure and the bird—that was the foundation for *Prometheus*.²⁴ The story of Tityus was a closely related myth, in which the son of Earth was punished for ravishing Latona by being chained to a rock in Hades where a vulture attacked his perpetuating liver. Even knowledgeable observers were often confused when distinguishing between the two myths.²⁵ Rubens, however, portrayed his subject very specifically, and even without his own identification of the scene, it could not be mistaken. The Titan is clearly chained outside, beneath a massive tree and beside a rocky overhang. The site, Mount Caucasus, is specified by the sharp vertical surface to which he is chained, the crevasse beneath him over which his torso and drapery hang, and by the distant landscape. Prometheus's torch, by which he sought to elevate mankind, burns brightly in the lower left corner. Titian's large *Tityus* (1548–49; Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado), dramatic in scale and conception, may have been the primary inspiration for Rubens's cascading figure. Titian's canvas, painted for



FIGURE 88 Cornelis Cort after Titian, *Tityus*, 1566. Engraving, 380 × 308 mm (15 × 12 1/8 in.). San Francisco, Fine Arts Museums, Palace of the Legion of Honor, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts, inv. 1963.30.36756

Mary of Hungary when she was regent of the Netherlands, depicts one of the “Quattro Dannati” (the four damned, Tantalus, Sisyfus, Ixion, and Tityus) who are mentioned in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. It decorated the *Grote Zaal* of her palace at Binche, where it was observed and described (as Prometheus!) by Juan Cristoval Calvete de Estrella, secretary to Philip II, in 1549. The painting was later transferred to Madrid.²⁶ While Rubens may have seen it there, the print after Titian’s canvas by Cornelis Cort (fig. 88) could equally have served as a point of departure.²⁷

In contrast to the precedents discussed above, Rubens gave the eagle a prominent role in *Prometheus Bound*. In order to strengthen the fierce intensity of the Titan’s struggle, Rubens expanded the size of the tormenter and engaged Snyders to follow his design. We can only speculate as



FIGURE 89 Peter Paul Rubens, *Reclining Male*, ca. 1611. Chalk and heightening, 55 × 42.6 cm (21⁵/₈ × 16³/₄ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. 20207

to the reasons for this curious decision. Rubens was himself an accomplished painter of animals and of eagles in particular, as can be seen in *Cupid Supplicating Jupiter* (1610; New York, Forbes Collection) and *Ganymede* (1611–12; Vienna, Prince Karl zu Schwarzenberg Collection [on loan to the Liechtenstein Museum, Princely Collection, Vienna]).²⁸ The eagle in *Ganymede*, for example, shows a fastidious, refined treatment in keeping with the elevated mythological subject. Snyder may have been engaged simply because he wasn't Rubens. That is, his technique, descriptive and painterly, was compatible but nonetheless distinct from Rubens's brushwork, thereby providing visual emphasis to this part of the composition. Eagles feature among the stylized illustrations in Ulisse Aldrovandi's *Ornithologia* (1599), along with a fulsome description of the bird's observed and mythical characteristics.²⁹ Rubens recorded an antique statue of an eagle (Rome, Vatican Museums) in a drawing (now lost, but known through a student's copy, *Two Views of an Eagle*, Copenhagen, Royal Print Room) and used its perched form for *Cupid Supplicating Jupiter*.³⁰ Perhaps, as Martin and Bruno proposed vis-à-vis the Forbes canvas, Rubens studied a live eagle and "grasped the particulars of its appearance and

sensed the ferocity of the bird of prey."³¹ Rulers of the Netherlands had long kept aviaries, which included small birds of prey such as sparrow hawks and, apparently, royal eagles.³² It is certainly clear that, in contrast to the schematic Renaissance depictions of eagles, Rubens and Snyder's bird is based in reality; the two artists were aware not only of the specific physical characteristics of the golden eagle, including variations in the types of feathers in its plumage, but also the true extent of its wingspan, which can reach 225 cm (seven and a half feet)—in this case just smaller than the writhing figure of a Titan. The relationship between the noblest of birds, Jove's companion, and Prometheus is expressively portrayed through the placement of the two figures in parallel alignment, the dark form of the eagle hovering menacingly over the illuminated nude form. It has long been assumed that Rubens planned the composition in a drawing or oil sketch which has been lost.³³ Rubens's drawing of a male torso (fig. 89) relates both to *Hippolytus* and *Prometheus*.³⁴ A drawing of an eagle (fig. 90) was probably Snyder's working drawing, made after Rubens's presumptive oil sketch. Faint chalk outlines indicate the placement of the torso and, notably, the liver.³⁵ Comparison

of the Snyders drawing with the finished painting shows that additional adjustments were made to the contour of the right wing and the distance between the left foot and head, presumably the result of discussions between the two artists.³⁶

The process of execution was subsequently relatively straightforward. Rubens painted the figure of Prometheus with his usual economy: the proper right side of the Titan's face, for example, was never elaborated and instead was treated as a reserve for the eagle's left foot, while small reserves on the face and torso anticipated the insertion points of the talons. After Snyders painted the eagle, Rubens added highlights to its feet and beak and may also have enhanced the bloody effects of beak and talons with additional daubs of red.

Sutton has shown that the strip of canvas on the left side, approximately seventeen inches wide, which includes the landscape and the torch, was added when the ground and paint layers of the main canvas were dry and has argued persuasively that this area could have been added at the time of Rubens's negotiations with Dudley Carleton in the spring of 1618.³⁷ We should, however, reconsider the possibility that the addition represents another example of Rubens's additive working method. Carleton, an avid collector who admired Rubens, approached the artist with an offer to exchange his collection of antique marbles for paintings by the artist. They had recently negotiated the sale of a hunt scene, an exchange that revealed Carleton's interest in work by Snyders.³⁸ After stating his preference for "brief negotiations, where each party gives and receives his share at once," Rubens attached a list of twelve paintings, specifying which were "by my hand" and which had been begun by a pupil and had been or would be retouched by Rubens. One painting, *Leopards*, was described as "by my hand except a most beautiful landscape, done by the hand of a master skillful in that department."³⁹ The dimensions given in the list are thought to be general, but in the case of *Prometheus*, they roughly correspond to the current size of the painting, rather than to the first, more vertical, format. Carleton chose only the "originals," including *Prometheus*, all of which Rubens promised to retouch before sending them to Carleton.⁴⁰ It is difficult to imagine that the addition of the canvas strip, which also involved the inclusion of an important iconographic element, the torch, would have been considered part of the finishing touch (*l'ultima mano*) Rubens says he has given to the greater part of the paintings.⁴¹ While we cannot



FIGURE 90 Frans Snyders, *Study for an Eagle*, ca. 1611. Ink and wash, 28.1 × 20.3 cm (11 1/8 × 8 in.). London, British Museum, inv. 1946-7-13-176 © Trustees of the British Museum

be entirely certain when the strip was added, it seems more likely that Rubens expanded the composition while he was working on it in 1611 or early 1612. Among Rubens's oeuvre, many examples of panels with additions are known, as are an increasing number of canvases that show the same phenomenon, including the *Saint George* and *The Recognition of Philopoemen*.⁴² The tightly formulated composition of *Prometheus Bound*, with its powerful downward diagonal momentum, may have appeared too extreme in the first, narrow, format; the sense of the figures sliding precipitously was ameliorated with the addition of the foreground torch, which serves to visually counterbalance this effect, and the view into the distance.

Rubens and Snyders's *Prometheus Bound* evidently sparked new interest in the subject in the Netherlands, where Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), Dirck van Baburen (ca. 1590/95–1624), and others painted their own versions.⁴³ It has been suggested that if the *Prometheus* remained in Dudley Carleton's collection in The Hague following his unsuccessful sale to the King of Denmark, the stadholder's influential secretary Constantijn Huygens, who had a particular appreciation of Rubens and Snyders (see cat. no. 24), would have had firsthand acquaintance with the composition.⁴⁴ If so, it seems fitting that Rembrandt later presented to Huygens his *Blinding of Samson* (1636; Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut), in which the figure of Samson strongly recalls that of Prometheus. Although Rembrandt may have seen Rubens and Snyders's original while it hung in The Hague, as an avid collector of prints, he could also have received his inspiration for the violent figure of Samson from Cornelis Cort's engraving.⁴⁵ ATW

NOTES

- Sale concluded by June 1, 1618, when Rubens wrote to Carleton "... I have delivered to Mr. Frans Pieterssen all the pictures [(in the margin): the Daniel, the Leopards, the Hunt, the St. Peter, the Susanna, the St. Sebastian, the Prometheus, the Leda, Sarah and Hagar], in good condition and packed with care. I believe Your Excellency will be completely satisfied with them." For Rubens's original Italian text, see Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, pp. 181–83; the translation is from Magurn 1955, p. 67, letter 34.
- The *Prometheus* appears as the first painting on the "List of my pictures given the first of 7^{ber} st^o. ver. to the K: of Denmark's marchant, brought unto me by Mr. Huggins... 9 piedi alto—8 piedi largo Un Prometheo legato sopra il monte Caucaso con una aquila che li becca il fegato, il Prometheo di Rubens, l'Aquila fatta dal Snyders": Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 185; and Fiske Kimball 1952, p. 67.
- According to an inventory of that date; see Fiske Kimball 1952, p. 67.
- For eighteenth-century viewers' accounts of the painting at Kimbolton Castle, see Fiske Kimball 1952, pp. 67–68.
- "Io mi ritrovo al presente fior di robba in casa particolate alcuni quadri che ho tenuti per gusto mio anzi ricompratone alcuni più di quello li aveva venduti al altri" (letter of April 18, 1618): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, p. 136; translation from Magurn 1955, p. 60, letter 28.
- Snyders was born in Antwerp in 1579 and became a free master in the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke in 1602, when Otto van Veen and Jan Brueghel the Elder were co-deans; see Rombouts and Van Lierus 1864–76, p. 418. For his family history and training with Pieter Bruegel the Younger and possibly also Hendrick van Balen, see Robels 1989, pp. 47–48; and Koslow 1995a, pp. 13–16.
- Crivelli 1868, pp. 113–14 (Brueghel to Cardinal Borromeo) and pp. 110–12 (Brueghel to Bianchi); see Koslow 1995a, p. 14.
- Literally for "d'importunente (sua) familiarita" (letter of May 14, 1609): Crivelli 1868, p. 135.
- For example, the sheet of studies of dead deer (Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 8497); see Robels 1989, pp. 416–17, no. 243.
- See Gayo García and Vergara 2004, especially fig. 22. For Rubens's oil sketch, see Held 1980, vol. 1, pp. 374–75, no. 278; and Robels 1989, pp. 353–54.
- For the antique monuments, see Bober and Rubinstein 1986, pp. 151–55 (Laocoön) and pp. 166–68 (Torso Belvedere). For drawings by and after Rubens of these works, see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 2, pp. 93–104, nos. 76–93 (Laocoön) and pp. 56–59, nos. 37–39 (Torso Belvedere).
- See H. Vlieghe in Balis et al. 1989a, pp. 148–49, ill. The *Saint George* appears in the inventory of the artist's estate; see Muller 1989, pp. 77, 122, no. 155.
- See Raggio 1958; Held 1963, pp. 25–26; Sutton 1990, pp. 256–57; and Bikker 2004.
- Works and Days*, v. 42–89; *Theogony*, v. 507–616 (discussed in Raggio 1958, pp. 44–45).
- Prometheus Bound*, v. 436–506 (discussed in Raggio 1958, p. 45).
- Plato, *Works*, vol. 2 (*Protagoras*) (Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1967), pp. 129–37.
- For example, Alciati, *Emblematum Liber* (1531) and *Emblematum Liber* (Lyon, 1549); see Daly 1985, vol. 2, emblem 103; and Raggio 1958, pp. 55–56.
- As Dempsey (1967, p. 421) noted, "cruelty is the true subject of his painting."
- "Here, with hooked beak, a monstrous vulture digs about in the liver of Prometheus, who is given no peace from his torments as ever and again the savage bird draws near his self-renewing breast and attacks it punishingly. He is not content with his inhuman sacrificial feast, but with his claws lacerates, here the agonized face, there the man's thigh. He would fly murderously on the spectators, did not his chained prey detain him. He can do no more than terrify the frightened onlookers by turning his flaming eyes from one to the other. Blood flows from the chest and every part where his claws leave their mark, and his piercing eyes dart savage flames. You might think that he moves, that his feathers tremble. Horror grips the onlookers." (Heic rostro aduncò vultur immanis fodit / Jecur Promethei, nec datur quies malis, Sic usque et usque rabidus ales imminet / Faecunda poenis appetens praecordia. / Non est eo contentus infandae dapis/ Pastu, sed ungue laniat insuper fero / Hinc ora palpitantis, hinc femur veri. / Ipse involaret in necem spectantium / Ni vincla tardent; quod potest unum tamen/ Flammata torquens huc et illuc lumina, / Terret timentes; pectore ebullit cruor, / Et parte ab omni qua pedes signant notam, /

- Trucesque flammas vibrat acies luminum / Rapidae volucris; hanc moveri, hanc tu putes / Quassare pennas; horror adstantes habet.): D. Baudius, *Poematum, nova editio* (1616), p. 578. Translation and Latin text from Dempsey 1967, pp. 421–22; see also Rooses 1886–92, vol. 5, p. 341; and Sutton 1983, p. 274.
20. As stated by Rubens in a letter to Jacob de Bie; see Magurn 1955, p. 55, letter 22.
 21. Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 2, pp. 93–104, nos. 76–93.
 22. For the recently discovered drawings by Rubens of the Centaur Tormented by Cupid, see New York 2005, pp. 108–11, cat. nos. 20, 21 (dated ca. 1606–08); and Braunschweig 2004, pp. 289–91; other drawings of the group are discussed in Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 2, pp. 83–89.
 23. Held 1963, p. 28.
 24. Inv. RL12771 (recto); see Fiske Kimball 1952; and Held 1963, pp. 26–27. For Michelangelo's drawing, see Popham and Wilde 1949, p. 429, pl. 21.
 25. Baudius, for example, identified the bird of prey in *Prometheus Bound* as a vulture.
 26. See Utrecht's-Hertogenbosch 1993, p. 337, cat. no. 233; and Wethey 1969–75, vol. 3, pp. 156–60.
 27. Cort added a torch to the composition, thereby changing Tityus into Prometheus; see Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 240.
 28. See John Rupert Martin and Claudia Lazzaro Bruno, "Rubens's 'Cupid Supplicating Jupiter'" in Martin 1972; and Vienna 2004, p. 68. Similarly, in *Juno and Argus* (1611), Rubens executed the peacocks, a bird which features prominently in both *The Recognition of Philopoemen* (see fig. 26) and *Larder with Game Birds* (1614; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. WRM 2894) (the latter also includes a dead eagle).
 29. First noted in connection with Rubens's *Ganymede* by Evers (1942, pp. 106–7); see also Martin and Bruno (note 28 above), p. 13.
 30. Martin and Bruno (note 28), p. 13, fig. 9. For the antique statue and the copy drawings, see Van der Meulen 1994, vol. 2, pp. 112–14, nos. 103–4; vol. 3, figs. 181–83.
 31. Martin and Bruno (note 28), p. 13.
 32. Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, pp. 73, 76; and Kolb 2005, p. 15. Golden eagles are found in the mountainous regions of Spain, where Rubens may have observed them in 1603–04.
 33. Held 1963, p. 21; and Sutton 1990, p. 255.
 34. Lugt 1949, no. 1029; and Sutton 1983, pp. 257–58.
 35. The indications of the torso and liver are difficult to see in reproduction, and I owe this observation to Koslow 1995a, p. 306.
 36. Also the conclusion of Koslow 1995a, p. 306.
 37. Proposed by Sutton (1983, p. 275), who affirmed his point in Sutton 1990, pp. 254–55; and Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 241, this contention was subsequently reiterated in most sources, including Robels 1989, p. 355; C. van de Velde in Bauman and Liedtke 1992, p. 184; and H. Vlieghe in Lille 2004, p. 88.
 38. See Rubens's letter to Carleton of March 17, 1618 (their correspondence over the exchange continued during the course of the spring): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, pp. 130–83. During the course of earlier discussions concerning Carleton's interest in a large hunt scene, which was sold to the duke of Aarschot (Carleton acquired the second version, *Wolf and Fox Hunt* [New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 10.73]), Rubens was said to comment that "the talent of Snyders, is to represent beasts but especiallie Birds altogether dead, and wholly without any action," as reported by Toby Matthew to Sir Dudley Carleton (letter of February 25, 1617): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 99. See cat. no. 24.
 39. "Leopardi... Originale de mia mano, ecçetto un bellissimo paese fatto per mano di valentuomo in quel mestiere." (letter of April 28, 1618): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 137; translation from Magurn 1955, pp. 60–61, letter 28. For the *Leopards*, see cat. nos. 4 and 26; a painting now in Montreal is likely a later copy; see fig. 132.
 40. As noted by Rubens in his letter to Carleton of May 12, 1618: "... havendo lei cappato soli li originali de che io sono contentissimo." (Your Excellency has taken only the originals, with which I am perfectly satisfied.): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 149, no. 168; translated in Magurn 1955, pp. 61–62, letter 29.
 41. "Io ho già fra tanto si trattava dato l'ultima mano all maggior parte delle pitture cappate da lei e ridotte à quella perfettione che mi è stata possibile, di maniera che spero V.E. sia per haverne intiera sodisfattione, finit sono di tutto punto il Prometheo, la Leda, li Leopardi, il Sebastiano, et il Pietro et Danieli, li quali io sono pronto a consegnare à quella persona che lei con ordine espresso mi ordinarà per riceverli." (I have already, during the negotiations, given the finishing touch to the greater part of the pictures chosen by you, and brought them to what perfection I am able, so that I hope your Excellency will be completely satisfied. I have entirely finished the Prometheus, the Leda, the Leopards, the St. Sebastian, the St. Peter... , and the Daniel, and I am ready to deliver them to the person who has Your Excellency's express order to receive them): Rooses and Ruelens, 1887–1909, vol. 2, pp. 161–62; translated in Magurn 1955, p. 63.
 42. Sutton (1983, pp. 272–74) enumerated some of the panels and canvases.
 43. Jacob Jordaens, *Prometheus Bound* (ca. 1640; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, inv. 1044; see Bikker 2004) and Dirck van Baburen, *Prometheus Being Chained by Vulcan* (1623; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. SK A 1606); for other contemporary treatments of the theme, see Sutton 1990, p. 258, nn. 37, 40–41. A later copy of Rubens and Snyders's canvas, then in the collection of the Musée Oldenbourg (now in the Rijksmuseum collection) was considered by Rooses and Ruelens (1887–1909, vol. 2, pp. 140–41) and Oldenbourg (1921, p. 74) to be the original, although the dimensions (189 × 240 cm [74³/₈ × 94¹/₂ in.]) are considerably different from the Philadelphia painting; see also Held 1963, pp. 22, 24 (with subsequent provenance).
 44. Van Gelder 1950/51, p. 132; and Sutton 1990, p. 258.
 45. For Rembrandt's debt to Rubens, see Held 1963, pp. 31–32; and Reznicek 1977, pp. 88–91.

Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders

Diana Returning from the Hunt

ca. 1616

Oil on canvas, 136 × 182.5 cm (53½ × 71⅞ in.)

Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, NO. 962A

PROVENANCE

Acquired from de Wit, Antwerp, in 1709 for Augustus II “The Strong,” elector of Saxony and king of Poland (reigned 1694–1733);¹ first mentioned in the inventory of his collection of paintings, 1722–28,² thence in the Royal Collection,³ and then State Collection, Dresden

LITERATURE

Smith 1829–42, vol. 2, p. 82; Hübner 1872, p. 202, no. 826; Rooses 1886–92, vol. 3, pp. 79–80, no. 597; Woermann 1905, p. 312, no. 962; Glück 1933, pp. 160 (no. 133), 185,

360, 395; Evers 1942, pp. 196–201, no. 137; Balis 1986, pp. 57, 161; Robels 1989, pp. 121, 149, 362–63, no. 268; Dresden 1992, p. 332; Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 30; Koslow 1995a, pp. 240–41

EXHIBITIONS

Antwerp 1977, p. 103, cat. no. 40; Berlin 2002–03, pp. 126–27, cat. no. 47; London 2003, pp. 132–35, cat. no. 43; Jackson 2004, pp. 25–26, cat. no. 1.11

BETWEEN ABOUT 1615 AND 1620, RUBENS DEvised new imagery around the theme of the hunt. The physicality and drama of his large-scale combats between men, their mounts, and exotic beasts transformed ancient and Renaissance traditions for the depiction of hunting scenes.⁴ At the same time, Rubens developed idyllic subjects that celebrated nature’s abundance and the sensual aspects of the mythological chase. While Rubens and his studio executed the hunts, including the animals, the magnificence and expressiveness of the mythological subjects were enhanced by the contributions of eminent colleagues, notably Jan Brueghel the Elder, Frans Snyders, and Jan Wildens (1585/6–1653). *Diana Returning from the Hunt* is Rubens’s seminal portrayal of Diana—in it he established both the erotic tone and the descriptive visual vocabulary for subsequent treatments of the huntress. The fruit, dead game,

and hunting dogs painted by Snyders are sumptuous attributes that demonstrate his skillful rendering of diverse textures which complement the figures’ richly colored draperies. The important, though subsidiary, role played by Snyders in major figure pictures like this one contrasts with Brueghel’s principal share in the treatments of Diana and her nymphs from about 1620 (cat. nos. 10 and 11), where he was not only the painter of the animals and accouterments but also the creator of the landscape.

In *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, the goddess and her companions encounter a gregarious band of satyrs who, in keeping with their mischievous and lascivious nature, tempt the virginal huntresses with offerings of fruit in the hope of seducing them. The scene is a delightfully imagined encounter in keeping with descriptions in Ovid (*Metamorphoses*) and Virgil (*The Aeneid*, *Georgics*) of the goddess Diana





FIGURE 91 Peter Paul Rubens, *Two Satyrs*, ca. 1617–19. Oil on panel, 75.5 × 61 cm (29¾ × 24 in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 69

(Greek: Artemis), who was extolled for her fair beauty, strength of character, and chastity. In the Dresden painting, a formidably athletic Diana wears her red *chiton* over one shoulder, breast exposed like an Amazon (see cat. no. 1), and her hair pulled back (in this case, elegantly decorated with pearls), as she was portrayed in antique sculpture and on Roman sarcophagi.⁵ In one hand she carries a long spear and in the other holds her bounty of colorful song- and game birds. Behind her are three nymphs, one of whom carries a dead hare on the shaft of her spear and looks out at the viewer. The satyrs, bearded with short, turned horns, are wrapped in goatskins, which also serve to support the overflowing array of fruit clasped by the satyr in the foreground. His grapevine crown (also the work of Rubens) and laughing visage

convey the associated theme of bacchic revelry. Rubens portrayed the same bearded, wily satyr squeezing a bunch of grapes in a bust-length portrait from this period (fig. 91).⁶

While the mythological themes of Diana's Punishment of Callisto and the Hunt of Actaeon had been frequently depicted by painters in the sixteenth century, particularly at the French court of Fontainebleau,⁷ Rubens established the subject of Diana's Return from the Hunt with the present painting. He drew on his empathy for the world of classical mythology to breathe life into well-known mythological characters, in this case portraying the charged interaction between opposite types: the lusty, earthy personification of nature, the satyr, and the aloof virgin goddess. The frieze-like composition, with the robust figures placed close to the picture plane and almost no landscape visible behind them, underscores the allusion to an antique past. Diagonal elements, such as Diana's spear, which separates the bands of nymphs and satyrs, and even the leaning stance of the foreground satyr, moderate the vertical formality of the procession of nymphs and continue through Snyder's grape stems, the beak of the curlew, and the muzzles of the inquisitive greyhounds. Witty details pervade the scene: one of the hounds warily sniffs at the (presumably malodorous) interloper, while the satyr in the background uses his horns to balance the overflowing basket of fruit on his head as he offers a bunch of grapes to a nymph. The appeal of the Diana theme for Rubens was the opportunity to portray the beautiful seminude goddess and her band as well as the boisterous companions of Bacchus. While the outcome of the encounter between the two groups in *Diana Returning from the Hunt* is provocatively indeterminate, the licentious aspects of the subject were emphasized in the caption on the print after the Dresden painting by Schelte Bolswert (ca. 1586–1659) dating from the early 1620s: "May the weary young women be a favorable prize for you: together fruit and game make a suitable feast."⁸

Despite his concurrent absorption in vigorous hunt subjects, in this period of his career Rubens never portrayed the goddess actively pursuing her quarry. He began to depict her engaged in her favorite pastime only in the late 1620s.⁹ The relieflike character of the scene, profile treatment of the female heads, and vertical division of the composition into two halves make this one of the most balanced and restrained Diana compositions painted by Rubens and Snyder between 1615 and 1620. In *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, the artists created a decorum appropriate to the

mythological subject, in which each figure behaves in accordance with their rowdy or chaste character. Rubens and his studio expanded the scene into a full-length format with additional figures (fig. 92), a format that undercuts the monumentality achieved in the present painting with half-length figures but elaborates on the interactions between the satyrs and nymphs.¹⁰

Rubens's attention to decorum would have resonated in courtly circles, where hunting was a royal prerogative pursued seriously by the archdukes and by Isabella in particular.¹¹ The hunting law issued by the archdukes in 1613 specified the rights, rules, and regulations of the hunt and underscored the traditional regional view of appropriate behavior, which required participants to hunt "fur with fur and feather with feather."¹² With *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, Rubens addressed specifically the courtly and noble taste for elevated and allusive treatments of the hunt. The inventory of the archducal hunting castle, Tervuren, refers to many paintings of similar subjects,¹³ and although it is unclear whether Archduchess Isabella commissioned *Diana at the Hunt* and *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (cat. nos. 10 and 11) from Brueghel and Rubens, the subject and particularly the collection of hounds must certainly have carried an allusion to her pursuits. The popularity of such



FIGURE 92 Peter Paul Rubens and workshop and Frans Snyders, *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, ca. 1616. Oil on canvas, 231 × 238 cm (91 × 93¾ in.). Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, inv. GK 180

images in the early seventeenth century is reflected in the collections of the artists themselves. The inventory drawn up at Rubens's death lists two paintings of Diana subjects executed with Jan Brueghel, and Snyders himself possessed a "hunt" by Rubens and Brueghel.¹⁴

In contrast to his friend Brueghel, Snyders was adept at working on the large, expressive scale required by Rubens, producing substantial and weighty still-life elements. Frans's sojourn in Italy (1608–09) was crucial for his development of fruit motifs in particular. With the aid of a letter of introduction from Brueghel, he met Cardinal Borromeo and would thus have known Caravaggio's striking and influential *Basket of Fruit* (ca. 1595–98; Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana) commissioned by Borromeo, and possibly also Caravaggio's *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (ca. 1593–94; Rome, Galleria Borghese).¹⁵ An intriguing reference to "paintings on paper of Italian Fruit" (*beschilderde papieren met Italiensche Vruchten*) in Snyders's will of 1655 may allude to studies he made himself during this period. As Balis observed, Snyders's use of the motif of the split melon, for example, may reflect his exposure to Italian still life.¹⁶

Rubens relied heavily on Snyders to help create the visual richness that defined a genre where abundance and bounteousness were principal themes. The fruit and game elements in *Diana Returning from the Hunt* were Snyders's own invention as an established still-life specialist. While Rubens planned the huge still life in one of their earliest joint works, *The Recognition of Philopoemen* of ca. 1609 (see fig. 27),¹⁷ by 1611 Snyders had established an independent career. Brueghel continued to promote Snyders to Cardinal Borromeo, commenting in a letter of 1611 that Snyders had painted a *tazza* of different sorts of fruit.¹⁸ In 1613 Brueghel related to Borromeo (with Rubens acting as secretary) that Snyders had "progressed in his art" and the prices of his work had increased correspondingly.¹⁹

Snyders's style was close enough to Rubens's own descriptive brushwork that contemporaries had difficulty distinguishing between them. Rubens was quick to clarify the differences for clients such as Sir Dudley Carleton. Carleton's agent, Toby Matthew, described his confusion over the authorship of a hunt scene to Carleton: "I have been in an error, for I thought as y^e doe, that his [Snyders] hand had been in that peece, but sincerley and certainly it is not soe. For in this Peece the beasts are all alive, and in act eyther of escape or resistance, in the expressing whereof Snyder doth infinitlie come short of Rubens, and Rubens saith that he



FIGURE 93 Frans Snyders, *Studies of Four Heads of Dogs*, ca. 1615. Oil on panel, 52 × 70 cm (20½ × 27½ in.). Formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, inv. 774A (destroyed 1945)

should infinitlie take it in ill part, if I should compare Snyders wth him on that point. The talent of Snyders, is to represent beasts but especiallie Birds altogether dead, and wholly wthout anie action; and that w^{ch} y^r LP, Mr. Gage, and I sawe of his hand, w^{ch} we liked so well was a gruppo of dead Birds, in a picture of Diana, and certain other naked Nimphes.²⁰

Diana Returning from the Hunt is notable among the joint treatments of the goddess and her nymphs by Rubens and his collaborators for the integration of the still-life and animal elements with the figures. The bundle of fruit, the armful of birds, and the hounds in *Diana Returning from the Hunt* must have been discussed in advance in order to achieve a harmonious balance between these components and the figures. Although no overall preparatory sketch for *Diana Returning from the Hunt* is known, the composition was almost certainly planned by Rubens, who first painted the figures. Rubens considered an oil sketch of greyhounds by Snyders (fig. 93) a source for the two greyhounds on the right, and in fact the black and white hound in the lower left of the sketch appears in the *Diana* as well.²¹ If the sketch preceded the painting, then Snyders already had a clear idea of the relationship between the hound and the hanging hare (whose ears appear in the sketch), as well as the position of Diana's spear in front of the black and white hound. Snyders planned some of the contours of the hounds in advance; a

smaller ear can be seen in the head of the dog in the right foreground. He also adjusted the contours of the rear dog's muzzle and ear, which were painted over the blue drapery.

Rubens and Snyders enjoyed a productive and genial partnership that continued until Rubens's death. In 1628 they collaborated on two hunts of Diana destined for the Alcázar. Between 1636 and 1639, Rubens received commissions from the Spanish king Philip IV for many hunts to decorate the royal hunting lodge, the Torre de la Parada, as well as the Alcázar and Buen Retiro palaces. Snyders's participation is documented for eight of these hunting scenes, including a *Diana and Her Nymphs Hunting Fallow Deer* (presumed lost) and *Diana and Her Nymphs Attacked by Satyrs* (Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado). In correspondence associated with this prestigious commission, their individual expertise and established division of labor were recognized by their patron, and Rubens was directed to paint the figures and landscape, while Snyders was expected to execute the animals.²² ATW

NOTES

1. The unidentified De Wit cited by Hübner (1872, p. 202, giving the price as "200 pistolen") and Uta Neidhardt in Berlin 2002–03 (p. 126) was probably the art dealer Jacobus de Wit. A large number of paintings were acquired about 1710 from De Wit for the elector according to Staring (1958, p. 53). De Wit was the uncle of the Dutch artist Jacob de Wit, who collected and retouched drawings by Rubens and also made drawn variations on Rubens's compositions, including a full-length version (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 2235) of Rubens and Frans Snyders's *Diana Returning from the Hunt* (fig. 92); see note 10 below. For the elder and younger de Wit, see Staring 1958, and Michiel Plomp, "Collecting Rubens's Drawings," in New York 2005, pp. 51–53. According to Hübner, the painting was acquired in Antwerp from "Raschke," whose identity is unknown, but who may have been an agent associated with the sale of the painting to the elector. Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Dutch Landscape* (Hübner 1872, p. 182, no. 728, presumed lost) was described as purchased through Raschke from "Jac. de Wit."
2. "Lit. A et B. Inventaria Sr. Königl. Majestät in Pohlen und Churfürl. Durchl. zu Sachsen große, wie auch kleine Cabinets und andere Schildereyen . . ." prepared by Johann Adam Steinhäuser between 1722–28, no. A 48.
3. "Sr. königl. Maj. in Polen und kurfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachsen Schilderei-Inventaria sub Lit. A et B.," prepared by Johann Adam Steinhäuser, no. 48A; "Catalogo delli quadri, che sono nel Gabinetto di Sua Maestà," prepared by Pietro Guarienti, no. 136; "Inventarium von der Königlichen Bilder-Galerie zu Dreßden, gefertigt Mens: Julij & August: 1754," prepared by Matthias Oesterreich, no. 359.

4. The monumental hunt scenes created about 1616 include, for example, four paintings acquired by the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria: *Boar Hunt* (oil on canvas, 250 × 320 cm [98³/₈ × 126 in.]; Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. 103), *Hippopotamus and Crocodile Hunt* (oil on canvas, 248 × 321 cm [97⁵/₈ × 126³/₈ in.]; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 4797), *Lion Hunt* (oil on canvas, 248 × 324 cm [97⁵/₈ × 127¹/₂ in.]; formerly Bordeaux Museum, lost), and *Tiger, Lion, and Leopard Hunt* (oil on canvas, 256 × 324 cm [100³/₄ × 127¹/₂ in.]; Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. 811.1.10). For Rubens's hunt scenes, see Rosand 1969 and Balis 1986.
5. For Rubens's familiarity with ancient representations of Artemis and Diana, see Balis 1986, p. 58.
6. Rubens added the second satyr in the Munich panel (see note 4 above) during a later campaign of painting; see Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 366–67.
7. For the iconography of the goddess at Fontainebleau, inspired by Diane de Poitiers, see Bardon 1963.
8. “Sic vobis lassae sint proemia fausta puellae: Conueniunt epulis poma feraeque bene.” For the print, see Voorhelm Scheevoogt 1873, p. 122, no. 24. I thank Louis Marchesano, collections curator of prints and drawings, Getty Research Institute, for sharing his insights into Schelte's presentation of the composition.
9. Observed by Balis 1986, p. 58. Rubens's *Diana and Nymphs Hunting Deer*, executed with Frans Snyder, was brought to Madrid by Rubens in 1628 but is now lost; see Balis 1986, pp. 187–91, no. 13; and Vergara 1999, pp. 46, 48.
10. Robels (1989, p. 362) was the first to propose that the present painting is the earliest version of the composition. A smaller copy of the present painting, perhaps painted in Rubens's studio, recently appeared on the art market (oil on canvas, 72 × 104.1 cm [28³/₈ × 41 in.]; Sotheby's, New York, January 28, 2005, lot 581). Another version of the Darmstadt canvas was formerly located in the Dresden collection (inv. 980; destroyed 1945); see Robels 1989, p. 364. A drawing (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, inv. 2235) after the Darmstadt composition (fig. 92) believed to be by Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678) has recently been reattributed to the eighteenth-century Antwerp painter-collector Jacob de Wit who, characteristically, made several changes to the composition; see Michiel Plomp (note 1 above), pp. 52–53.
11. See especially cat. nos. 9, 10, and 11.
12. Koslow 1996, p. 701. See also cat. nos. 10 and 11.
13. See the 1617 and 1667 inventories of paintings at Tervuren published by De Maeyer 1955, pp. 336–37, doc. 134, and pp. 448–53, doc. 272. Among the paintings listed in the anticamer (antichamber) of the latter (p. 452), three are identified as Diana subjects.
14. “A hunting of Diana; the figures of Sr Peter Rubens—The Landschaps and the beasts of Brugel” (no. 269) and “A hunting of Diana by Peter Rubens and Brugel” (no. 270) were listed among Rubens's possessions; see Muller 1989, pp. 138–39, and no. 10, and Antwerp 2004, pp. 197–98. The 1659 inventory of paintings in the estate of Frans Snyder included “een Jacht van Reubens en Brueghel” (A hunt by Rubens and Brueghel) valued at the substantial price of 500 gulden; see Denucé 1949, p. 189.
15. For Brueghel's letters, see Crivelli 1868, pp. 111 and 113. For Caravaggio's role in the development of still life, see Laura Laurecoti, “Painting Nature: Fruit, Flowers and Vegetables,” in London–Rome 2001, pp. 68–88. For Snyder's exposure to Caravaggio, see Robels 1989, p. 22; and Koslow 1995a, p. 34, 45.
16. See Arnout Balis, “Working It Out: Design Tools and Procedures in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Flemish Art,” in Vlieghe et al. 2000, p. 138.
17. See pp. 25–26 in this volume.
18. “Francesco Snyder fa un Ramo, con un tazza de porcellane peino di frutti, diuni” (Frans Snyder has made a [picture on] copper, with a porcelain tazza full of various kinds of fruit): Crivelli 1868, p. 185 (letter of June 10, 1611).
19. “Il sig. Francesco Snyder si come ha fatto da quell hora che vs il conobbe in Milano grandissimo progresso nell'arte sua cosi anco a proportione è cresciuto il prezzo del opre sue” (Since the time when Your Honor knew him in Milan Francesco Snyder has made great progress in art and his work has proportionally increased in price): Crivelli 1868, p. 198 (letter of January 25, 1613).
20. Letter of February 25, 1617; see Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, vol. 2, p. 99. Koslow (1995a, p. 18) proposed that the painting of “Diana and certain other naked Nymphes” mentioned by Matthews may be identified with the *Diana and Her Nymphs Asleep Surprised by Satyrs* in London, Kensington Palace (Royal Collection) or the related version in Geneva (Musée d'Art et d'Histoire).
21. Robels 1989, p. 404, no. SK 6. Robels (pp. 404, 505) also associated a drawing of four greyhounds (Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. v88) with the Dresden *Diana Returning from the Hunt*.
22. For the series, see Balis 1986, pp. 218–64. “Todas son de su [i.e., Rubens] mano y de Esneyre, del uno las figuras y paisés y del otro los animales” (Everything by your hand and by Snyder, from the former the figures and landscapes and from the other the animals), quoted in Balis 1986, p. 228, n. 9. For the evidence confirming that “Esneyre” referred to Frans Snyder, see Alpers 1971, pp. 117–18.

Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders

The Head of Medusa

ca. 1617–18

Oil on canvas, 68.5 × 118 cm (27 × 46½ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 3834

PROVENANCE

Collection of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham, by 1635, from which sold, Antwerp, 1648;¹ sold by William Aylesbury to Salomon Cock, along with other paintings from the Buckingham sale, May 14, 1649;² not in the inventory of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, but probably brought by his brother Emperor Ferdinand III to Prague; Prague inventory 1718, no. 38; transferred from Prague to Vienna 1876

LITERATURE

Rooses 1886–92, vol. 3, p. 116, no. 636; Glück 1928, no. 846; Müller Hofstede 1971, p. 271;

Hairs 1977, p. 16; Jaffé 1989, p. 232, no. 448; Robels 1989, pp. 370–71, no. 276; Ferino-Pagden 1991, p. 104;³ Koslow 1995a, pp. 303, 306, 308–12; Koslow 1995b, pp. 147–49, 349–50; Vlieghe 2003, p. 115

EXHIBITIONS

Antwerp 1977, cat. no. 27; Vienna 1977, cat. no. 23; Padua–Rome–Milan 1990, p. 118–12, cat. no. 40; Boston–Toledo 1993–94, pp. 35, 245–47, cat. no. 12; Vienna–Essen 2002, pp. 58–59, cat. no. 12; Braunschweig 2004, pp. 69–70, 222–25, cat. no. 44

RUBENS UTILIZED THE ADVANTAGES OF PAINTING in collaboration, notably the descriptive eloquence of separate hands, to create an arresting image of Medusa's severed head. Working with the animal and still-life specialist Frans Snyders, by this time a frequent partner, Rubens updated a traditionally iconic subject. *The Head of Medusa* combines aspects of various genres, including still life, history painting, and allegory, and Rubens and Snyders reversed their usual roles of portraying people and animals that are respectively, alive and lifeless, to capture the unique power of the Gorgon's head.

Medusa's pallid countenance lies on the ground at the edge of a precipice, her blackened lips parted to reveal her teeth and bloody sputum, her knit brows and rolling eyes reflecting her startled horror and rage at her fate. The mass of snakes that make up her hair seethe around her, surging in

all directions, even forming in the gory remains of her throat. The story of Medusa is told by Ovid.⁴ The most beautiful of the three daughters of the sea gods Phorcys and Ceto, Medusa, the only mortal, was celebrated for her beautiful hair. Her locks were transformed by Minerva into a knot of loathsome snakes after Medusa was violated by Neptune in the goddess's temple. Thereafter, anyone who looked upon this Gorgon was turned to stone. Perseus, using only the reflection in his shield, followed Medusa and decapitated her as she slept. Even once severed, Medusa's head, with its writhing mass of live snakes, continued to exert its power and was used by Perseus to transform Atlas into a mountain and to rescue Andromeda. In one episode, after Perseus placed the head on a mat of seaweed to protect it from the sand, the Gorgon's blood transformed the seaweed into a new precious substance: coral.⁵ As Perseus traveled over Africa,



drops of blood from Medusa's head fell to the sand below and changed into snakes of many kinds. Perseus gave the head to Minerva, who mounted it upon her breastplate (aegis) and thereafter utilized its terrible transfixing power in battle.

By the early seventeenth century, the iconography of the Medusa head centered on the image's apotropaic character, that is, its power (or reputed power) to avert evil or bad luck by intimidating or repelling enemies. The political and moralizing aspects of this function endowed the subject with additional levels of complexity that appealed to learned viewers, and perhaps particularly to the duke of Buckingham, one of the first owners of *The Head of Medusa*.⁶ According to Ludovico Dolce, the Gorgon's head was associated with intellect or reason, which battles the opponents of virtue. Likewise, Cesare Ripa represented the triumph of reason over sensuality with an emblem depicting the Gorgon's head.⁷ At the same time, there existed in the Netherlands a more pessimistic view of Medusa's transformative powers, one not likely to have interested Buckingham but certainly known to Rubens and Snyders. In his 1604 treatise "On the interpretation and explanation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*," Karel van Mander asserted that Perseus was the "reason or the intellect of our souls while Medusa was the carnal desires or natural lusts which transform in mankind all reason, prudence and wisdom unto unfeeling stones." He characterized Medusa, once proud of her hair, as "misusing God's gifts or dishonoring God or his commandments through pride."⁸ The opposing interpretations of the subject only served to heighten the visual effects of fascination and revulsion. For an erudite artist like Rubens, the range of interpretations may have offered one of the appealing challenges of the subject, and the forthright presentation of Medusa's head for our scrutiny does not exclude either the positive or negative associations and interpretations.

However, while the Vienna canvas has often been discussed in the context of Renaissance and Baroque depictions of Medusa, either as painted ornamental shields or as the metalwork decoration for parade shields, *The Head of Medusa* in fact departs from such precedents in a number of important ways.⁹ The earlier treatments of Medusa exploit its apotropaic aspects, presenting the head from the front in a confrontational and emblematic fashion. In 1568 Vasari described a Medusa head in a round format by a youthful Leonardo da Vinci (once in the Medici collection but now lost), describing the tangled serpents as "the most queer and extravagant invention."¹⁰ This famous work may have

inspired the magnificently decorated shields made by the Milanese armorers Filippo and Francesco Negroli in the mid-sixteenth century. Shields made for Emperor Charles V portray the Gorgon's head in relief, brows furrowed, eyes rolled back and mouth ajar in a silent scream, the snakes in her hair intertwined above and below her face.¹¹ The Gorgon's head motif appeared frequently in political allegory, notably on the shield carried by Alessandro Farnese in a print of about 1586, which shows the governor and general as Hercules at the crossroads pursuing the path of militant Catholicism and repelling (with the help of the shield and the personification of his religious convictions) his enemies, Envy and Ungodliness.¹² It is thought that Rubens knew Caravaggio's famous painted wooden shield, *The Medusa Head on Minerva's Shield* (fig. 94), which was sent by Cardinal del Monte to Grand Duke Ferdinand of Tuscany about 1608.¹³ The gaping mouth and furrowed brow of this image have their origins in Caravaggio's physiognomic studies, while the gushing blood, writhing serpents, and strong illumination infuse the motif with new realism.¹⁴ Giambattista Marino's poem of 1620 dedicated to Caravaggio's Medusa, then hanging in the grand duke's gallery, concludes with the flattering conceit that the duke's own valor served as the true Medusa ("la vera Medusa è il valor vostro").¹⁵ Unlike the frontal and repellent forms of Medusa found on these painted and sculpted shields, and in Caravaggio's near-mirror image, Rubens rests the Gorgon's head on the ground. The landscape format and the placement of Medusa's visage slightly off-center emphasize the descriptive and observational presentation of Rubens's composition, while the soil and the nearby vegetation call attention to the corporeal qualities of the head.

The extraordinary descriptiveness of *The Head of Medusa* suggests that rather than focusing on allegorical connotations, Rubens emphasized instead the image's *terribilità*—its intense (and delightful) ability to inspire awe or dread.¹⁶ Certainly Constantijn Huygens, secretary to Stadholder Frederik Hendrik in The Hague, responded to its powerful visual impact. Huygens saw a version of the *Medusa* in the collection of his friend, the Amsterdam merchant Nicolaas Sohier, and his comments from 1629–30 are worth repeating at length for their vividness and for the way in which they reveal his obvious appreciation of the painting's effect: "of his [Rubens's] many paintings, there is one that always sticks in my memory. That one I was able to see once with my friend Nicolaas Sohier, in his splendidly furnished house



FIGURE 94 Caravaggio (1571–1610), *The Medusa Head on Minerva's Shield*, ca. 1597. Oil on canvas applied to a poplar-wood shield, 60 × 55 cm (23⁵/₈ × 21⁵/₈ in.). Florence, Uffizi, inv. 135

in Amsterdam. There is the compelling painted head of Medusa, wreathed by snakes that spring from her hair. The countenance of the extremely beautiful woman has its grace still preserved, but at the same time evokes the horror of the fitting beginning of death and of the wreath of hideous snakes. The combination is so shrewdly executed that the spectator would be shocked by the sudden confrontation (normally the painting is covered), but at the same time is moved by the lifelikeness and beauty with which the grim subject is rendered.¹⁷ As Huygens notes, the Medusa's head has a ghastly, deathly appearance, while retaining vestiges of her former beauty. The skin, with its greenish undertones, has a slightly metallic look that recalls the sculptural quality of Rubens's expressive and dynamic early works in Antwerp and effectively connotes death.¹⁸ Unlike Rubens's personifications of snake-haired Envy, which have the generalized, haggard features of a type (see, for example, Envy/Invidia peering out of the right background of *The Crowning of Virtue*, fig. 38), Medusa is not abstracted.



FIGURE 95 X-radiograph showing detail, Peter Paul Rubens and Frans Snyders, *The Head of Medusa*

Prohaska dated the painting to about 1617/18 based in part on the resemblance between Medusa and the head of a possessed woman in the great *Miracles of Saint Ignatius* altarpiece of 1618 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum).¹⁹ At about this time, Rubens employed similarly horrified expressions for the tormented and damned in the *Great Last Judgment* (1617; Munich, Alte Pinakothek). An X-radiograph of the Vienna painting (fig. 95) reveals that Medusa originally was painted with her black, pointed tongue extended, an aspect that was perhaps deemed too horrific by Rubens.

In contrast to Medusa's visage, the snakes are extremely mobile and very much alive. They recall the Roman poet Lucan's contention in *Pharsalia* that her snakes actively kept watch while she slept and protected Medusa's face.²⁰ Those that emerge from her blood recall the Ovidian description of snakes being birthed from drops of the Gorgon's blood. As Sutton has shown, the snakes themselves are common European water snakes (*Natrix natrix*), a nonvenomous species. Koslow identified the grappling pair on the right as

vipers, which in their exhibition of mating behavior carried strong associations of evil.²¹ Other noxious and fearsome animals have been included on the bare earth of the ledge, including spiders, the magnificent European fire salamander (*Salamandra salamandra*), and the mythical two-headed *amphisbaena*, which follows a description by Pliny.²² Snakes were not frequently depicted in Flemish painting. One of the most extraordinary and often overlooked examples occurs in Frans Floris's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1554; Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten), the altarpiece of the swordsmen's guild in Antwerp Cathedral, in which one of the rebel angels has serpent tresses, while in the lower right corner vipers attack a rat. Snakes appear in only a few works by Snyders; his detailed rendering of scales in *The Head of Medusa* may derive from sixteenth-century bronze snakes cast from live specimens by the Paduan sculptor Andrea Riccio (1470/75–1532) and the German goldsmith Wenceslas Jannitzer (1507/8–1585), among others.²³

One of the central questions about this image must be why Rubens chose to execute it in collaboration with another artist. He must have felt that *terribilità* would be best achieved by working with a specialist. Sir Dudley Carleton's agent recounted that Rubens, who was skilled in the representation of animals and had already painted a large and vicious hunt of wolves and foxes, pointedly stated that he disliked comparison with Snyders, whose skill was depicting "beasts but especiallye Birds altogether dead."²⁴ In the *Medusa*, intriguingly, it was Rubens who painted the still life. The painting's traditional and earliest attribution to Rubens and Snyders is maintained here, but the identity of Rubens's coworker is still debated. Following the 1635 Buckingham inventory attribution to "Rubens and Subter" (very likely Snyders), it was sold in 1648 as a Rubens,²⁵ an attribution maintained until Rooses proposed Jan Brueghel the Elder as Rubens's coworker in 1892, while also noting a suggested attribution to Snyders. However, Brueghel's lively, graphic brushwork cannot be discerned here. G. Heinz proposed the involvement of Paul de Vos (1591–1678).²⁶ The possibility that Rubens, who certainly contributed some of the reptile forms, particularly those with their roots in Medusa's scalp, may have painted *The Head of Medusa* without assistance has recently been reconsidered.²⁷ However, the forms of the serpents are polished and opaque and articulated with the bright crisp highlights that are characteristic of Snyders's treatment of still-life objects. Unlike Rubens's earlier grand-scale collaborative works with Frans

Snyders, such as *Prometheus Bound* (cat. no. 22) and *The Recognition of Philopoemen* (see fig. 26), for which he designed the entire composition, no preparatory sketch by Rubens for this composition survives. Snyders may have added the serpents to the head laid down by Rubens, who perhaps returned to apply finishing touches to the white drapery on the right side, as well as the touches of blood.²⁸

The sale of the present painting in Antwerp in 1648 enabled artists to copy it, including the Flemish artist Victor Wolfvoet (1612–1652).²⁹ The same occasion may also have provided the opportunity for Jan van Kessel the Younger (1626–1679) to copy some of the animals. The snakes are incorporated into his imaginative scene of *Angola* for the *Asia* portion of the series the Four Parts of the Earth (1664–66; Munich, Alte Pinakothek), while the fire salamander appears among a myriad of studies in *Insects and Reptiles* (ca. 1650–60; Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum).³⁰ ATW

NOTES

1. Probably the painting described as "Rubens and Subter [sic]—Medusa's head with snakes" (May 11, 1635); see Davies 1906–07, p. 379. Described in the 1648 auction catalogue as "By Rubens. Medusa's Head": Fairfax 1758, p. 15, no. 8.
2. "No. 70. Item une peinture de la Teite de Méduza de Rubens": Duverger 1984–, vol. 5, p. 482, doc. 1559; see also Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 245.
3. The animals are attributed to Frans Snyders and Paul de Vos.
4. *Metamorphoses* 4.617–803.
5. The subject appears in a drawing, *Perseus Disarming and the Origin of Coral*, after Giulio Romano's drawing of the same subject (London, British Museum, inv. 1895-9-15-645), which has been attributed to Rubens by M. Jaffé (1977, p. 44) and D. Jaffé (in Canberra–Melbourne 1992, pp. 191–94, cat. no. 76), but disputed by Wood (in Edinburgh–Nottingham 2002, pp. 61–62, cat. no. 38).
6. W. Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 83; and W. Prohaska in Vienna–Essen 2002, p. 58. Although *The Head of Medusa* is recorded in the 1635 inventory of the duke of Buckingham's collection, it is not clear when he acquired the painting. The duke, who met Rubens in Paris in 1625, commissioned an equestrian portrait of himself and a ceiling painting titled *The Glorification of the Duke of Buckingham*, which were completed in 1627. Both were destroyed in 1949 but are represented today by oil sketches: *Glorification of the Duke of Buckingham* (London, National Gallery, inv. 187) and *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Buckingham* (Fort Worth, Texas, Kimbell Art Museum, inv. AP 76.8); see Held 1980, pp. 390–95. The duke bought a large group of antiquities and other works of art from Rubens about 1627.

7. Dolce 1913, p. 140; and Ripa 1603, p. 426; quoted by Prohaska in Vienna 1977. For other uses of this interpretation, see also Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 247, n. 6.
8. "... dat Perseus is te ghelijcken, oft beduydt de redelijckheyt, oft het verstandt onser Sielen, en Medusa de vleeschelijcke quade ghenegenthey, oft natuerlijcke wellusticheyt die den Menschen allencx benemende alle redelijckheyt voorsichticheyt en wijsheyt doet veranderen en worden gelijk onbevoelijcke steenen;" "Oock wordt by haer [Medusa] gheleert datmen de Godlijcke gaven niet behoort te misbruycken noch door dertel hooghmoedt Godt oft zijn gheboden te verachten ghelijck sy op haer schoonheyt en schoon hayr verhooveerdicht dede": Van Mander 1604, book 4, fol. 39b; quoted by Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 247. While Koslow (1995b) explored possible misogynist themes in the iconography of Medusa, it is not clear that these were Rubens's intended meanings for the painting.
9. Prohaska provided a detailed account of these precedents in Vienna 1977.
10. "animalaccio molto orribile e spaventosso, rapprestando lo effeto stesso che la testa già di Medusa": Vasari 1966–, vol. 4, pp. 21–22. Leonardo's work is discussed in relation to the present work by Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 82.
11. *Medusa Shield of Charles V* (1541; Madrid, Real Armería, inv. D 640; see New York 1998–99, pp. 177–79, cat. no. 32) and *Medusa Shield* (ca. 1550–55; Vienna, Hofjagd- und Rüstkammer des Kunsthistorischen Museums, inv. A693a; see New York 1998–99, pp. 216–24, cat. no. 42; and Pfaffenbichler in Vienna 1987, pp. 148–50).
12. By Gijsbert van Veen after a design by Otto van Veen; see Antwerp 1993, pp. 269–70, cat. no. 123.
13. According to the Italian painter and biographer Giovanni Baglione (ca. 1566–1643); see Friedlaender 1955, p. 157, no. 13. Friedlaender (p. 87) discusses the connection between Caravaggio's work and that of Rubens and Snyders. See also Heikamp 1966, pp. 62–76; and Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 82.
14. Friedlaender 1955, pp. 87–89.
15. Giambattista Marino, *Galeria Distinta* (Venice, 1620), p. 28; quoted in Friedlaender 1955, pp. 88–89. See also Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 83.
16. Alternatively identified by Heinen as the "ictus-Effekte" in Braunschweig 2004, p. 224.
17. "Van zijn vele schilderijen is er een, dat mij altijd is bijgebleven. Dat kreeg ik een keer te zien bij mijn vriend Nicolaas Sohier, in diens prachtig ingerichte huis in Amsterdam. Daarop is het afgehouden hoofd van Medusa geschilderd, omkranst door slangen die uit haar haar ontspruiten. Het gelaat van de wonderschone vrouw heeft zijn gratie nog bewaard, maar tegelijk wekt het afgrijzen door de zojuist ingetreden dood en door de krans van afzichtelijke slangen. De combinatie is zo geraffineerd uitgevoerd, dat de toeschouwer door de plotselinge confrontatie (normaal is het schilderij namelijk afgedekt) geschokt wordt, maar tegelijk de ontroering ondergaat van de levensechtheid en de schoonheid, waarmee het wrede onderwerp is weergegeven": Huygens/Heesakkers 1987, pp. 80–81. For Sohier's painting, which remained in Amsterdam until the middle of the eighteenth century, see Robels 1989, p. 371.
18. Glück 1928 dated *The Head of Medusa* ca. 1610 and attributed it to Rubens.
19. Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 83.
20. Koslow 1995b, p. 148.
21. Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 247; and Koslow 1995b, p. 147.
22. See Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 45 (with a reference to C. Plinius Secundus, *Naturalia historiae libri* 38.7.85); Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 247; and Koslow 1995b, p. 148.
23. The only other composition by Snyders in which snakes figure prominently is *The Eagles and the Dead Wolf* (ca. 1610–30, oil on canvas, 164 × 238 cm [64⁵/₈ × 93³/₄ in.]; Paris, Musée de la Chasse et de la Nature, on deposit at the Chateau Chambord, inv. 71-1-1); see Robels 1989, pp. 315–16, no. 209; and Koslow 1995b, p. 147.
24. Letter of February 25, 1617, from Toby Matthew to Sir Dudley Carleton; see Rooses and Ruclens 1887–1909, vol. 5, p. 99. See also cat. no. 23.
25. For the 1635 and 1648 references, see notes 1 and 2 above.
26. Mentioned by Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 83.
27. Prohaska in Vienna–Essen 2002, p. 58.
28. This possibility is suggested by a similar adjustment observed by Gayo García and Vergara in *The Recognition of Philopoemen* (see fig. 26); see Gayo García and Vergara 2004.
29. The copy is signed VICTOR WOLFOEET (oil on canvas, 44.5 × 59 cm [17¹/₂ × 23¹/₄ in.]; Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 1050); see Prohaska in Vienna 1977, p. 81; and Robels 1989, p. 371. Another painting of the same subject, "t Hoofft van Medusa, van Feyt [the animal painter Jan Fyt]," appeared in the estate of Erasmus Quellinus, 1678; see Sutton in Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 247, n. 1.
30. See Renger and Denk 2002, p. 237–40; and Vienna–Essen 2002, pp. 98–99.

Jan Brueghel the Elder

The Sermon on the Mount

1598

Oil on copper, 26.7 × 36.8 cm (10½ × 14½ in.)

Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.PC.71

Exhibited in Los Angeles only

INSCRIPTION

At lower left, BRUEGHEL 1598

PROVENANCE

Private collection, Vienna, Austria; purchased by David Goldman, New York, 1935; by inheritance to a private collection, New York; sold Sotheby's, New York, April 19, 1984, lot 44; purchased by Noortman & Brod, Ltd., New York, from whom acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1984

LITERATURE

Ertz 1979, pp. 90, 92, 429, 431–32, 566, no. 53; Welu 1983, p. 35, n. 6; Fredericksen 1985, p. 261; Kolb 2005, p. 41

EXHIBITION

Vienna 1935, cat. no. 25

IN THE EARLY YEARS AFTER JAN BRUEGHEL RETURNED from Italy in 1596, he artfully combined thematic and figural references to his Northern predecessors, particularly his father, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, with the expressive compositional innovations accumulated during his sojourn to create lush and sophisticated landscapes. *The Sermon on the Mount*, which has a visual impact beyond its small scale, exemplifies Brueghel's unique command of dramatic landscape settings and his ability to compose richly descriptive multifigure scenes. The work is painted on copper, and Brueghel's luminous palette and refined yet energetic brushwork together create a precious, jewel-like picture intended for close scrutiny.

Though long considered to depict the Preaching of Saint John the Baptist, the present painting can be firmly identified as the Sermon on the Mount, a subject tentatively proposed

by Ertz, who acknowledged that some of its features were incompatible with the more common theme of the Baptist Preaching.¹ In the center of a large crowd, Christ stands on a rustic podium composed of branches, with the apostles behind him, and fervently addresses his audience. More and more followers ascend the hillside to join the throng, which is made up of people of different nationalities and stations in life. The scene is the first instance in the Gospels where Christ's teachings are described in some detail. According to Matthew (5:1–12), “when Christ saw the multitudes, he went up into a mountain, and when he was set, his disciples came unto him, and he opened his mouth, and taught them,” beginning with the Eight Beatitudes, or conditions of blessedness.² Unlike the forest preaching of Saint John the Baptist (Luke 3:1–17; Matthew 3:1–17), which was widely depicted by Flemish landscape painters of the





FIGURE 96 Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, 1566. Oil on panel, 94.9 × 160.7 cm (37³/₈ × 63¹/₄ in.). Budapest, Szepmüvészeti Museum, inv. 51 2829

early and mid-sixteenth century, the Sermon on the Mount was a highly unusual subject.³ Brueghel might well have known Cosimo Rosselli and Piero di Cosimo's fresco devoted to the theme in the Sistine Chapel (ca. 1481), for example, as a result of his residence in Rome, although it was not a source for this scene. Instead, Brueghel's atmospheric treatment offers a creative refashioning of late-sixteenth-century Flemish landscape modes to vividly describe the festive atmosphere and excitement of the event.

The *Sermon* belongs to a group of landscapes with religious subjects, including themes from the life of Christ, executed around 1598, which invert the relationship between the religious subject and its setting. Notably, the *Sermon* reflects Jan's concurrent absorption in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* of 1566 (fig. 96), which Jan painted in two versions in 1598: the large panel in Munich, signed and dated 1598, and the version in Basel

(Kunstmuseum).⁴ In the 1566 composition, Pieter Bruegel packed a colorful multitude of figures between the tree trunks framing a forest clearing, almost obscuring the earnest figure of Saint John the Baptist, just left of center. Painted in the year of the iconoclastic outbreaks in the Low Countries, Pieter's *Sermon* has been interpreted as an allusion to the Protestant hedge preachers who had sprung up in the countryside in response to harsh anti-Protestant Habsburg policies.⁵ However, the significance of Pieter's *Sermon* for painters was not its political associations, if indeed those were his intention, but rather the transformation of the theme from an earlier landscape tradition into a rationale for portraying the great variety of humanity. Among the diverse, colorfully attired figures are scattered more recognizable Netherlandish types in contemporary dress who are seen from behind, as if the viewer too is a spectator. The seated woman with an infant is Egyptian, while the elabo-

rate slashed pantaloons of the standing man on the right signify his Asian origins. The man with the fur-trimmed hat just in front of him bears a resemblance to a contemporary depiction of a Tartar.⁶ The larger scale of the spectators at the edges of the crowd draws attention to their activities and their dissociation from the divine event taking place a short distance away. In his Munich and Basel versions of the theme, Jan reiterated all of the colorful elements of the scene, but leveled the terrain and altered its color harmonies by employing a cooler, bluer palette.

The Sermon on the Mount, however, stands apart from the versions depicting Saint John the Baptist. While Jan borrowed the eloquent gesture of Christ's delivery from the 1566 *Sermon* (though in reverse), the figure in the Los Angeles painting does not wear the Baptist's shaggy dark brown skins, but rather a short, belted tunic. Unlike the woodland sermon depicted by Pieter in which Christ appears to the right of the saint, no such prominent secondary figure can be found in the present painting.⁷ Rather, the radiance around the figure's head identifies him as Christ, and the group of bearded men around and behind him as the apostles. The view over a port to the peaks beyond alludes to the elevated location of the gathering, as well as to the city of Capernaum and the Sea of Galilee. The skeleton of a horse in the right foreground was a favorite motif of Jan's, which appears along the dirt roads of his forest scenes as a more general reference to the arduousness of life.

Brueghel employed a similar reverse organization of religious themes and bustling surroundings in two other scenes from the life of Christ from 1598. As in the Los Angeles *Sermon*, onlookers at the fringe of *Calvary* (fig. 97) appear oblivious to the crucifixion of Christ in the distance.⁸ The minute figure of Christ in *Harbor Scene with Christ Preaching* (fig. 98) is embedded among the busy exchanges of the port and the fish market in the foreground.⁹ Brueghel was influenced by Joachim Beuckelaer (ca. 1534–ca. 1574), an Antwerp contemporary of his father, whose fish markets included biblical subjects in the background. Some of the figures around the central foreground group in the Munich *Harbor Scene* are derived from Beuckelaer's 1563 *Miraculous Draft of Fishes* (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum).

Like his father's treatment of Saint John the Baptist, *The Sermon on the Mount* is filled with an astonishing assortment of figures and delightful vignettes that emphasize the dissociation of many from the message of God. Here can be seen one of the earliest instances of Jan's extraordinary

ability to describe costume and facial features on a minute scale, coupled with a sensitive and effective use of color that moves the eye through the scene. A number of notable figures are drawn directly from Pieter's 1566 composition, such as the gypsy and child in the foreground, as well as the fortune-teller reading the palm of an elegantly dressed gentleman. The woman in the middle distance wearing a pink gown and carrying a pack and staff is found in the 1566 composition in the left foreground. The striking red-and-blue-appareled *Landsknecht* (a mercenary foot soldier) behind her in the *Sermon* also derives from the 1566 panel. Like Pieter, Jan included headgear typical of the Near East, including the flat sun hat of the foreground woman and the turbans of Turkish viewers.¹⁰

To these received motifs Brueghel added characters of his own who appear in other compositions of about the same date. The woman resplendently attired in yellow, who approaches the crowd with her companions from the right, wears her hair in a mitre. According to Welu, this distinctive style of headdress was worn by fashionable women in north Italy and appears in Brueghel's *Port Scene in Venice* (ca. 1600; private collection).¹¹ She and her companion in pink also appear in the 1598 *Landscape with Young Tobias* (Liechtenstein Collection) and in the 1598 Munich panel (fig. 98), along with the decidedly Flemish woman with the bright blue underskirt and a basket over her arm, and the boy in red and black.¹² The two Capuchin friars attending the fish market in the Munich panel converse at the edge of the crowd in the *Sermon*. The seated woman stroking a small white dog recurs in the *Tobias*. Brueghel's assembly also reflects the diversity of humanity—on its fringes, persons from different levels of society mingle, some pleasantly, as in the central group around the pretzel vendor, others, such as the gentleman having his palm read, with some concern, while the boy behind the hunter on the left simply seems bored.

Allusions to the 1566 *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* notwithstanding, *The Sermon on the Mount* represents a departure from the 1566 compositional type and reflects Jan's introduction of ideas from his southern travels along with his own emerging treatment of multigure landscapes. Brueghel's friendship with the Flemish expatriate Paul Bril (1553/54–1626) in Rome was an important influence on his landscape style.¹³ Some of Brueghel's early forest landscapes employ trees in an architectural fashion, with long trunks and arching branches mimicking the forms of ancient monuments.¹⁴ In the *Sermon*, Jan opened up the circumscribed



FIGURE 97 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Calvary*, 1598. Oil on copper, 36.3 × 55.2 cm (14¼ × 21¾ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 823

FIGURE 98 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Harbor Scene with Christ Preaching*, 1598. Oil on panel, 79.4 × 118.7 cm (31¼ × 46¾ in.). Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 187

setting of the elder Bruegel's 1566 *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* into a spacious glade. Characteristically, even on this miniature scale, Jan realizes the expansiveness of the "world view." The rustic forum, screened in the rear by dense foliage, is balanced by the sweeping vista over a port to distant mountains. Bruegel's cool palette for this view was part of well-established Northern practice in which landscapes were separated into a brown-tinted foreground, a green middle ground, and a blue beyond to create spatial recession. However, in the *Sermon* Bruegel employed complex lighting techniques to define the audience. Figures in the foreground are brilliantly illuminated, while those in a wide zone around the attentive (perhaps seated?) listeners are in shadow. The crowd closest to Christ is sharply defined by bright illumination created through the use of a soft palette. Bruegel's sophisticated light effects anticipate Adam Elsheimer's use of light in works such as the *Stoning of Saint Stephen* (1602; Edinburgh, National Gallery), where heavenly illumination accentuates the drama of the scene. ATW

NOTES

1. Ertz (1979, pp. 429–32) catalogued the Los Angeles painting (then in a private collection in Vienna) as one of three autograph works by Jan Bruegel the Elder on the theme of Saint John the Baptist Preaching, out of more than two dozen attributed to him. Ertz correctly questioned the date, given in the 1935 exhibition catalogue as 1594, noting the work's affinities with Jan's output from the late 1590s. Ertz also expressed reservations about the subject, which he felt related both to Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1566 Budapest *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* and Adam Elsheimer's *Preaching of Saint John*.
2. "(3) Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. (4) Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. (5) Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. (6) Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. (7) Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. (8) Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. (9) Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God. (10) Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." Matthew 5:3–10 (King James Version).
3. The subject was depicted in several versions by Herri met de Bles (born ca. 1510), among others; see Gibson 1989, pp. 27–29.
4. Jan Bruegel the Elder, *Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* (signed at lower right, BRVEGHEL 1598, oil on panel, 41 × 59 cm [16 1/8 × 23 1/4 in.]; Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. 834) and *Preaching of John the Baptist* (tempera on panel, 115 × 164 cm [45 1/4 × 64 1/2 in.]; Basel, Kunstmuseum, inv. 139); see Ertz 1979, pp. 79, 429–30, 459, 566, no. 51; and Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 82–83.
5. See Grossmann 1973, p. 66; and Marijnissen et al. 1988, pp. 304–5.
6. Discussed by Kavalier 1999, pp. 180–81.
7. See Kavalier 1999, p. 181, for the significance of Christ's prominent position as the main focus of Pieter's Budapest panel.
8. Signed and dated BRVEGHEL 1598; see Ertz 1979, pp. 80, 433–37, 566, no. 54; and Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 90–91.
9. Signed and dated BRVEGHEL 1598; see Ertz 1979, pp. 33, 36, 38, 41, 84, 90, 92–94, 172, 432–36, 565, no. 46; and Renger and Denk 2002, pp. 85–87.
10. See Kavalier 1999, p. 180.
11. Welu (1983, p. 32) reproduces "Feminarum Venetarum Ornatus (The Dress of the Women from Venice)," a detail from Pieter van den Kerre's map of Italy (1616; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek).
12. For the Liechtenstein painting (signed and dated BRVEGHEL 1598), see Ertz 1979, pp. 41–47, 81, 93, 178, 479, 565, no. 47; and Uwe Wiczorek in Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 150–54.
13. For Bruegel's friendship with Brill, see Ertz 1979, pp. 92–94; Bedoni 1983, pp. 38–48; and p. 6 in this volume.
14. See p. 7 in this volume.

Jan Brueghel the Elder

The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark

1613

Oil on panel, 54.6 × 83.8 cm (21½ × 33 in.)
 Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 92.PB.82

INSCRIPTION

At lower right, BRVEGHEL·FEC·1613; on the reverse, panelmaker's mark, RB [in ligature]¹ and A / no. 247²

PROVENANCE

Jan-Egidius Peeters d'Aertselaar de Cleydael (d. 1786), Antwerp; by inheritance to Henri Joseph, baron Stier d'Aertselaar, who brought the painting to the United States in 1793 to escape the French occupiers and returned to Antwerp in 1816;³ offered for sale by Stier (under the name Peeters), 1817, and bought in; remained in the Stier collection until 1822,

when sold at auction to the dealer Lambert Jan van Nieuwenhuys, Antwerp (Bincken), July 29, 1822, lot 27; apparently sold by him to James-Alexandre, comte de Pourtales-Gorgier, from whose collection in London it was sold in 1826 to "Smart";⁴ about 1920, private collection, Vienna, Austria; by 1977, private collection, Switzerland; from 1977 with Robert H. Smith (New York and Washington, D.C.); sold through John and Paul Herring & Company, Inc., New York, to the J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992

LITERATURE

Brown 1979, pp. 174–77; Ertz 1979, pp. 75, 82, 236–40, 244–47, 603, no. 273; Brussels 1980, pp. 174–75; Ertz 1981, pp. 110–13; Broos 1993, pp. 91, 94, 95; Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, p. 306; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 29, 166, 168; Gifford 1999, p. 181–83; New York 2005, p. 169; Antwerp 2004, pp. 196, 198, n. 5; Kolb 2005

EXHIBITIONS

London 1979, pp. 19, 96, cat. no. 29; Los Angeles 1999–2000

JAN BRUEGHEL'S FAME AS A SPECIALIST IN SUBJECTS from nature derived in large part from the popularity of his paradise landscapes, a genre he redefined for the seventeenth century and brought to the highest levels of specialization and technical finish.⁵ Old Testament themes from the book of Genesis, notably the story of Noah's Ark and the Fall of Man, served as occasions to portray the magnificent diversity of nature as exemplified by the careful depiction of a lively assortment of animals and birds. Jan Brueghel considered *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* a significant invention among his treatments of earthly paradise, since he proudly and clearly signed it BRVEGHEL FEC (*Brueghel fecit*, i.e., Brueghel made it). He denoted a similarly noteworthy later achievement by signing *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4) in the same fashion, while Rubens's contribution to the composition

was specified by the designation FIGR (*figura*), indicating that he was responsible for the figures and not for the overall design of the painting.⁶ In addition to the autograph version of *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* in Budapest (Szepmüvészeti Museum), many replicas and versions exist, attesting to the work's eager reception by collectors.⁷ The Los Angeles composition represents Brueghel's most innovative ideas for the genre, and while *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* was not a physical collaboration between Brueghel and his friend Rubens, it bears witness to their close association and artistic exchange.

On a well-traveled path between a stand of trees and a stream running along the edge of the woods, a parade of animals make their way toward the distant massive form of the ark. Driven along by a figure in a red tunic, they proceed in pairs and small groups, domestic animals mingled





FIGURE 99 Studio of Jan van Tieghem (active by 1550) and Jan de Kempeneer (active by 1540), *Adam Gives Names to the Animals*, ca. 1550. Tapestry in wool, silk, gold, and silver thread, 465 × 815 cm (15 ft. 3¼ in. × 26 ft. 9 in.). Florence, Soprintendenza delle Gallerie, inv. 18.626

with species from the Near East and Africa. Waterfowl occupy the marshy area at the lower left as well as the stream, while cats and monkeys clamber up the small tree in which other feathered creatures sit. Various birds and even bats wheel through the sky overhead. The story of the building of the ark and saving of mankind and clean and unclean birds and beasts is told in Genesis (chapters 6–8): When God in his wrath against the wickedness of mankind resolved to destroy the human race as well as animals and birds, he warned Noah, a “just” man, to build an ark “and of every living thing of all flesh, two of every sort shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female. Of fowls after their kind, and of cattle after their kind, of every creeping thing of the earth after his kind.” The bearded patriarch Noah, in bucolic attire, appears in the center of the scene, with his laden donkey, wife and daughter-in-law, and their supplies. In the distance, other figures, presumably Noah’s sons and their wives, lead pairs of animals, including giraffes, up a steep ramp onto the ark.

The clarity and monumentality of *The Entry of the Animals into Noah’s Ark* resulted in part from Brueghel’s long engagement with richly descriptive landscape subjects. Brueghel’s earliest treatments of paradise scenes date from the period of his Roman sojourn. The small roundel of *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 16), attributed here by Ariane van Suchtelen to Brueghel and Hendrick de Clerck, probably dates from about 1597–98. The careful arrangement of animals throughout the landscape resembles earlier sixteenth-century examples, notably the print series of subjects from Genesis designed by Marten de Vos (1532–1603).⁸ At about the same time, Brueghel experimented with the idea of a group of animals entering the landscape from one side. *The Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam* of 1594 (see fig. 75) is one of the earliest examples of his use of this device, in which some of the animals are partially depicted at the extreme right, just as the ox and the elephant’s heads appear at the right edge of *The Entry of the Animals into Noah’s Ark*.⁹ While many of the animals in the *Entry* move together toward the distant ark, some join the procession

from over a small hill on the right, and the rest fill the landscape across the foreground and along the stream. In a mid-sixteenth century precedent for a parade of animals, one of a series of tapestries with subjects from the book of Genesis by an artist working in the circle of the Brussels weavers Jan van Tieghem and Jan de Kempeneer (fig. 99), many different types of animals are neatly grouped in pairs and separate columns.¹⁰ However, rather than situating the figures in the foreground with the procession behind, as in the sixteenth-century example, Brueghel instead elucidated the biblical subject through the description of the setting. Even during his early career in Rome, as demonstrated by the 1594 *Paradise*, Brueghel occasionally positioned the biblical subject in the background of the landscape, behind the charming and diverse inhabitants of paradise. This characteristic technique, used effectively by his father Pieter Bruegel the Elder in the 1560s among others, was an essential aspect of Jan's paradise landscapes (see cat. no. 25) and is one of the seemingly outmoded elements that persist in his oeuvre.

After Brueghel settled in Antwerp in 1596, he painted *Paradise Landscape with the Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (private collection), an important early treatment of the subject.¹¹ He did not revisit the paradise landscape for more than a decade, concentrating instead on garlands and flower still lifes for his patron Cardinal Borromeo, the archbishop of Milan, allegorical paintings executed with Hendrick van Balen (see, for example, cat. nos. 17 and 18), and forest landscapes. Among these, the *Allegory of Fire* (cat. no. 17), the first in a series of the four elements created for Borromeo, offers an important precedent for the paradise landscapes and shows Brueghel's predilection for filling his compositions with a tremendous variety of objects and creatures that invite the eye to linger over the scene. On April 22, 1611, in a letter to Borromeo in which he alludes to the ongoing series of elements for the Cardinal, Brueghel mentions a painting of Noah's Ark.¹² In 1612 Brueghel returned to subjects from the book of Genesis, and particularly to the development of a landscape genre that was similarly rich in its description of the natural world. In *The Garden of Eden* from that year (see fig. 43), Brueghel devised a lush wooded landscape suitable for the subject of paradise.¹³ The complex topography, with a stream, small hillocks, a distant glade in which Adam and Eve accept the apple from the serpent, and a soaring view over a river landscape is further elaborated by the profusion of animal and bird life contained within it. The type of paradise landscape established in this painting

permitted considerable adjustment in subsequent related compositions but remained the perfect embodiment of the lush, idyllic Garden of Eden.

By contrast, *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* has a more sober and monumental character. The landscape is less enclosed, and the open foreground recedes vigorously into the distance, emphasizing the processional march to the ark.¹⁴ Despite the abundant display, there is a sense that Brueghel's approach in this landscape was more measured and controlled. As with the arched interiors, in which earlier iterations (see cat. nos. 17 and 18) were characterized by picturesque detail, while the later *Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) employed a tighter and simpler treatment of the same setting, so *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* offers an alternative paradise type in contrast to the lush 1612 depiction of Eden (see fig. 43). The strong diagonal recession of the *Entry* developed from Brueghel's many scenes of travelers and cattle drovers, though here the viewpoint is lower, and monumental figures anchor the foreground.¹⁵ Brueghel's only other treatment of a subject from the story of Noah, *The Flood with Noah's Ark* (fig. 100), also employs a strong diagonal to create different zones within the landscape, but this early work emphasizes the dramatic confusion and terror of the Flood, a prospect not yet felt in the paradisiacal *Entry*.¹⁶

The impact of Rubens and Brueghel's artistic friendship shaped *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark*, where it is particularly evident in Brueghel's treatment of animals. Brueghel was himself a skilled painter of animals, and his refined technique was particularly suited to executing smaller-scale figures, such as the lively animals in the *Paradise Landscape* of 1594 (see fig. 75). Jan depicted those animals with which he presumably had firsthand experience, notably the domesticated creatures such as the goats and donkey, with greater specificity and assurance than the leopard, for example.¹⁷ Even before leaving for Rome, Rubens demonstrated his skill at capturing the twisting, vigorous forms of horses (see cat. no. 1), and Brueghel absorbed his friend's more robust approach from their earliest joint endeavor. The domestic animals in the 1612 *Garden of Eden* and the 1613 *Entry* are much more solid and convincing than his earlier attempts during his Italian sojourn. Exotic animals and their sinuous movement remained a challenge, however. In the *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, a small-scale work painted for Cardinal Borromeo in 1610,¹⁸ Brueghel's leopards and lions appear almost fantastic when compared to the sculptural

FIGURE 100 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Flood with Noah's Ark*, 1601. Oil on copper, 26.7 × 35.9 cm (10½ × 14¼ in.). Zurich, Kunsthau, Stiftung Betty und David M. Koester, inv. KS4. © 2006 Kunsthau Zürich



forms in Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (ca. 1613/15; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art). By this period, Brueghel had also developed the ability to impart a sense of lively activity in his depictions of animals, and in general the scene is characterized by looser brushwork that contributes to the overall sense of momentum between the different animal elements.

Brueghel's friendship with Rubens is most evident in his direct borrowing of animals: the lions, the magnificent gray stallion, and the pair of playful leopards, all of which he also incorporated into the *Garden of Eden* (see fig. 43) of the preceding year. Brueghel would certainly have had access to Rubens's studio, both as a colleague and as a collaborator. There can be no greater expression of their intimacy than Rubens's willingness to allow Jan to utilize his animal studies, the kind of preparatory material he guarded closely. Of the pair of growling lions, the lioness looking to the left survives in a colored chalk drawing made by Rubens (fig. 101) in preparation for the huge *Daniel in the Lions' Den*, where she appears life-size on the right with her male companion. In Rubens's drawing, the lower part of the animal's back left leg is elongated, and this area was corrected when it was painted

in the *Daniel*. Brueghel, however, repeated the drawn form of the leg in both the Rome and Los Angeles landscapes. While *Daniel in the Lions' Den* could have been started as early as 1612, it is more often dated between 1613 and 1615. It either remained in Rubens's studio or was, as he said, "repurchased" by him before it was given, along with eleven other paintings, including *Prometheus Bound* (cat. no. 22) to Sir Dudley Carleton, British ambassador to The Hague, in exchange for his collection of antique marble sculpture.¹⁹ Although Brueghel almost certainly knew Rubens's drawing, he could, over some years, also have seen the painting in Rubens's studio. Brueghel's lion does not replicate the white highlighting used in the drawing and has a smoother, less textured appearance, similar to that of the large painted animal. While Brueghel may have studied and copied preparatory materials for the leopards, any such copies have not survived. Rubens lists a "Leopards" among the paintings he offered Carleton in March 1617.²⁰ The original composition appears to have been lost, but is represented by a later copy after Rubens (see fig. 131) and a print by Charles-Nicolas Varin (1741–1812) based on a design by Antoine Borel (1743–ca. 1810).²¹



FIGURE 101 Peter Paul Rubens, *Lioness, Seen from the Rear, Turning Left*, ca. 1613. Black chalk with touches of yellow, heightened with white oil or body color, some gray wash, 39.6 × 29.6 cm (15⁵/₈ × 11⁵/₈ in.). London, British Museum, inv. 1994.5.14.46 © Trustees of the British Museum

FIGURE 102 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Ostrich*, ca. 1594. Pen and brown ink and gouache and watercolor on cream paper, 20.5 × 14.2 cm (8¹/₈ × 5⁵/₈ in.). Private collection

Although Rubens may have based the lioness on a Renaissance bronze sculpture from Padua, he stated in his letter to Carleton that both the lions and the leopards were “done from life.”²² As court painters, both Rubens and Brueghel had access to the menagerie kept by the archdukes Albert and Isabella at their court in Brussels.²³ Brueghel’s familiarity with the attitudes and coloring of different apes (see cat. no. 28) attests to his firsthand observation of these favorite companions of the archduchess, and he notes in a letter of 1621 that the birds and animals in a (garland with a) “beautiful Madonna” he was making with Rubens were “made from life from some of the Infanta’s.”²⁴ The rulers of the Netherlands had long kept exotic animals, including lions and tigers, in the park of the Brussels palace (an early account [1446] records payment for a half-mutton to feed the lion each day).²⁵ Rubens, however, may have studied two lions, named Flandria and Brabantia, in Ghent.²⁶ An eighteenth-century biographer recounts a scene in Rubens’s studio in which a lion was tickled in order to encourage it to open its mouth in a suitably fierce fashion.²⁷ Rubens painted several large hunt scenes involving wild animals between 1613 and 1618, and his interest in lions and leopards

in the period around 1612 may have been part of his preparation for those subjects.

The gray horse commanding the foreground of the *Entry* affirms Brueghel’s partnership with Rubens, who was celebrated for his ideal portraits of this animal. Brueghel had appropriated and emphasized the element of the horse in his early paradise scenes (see, for example, fig. 75), where it was an important though not completely successful figure, and incorporated a similar regal light-colored horse from Rubens’s oeuvre in *The Return from War* (cat. no. 2) of 1610–12. However, the prancing dappled horse in the *Entry* descends from Rubens’s 1603 *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (see fig. 22). The frontal pose used by Brueghel in the *Entry* can be seen in one of three equestrian studies by Rubens, known from a copy, *The Riding School* (1609–13; formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie) and in a lost equestrian portrait of Archduke Albert, visible in the foreground of the *Allegory of Sight* (see fig. 54).²⁸ Brueghel’s animated handling of the mane captures the energy of the muscular Spanish/Arabian stallion, a breed associated with royalty (Arabians with dappled coats were rare, which further underscored their kingly lineage).²⁹ Contemporary

accounts refer to the heroic “Spanish horse” that saved the life of Archduke Albert in 1600 at the battle of Nieupoort and Ostend by absorbing a musket ball to the neck. The skin of the horse was preserved, along with that of a horse believed to have belonged to Archduchess Isabella.³⁰ The inclusion of this type of horse in their paintings confirmed Brueghel and Rubens’s relationship to the archducal court.

Many of the other animals and birds in the *Entry* attest to Brueghel’s study from life of a diverse array of creatures. The subtle variations in texture and particularly in the coloring of fur and feathers, even on the relatively small scale of the creatures in the present painting, reflect his meticulous preparation. The royal menagerie and collections of birds were a rich source for both mundane and unusual creatures. Jean Ernst, duke of Saxony, visited the park at the Brussels court in 1613–14 and recalled seeing wood pigeons, peacocks, sparrow hawks, pheasants, and parakeets fly free in a small valley.³¹ The seemingly exotic ostriches, originally from Africa, were also part of the collection and were a long-standing element in Brueghel’s oeuvre. They appear in one of the earliest works of this type, the 1594 *Paradise* (see fig. 75). Ostriches had been depicted in the sixteenth century, although their flightless nature was not always understood (see fig. 99, where they hover in the air, along with turkeys, eagles, and insects). A drawing by Brueghel of two views of an ostrich, formerly dated to 1613, but perhaps executed earlier, includes color notations for reference (fig. 102). Brueghel’s friend Frans Snyders recorded the bird’s wide-eyed gaze in his drawing of an ostrich.³² Similar details appear on a sheet of studies, notably on the figure of the eagle (see fig. 114). A 1507 account of the Brussels court mentions camels and ostriches being introduced for the pleasure of the duke of Burgundy.³³ Camels remained a fixture of the archducal collection and appeared in the *Ommeganck*, a yearly procession held to celebrate the Virgin Mary.³⁴ Even creatures which had arrived in Europe from the New World and Africa were already familiar elements by 1613. The splendid male turkey, somewhat timidly described in the 1594 *Paradise*, figures prominently in Brueghel’s *Allegory of Air* (ca. 1611; Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphilj), and in the 1612 *Paradise* and 1613 *Entry*.³⁵ The wonderfully precise delineation of the monkeys scaling the tree full of birds on the left leaves no doubt that Brueghel had seen a *Cercopithecus preussi* himself.³⁶ While guinea pigs figured even in the early *Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 16)

and the 1594 *Paradise*, their forms were generalized. It seems, however, that Brueghel closely studied a particular pair of guinea pigs with distinctive markings (one with a black head and shoulders and a white spot on the nose and another that was predominantly pale with a horizontal dark band across the back) after 1600, when a different closely observed pair were painted in the *Venus and Cupid* on which he collaborated with Hendrick van Balen.³⁷ The pair in the *Entry* appear in several compositions, including *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) and *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4). Perhaps they were not members of the royal menagerie but familiar pets.³⁸

Around 1600 the interest in examining and describing the natural world was intense and diverse. Brueghel mastered the challenge of depicting a tremendous variety of birds and beasts by separating them according to type, placing waterfowl, for example, in their appropriate marshy and aqueous setting. As Kolb has shown, this taxonomic approach was a novel mode of visual cataloguing that paralleled contemporary encyclopedic publications on the natural world.³⁹ Although the sixteenth-century naturalists Conrad Gesner and Ulisse Aldrovani had published seminal treatises on species, their illustrations were highly schematic and were not the main sources for Brueghel’s animals. In 1613 Rubens began to acquire a number of Aldrovani’s treatises, perhaps as a result of his own desire to understand the characteristics of animals in advance of allegories and hunt scenes.⁴⁰ The printed illustrations for specialized treatises, such as Adriaen Collaert’s series of birds for *Avium vivae icones* (1580), an early attempt to show birds in a naturalistic setting, likewise remain stiff and posed.⁴¹ At about the same time, Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1601), working for the court of the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II, created some of the most delightful and novel images of minutely rendered animals and insects.⁴² To these traditions, Brueghel brought a calligraphic, painterly technique that served his compositional integration of the separate spheres of different types of quadrupeds, birds with webbed feet, animals with hooves, and so on. While these types are distinctly portrayed in the *Entry*, they are not separate from one another. Among the most delightful aspects of the assembly of creatures moving toward the ark are the encounters between groups: cats climbing the tree full of resplendent macaws and two doleful owls; dogs barking at waterfowl; the bull, its hide beautifully modulated with liquid strokes of gray, olive,

and pink confronting the reclining leopard; the ram challenging the boar.

The complicated composition integrating large and small animal figures as well as human figures necessitated careful planning, and Brueghel's preparation for *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* was characteristic of his production. He selected a large radial-cut panel of Baltic oak, prepared by an Antwerp panelmaker known only as "RB" from his initials in ligature burned into the back of the panel.⁴³ As Gifford demonstrated, the *Entry* was prepared according to a process used by sixteenth-century Flemish landscape painters. The main landscape features and figures were first underdrawn on the prepared panel. This preparation was not extremely meticulous, and there is no evidence, for example, that the animals after Rubens were transferred from another source.⁴⁴ Brueghel later largely followed the underdrawn preparation but, notably, moved the ears of the gray stallion to an inward, pricked position.⁴⁵ The composition was then laid in by zone, using broad areas of color, leaving reserve areas for the foreground figures. Some animals, such as the spotted hound, were painted directly over the green grass. In the final stage, Brueghel worked from the background to the foreground, a process that naturally led to the overlapping of figures and helped to create the effect of spatial recession.⁴⁶ This process furthermore allowed Brueghel to emphasize certain animals: the light-colored small heads of the ostriches were placed against the dark forms of the buffalo and therefore become much more legible. The monkey on the tree trunk is more visible for its placement against the lighter form of the ark, which is itself dramatically backlit by the luminous glow of the sky. Such juxtapositions also underscored the unique nature of certain animals, and it cannot be accidental that the wild stallion stands directly in front of Noah's humble donkey. Brueghel also repeated several pairs of animals from the 1612 *Garden of Eden* (see fig. 43), where the two lions and the horse appear together, the bull and leopards are in proximity, and the pair of swans paddle in the stream. Although there is no clear physical evidence for the manner in which Brueghel reused animals such as the lions, leopards, and horse, it is not hard to imagine that he was technically capable of repeating these figures without the aid of transfer measures just as he was able to repeat still-life items in the forge scenes, even enlarging those same items in *The Return from War* (cat. no. 2).

Precisely painted, inventive, allusive, and associated with revered earlier traditions of landscape painting, Brueghel's

paradise landscapes were highly coveted by collectors. Rubens possessed several works by Jan Brueghel the Elder, including a "Paradise by Brugel" that was listed in the *Specificatie* following his death.⁴⁷ Rubens's interest in the natural world, as shown by his *ad vivum* animal studies and growing library of encyclopedic resources, testifies to his own engagement in capturing the exact characteristics of animals, a process he shared with Brueghel. The Old Testament subject of the *Entry*, however, was far from an idle vehicle for description but was integral to the meaning of the image as a revelation of God's creation. The artistic exchange between Brueghel and Rubens about 1613 naturally led to their joint authorship in *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4), although there, too, Brueghel firmly established his role as the originator of "paradise." ATW

NOTES

1. Observed and deciphered by Yvonne Szafran, associate conservator, Paintings Conservation, J. Paul Getty Museum; identified by Jørgen Wadum as an unknown Antwerp panelmaker "RB," who stamped his panels with a brand made up of a "large 'R' with a smaller letter 'B' between the legs" (correspondence of October 1999). For other panels from Rubens and Brueghel's circle bearing the stamp of RB, see Broos and Wadum 1993 and Wadum 1993.
2. Painted in black, in a vertical orientation, this number appears to be associated with the Forchondt firm of art dealers, active in Antwerp during the seventeenth century.
3. No. 23 on the packing list of paintings shipped by Stier to America, 1794, and seen in Stier's Riverdale mansion, Riverdale House, in 1812; information from the Getty Provenance Index and Burton Fredericksen (correspondence in Getty Museum paintings department file).
4. Probably the dealer William Smart (d. 1828); information provided by Burton Fredericksen (correspondence in Getty Museum paintings department file).
5. At least 106 paradise compositions are attributed to him; see Ertz 1979, p. 236.
6. It is not clear whether Brueghel signed Rubens's name or Rubens signed his own name at the same time using the same palette, see cat. no. 4. Although Rubens rarely signed his paintings, he printed his name in Roman capitals on a small group of paintings from 1613–14, including *Jupiter and Callisto* (Kassel, Gemäldegalerie, inv. GK86), which is signed P·P·RVBENS·F·1613.
7. An autograph variant dated 1615 in is the Wellington Museum, Apsley House, London (inv. 1637); see Ertz 1979, p. 605, no. 287. Variants by Brueghel and copies by other artists include: follower of Jan Brueghel

- the Elder, Baltimore, the Walters Art Gallery, inv. 37.1988 (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Dessau, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 266 (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1407 (Díaz Padrón 1995, vol. 1, pp. 306–7, no. 1407, ill. (as Jan Brueghel the Younger); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Madrid, Lázaro Collection (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts, inv. 39.1.1 (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Utrecht, Centraal Museum, inv. 1366 (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, collection of the Earl of Verulam (Ertz 1979, p. 603, under no. 273); workshop of Jan Brueghel the Elder, Colorado, Rocky Mountain Conservation Center; and Jan Brueghel the Younger, Christie's, Monaco, December 7, 1991, lot 25 (see also Kolb 2005, pp. 77–81, esp. n. 190); imitated by the Antwerp artist Gaspar Boutatts (Sotheby's, New York, January 14, 1993, lot. 22); Isaak van Oosten, *The Entry into the Ark*, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts (see A. Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 89, cat. no. 20); and Jacob Savery, location unknown (see Jan Briels, "Flämische Maler in Holland um 1600," in Cologne–Antwerp–Vienna 1992–93, p. 89).
8. Engraved by Nicolaas Bruyn (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet, inv. 1/B. 562–570, 572); see Antwerp 1982, cat. nos. 56–65.
 9. The Doria Pamphilj *Paradise* is signed and dated at lower right BRUEGHEL 1594; see K. Ertz in Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 163–65, cat. no. 36.
 10. The seven-part tapestry series of the Story of the Creation was sold to Cosimo I de' Medici in 1551 by Jan van der Walle, an Antwerp merchant; see Guy Delmarcel in Antwerp 1982, pp. 65, 67; and New York 2002, p. 276. Michiel Coxie (1499–1592) also designed a nine-piece series of tapestries with subjects from Genesis, including the story of Noah, for Sigismund II Augustus; see New York 2002, pp. 219, 294, 397–99.
 11. See cat. no. 16, note 4, in this volume.
 12. "Quanto il quadro del Ill.m Cardina del Arca d'Noi, non m a schritto: ne anco la letra non va risposta: aspettera l'ordina sua." (As far as the Illustrious Cardinal's painting of Noah's Ark, I have nothing to write. Nor has there been a response to the letter. I await your directions.): Crivelli 1868, p. 169. Unfortunately, there is no further mention of this work in his correspondence. For the series of the Four Elements, see Jones 1993, pp. 237–38.
 13. See Ertz 1979, pp. 244, 605–6, no. 291, fig. 314; Bedoni 1983, pp. 68–72, fig. 25; and Antwerp 2004, pp. 197–98, cat. no. 39; see also cat. no. 4.
 14. Ertz (1979, p. 75) considered *The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* the primary example of the sixth of seven types he identified in Brueghel's oeuvre.
 15. The man urging the animals along in the Entry resembles the herders with long prods in a drawing, *Peasants, oxen, geese, a family in a cart and various barrel makers* (study) (pen and ink and wash, 15.9 × 23.5 cm (6¼ × 9¼ in.); Sotheby's, New York, January 27, 1999, lot 75).
 16. For *The Flood with Noah's Ark*, see Ertz 1979, p. 570, no. 79; and Essen–Vienna 1997–98, pp. 154–56, cat. no. 32.
 17. Kolb 2005, p. 47.
 18. Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (1610, oil on copper, 28.5 × 38.5 cm; Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, inv. 62). Brueghel's idiosyncratic treatment of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* surely does not deserve the criticism leveled by Held 1963; see Ertz 1979, p. 569, no. 72; and Kolb 2005, pp. 68, 70.
 19. For the correspondence between Rubens and Carleton, see Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, pp. 135–83; and Magurn 1955, pp. 59–68. See also cat. no. 22.
 20. "forini 600—Leopardi cavati dal naturale can satiri e nimfe. Originale de mia mano, ecçeto un bellissimo paese fatto per mano di un valentuomo in quel mestiere, 9 × 11" (600 fl. Leopards, taken from life, with Satyrs and Nymphs. Original by my hand, except a most beautiful landscape, done by the hand of a master skillful in that department. 9 × 11 ft): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, p. 137; and Magurn 1955, p. 61, letter 29. See also cat. no. 22.
 21. For the copy, see Rooses 1886–92, vol. 3, no. 661. For Varin's engraving, entitled *Pan and Syrinx*, see Voorhelm Scheevoogt 1873, p. 131, no. 115 (attributed to Marten de Vos). The painting served as the source for an etching of ca. 1640 by Wenceslas Hollar without the satyr and nymph but inscribed P. P. RUBENS PINXIT; see Held 1973, after p. 350; and Corbeil et al. 1992.
 22. "forini 600—Daniel fra molti Leoni cavati dal naturale. Originale tutto de mia mano 8 × 12 piedi" (Daniel among many lions taken from life. Original entirely by my hand): Rooses and Ruelens 1887–1909, p. 136. The sculpture is associated with the workshop of Francesco Susini; see Rosenberg 1931, pp. 105–6, as well as Kolb 2005, p. 70.
 23. Kolb 2005, pp. 1, 13–17; see cat. nos. 4 and 12.
 24. "... un altro quadro, il più bello et rara cosa che habbia fatta in vita mia. Acho sig. Rubens ha fatta ben mostrande sua virtu in el quadro de meglio, essend una Madonna bell.ma. Li oitcelli, et animali son fatto ad vivo de alcuni delli scren.ma Infanto (... a different painting, which is the most beautiful and precious I've made from life. Also, Signor Rubens has made a painting of the best kind in the center showing his merit, a lovely Madonna. The birds, and animals are made from life from some of those of the most Serene Infanta" (letter of September 5, 1621): Crivelli 1868, p. 272.
 25. Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, p. 72. References in the royal accounts to food for the lion continue into the sixteenth century. For the royal tradition of collecting animals, see Kolb 2005, pp. 13–20.
 26. New York 2005, p. 168.
 27. Campo Weyerman 1729–69, pp. 287–89.
 28. Presumed lost in 1945; see Bernhard 1965, p. 20, fig. 134. For *The Riding School*, see Liedtke 1989, p. 232; and Kolb 2005, p. 68, fig. 66. For the equestrian portrait of Archduke Albert, see cat. no. 9A.

29. Kolb (2005, pp. 63, 65, 67–68) identified the breed and discussed the importance of this type of horse in the *Entry* and at the archducal court.
30. See Francis van Noten, “The Horses of Albert and Isabella: Historical Background,” and Francis Verschooten, “The Horses of Albert and Isabella: Radiographic Examination,” in Brussels 1998–99, pp. 343–46 and 347–57, respectively. For the epitaph celebrating Albert’s famous steed, see Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, p. 123.
31. Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, p. 76. For the best account of the occupants of the archducal aviaries and menagerie, see Kolb 2005, pp. 13–20.
32. Brueghel’s drawing appeared at Sotheby’s, New York, January 20, 1982, lot 53. For Frans Snyders, *Ostrich* (pen and brown ink and brown wash, 27.7 × 13.4 cm [10⁷/₈ × 5¹/₄ in.]; Rotterdam, Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, inv. F81), see Marc Vandeven in Antwerp 1982, pp. 114, 116, cat. no. 51.
33. Saintenoy 1932–35, vol. 1, p. 73.
34. Four camels appear in Denis van Alsloot’s painting of the *Ommeganck* held on May 31, 1615 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. 5928-1859); see Loisel 1912, vol. 2, p. 26; and Kolb 2005, p. 15.
35. An American species, turkeys were brought to Spain as early as 1500, and later to Italy, France, and England, and were prized for their delicious meat; see Kisling 2001, p. 35; and Kolb 2005, pp. 20, 29. For *Allegory of Air*, painted with Hendrick van Balen, see Ertz 1979, p. 599, no. 249; and Werche 2004, p. 194, no. A 143.
36. The same monkey, from the Portuguese colony of Boiko, Africa, is one of the types represented in the *Studies of Asses, Cats, and Monkeys* (cat. no. 28) and was included in *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4); see Kolb 2005, pp. 8, 11–12.
37. Hendrick van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Venus and Cupid* (signed H. V. BALEN and dated 1600, oil on canvas, 190 × 148 cm [74⁷/₈ × 58³/₄ in.]; St. Petersburg, Hermitage State Museum, inv. 3256); see Werche 2004, vol. 1, p. 181, no. A 114; vol. 2, p. 399. See cat. no. 2.
38. Guinea pigs arrived in Europe from South America, perhaps via West Africa, between about 1550 and 1580; see Weir 1974 and Kisling 2001, p. 35.
39. Certain aspects of Brueghel’s groupings anticipate later published forms of classification; see Kolb 2005, pp. 21–31.
40. For the volumes acquired by Rubens and the impetus behind his activities, see Jeffrey Muller, “Rubens’s Collection in History,” in Antwerp 2004, p. 33.
41. See Kolb 2005, p. 27.
42. For Hoefnagel, see particularly Hendrix and Vignau-Wilberg 1997.
43. According to studies by Jørgen Wadum and Jan van Damme, the Antwerp Guild of Saint Luke only required such brand marks after 1617. At that time brands also had to be accompanied by the arms of the city of Antwerp (a castle with two open hands). Wadum has determined that other panels with the RB mark came from the same tree, including cat. no. 12; see Broos and Wadum 1993, Wadum 1993, and Wadum 1998, pp. 179–81.
44. Although one cannot rule out the possibility that Brueghel used white chalk (not visible in infrared reflectography) when sketching the composition on the panel. I owe this observation to Yvonne Szafran.
45. Observed and documented by Yvonne Szafran; see the infrared reflectograph reproduced in Kolb 2005, fig. 13.
46. Gifford 1999, p. 182.
47. It is not possible to identify this painting on the basis of this general description. See Muller 1989, p. 139, no. 271; and Antwerp 2004, pp. 196–98, cat. no. 39.

27

Jan Brueghel the Elder

Studies of Hunting Dogs

ca. 1615–16

Oil on panel, 34 × 55.5 cm (13³/₈ × 21⁷/₈ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 6988

28

Jan Brueghel the Elder

Studies of Asses, Cats, and Monkeys

ca. 1615–16

Oil on panel, 34.2 × 55.5 cm (13¹/₂ × 21⁷/₈ in.)

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie, inv. 6985

PROVENANCE

Gustav von Benda bequest, 1932

LITERATURE

Glück 1912, pp. 222, 230; Kolb 2005, pp. 11–13

EXHIBITIONS

Vienna 1930, cat. nos. 124 and 125; Paris 1936,
cat. no. 16; Essen–Vienna 1997–98, cat. nos.
93 and 200 (with additional literature);
Antwerp 1998, cat. no. 92; Tokyo–Kobe 2004

THESE TWO PANELS WITH ANIMAL STUDIES ARE among the rare surviving oil sketches by Jan Brueghel the Elder. They are exceptionally spontaneous, lifelike portrayals in various stages of completion, displaying asses, monkeys, cats, and dogs, seen from various angles. Brueghel not only observed with care the animals' appearance but also succeeded in capturing their characteristic movements. He did not make these oil sketches with the intention of selling them; instead, they were kept in his studio to serve as examples on which to base his work. Indeed, he copied these animals exactly in his paintings. The sketches are most comparable to drawings by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Jacques de Gheyn (1565–1629), and Roelandt Savery (1576–1639), which display animals depicted from life, observed from various angles and sometimes rendered in color.¹ Since Brueghel executed his studies in oil on panel, they are naturally less fragile than preparatory drawings on paper, and this must have been a great advantage in studio practice.² As far as we know, only four such oil sketches with animal motifs by Brueghel have survived.³ Of these, the works displayed here—generally viewed as pendants owing to their nearly identical measurements—are the most impressive.

On a light ground—over which a light gray *imprimatura* (a thin, intermediate layer) was applied with clearly visible, diagonal strokes of the brush⁴—Brueghel sketched or painted the various animals, filling nearly all the available space. Sometimes he painted them with cast shadows, in order to give them some ground beneath their feet, so to speak. Brueghel's extraordinarily true-to-life rendering of animals has often led to the assumption that he painted them from life.⁵ It is more likely, however, that he used study drawings to compose oil sketches such as these in his studio. Not only was it especially difficult at this time—before the invention of paint in tubes—to work in oils out of doors, but these panels actually display compositions that were carefully designed to incorporate as many animals as possible.

On one of the panels an ass—presumably the same animal in every case—is seen from the side, from behind, and (obliquely) from the front; sometimes no more than the animal's head or hindquarters are shown. Occasionally only the contours have been sketched, using merely a few lines of the brush or possibly the pen, whereas several of the sketches show the animal completely colored in. Two kinds of monkeys are also depicted: a squirrel monkey and,

somewhat larger, a capuchin monkey. The squirrel monkey, which is depicted in some sketches eating a piece of fruit, is rendered from various angles, sometimes with only a few strokes of the brush, sometimes in color. There is also a little sketch of its hands alone. To the right of the squirrel monkey, the capuchin monkey is worked up completely in color, and next to it is a sketch in which only the animal's head and shoulders are colored in. To make use of the space remaining on the right-hand side of the panel, Brueghel gave the plank a quarter turn clockwise and recorded his impressions of a litter of kittens. The wide-eyed cat above them to the right is perhaps their mother. As already mentioned, Brueghel not only captured the animals' forms and colors but also carefully observed their behavior. The mother cat, for example, is somewhat crouched, its ears turned slightly back, as it keeps a careful watch on the muddle of sleeping kittens. Brueghel depicted the monkeys' nimble nature and was apparently fascinated by their dexterous hands. The asses' large ears are especially striking, seeming in some poses to move forward and in others backward.

On the other panel are seven dogs, most of them depicted from various angles. Some of the dogs are sketchily rendered, their contours consisting of only a few lines of the brush. Of others, only the head is depicted, whereas some are portrayed in great detail. The fact that these are hunting dogs is stressed by the presence at the lower right of the dead boar with its entrails spilling out. Several dogs sniff at the boar, a beagle jumps up, and the swollen nipples of the bitch on the left look very lifelike indeed.

Brueghel used these animal motifs whenever his compositions required them. For example, the squirrel monkey in the act of eating—seen frontally from the right—was copied exactly in *The Garden of Eden* (cat. no. 4), and the hunting dogs occur repeatedly in his paintings. The two black-and-white dogs at the upper left are recognizable in *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (cat. no. 11), while one of these two animals occurs in *Diana at the Hunt* (cat. no. 10). The light brown dog at the far right in the sketch is also recognizable in the latter painting. Such borrowings allow us to date these oil studies to about 1615–16. In a series of etchings from 1646, Wenceslas Hollar (1607–1677) copied a number of Brueghel's dog studies that have not survived (see figs. 65–67).⁶ The prints depict in reverse a number of dogs seen in Brueghel's paintings. The recurring appearance of these animals—and, for that matter, the same flowers and fruits—shows that Brueghel must have made frequent



27



28



FIGURE 103 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Study of Monkeys, a Deer, and Other Animals*, 1620. Oil on panel, 20.1 × 30.9 cm (7⁷/₈ × 12¹/₈ in.). Ghent, Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 1902-C

use of oil sketches and preparatory drawings. After his death in 1625, this material passed into the hands of his son and successor, Jan Brueghel the Younger, whose work displays the same pictorial motifs. Most of the studies in this once-extensive studio stock have been lost.

Of the other two surviving panels with animal motifs, one contains various ducks and birds (see fig. 44),⁷ two of which—the surf scoter and the black-tailed godwit—were used by Brueghel in the Mauritshuis *Garden of Eden*. The other panel, a *Study of Monkeys, a Deer, and Other Animals*, now in the Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Ghent (fig. 103),⁸ displays three motifs—a bird, a squirrel monkey sitting on a melon, and a marmoset with cherries—that are rendered identically in *The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* by Brueghel and Pieter van Avont in Munich (see fig. 86). The dead deer and the dead pheasant have identical counterparts in Brueghel’s *Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils* in Neuburg an der Donau (see fig. 68).

In addition to these oil sketches on panel, animal studies on paper have also survived, including a drawing of an ostrich (see fig. 102), on which Brueghel not only gave several color indications but also noted the size of the animal: “9 feet high” (9 voeten hooghe).⁹ Brueghel must have made

many more such drawings from life—assuming he made a sketch of every new species he laid eyes on—but nearly all of them have been lost.¹⁰ Exotic animals abound in his depictions of paradise, whereas the ass and the house cat are perfectly ordinary creatures. Owning hunting dogs was a princely prerogative in those days,¹¹ so it is assumed that Brueghel studied these animals at the court of the archdukes Albert and Isabella (see cat. nos. 10 and 11).¹² South American monkeys, too, were probably found only in the possession of well-to-do collectors. AVS

NOTES

1. See Kolb 2000, pp. 16–35.
2. For a comparable oil sketch by Rubens, see Held 1980, no. 411; see also Greenwich–Cincinnati–Berkeley 2004–05, cat. no. 7.
3. See notes 7 and 8 below and fig. 103. *A Study of the Head of a Roebuck* (Narbonne, Musée d’Art et d’Histoire) is sometimes attributed to Jan Brueghel the Elder; see Paris 1977–78, cat. no. 18; and A. Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 74. However, the somewhat coarse execution of this oil sketch seems to point to Jan Brueghel the Younger; compare Ertz 1984, no. 330. A variant is a *Study of a Roebuck*, sale, Sotheby’s, London, April 21, 2005, lot 12, also by the hand of Jan the Younger; see Ertz 1984, no. 331. *A Study of Parrots, Toucans, and Songbirds* was

probably also painted by Jan the Younger; see Ertz 1984, no. 337 (Leggatt Brothers [art dealer], London, 1963). A parrot and a toucan in this study have identical counterparts in *The Garden of Eden* by Brueghel and Rubens (cat. no. 4), making it likely that this study is a copy after a lost oil sketch by Brueghel the Elder. *A Study of Fruit, an Artichoke, Asparagus, and Oak Twigs* was also attributed by Ertz to Jan the Younger (Ertz 1984, no. 334; formerly L. Burchard collection, London), although it is more likely to be the work of Brueghel the Elder; see also Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 74.

4. Regarding Brueghel's use of an imprimatura, see the essay by Doherty, Leonard, and Wadum in this volume.
5. See, among others, Ertz 1979, p. 392; A. Balis in Antwerp 1982, p. 74; and A. Wied in Antwerp 1998, p. 282.
6. Zoega von Manteuffel 1923.
7. Sale, Paris, Galliera, November 23, 1972, lot 28.
8. See Antwerp 1982, cat. no. 7.
9. Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 20, 1982, lot 53; see Kolb 2005, p. 10, fig. 16.
10. Other animal studies by Jan Brueghel the Elder include: *Studies of a Rooster* (pen and brush, wash, 29.8 × 19.9 cm [11¾ × 7¾ in.]; Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. L 2207); *Bare Branch with Birds* (pen, 9.2 × 13 cm [3⅝ × 5⅛ in.]; Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt collection, inv. 6407); *Trees and Branches with Fruit and Parrots* (pen and brown ink, wash, and black chalk, 49 × 38.4 cm [19¼ × 15⅛ in.]; Montpellier, Musée Atger, inv. MA 487); *Bare Branches with Parrots* (pen and brown ink, wash, 14.2 × 19.6 cm [5⅝ × 7¾ in.]; Brussels, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten, De Grez collection, [inv.] cat. 1913, no. 474); *Studies of Deer in Various Positions* (Haboltdt [art dealer], Paris and New York, sales cat. 2001–02, no. 8); see fig. 45.
11. Welzel 1997, p. 183.
12. This suggestion can be traced to Roger de Piles (1677, p. 156); see also Müller Hofstede 1968, p. 205; and Ertz 1979, p. 392.

Peter Paul Rubens

Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels

1608

Oil on canvas, 87 × 58 cm (34¼ × 22⅞ in.)

Vienna, Akademie der Bildenden Künste, Gemäldegalerie, inv. GG 629

Exhibited in The Hague only

PROVENANCE

Count Anton Lamberg-Sprinzenstein (1740–1822) collection; bequeathed to the Akademie der bildenden Künste, Gemäldegalerie, Vienna, 1822¹

LITERATURE

Incisa della Rocchetta 1963; Müller Hofstede 1966; Warnke 1968; Jaffé 1977, pp. 96–98; Held 1980, no. 397; Von zur Mühlen 1990;

Costamagna 1995, pp. 150–73; Von zur Mühlen 1996; Von zur Mühlen 1998

EXHIBITIONS

Vienna 1977, cat. no. 4; Cologne 1977, cat. no. 19; London–Rome 2001, cat. no. 138; Brussels 2002, cat. no. 1; Lille 2004, cat. no. 25

IN THE SUMMER OF 1606, RUBENS WAS COMMISSIONED to paint an altarpiece for the Roman church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, also known as the Chiesa Nuova (New Church) of the Oratorians. It was by far the most prestigious of the commissions he received during his stay in Italy (ca. 1600–08). The order of the Oratorians—founded in 1564 by Filippo Neri, who was later canonized—consists of lay brothers (secular priests) devoted to a common life of prayer and pastoral work. In the spirit of the Counter-Reformation, the Oratorians focused their devotions on the veneration of the Virgin Mary. In 1575 Pope Gregory XIII gave them the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome, but this church soon proved too small for their burgeoning order. The medieval church building was demolished to make way for a new church, literally the Chiesa Nuova. A fourteenth- or fifteenth-century fresco of Mary being blessed

by the Christ Child, surrounded by angels, was taken from an adjacent house and carefully preserved for the purpose of placing it on a side altar in the new church; this *Madonna della Vallicella* had in fact been revered as a miraculous icon since the sixteenth century, when it had bled after being damaged by a stone thrown by an infidel.² On August 2, 1606, the Oratorians decided to move this image of divine mercy—the church’s greatest attraction—to the high altar and to commission an altarpiece.³ Rubens signed the contract for this commission on September 25 of the same year. It was stipulated that the altarpiece was to contain portrayals of Saints Gregory, Maurus, Pappianus, Domitilla, Nereus, and Achilles (whose relics were worshipped in the church) and, above them, the miraculous image of Mary.⁴ On December 2, 1606, Rubens wrote a letter to Annibale Chieppio—the agent of his employer, the duke of Mantua—





requesting permission to stay in Rome a few months longer in order to paint this altarpiece: “When the finest and most splendid opportunity in all Rome presented itself, my ambition urged me to avail myself of the chance. It is the high altar of the new church of the Priests of the Oratory, called Santa Maria in Vallicella, without doubt the most celebrated and frequented church in Rome today, situated right in the center of the city.”⁵ Rubens could not have foreseen that this would prove a long and laborious task; in fact, he eventually felt compelled to take back his altarpiece and produce another one, based on a different conception.

In 1606–07, after his patrons had approved his designs, Rubens painted an altarpiece with six saints, transfixed by the miraculous image of the Madonna and Child above them (now in the Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture in Grenoble).⁶ This painting was finished sometime during 1607 and placed on the high altar, but light reflecting from it made it difficult to see.⁷ Moreover, it seems that the patrons were displeased with the icon’s position in the altarpiece, for on January 30, 1608, they accepted Rubens’s offer to execute the work again, making adjustments to the upper part.⁸ On April 24, 1608, however, it appeared that Rubens—for whom it was apparently very important to bring this commission to a satisfactory conclusion—had completely altered the design, for he was now granted permission to divide the altarpiece into three separate paintings, one of which would be placed above the high altar and the other two lower down, on the side walls of the choir.⁹ To avoid annoying light reflections, the works were to be painted on slate instead of canvas, which meant that Rubens would have to execute them in situ. As was customary, the artist was asked to submit designs, which appear to have been approved quickly, since on May 13, 1608, the patrons authorized payment for the slate.¹⁰

In the new ensemble produced for the high altar, which can still be admired in the Chiesa Nuova, all attention is focused—much more so than in the original design—on the miraculous image in the central piece, which is adored by angels and borne heavenward by putti.¹¹ The six saints are distributed over the two side pieces and placed lower down, outside the heavenly spheres, from which vantage point they may worship the holy image, side by side with the churchgoers. Flying putti hold wreaths above the heads of the early Christian saints with palm branches in their hands, while a putto on the ground holds the tiara of the church father Gregory the Great (ca. 540–604). In the central



FIGURE 104 Peter Paul Rubens, *Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels*, 1608. Oil on slate, 425 × 250 cm (168 × 98³/₈ in.). Rome, Chiesa Nuova



FIGURE 105 Peter Paul Rubens, *Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels*, 1608. Pen and brush in brown ink, heightened in white, over traces of graphite, 26.8 × 15.2 cm (10½ × 6 in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, inv. 8231



FIGURE 106 Peter Paul Rubens, *Madonna della Vallicella, Borne Aloft by Putti*, 1608. Red chalk, 44.9 × 34.6 cm (17⅞ × 13⅝ in.). Moscow, Pushkin Museum, inv. 7098

depiction, an opening has been cut in the stone for the fresco of the *Madonna della Vallicella*, which is displayed on high feast days. The fresco is normally covered by a copper plate, on which Rubens painted a paraphrase of the miraculous image.

In late October 1608, Rubens departed in haste for Antwerp—before the unveiling of the tripartite altar ensemble in the Chiesa Nuova—upon receiving news of his mother’s deteriorating health.¹² Attempts to sell the rejected Oratorian altarpiece in Italy had failed, so he took it home with him. Learning at his arrival of his mother’s death, Rubens had the altarpiece installed by her grave in the Abbey of Saint Michael (Sint-Michielsabdij) at Antwerp. It hung there for nearly two centuries, until it was carried off to France during the Napoleonic era.

The painting from the Gemäldegalerie of the Akademie in Vienna is the *modello*, the design painted in oil, for the central part of the revised altarpiece that Rubens completed in 1608, shortly before his return to Antwerp (fig. 104). Also preserved are a pen and wash drawing of the same depiction (fig. 105) and a drawing in red chalk of the uppermost part, with the putti carrying the image of the Madonna and Child (fig. 106).¹³ These sheets must have preceded the *modello*. The drawings, for example, show various suggestions for the frame of the holy image, decorated with such things as scrolls and rectangular protrusions;¹⁴ in the final version of the altarpiece, the Madonna is set in an oval frame. It is also apparent from the poses of the various angels and putti that the Vienna *modello* comes closest to the finished altarpiece. It was probably the last in a series of designs made for the patrons’ approval, although Rubens modified several details of the final altarpiece. For instance, the angels below no longer kneel on clouds, and the arched cloud with angels’ heads seen in the *modello* has disappeared completely from the finished altarpiece.

The final version of the altarpiece made for the Chiesa Nuova is an impressive ensemble, all parts of which focus on the veneration of the miraculous image at the heart of the composition. As the garlanding of a holy image, it anticipates the garlands with Madonnas that Rubens later painted in Antwerp with Jan Brueghel the Elder (see cat. no. 12 and fig. 69). Thus the ambitious *Madonna in a Flower Garland* in Munich (see fig. 1) can be seen as an elaboration of the upper half of the central part of the Rome altarpiece. In these collaborative works, however, the portrayals of the Madonna and Child are merely depictions of images said to

possess miraculous powers and not true icons like the fresco that is the focal point of the Vallicella altarpiece. AVS

NOTES

1. After Rubens’s return from Italy, sketches for the three paintings in the Chiesa Nuova were to be found in the Abbey of Saint Michael (Sint-Michielsabdij) at Antwerp; see De Piles 1677, p. 189. It is possible that these oil sketches were stolen during the Napoleonic era, as was the *Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Saints* (Grenoble, Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture); see Held 1980, p. 542.
2. See Von zur Mühlen 1998, fig. 40.
3. Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, p. 162, doc. no. 1.
4. Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, pp. 163–67, doc. no. IV.
5. “Offerendosi dunque la più bella e superba occasione di tutta Roma mi spinse ancora zelo d’honore a prevalermi della mia sorte. Quest’è l’altar maggiore de la Chiesa nuova delli Preti dell’Oratorio detta S. Maria in vallicella, senza dubbio hoggidi la più celebrata et frequentata chiesa di Roma per esser situata giusto nel centro d’essa”: Jaffé 1977, p. 119, n. 27; and Magurn 1955, letter no. 14. In reaction to Rubens’s letter, Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga gave him permission to stay in Rome longer; six months later, on June 9, 1607, Rubens again asked Chieppio for permission to extend his Roman sojourn; see Von zur Mühlen 1998, p. 151.
6. Oil on canvas, 477 × 288 cm (187¾ × 113¾ in.). The *modello* for this painting is to be found in the Staatliche Museen Berlin; see Held 1980, no. 396.
7. Magurn 1955, letter no. 17.
8. Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, p. 169, doc. no. V.
9. Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, p. 173, doc. no. VIII.
10. Incisa della Rocchetta 1963, p. 173, doc. no. IX. In mid-June the Oratorians paid for the delivery of the copper plate on which Rubens painted the Virgin and Child; see Von zur Mühlen 1998, p. 153, n. 545.
11. Rubens’s composition was inspired by Durante Alberti, *Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels* (Rome, SS. Nerco ed Achilleo); see Müller Hofstede 1966, fig. 16 (as attributed to Cristoforo Roncalli, called Il Pomarancio) and fig. 14; and also by Federico Zuccaro, *The Worship of God’s Name* (Rome, Il Gesù); see Müller Hofstede 1966, fig. 20.
12. See Von zur Mühlen 1998, p. 154 and n. 548.
13. Jaffé 1977, figs. 329 and 328. For the drawing in the Albertina, Vienna, see Held 1986, no. 42; and New York 2005, cat. no. 18. See also a drawing in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, Lugt no. 1008. Preparatory drawings and an oil sketch for both side pieces have also been preserved; see Müller Hofstede 1966, figs. 9, 10, and 8, respectively; Held 1980, no. 398; and Von zur Mühlen 1998, pp. 171–72, n. 622.
14. See New York 2005, p. 106.



Brueghel and Rubens at Work

Technique and the Practice
of Collaboration

TIARNA DOHERTY, MARK LEONARD, AND JØRGEN WADUM



FIGURE 107 Signature/inscriptions, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4)

THE COLLABORATIVE WORKS OF JAN BRUEGHEL AND Peter Paul Rubens number approximately two dozen paintings. The artists began working together in about 1598, just prior to Rubens's sojourn in Italy; their close relationship continued until 1625, the year of Brueghel's death.¹ Within the group of their known collaborative works there is a range of subject matter, size, and quality. The latter distinction raises the question of studio involvement, mainly on the part of Rubens, since he is known to have operated a large workshop, and it was not unusual for his studio assistants to play a role in the execution of his works.

Few documents exist regarding the artists' collaborative process. There are only a few letters that indicate who was the leading artist in a specific work,² no extant drawings that show how the artists may have gone about planning their compositions, and no records regarding the movement of the paintings between the artists' studios. Although frustrating, this underscores the fact that the practice of collaboration was very common in seventeenth-century Antwerp and so accepted that it was not considered particularly noteworthy.

Artists' studios were complicated, vibrant environments. Although overseen by a master, studios did not necessarily produce works that were exclusively by the master's own hand. Many seventeenth-century collectors defined a work's desirability not by the degree of the master's hands-on participation but rather by its being recognizable as belonging to the master's style. That all of the productions of an artist's studio were considered to be "original" is indicated by the fact that they often bore the master's signature, regardless of how many studio assistants may have been involved in the creative process.³ Within a studio, work was usually assigned to assistants based upon their particular skills or talents. The size of a workshop was often directly related to the scale and quantity of the works produced. Brueghel and Rubens were court painters who were exempt from guild regulations that would have required them to record who their studio members were. We do know that the prestigious flower painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661) worked with Brueghel for a short period of time.⁴ Rubens, to meet the demands of his patrons and their commissions at the height of his career, oversaw an unusually large studio, positions in which were much coveted.⁵

Since we cannot rely upon documentary evidence alone to understand how collaborations between artists may have worked, we must turn to the pictures themselves.

For this exhibition, a number of the collaborative works of Rubens and Brueghel have been studied from a technical vantage point, leading to some general conclusions about how the works originated and how they evolved during their creation. It seems likely that these works most often originated with Brueghel; in the majority of cases, the first stages of drawing and painting began in Brueghel's studio. In the instances where Brueghel initiated the composition it seems most likely that he was the leading collaborator and chose the subject matter. Brueghel turned to Rubens to paint the figures, not because of any inability on his part to paint the human form, but because the weaving of another master's hand into a painting added a rich dimension to the tapestry of visual effects and surfaces that was the hallmark of Brueghel's work. Such collaborative efforts highlighted the exceptional skills of each artist involved, producing a finished work of art that was more than the sum of its individual parts and of greater value to collectors and patrons.

Some of the strongest pieces of evidence supporting the assumption that Brueghel played the leading role in the development of the collaborative works are the occasional inscriptions found on the paintings. Notable among these rare occurrences is the inscription on *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4). At the right of the panel, the notation IBRVEGHEL FEC. [Brueghel made it] lays claim to Brueghel's role as originator of the painting. Rubens, on the other hand, is acknowledged as the author of the figures: PETRI PAVLI. RVBENS FIGR. (fig. 107). Brueghel's "signing" for Rubens is not surprising, since Rubens rarely signed his own paintings (see cat. no. 4).

In three of the pictures from the series of collaborative works for which Rubens and Brueghel are best known—the Five Senses at the Museo Nacional del Prado in Madrid—Brueghel features his own name prominently, but Rubens's name does not even appear. In the *Allegory of Sight* (fig. 54), Brueghel signed and dated one of the scattered sheets of paper in the lower left foreground: BRVEGHEL. F. 1617 (fig. 108) and in the *Allegory of Taste*, his name and the date appear again, in the lower far right corner: BRVEGHEL.FE. 1618 (fig. 109). As with *The Garden of Eden*, the use of a form of *fecit* in both these signatures implies that Brueghel was confirming his role as the primary "maker" of the paintings.

Although it may be assumed that many of the collaborative works originated within Brueghel's studio, the ways in which the two artists worked together—particularly regarding



FIGURE 108 Signature/inscription, *Allegory of Sight* (fig. 54)

FIGURE 109 Signature/inscription, *Allegory of Taste* (cat. no. 8)

the sequence of events that led to a finished painting—are not always quite so clear. Their partnership seems to have evolved over time, and they did not always adhere to a consistent working method. Careful study of some of the paintings, particularly the earlier works such as *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1), from about 1598, or *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2), from about 1610–12, reveals a logical progression back-and-forth throughout the creation of the painting; each artist’s participation can be traced in a fairly straightforward series of steps from start to finish. In other pictures, though, the two artists were extraordinarily adept at integrating their individual contributions into a seamless whole. In considering some of their most elaborate compositions, such as *The Feast of Acheloius*

(cat. no. 3), it has proven nearly impossible to sort through their complex interaction and definitively establish a timeline for the process that led to the completed work of art.

It is only possible to speculate as to what specific logistical arrangements may have been followed during the creation of a painting. Did the paintings move back and forth between the studios? Or did the artistic collaborators who worked with Brueghel come to his studio and add their figures there? It is perhaps more likely that the paintings moved, as artists would certainly have preferred to have their own materials and tools at hand within the familiar comfort of their own studios.⁶ The studios in Antwerp were, in fact, in close proximity to one another (see fig. 11). Transportation would have been simplified by the use of handling frames, and evidence of such constructions has been found on some of the collaborative works.⁷

Materials and Techniques

In order to understand how Rubens and Brueghel worked together, it will be helpful first to review the painting materials and techniques that both artists used in their individual studios as well as in their collaborative productions.

SUPPORT

The majority of the collaborative works attributed to Brueghel and Rubens were executed on oak panels.⁸ One of the underlying motivations for using this type of support was an aesthetic choice: the smooth, hard surface of the wood allowed for the creation of an enamel-like paint surface—a characteristic that was particularly well suited to Brueghel’s meticulous style. For his smaller pictures Brueghel, in fact, favored the use of copper, which produced an even more jewel-like surface (but which was not available in sizes suitable for use as a support in larger compositions).

In the seventeenth century, the preparation of artists’ panels was a highly developed and regulated professional undertaking. Panelmakers, or *tafereelmakers*, were registered members of Antwerp’s Guild of Saint Luke. The wood used for panel supports was predominantly oak; either imported by timber merchants from the eastern Baltic regions of northern Europe or taken from western European forests and allowed to season for some years.⁹

Panels were often constructed of two or more planks of wood that were joined to one another to achieve a finished

dimension of a particular size. Panels were constructed to the purchaser's specifications or in one of a series of standard sizes which could then be sold "off the shelf."¹⁰ The planks were relatively thin: most commonly around ½ inch (0.8 to 1.5 cm) in thickness. The planks would be aligned parallel to one another, and the smooth edges of the planks would be joined along their longest dimension with animal glue (a type of construction commonly referred to as a butt join).¹¹ For most panels, prior to gluing, dowels were inserted into pre-drilled holes in the edges of both planks in the center of the join in order to facilitate the alignment of the planks during hardening of the glue. Such dowels are seen in the X-radiographs taken of the large panel support for *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (fig. 110); in this case, three dowels were spaced along the length of each panel join. Similar internal dowels are found in the Glasgow *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* (fig. 83).¹²

The panelmaker would then plane the panel so that it was smooth on the side to which the ground layer and subsequently the paint were to be applied. Many panelmakers were also *witters* (literally, whiteners), who also applied the whitish ground, made up of chalk and glue, that provided a smooth surface for painting.¹³

In 1617 the Antwerp guild introduced strict new guidelines for the production of panels.¹⁴ Once panels were approved for sale by the dean of the guild, or one of the *keurmeesters* (inspectors), they were branded on the back with the city's coat of arms: two severed hands and the Antwerp citadel. A branding iron in the shape of a hand—clearly an allusion to this coat of arms—is portrayed by Brueghel in the forge of the *Allegory of Touch* (fig. 111). After approval and branding of the panels, the panelmaker would stamp his own personal mark into the wood.¹⁵

Of the paintings exhibited here, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4) and *Flora and Zephyr* (cat. no. 6) are the only two panels from Rubens and Brueghel's collaborative works where, thus far, evidence of a panelmaker's mark has been found.¹⁶ This is, in part, because the Antwerp brand and the associated makers' marks were not routinely used before 1617. But it is also perhaps due to the fact that the backs of many panels have been thinned or planed during subsequent conservation treatments, removing or obliterating any marks in the process.¹⁷

The outside edges of a panel were sometimes planed down to create a groove that would fit into a temporary auxiliary frame that made the panel portable, allowing for easier



FIGURE 110 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) shown in normal light (top) and in an X-radiograph showing one of the dowels used to join the panels (bottom)



FIGURE 111 Detail from *Allegory of Touch* (fig. 56), showing hand-shaped branding iron at right



FIGURE 112 Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), *The Painter in His Studio*, ca. 1628. Oil on panel, 24.8 × 31.7 cm (9¾ × 12½ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. 38.1838

handling in the studio and possibly facilitating transport between studios. Such a temporary framework can be seen in Rembrandt's famous painting of *The Painter in His Studio* (fig. 112), where a panel painting is seen, from the reverse, sitting on an easel. In this case, the panel has been fitted with wooden braces at the top and bottom edges.

Two of Rubens and Brueghel's collaborative works, *The Return from War* (cat. no. 2) and *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4) are on panels that appear to have been fitted with similar auxiliary frameworks. In both cases, grooves were channelled along the reverse side of the right and left vertical edges. On the surface of *The Return from War*, there is evidence that the frame was in place during the course of painting, as the original painted surface does not continue to the far edges, and a ridge of paint (or barb) was created several centimeters in from both edges as a result of the paint having been brushed up against the edge of the temporary frame.¹⁸

The Garden of Eden has comparable grooves along the vertical edges (see fig. 126). In this case, the frame must have been in place even prior to application of the ground layer, as the portions of the panel that were protected by the frame

moldings have not been primed. However, at some point during the painting process the strips of wood of the temporary frame were removed and some final details—most likely added by Brueghel—were continued out to the edges of the panel.

GROUND

After construction of the panel was complete, it was prepared for painting by the application of sizing layers and one or more layers of ground. A sizing layer of animal glue was applied to seal the wood panel, so that it would not absorb the binding media of the ground or the paint layers. According to period recipes for making glue, such materials as calf skin and leather glove clippings were among the most common ingredients.¹⁹

The simplest ground layers were typically made from chalk (calcium carbonate) bound in animal glue.²⁰ Ground layers in a number of individual works by Brueghel and Rubens share a basic similarity in that they are all white to off-white in color and provided a smooth, hard surface for painting.

The preparation layer on a panel would have been applied by the panelmaker, a *witter*, or in the artist's studio. Ground

layers could be applied with a brush (as was commonly done for wood panels) or priming knife (for canvas supports) and, if necessary, could be smoothed down mechanically with a tool such as a reed or drawknife.²¹

IMPRIMATURA

Both Brueghel and Rubens favored the use of an additional preparatory layer—commonly referred to today as an imprimatura (stemming from the Italian, *imprima*, meaning “first” or “before all”).²² The imprimatura was a semitranslucent pigmented preparation applied in a thin layer on top of the ground. It served a variety of roles: as an isolating layer, it could protect the highly absorbent chalk-based ground from soaking up too much oil medium from the paint layers; as a preliminary layer, it toned down the bright white of the ground; and as a paint layer of sorts, it had an aesthetic impact due to the fact that it often remained visible in local areas on the finished surface of the painting.

The imprimatura was applied thinly with a broad, flat brush, and in a medium which left a streaky texture that added an additional dimension to the ground layers. The origins of this type of imprimatura can be traced back to Flemish paintings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, notably those of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Jan Brueghel the Elder’s father) and Hieronymus Bosch (ca. 1450–1516).²³

In order for an imprimatura layer to retain the streaky texture imparted by the flat-brush application, it is speculated to have been executed in a medium that would have dried quickly rather than in a slower-drying medium that might have flowed and relaxed into a more uniform, flat surface. The usual assumption is that a water-based medium—such as egg tempera or glue tempera—was used. Unfortunately, this point remains speculative, as no recipes have been found and specific identification of the binding media of imprimatura layers by modern analytical techniques has proven to be quite challenging. When taking a sample of such a thin layer it is nearly impossible to avoid contamination, either from the underlying ground layer or the overlying paint layers. The imprimatura layers used by Rubens, for example, have been variously identified by different sources as oil-based, water-based, or an emulsion.²⁴

The colors favored by Brueghel and Rubens for the imprimatura layer in their collaborative works range from cool grays to warm browns. The imprimatura in *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, for example, contains primarily

lead white and carbon black,²⁵ resulting in a thin, semi-transparent gray layer. Conversely, in *The Return from War*, lead white, carbon black, and a red-brown umber²⁶ combined to form a warm brown layer. This warmer-colored preparation is the type of imprimatura that has been found in the majority of the collaborative works.

Brueghel took full advantage of the warm-colored imprimaturas in the details of many of his landscape paintings. He would paint the contours of large tree trunks, for example, directly over the imprimatura, followed by an economic application of highlights and shadows, but leaving the preparatory layer visible as a middle tone, thus creating a heightened sense of depth and volume. In a similar fashion, the imprimatura layer also imparted a sense of depth to the foliage of treetops, where the warm color was incorporated into the deepest clusters of leaves.

Perhaps the clearest example of Brueghel’s use of the imprimatura layer can be seen in two panels of animal studies in Vienna (cat. nos. 27 and 28). Executed from life and kept by the artist as references for later paintings, these two panels functioned much like sketchbook pages and most of the streaky, warm brown imprimatura layer remains visible. The imprimatura plays a role as a middle tone in the modeling of the animals; highlights and shadows were added in more opaque paint to heighten the illusion of form and texture.

Rubens, perhaps more than any other artist, made the most elaborate use of the streaky, semitransparent imprimatura in his paintings: it moderated the austerity of the white ground layer in his oil sketches and played an equally important role as a middle tone both in the sketches and in his highly finished paintings. In Rubens’s *Meeting of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain at Nördlingen* (fig. 113), the warm brown imprimatura serves as the middle ground, and the artist has simply added occasional highlights or shadows to create the illusion of three-dimensional forms on the hard panel surface.

UNDERDRAWING

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a traditional final step in preparation for painting often involved applying a full-scale drawing of the subject to the prepared panel or canvas in order to lay out the basic framework for the composition. This underdrawing was done in varying degrees of detail and finish and is a much-studied phenomenon.²⁷ Northern European painters of the early Renaissance typically used exceptionally detailed drawings, and while both



FIGURE 113 Peter Paul Rubens, *Meeting of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain at Nördlingen*, 1635. Oil on panel, 49.1 cm × 63.8 cm (19⁵/₈ × 25¹/₈ in.). Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 87.PB.15

FIGURE 114 Jan Brueghel, *Sheet with Animals and Garlands*, 1604. Pen and brown ink, 19.3 × 30.7 cm (7⁵/₈ × 12¹/₈ in.). London, British Museum, inv. SL 52 © Trustees of the British Museum

Brueghel and Rubens emerged from this historic tradition, neither artist followed this approach. Their underdrawings were much looser, and often the boundaries between the drawing and painting stages were blurred, as preparatory linear indications were executed directly in paint rather than with traditional drawing materials such as chalk, ink, or metal point.

Underdrawing in chalk and ink is occasionally visible to the naked eye: in some cases, a paint layer may not entirely cover the underdrawing; in other cases, oil paint layers may have become somewhat transparent over time. Generally, however, an infrared-sensitive camera is the standard tool used to reveal and study underdrawings.²⁸

Both Brueghel and Rubens were master draftsmen in their own right, and both left behind drawings—a large body of drawings in Rubens's case—which have been studied in great detail. Brueghel also made drawings that he used as references for his paintings. One example, *Sheet with Animals and Garlands* (fig. 114), shows that he included color notations that would serve him in the painting process. Brueghel appears to have made many such drawings and painted sketches. Often these were quickly executed studies made from live animals.

In the collaborative works, preparatory drawings on the painting support—when they exist—tend to be sketchy and generalized indications of outlines and rough placements of objects and figures, most of which were radically refined and altered during the actual painting of the work of art. Only occasionally is there an underdrawing that serves as a general indication of the composition. This scant indication of compositional design—particularly in their mature collaborations—is no doubt due at least in part to the fact that both artists were exceptionally adept at handling paint and did not need to rely upon a detailed underdrawing. It could also be argued that they used their first stages of painting as a kind of fluid underdrawing. It should be noted that the lack of an identifiable underdrawing is no guarantee that none was employed, only that current analytical technology is not able to make it readable.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the only Rubens/Brueghel collaborative work where a fairly extensive use of underdrawing has been found is their earliest coproduction, *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1). Infrared reflectography has revealed that all of the figures and horses in the foreground were extensively underdrawn. The underdrawing appears to be executed in a fluid medium either alone or over chalk. The

young—and comparatively inexperienced—Rubens would have used this underdrawing to establish the complicated interaction and foreshortened perspective of the tight figural group. In some instances it is possible to see the dark underdrawing with the naked eye, such as in the fallen soldier in the foreground (fig. 115).

Underdrawings in the subsequent collaborative works were found to be little more than occasional lines indicating placement of a few forms or landscape elements.²⁹ Most of these indications appear to be from Brueghel's hand; Rubens seems to have moved directly to the use of brown paint to outline his figures.

An interesting phenomenon that results from the relationship between the underdrawing and the imprimatura layer can be found in *The Garden of Eden*, where Brueghel sketched in rough outlines of the landscape composition in black chalk over the imprimatura.³⁰ Infrared reflectography studies reveal that the underdrawn lines appear to skip over the ridges of the streaky imprimatura, producing a series of small dots (fig. 116).³¹ This observation has been confirmed in a cross section taken from an area of the underdrawing where the black chalk is seen to lay on top of the imprimatura layer.

PIGMENTS AND BINDERS

Paint, in its simplest form, is composed of two basic materials: dry pigment and a binder (or medium). In Antwerp in the early 1600s, these materials were supplied by apothecaries and regulated, along with drugs and other medicinal materials, by the Mercers (*meerseniers*) Guild.³² The actual mixing of the pigments with the binder was most likely carried out by an assistant in the studio.

The pigments that were available to seventeenth-century artists included natural minerals as well as manufactured pigments. Within both categories of pigments there would often be large differences in pigment color. Prices of pigments varied widely and depended on purity, the scarcity of a particular mineral and/or the cost of production. Both Rubens and Brueghel characteristically used pigments of very high purity, which ensured good tinting strength, thus imparting saturated color to a paint film. Such a paint film had excellent hiding power and therefore an opaque layer could be created with very little paint.

The earth pigments, including umbers, ochers, and sienas, were the most common and least expensive pigments and came in a wide range of yellows, reds, and browns. Cassel or Cologne earth and hematite were rich brown pig-



FIGURE 115 Detail (top left) from *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1). The underdrawing is visible in normal light (bottom) as well as in the infrared reflectogram (top right).

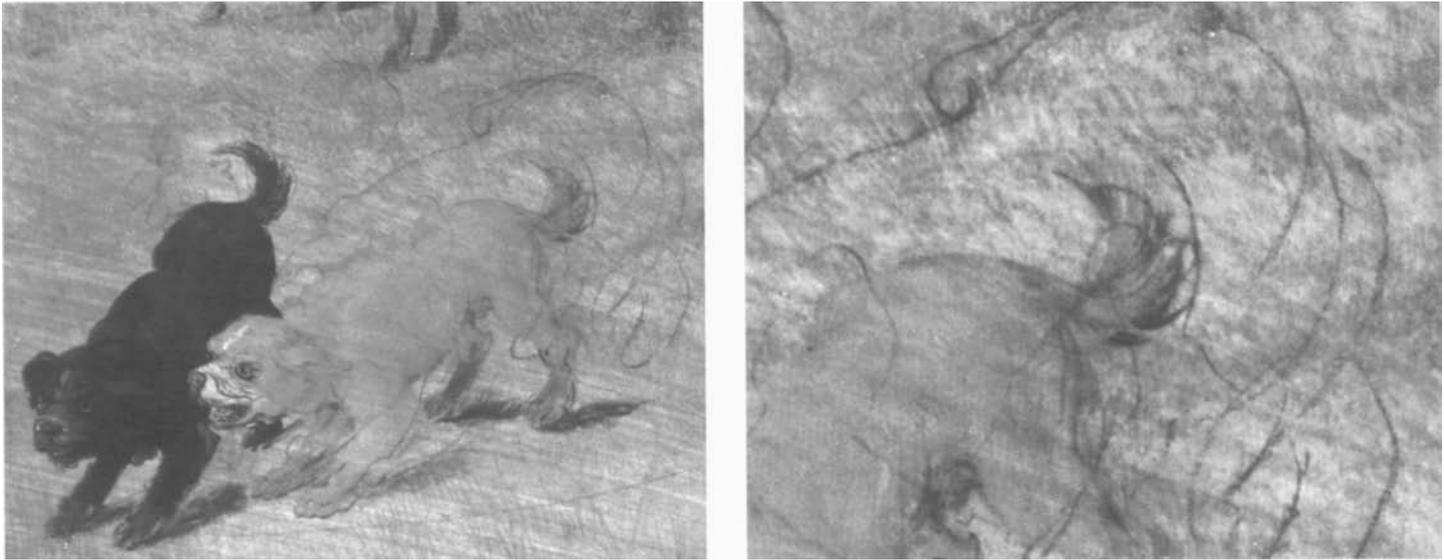


FIGURE 116 Infrared reflectogram (left) from *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4). The detail (right) shows the lines of the underdrawing “skipping over” the streaky imprimatura.

ments that were particularly favored by Rubens for outlining and for glazing in shadows, creating a sense of depth and heightening the strength of his figural forms.³³

Common synthetic pigments made by simple chemical reactions included lead white, lead-tin yellow, and the blue-green verditers, synthesized from copper carbonate. Lead white was the predominant white pigment because of its significant tinting strength. Lead-tin yellow was available in a number of different shades. When mixed with oil, both of these lead-based pigments formed a textured impasto, often used to create highlights.

The more expensive pigments included vermilion, a bright red pigment found in both natural and synthetic forms, and the naturally occurring blue pigments ultramarine and azurite. Ultramarine, the rarer of the two blues, was significantly more expensive, but its superior optical properties meant that it was preferred for use in expanses of blue sky. Artists would often mix these high-quality pigments with less expensive colors or else would use them as thin, final layers over underpaints made with less costly materials, such as smalt, a blue pigment made from cobalt-colored glass.

Another category of pigments—perhaps more appropriately called colorants—were those made from natural dyestuffs drawn from plant or animal sources, such as the deep blue pigment indigo. Natural dyestuff colorants, which have

great intensity but are very translucent in nature, are often found in glazes. To make a pigment suitable for painting from an organic dyestuff, the colored dye has to be deposited onto a solid substrate and then mixed with a binder such as linseed oil. The resulting pigments are commonly called “lakes” and range in color from deep purple, to brilliant red, to intense yellow. Among the red lakes used by Rubens are cochineal, derived from insect droppings, and madder, derived from the roots of the madder plant.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the most commonly used binders were drying oils, such as linseed oil and walnut oil, which have the unique ability to form a solid film upon prolonged exposure to air. These oils imparted a rich, luminous character to the pigment that made them very attractive as paint media.

Scientific analysis of various paint media used by Rubens has identified both linseed and walnut oils, either found alone or in combination with resinous materials.³⁴ The resinous materials may be residues from the Venice turpentine that Rubens used to dilute the thick oil paint. Rubens was known to have been very concerned with the potential discoloration of oil paints, and Venice turpentine—a pure, clear form of turpentine distilled from sap of the European larch tree—was said to guard against future yellowing of the paint.³⁵

Rubens often chose to use walnut oil as a medium when painting light-colored flesh tones, particularly those that contained large amounts of lead white, because he was sensitive to the fact that this particular medium would yellow less over time than linseed oil.

PAINTING TECHNIQUES

The types of pigments and media used by Rubens and Brueghel were entirely in keeping with established standards and practices of the day, and the painting materials used by each artist in their individual works were very similar. What distinguished the two masters were the stylistic aspects of how the paint was applied. In general, Brueghel's handling of paint could be characterized as more opaque, which suited the graphic, straightforward, and detailed qualities of his style, whereas Rubens tended to favor a more translucent handling, relying upon multiple layers of glazes and scumbles to create the illusion of form through more smoothly blended effects of modeling.

Brueghel's painting method has been characterized as deliberately slow in order to achieve the high degree of finish and detail in his painting. He was known to take many months to finish some commissions, a time frame that is not surprising given the meticulous quality and character of his finished surfaces.³⁶ It is also possible that he worked on several paintings at once, allowing the works to dry at various stages and then returning to them in order to maintain a crisp appearance by avoiding the risk of applying paint on top of a layer that was still wet and malleable. In his letters, Brueghel describes the time limitations in painting flower pieces from life since he often had to wait for flowers to be in season or have access to them.³⁷

When painting a landscape Brueghel would first lay down solid areas of color to differentiate space, such as light green in the foreground and blue hues for the far distance (as well as for the expanses of sky). He would also take advantage of the colored imprimatura whenever possible. In *The Vision of Saint Hubert* (cat. no. 7), for example, the illusion of a large tree trunk just to the left of center was created by allowing the brown-colored imprimatura to stand as middle ground in between the outlined highlights and the shadows of the form. The foliage of the tree was clearly painted over the imprimatura (at the central portion) and overlaps the paint of the sky only at the edges.

Brueghel often painted animals in a similar way. In *The Return from War* (cat. no. 2), the guinea pigs in the fore-

ground were painted directly over the imprimatura in a manner that made full use of the warm, brown preparatory layer as the middle tone for the fur (fig. 117). Brueghel often repeated animals in his paintings and therefore was probably so adept at painting them that he didn't need to create a preliminary drawing. Some of the dogs that appear in the *Studies of Hunting Dogs* (cat. no. 27) also appear in the *Saint Hubert* and the *Diana at the Hunt* paintings (cat. nos. 10 and 11).

Alternatively, Brueghel would sometimes paint his animals directly over the first green layer of the foreground and then carefully work additional details of foliage and grass up to and around the completed animals. This laborious way of painting, also seen in his crowded *Garden of Eden* (cat. no. 4), resulted in a seamless insertion of even the smallest details of leaves, grass, and flowers in between the animals and other larger elements of the composition.

Brueghel occasionally used the end of his brush or a similar tool to refine his details while painting.³⁸ In order to render the detailed wooden inlay on the crossbow in the foreground of *The Return from War*, for example, he scratched delicate patterns into the paint film, presumably with a small stick or the end of a paint brush (fig. 118).

Rubens's working method was somewhat different. His complicated figural compositions were commonly developed through a series of preparatory drawings and were then further refined and elaborated by the execution of painted sketches, or *bozzetti*. These oil sketches were used by Rubens throughout his career. They reflect his technical facility for working out his compositions directly on a prepared painting surface, as they were painted without elaborate preparations—such as detailed underdrawings—and often contain numerous changes and reworkings. For some commissions, and for particularly large-scale works, he painted a second, more finished painted sketch, or *modello*, that was suitable for presentation to a patron and could also function as a guide for the studio assistants during painting of the full-scale finished work.

In both the painted sketches and in his highly finished works, Rubens used his brush to outline forms and to make subsequent adjustments to contours. Most often this was done with a warm, brown-colored paint. After the initial laying in of the contours, the work would continue with the addition of middle tones, highlights, and shadows; in many cases the imprimatura was allowed to remain visible, most commonly as a means of creating cool shadows in the flesh tones.



FIGURE 117 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2)



FIGURE 118 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*

Rubens would sometimes leave a small gap between different areas of paint—rather than having a slight overlap—thus emphasizing a shape and creating an enhanced sense of depth in his paintings.

Rubens's masterful use of glazes (transparent layers of darker paint applied over lighter, opaque underpaints) and scumbles (semitransparent layers of lighter paint applied over darker underlying layers) is most clearly seen in his handling of flesh tones. The opalescent qualities of the flesh of the figure of Venus in *The Return from War*, for example, were created by subtle mixing of colors, ranging from pinks to yellows to blues, in overlapping layers of smoothly blended paint.

Rubens varied the degree of warmth in flesh tones within a painting, most often preferring cool, pale tones for female figures and more saturated, warmer hues for male figures. In *The Feast of Acheloiis* (cat. no. 3), for example, the variety of flesh tones in the multifigure scene encourages the viewer's eye to move throughout the complicated composition. He also favored the use of a red lake paint to accentuate the contours of shadowed flesh tones, thus heightening the sense of form and imparting a warmth and vitality to the figures. Oftentimes, he would use the contrast between the flesh tones of the male and female figures as a subtle psychological tool; such is the case in *Pan and Syrinx* (cat. no. 5) and *The*

Return from War, where the obvious differences in tonality between the male and female figures underscore their complex relationships.

Rubens also used glazes to create the illusion of depth and heighten the seductively vibrant appearance of shadowed areas in his depiction of draperies and other materials. A beautiful example of this is seen in the red drapery around Mars in *The Return from War*. On the left side of the fabric, lead white was mixed into the red paint (a mixture of vermilion and red earth) to create a strong, opaque appearance. On the right side of the painting, where the fabric is seen in shadow between the two figures, red lake glazes were applied on top of this red, opaque base color, creating the illusion of deep, rich shadows in the folds of the fabric.

VARNISH

Varnish is a clear, resinous material that serves to provide depth and luminosity to the paint layers, as well as providing a protective surface. A varnish coating fills in the tiny gaps and spaces in the upper layer of a paint film, providing a uniform surface for the reflection of light, with the result that the pigments become deeper, or more saturated, in appearance. Traditional varnish materials used in the seventeenth century included a variety of soft natural resins, often combined with any number of harder drying oils and other materials.³⁹

It is often difficult to determine whether or not particular artists varnished their finished paintings. Oil paintings require an extended period of time to dry properly, and in many cases the work would have already left the studio before this process was complete, precluding the application of varnish by the artist himself or a member of his workshop.

Although there have been numerous studies of early-seventeenth-century varnishes, and some discussion in particular about Rubens's use of varnish,⁴⁰ nothing is known about the use of varnish in the collaborative works. In light of the fact that all of these paintings have been subsequently varnished, cleaned, restored, and revarnished—often many times—throughout the centuries, there is very little evidence remaining of what may or may not have been used. In the absence of any documentary evidence, any theories as to what might have been applied—and, perhaps more interestingly, which of the two artists might have applied the varnish—would be pure speculation.

The Working Process

One clue leading to the assumption that Brueghel and Rubens must have worked together very closely during the planning process for their collaborative works is the existence in these paintings of surprisingly few major pentimenti (with several notable exceptions, such as those found in *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* [cat. no. 2] and the large *Madonna in a Flower Garland* in Munich [fig. 1]). The fact that very few changes were made during the painting process suggests that the artists had a clear preliminary understanding of the compositions of their collaborative paintings. This is quite remarkable considering that neither preparatory drawings nor painted sketches are known for these works. Furthermore, surprisingly little underdrawing has been detected in these paintings.

In order to understand the process of collaboration between these two artists it has been helpful to try to establish a chronology of the painting process in each of the works. For some of the paintings, doing this proved to be quite straightforward, but in others, despite the stylistic differences between Rubens and Brueghel, their methods of applying paint were so well integrated on a single plane that it was a challenge to decipher who began painting first. In some cases, signs of process, such as overlapping layers of paint, are clearly visible. In other instances, it was necessary

to use infrared reflectography or near-infrared imaging to reveal underdrawing or differentiate where paint layers overlap. X-radiographs and stereomicroscopic studies of the paint surfaces also helped to determine the order of painting by revealing overlapping areas of paint.

THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS

The first known collaborative painting by Brueghel and Rubens is *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1). It dates to about 1598 and stands apart from the other collaborative works because it is the only one executed before Rubens left Antwerp for an eight-year sojourn in Italy.

In 1598 Rubens emerged from his apprenticeships and became a “free master” of painting.⁴¹ But it is important to note that at this point Brueghel was the senior—and more famous—artist. He was renowned as a specialist in painting flowers, still life, and, most importantly, landscape. Brueghel's invitation to Rubens to collaborate with him in executing such a painting as *The Battle of the Amazons* would have given the younger artist an opportunity to demonstrate his virtuosity in the creation of a large, complicated figural composition.

The division of labor is clear in this early collaborative work.⁴² The picture appears to have been simply divided into two horizontal sections, with Brueghel painting the upper background landscape and Rubens painting the multifigure group in the lower portion of the composition.⁴³ Although the result is a powerfully atmospheric and emotionally charged scene, the contributions from the two individual artists are arguably not yet quite as successfully integrated as they would be in their future collaborations.

Unlike his practice in later figural contributions, Rubens made use of an extensive underdrawing (in what appears to be black chalk or a similar material) for this composition, which was no doubt of prime importance in the planning and execution of the highly complex arrangement.⁴⁴ The underdrawing is readily visible with the aid of infrared reflectography (fig. 119). The numerous, tightly packed and often dramatically foreshortened figures and horses in *The Battle of the Amazons* were carefully positioned with a detailed series of contours and outlines during execution of the underdrawing.

An interesting detail in *The Battle of the Amazons* is found in the use of gilding on some areas of the surface. Gold details were applied to heighten the illusion of some of the metallic surfaces—notably the armor, shields, and horse

bridles. This use of gilt details stems from an earlier Flemish tradition and can be linked to the practices of Rubens's teacher, Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629).⁴⁵

• • • •

Following Rubens's return to Antwerp from Italy in 1608, Brueghel and Rubens produced a number of complex and highly finished works of exceptional quality. These include: *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (ca. 1610–12), *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (ca. 1617), and *The Feast of Achelouïs* (ca. 1614–15) (cat. nos. 2–4). Two of these pictures, *The Return from War* and *The Garden of Eden*, have been the subject of much study during their recent conservation treatments, which provided an opportunity for some closer examinations.

THE RETURN FROM WAR: MARS DISARMED BY VENUS

One of Brueghel's and Rubens's larger collaborative works, *The Return From War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) is also among the most interesting because of the extensive changes it underwent during its creation. The complicated genesis of the picture underscores the fact that the two artists must have had a close working relationship and is a masterful demonstration of the success of their collaborative efforts.

The painting's support, despite its generous size, is a fairly thin oak panel, composed of five planks of wood, joined horizontally. Grooves in the reverse of the panel at the left and right edges, which correspond to two vertical areas on the surface of the painting that are primed but unpainted, suggest that the picture was held in a temporary framework while the two artists were at work on the composition.

The picture must have originated in Brueghel's studio. One unusual piece of evidence for this is the existence of a number of small "doodles" applied to the surface after the white ground was applied. These are visible with the aid of infrared reflectography—and can only be read properly when the painting is turned upside down (fig. 120). Just to the left of Mars's tunic is a rocky landscape, a shepherd (holding a staff), a few sheep, and a small cart. These sketchy notations are clearly in Brueghel's hand and may represent some preliminary thoughts for a different composition or a bit of illustration corresponding to a discussion in the studio.

Further infrared study suggested that the original plan for the entire composition—including the architectural



FIGURE 119 Detail from *The Battle of the Amazons* (cat. no. 1) shown in normal light (top) and in an infrared reflectogram (bottom)



FIGURE 120 Details (upside down) from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2) as shown in infrared reflectograms

setting, extensive still life, and initial placement of the figure group—was designed by Brueghel. Brueghel’s underdrawing—sparse, roughly sketched outlines in black chalk—indicated a different preliminary plan for the position of the two main figures: a male figure, facing to the left, with his proper left arm positioned in a vertical, curved embracing gesture, was planned for the area where Venus’s torso is now found (fig. 121). It is not possible to see a preparatory sketch for the female figure (assuming that the subject was the same at this early stage) because the dark pigments in the painted figure of Mars prevent transmission of the infrared image.

It should be noted that the scale of this first figure was considerably smaller than those which Rubens eventually painted. Interestingly, Brueghel executed a number of collaborative works, with Rubens and others, centered on the theme of the forge. In some of these collaborative works (for example, in the *Allegory of Touch* from the Five Senses series [fig. 56] painted with Rubens and in the *Allegory of Fire*, painted with Hendrick van Balen [cat. no. 17]), the

figures of Mars and Venus were included in a similar position yet comparatively smaller scale. The posture of the underdrawn figure is also reminiscent of a similar male figure presenting a shield to Venus found in one of Brueghel’s later collaborations with Van Balen, *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* (fig. 122).

After applying the sketchy underdrawing, Brueghel painted in the architectural setting and all of the still-life elements, leaving the original area of the figure plan “in reserve,” meaning that the selected area was left unpainted, although everything surrounding it was brought to a nearly finished state by Brueghel. This use of a reserve for the figures recurs in some of the other collaborative works as well.

Brueghel completed a detailed and complex array of objects in the lower right corner (underneath the area where Venus’s legs and the putti holding Mars’s shield now appear), including a three-legged stool, a variety of items laid on top of a table or shelf, and a long bench at the far right. All of these items are revealed by infrared reflectography as well as



FIGURE 121 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, as shown in an infrared reflectogram

with X-radiography (fig. 123). The X-ray images reveal additionally that these still-life elements had been brought to a high degree of finish, as they not only appear fully realized but also include the small, lead white highlights that Brueghel would have applied only during the final stages of painting.

After completion of the first round of painting, the panel was most likely sent to Rubens's studio, where the composition was radically revised. In a somewhat shocking move that might have deeply divided two artists with a less intimate—and trusting—working relationship, Rubens painted out most of the lower right-hand corner and portions of the lower center with a gray overpaint, to allow for the enlargement and repositioning of the figures into their current configuration.

Rubens then went about painting the figural group, making clever use of the gray “overpaint” as an “underpaint” for his own work: it served as a foundation for the creation of the cool shadows in the flesh tones of Venus.



FIGURE 122 Jan Brueghel the Elder and Hendrick van Balen, *Venus in the Forge of Vulcan*, 1623. Oil on copper, 39.4 × 34.3 cm (15½ × 13½ in.). Private collection

Rubens also departed from Brueghel's practice by painting the figure of Venus in walnut oil, rather than the more common linseed oil, which Brueghel had used for his contributions to the picture. This was no doubt a conscious choice on Rubens's part, as walnut oil was less prone to discoloration, thus ensuring the future of the figure's pale, pearly flesh tones and guarding against the threat of yellowing that would have compromised the subtle variations of color he used to create such a strong sense of form.⁴⁶

Less surprising were the types of pigments used by both artists. Pigment identifications were carried out on a number of sections of the picture—and all of the identifications were consistent with pigments commonly found in works from the period, including lead white, vermilion, iron earths, azurite, copper greens, and lead-tin yellow.⁴⁷

After Rubens completed his work on the figures, the panel was probably returned to Brueghel's studio, where many of the still-life elements that had been painted over were placed in their current positions. For example, the legs of Venus now



FIGURE 123 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* shown in normal light (top), an infrared reflectogram (bottom left), and an X-radiograph (bottom right)



FIGURE 124 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* shown in normal light (left) and in an infrared reflectogram (right)

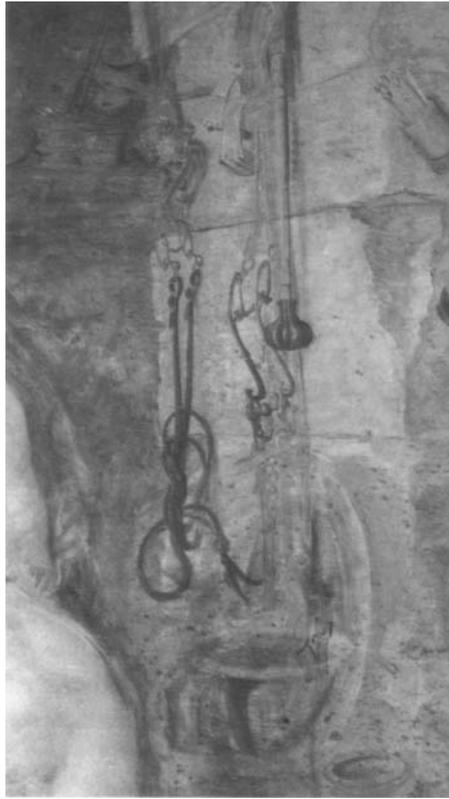


FIGURE 125 Detail from *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*

cover a bowl of grapes originally painted just above the three-legged stool. The new fruit bowl was reinserted at the far right side of the composition. A number of other still-life elements were rescattered on the ground around the figural group or reworked slightly in order to visually integrate the two portions of the painting—and to mask the border of gray overpaint.

The stone wall at the right side of the painting was also reworked. Brueghel had initially painted in a large, round shape (possibly a shield, or perhaps a platter) on the wall at the right-hand side of the painting, along with a number of bowls and other round objects just below it. In response, perhaps, to the rounded figure of Venus, the wall just to her right was reworked, covering over the round objects and replacing them with such strong vertical accents as horses' bridles and a pair of stirrups (fig. 124).

Although all of these reworkings were executed with the same quality and attention to detail as Brueghel's original work, a number of elements at the left side of the figural

group, such as the large covered pot just to the right of Mars's proper right hand, were painted in a somewhat different, looser style, with a more limited palette of gray and green (fig. 125). It is possible that one of Brueghel's studio assistants could have contributed these final details.

THE GARDEN OF EDEN WITH THE FALL OF MAN

The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man (cat. no. 4) demonstrates that Rubens and Brueghel had a clear appreciation of each other's skills and specialties. Painted in the most labor-intensive manner possible, with work proceeding methodically from the foreground to the background, this work was most likely a commission for a client seeking exactly this kind of exquisite tour de force.

The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man is signed in two places: at the lower left is the inscription PETRI PAVLI RVBENS FIGR. and at the lower right, in somewhat smaller letters, IBRVEGHEL FEC. (see fig. 107). Despite the signatures' difference in scale, they are both thought to have been



FIGURE 126 Front edge (left) and reverse edge (right) of panel, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (cat. no. 4)

made by Brueghel. This is remarkable, because in all of the other paintings that Brueghel executed jointly with other artists nothing is found other than his own name.

The painting was executed on a single horizontal oak panel of western European origin.⁴⁸ The narrow remains of a beveling may be observed at top and bottom. As was the case with the much larger *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2), a groove was planed into the reverse at both vertical ends to facilitate the mounting of a temporary working frame (fig. 126). The auxiliary battens distinguish this panel from those produced in standard sizes and suggest that it was ordered in a format specifically tailored to the composition.

On the reverse of the panel is the house mark of the panelmaker Guiliam Gabron (active 1609–1662+)—the letters *GG* interlinked with a floral motive (fig. 127). This mark was made using Gabron's early punch, in use between 1614 and 1626. There is no branding mark, probably due to the panel's early dating, about 1616, just prior to the regulation of standardized branding in 1617.⁴⁹ Another explanation for the lack of a branding mark might be that because it was ordered to size the panel fell outside the so-called dozen-sizes that had to be assessed by the dean.

The present panel is also an exception to the rule that standard-size panels were usually prepared with a ground layer *before* a painter acquired them. The supplementary side frames were mounted before the panel was grounded with

chalk and glue. Their later removal left 3–4 mm (about 1/8 inch) of the panel along the vertical edges ungrounded.

A thin grayish, streaky, and translucent imprimatura was applied primarily in horizontal strokes but also in criss-cross and vertical directions. The cool tonality of the imprimatura is the result of the use of lead white and ivory black pigments, and its presence plays a visual role in the thinly painted figures of Adam and Eve.

Over the imprimatura, an underdrawing in a dry medium, possibly either charcoal or graphite, can be detected with infrared imaging.⁵⁰ Sketchy lines, similar to those found in other paintings by Brueghel,⁵¹ and thus confirming that he laid out this underdrawing, suggest the various planes in the landscape, the trees, and the little stream in the foreground. Slightly more detailed underdrawing is found for the two dogs (fig. 128). Although there is an even thinner, more detailed drawing indicating the legs and contours of the peacock and the purple gallinules, these lines were not always followed in the painting process. A reason for the sketchiness of the underdrawing may be found in the fact that the landscape is similar to his earlier *Garden of Eden* (fig. 43).⁵²

A close study of the X-radiograph of *The Garden of Eden* confirms that Rubens was the first to start the actual painting process (fig. 129). He may have started out directly on the prepared panel or used drawn lines in a medium that cannot be detected. As in other of Rubens's paintings thin, light brown



FIGURE 127 Mark of panelmaker Guilliam Gabron on reverse of panel, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*

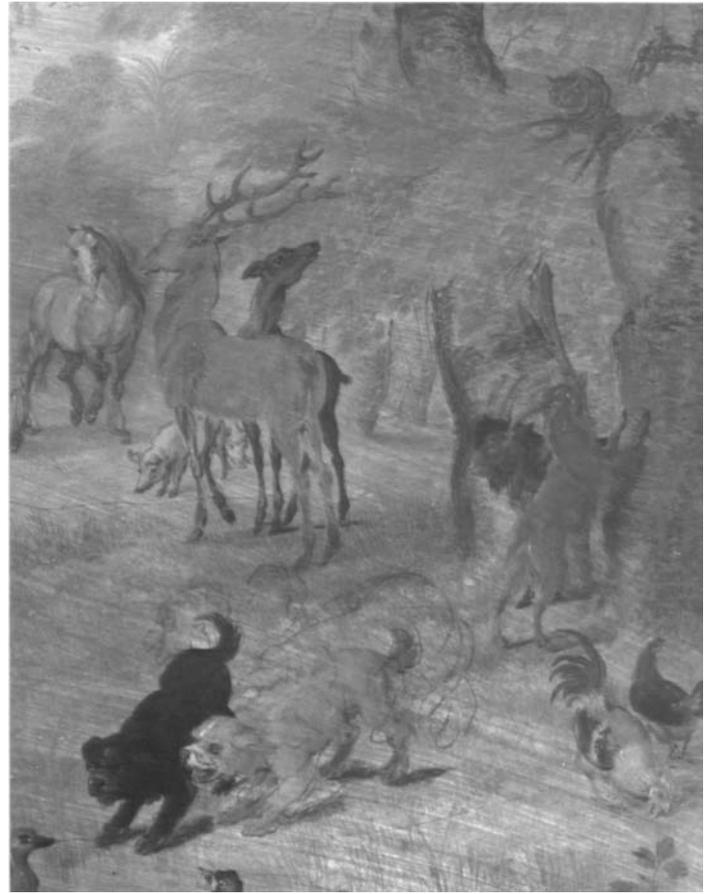


FIGURE 128 Detail from *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* shown in normal light (left) and in an infrared reflectogram (right)



FIGURE 129 Detail from *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* shown in normal light (left) and in an X-radiograph (right)

lines indicate various contours, some of which were probably applied later in order to strengthen or correct contours.

An examination of the figures and the horse behind them shows that the buildup and brush handling is comparable: a quick, thin, quite sketchy paint application. The modulation of the musculature in the figures and the horse was, in large part, carried out using hatching, something characteristic of Rubens's technique. Analogous hatching can be found on the thigh of Adam and on his cheek, although it was applied with a finer brush (fig. 130). When Rubens painted the figure of Adam, he took into account the shadow that would be cast by the horse. The subdued tonality of the figure's upper torso was created by the so-called turbid medium effect (meaning that a thin layer of flesh color was applied over the local dark grayish undermodeling).

The Tree of Wisdom, in the immediate background behind Adam and Eve, reveals a technique comparable to

that of the figures, yet one entirely different from the rest of the landscape. Thinly applied, the tree stands out in sketchy brown hues reminiscent of an undermodeling. Rubens painted the patchy brown branches of the tree as well as the Serpent, seen on a small twig, passing down an apple to Eve, although it could also be argued on stylistic grounds that the head of the Serpent was painted by Brueghel.

Brueghel, in a second stage and in his characteristic meticulous and often more opaque technique, applied additional branches to the tree and added easily recognizable small dabs of color to the trunk and stems to indicate light reflections in the bark, thus integrating Rubens's tree into his own landscape. The painted reflections must have been applied after the return of the panel to Brueghel's studio, since they relate to the completed figural group, including the mound on which Adam is seated, the large tree trunk with the Serpent, and the brown horse at the left.



FIGURE 130 Detail, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*

When Brueghel took over the painting, the first step was to apply semitransparent layers of paint describing the different planes of the landscape. In the area of the sky, he applied a light ultramarine blue mixed with lead white, incorporating reserves for the trees and other landscape elements still to come. A light green wash formed the mid-tone and basis for the landscape. The loose underdrawing of the composition was not followed closely in the paint layers, and the solid drawing below the two dogs in the middle ground was not used in the final version. Not only did Brueghel displace the dogs toward the left, he also used a different pose for one of them.

It is not clear, however, why it is not possible to detect any underdrawing in those animals that Brueghel borrowed from Rubens. Most prominent of the quotes from his friend is the lion in the middle foreground.⁵³ The two leopards to the right also derive from Rubens's oeuvre and are known from a copy after Rubens's *The Leopards* (fig. 131). Does this indicate that Brueghel worked directly from an intermediate drawing made after Rubens's sketches? Or did Brueghel use a transfer technique that cannot be detected?

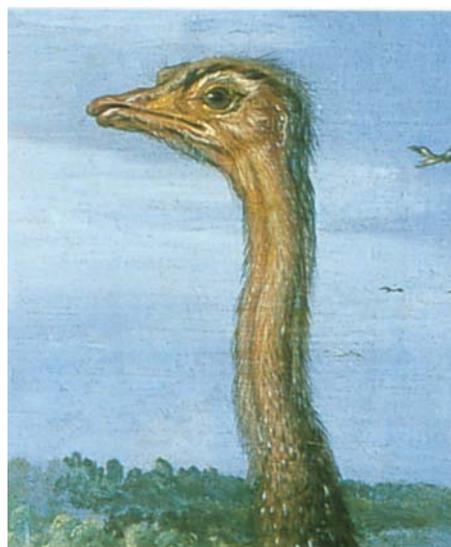
The large animals were applied over the green wash of the mid-tone of the landscape and finished in all details; execution of the picture continued from the foreground



FIGURE 131 Attributed to the workshop of Peter Paul Rubens, *The Leopards*, late seventeenth–early eighteenth century. Oil on canvas, 205 × 317 cm (80¾ × 123¼ in.). Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts, Special Replacement Fund, inv. 1975.15

FIGURE 132 Detail from *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*

FIGURE 133 Detail from *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* showing Eve's hair



toward the background. Working in this way, Brueghel avoided the situation where variations in the hues below them would influence the color of the animals. One example where Brueghel contradicted this procedure can be seen in the ostrich. The only large animal painted over the landscape, perhaps as an afterthought, the color of the bird's neck changes where the horizon of the landscape passes beneath it (fig. 132).

After the large animals in the foreground were complete, Brueghel finished the landscape around them. Individual leaves and reeds were painted between the legs of the large

animals in a laborious and time-consuming process that took care to maintain their form and three-dimensionality. The sky was added in a subsequent layer. The tree trunks were created by spreading green-brown paint with a broad bristle brush, wet into wet, into the thin, dark green layer that was later to become the background for the leaves. After this, the delicate foliage, which is seen to overlap tree trunks and sky alike, was added.⁵⁴ Finally, the small animals and birds were painted over the already dry landscape, which indicates that some time elapsed between these stages.

Overlapping paint layers can be seen along the contours of the forms, clearly indicating where Rubens's paint application finishes and that of Brueghel begins. Bright greenish paint follows the contour of the small white rabbit in the foreground, separating it from the more subdued green paint first applied by Rubens for the mound on which Adam is seated. The convincing integration of Rubens's small composition of figures, horse, tree trunk, and serpent into the larger composition was accomplished courtesy of Brueghel.

An exquisite example of this integration is visible where Eve's hair blows over the wings of the passing duck (fig. 133). That this effect was added by Brueghel is confirmed by the fact that the paint did not adhere well and formed small droplets that are indicative of their secondary nature.

THE FEAST OF ACHELOÛS

One of the most complex examples of the collaborative works is *The Feast of Acheloüs* (cat. no. 3), dating to about 1614–15.⁵⁵ By this point in time, Rubens and Brueghel had become exceptionally adept at integrating their individual contributions. Although it seems likely, given the extreme complexity of the narrative (which is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) and the prominence of the large figural group, that Rubens played the leading role in the development of the work's overall composition, even a close study of the picture does not reveal with incontestable certainty which artist painted first. It is equally unclear whether or not the concept—or commission, if there was one—for the picture originated in Brueghel's or in Rubens's studio.⁵⁶

It is probable that the complicated figural group would have been laid in by Rubens at a very early stage in the development of the composition. Whether or not the figures were then left in reserve, to be filled in later after Brueghel had taken his contributions to the background grotto and table to a certain level of finish, remains unclear. There are some areas where reserves may exist. For example, a close look at the plate at the far right side of the table reveals that it was painted, by Brueghel, in two sections, around the figure's arm. This could be for one of two reasons: an outlined reserve existed for the arm or the majority of the arm was painted first. It is clear that the final application of paint on the surface of the panel was a dark flesh color, which emphasizes the contours of the arm, and that these strokes overlap the painted plate (fig. 134).

However, at the left side of the picture, in the group of women holding the cornucopia, the hands grasping the cornucopia were in place before the cornucopia itself was



FIGURE 134 Detail from *The Feast of Acheloüs* (cat. no. 3)

painted, suggesting that Rubens painted these figures before Brueghel's contribution of this particular still-life detail (fig. 135). To complicate matters further, the index finger of the proper left hand of the figure at the far left was a final correction, as it rests on top of the completed cornucopia. This part of the composition is iconographically significant, so it is not surprising that it was treated with so much care and attention.⁵⁷

All of this suggests that this picture did not follow a simple two-step path to completion but underwent a lot of back-and-forth between the artists—and perhaps between their studios. Some of the draperies appear to be by Rubens (such as the smooth, gray drapery of the male figure at the right forefront of the figure group), as do some of the other elements, such as the rocks supporting the main figures of the central group. Other areas of drapery have a more “crinkly” appearance (such as the draperies on the two women with the cornucopia) and may have been painted either by Brueghel or a member of one of the artists' studios. Brueghel also seems to have added some final details to the figures, such as the long tendrils of hair on the kneeling female figure in the lower left corner.

A further complication to sorting out the various hands at work on this picture is found in the figures at the far right, which, although Rubensian in appearance, do not have the strength of the rest of the group, suggesting that they may have been added by one of Rubens's studio assistants.

The skillful interweaving of each artist's contributions makes this one of the most successful and intricate of the collaborative works.



FIGURE 135 Detail from *The Feast of Acheloüs*



FIGURE 136 Detail from *The Vision of Saint Hubert* (cat. no. 7)



FIGURE 137 Mark of panelmaker Guilliam Aertssen on reverse of panel, *Flora and Zephyr* (cat. no. 6), seen in natural light (left) and in an enhanced view with the mark reinforced (right)



FIGURE 138 Detail from *Flora and Zephyr*

THE VISION OF SAINT HUBERT

The Vision of Saint Hubert (cat. no. 7) is one of the more highly finished collaborative works. Brueghel appears to have been first to draw on the panel, indicating the general placement of trees in the landscape. He then began painting the landscape, leaving an area of reserve for the figure of Saint Hubert. In this case, the reserve seems not to have been initially outlined by Rubens; the reserved area was somewhat larger than the finished figure, as shown by the exposed areas of streaky imprimatura that remain around the completed figure.

In the foreground, Brueghel laid in a thin, light green underpaint for the grass, painting up to the edges of the deer. The sky was apparently painted in after completion of the deer, as the light blue brushstrokes were applied around the animal's head. The horse was painted by Brueghel and seems to have been completed before the addition of the figure of the saint.

After Rubens finished the figure of Saint Hubert, the picture was returned to Brueghel, who painted the dogs around the figure and added the saint's hat, which hangs around his neck and bridges the negative space between Saint Hubert and the horse (fig. 136). Saint Hubert's sword and horn are probably also final additions by Brueghel.

FLORA AND ZEPHYR

The panel support for *Flora and Zephyr* (cat. no. 6) is composed of five thin planks of wood joined vertically. On the back of the panel, in the middle of the second plank from the right (as seen from the reverse), the written monogram of the panelmaker Guilliam Aertssen can still be seen (fig. 137). This is quite exceptional, as the mark, a stylized monogram showing the letter *G* over the letter *A*, was written in red chalk, and it is rare for this type of monogram to survive.

Guilliam Aertssen became a master of the Guild of Saint Luke in 1612. By 1616/17 he had his atelier in Breestraat, where colleagues and painters also lived. From 1627 onward, he worked steadily for the Antwerp art dealer Gaspar Antheunis and may have continued to be active up to 1638.

The variety of Aertssen's monogram written in red chalk is found mostly on panels dating prior to 1617 (which confirms the stylistic dating of *Flora and Zephyr* to about 1617), the year the Antwerp guild decided on a regulation that required all panelmakers to identify standard-size panels with their respective monogram or house mark.⁵⁸



FIGURE 139 Detail from *Flora and Zephyr*

The back-and-forth nature of Rubens and Brueghel's collaborative efforts continued during the execution of *Flora and Zephyr*. It is quite clear that once the panel had been prepared with a white ground and the typical streaky imprimatura layer (which can be clearly seen in infrared images), Rubens used a brown paint to outline the placement of the figures of Zephyr, Flora, and the putti. This outline indicated areas for Brueghel to leave in reserve while he laid in the surrounding landscape. Such reserves seem to have played an increasingly important role in the collaborative process throughout the remainder of the time that the two artists worked together.

When Rubens returned to the painting, he departed from the reserve in several places, extending parts of the figures over Brueghel's landscape. This can be seen as the paint layers are very thin and have become more transparent over time (fig. 138). After completion of the figures, Brueghel returned to the painting to add such final details as the flowers that overlap the red cloth held by Flora and those in the hand of the putto kneeling by her feet (fig. 139).

THE FIVE SENSES

Perhaps the most well known of the collaborative works is the popular series known as the Five Senses (cat. no. 8 and figs. 54–57), painted about 1617–18. These paintings, rendered to a high degree of finish, are the result of a tight



FIGURE 140 Detail of *Allegory of Sight* (fig. 54) shown in an infrared reflectogram

collaboration between Rubens and Brueghel. Their scale is smaller than most of the works discussed thus far, but the working methods used by the two artists appear to have remained consistent.

It is interesting that all five of the panel supports for paintings in the series were poorly chosen. Several of the paintings were executed on panels made from planks with curving grains; this has led to uneven expansion and shrinkage over time, which caused dramatic warping and structural damage. This uncharacteristic choice of poor-quality wood supports suggests that the pictures were produced without the benefit of a commission (and thus the artists were reluctant to invest in a more expensive and better-made set of panels).

The process of collaboration in the Five Senses followed the artists' earlier models. After the panels were prepared for painting, a few lines of underdrawing were applied, most likely by Brueghel, as indications of compositional placements, such as for architectural settings. Rubens then laid in preliminary outlines for the main figures. Brueghel next began painting, leaving a reserve for the figures based on Rubens's contours. Finally, Rubens painted the figures, occasionally overlapping Brueghel's work. In some pictures from this series, Brueghel returned to the painting to add final details.



FIGURE 141 Detail from *Allegory of Sight* shown in normal light (left) and in an infrared reflectogram (right)

In some of the works, Brueghel executed the smaller, secondary figures. For example, in the *Allegory of Taste* the background figure in the kitchen was executed by Brueghel; in the *Allegory of Touch* the figures in the forge are either by Brueghel or his studio.

There is some evidence of underdrawing in the *Allegory of Sight*, where Brueghel indicated contours for the group of paintings that is seen in the right foreground (fig. 140). The underdrawing, executed in a carbon-containing medium, was detected with the use of infrared reflectography.⁵⁹

In this same work, Brueghel made subtle shifts during the process of laying in the complicated setting and myriad objects—notably in the background vista at the left center, where what had originally been a multitiered tall fountain was reduced to a simpler, lower form, perhaps to avoid interfering with the cityscape beyond and to open the landscape space as much as possible.

In the *Allegory of Sight*, a reserved area was left for the female figure and the putto. Brueghel then painted around

and up to the contours of the reserve. Brueghel appears to have painted the telescope in the foreground before Rubens painted the figure: the texture of the flesh-colored paint of the leg shows that Rubens's brushwork had to move around the black telescope handle (fig. 141 [left]).

When Rubens painted the allegorical figure of Sight, he made a number of small changes. He reduced the size of the figure (infrared images reveal that the reserve for the head was initially placed higher), painted beyond the reserve for the figure's left leg, and overlapped Brueghel's elaborate table covering (fig. 141 [right]). This is particularly evident in the hand of the figure. The original reserve did not allow for the long fingers which overlap the frame of the picture that is the focus of Sight's gesture.

In the *Allegory of Smell*, the female figure and putto are clearly painted over the imprimatura on reserved areas. Again, Rubens painted outside the reserve in some areas, covering Brueghel's already existing landscape. Rubens apparently anticipated that Brueghel would return to the



FIGURE 142 Detail from *Allegory of Smell* (fig. 57)



FIGURE 143 Detail from *Allegory of Taste* (cat. no. 8)

picture to paint the flowers held by the putto. Painted directly over the imprimatura, the flowers overlap the arm of the putto. Similar flowers are held by the figure of Smell and adorn her hair (fig. 142).

Rubens again followed Brueghel in the painting process for the *Allegory of Taste*. Studying the picture with infrared reflectography has revealed that Brueghel used loosely sketched contours to indicate the placement of architectural elements such as the column. That Rubens made a point of being sensitive to Brueghel's details and use of color is evident in the shadow of the satyr's torso. To give a sense of depth to

the satyr's flesh tones, Rubens chose shades of green and blue—colors which also echo and reflect the still-life elements Brueghel had executed on the table near the figure (fig. 143).

The existence of a pentimento where the white tablecloth follows the contour of the female figure's leg suggests the artists' order of painting—Brueghel painting the tablecloth first, around a planned reserve for the figure. Late in the process, the tablecloth was adjusted to compensate for the final placement of the figure's leg, which was painted on a smaller scale than the rest of the reserve. The handling of paint in this change is not consistent with the lower layers of the original tablecloth, suggesting that someone other than Brueghel made the adjustment (fig. 144).

In the *Allegory of Hearing*, the transparency of the paint films as well as the slightly worn surface of the picture makes it possible to confirm Rubens's use of a brown, painted contour for the figure. Executed in thin paint, this contour is visible in the left hand of the female figure and in the lute she is playing (fig. 145).

Whether the *Allegory of Touch* departed from the collaborative method described for the other Five Senses pictures cannot be determined since the figure is painted so opaquely that it is difficult to see what lies beneath it. However, it appears that the figure's feet, where they rest on the carpet, were painted directly over the imprimatura.

What is particularly noteworthy about the *Allegory of Touch* is the reuse of numerous details and devices from other works. For example, the crossbow and shoulder armor found at the lower center and the bowl of fruit found just below the two figures are nearly identical in appearance—although completely different in scale—to the same details in *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus* (cat. no. 2). This reuse of details—almost as if they were theatrical props—is common throughout Brueghel's own work as well as his collaborative work with Rubens and others. Some of the same details continued to be used in works by Jan Brueghel the Younger, suggesting that the studio models were handed down to the next generation.

There is no technical evidence that shows how the repetitions were done, but it is most likely that the artist's studio housed painted models, drawings, or prints that were used as points of reference so that such details would not have to be constantly reinvented. Brueghel's captivating *Studies of Hunting Dogs* (cat. no. 27) may represent just such a group of models; the large dog in the upper left-hand corner of the study, for example, appears in an identical pose in Brueghel



FIGURE 144 Detail from *Allegory of Taste* shown in normal light (top left) and in an infrared reflectogram (top right)

FIGURE 145 Detail from *Allegory of Hearing* (fig. 55)

and Rubens's *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (cat. no. 11).

GARLAND PICTURES

Among Rubens and Brueghel's most successful collaborations—and apparently among the most appealing, as they inspired many later copies by Jan Brueghel the Younger

and his studio—are those picturing either a Madonna and Child or a mythological figure group framed within an elaborate garland. This motif should probably be credited to Jan Brueghel the Elder: it first appears in his oeuvre in a collaborative work with Hendrick van Balen in 1608.⁶⁰

The *Madonna in a Flower Garland* (fig. 1) is Rubens and Brueghel's largest collaborative work (measuring nearly six

feet by seven feet [185 by 210 cm]).⁶¹ The painting was executed on a large panel support made up of seven vertically joined planks, which was enlarged during the painting process by the addition of another plank on each vertical edge, making a total of nine planks. (The original seven planks were prepared in the typical fashion with a ground layer, followed by a streaky imprimatura layer.)

The seven planks that make up the panel on which Rubens started painting are reinforced with four internal pegs along each panel join.⁶² Where the two additional pieces of wood were joined to the original support there are no such pegs. The back of this seven-plank central portion of the support has one-centimeter-wide ($\frac{3}{8}$ -inch) grooves along the top and bottom horizontal edges; these probably indicate the use of a working frame.

Such a dramatic change in the size of a work was not unusual for Rubens, who routinely enlarged his panel paintings during the painting process, which suggests that Rubens may have taken the lead role in the execution of this particular painting. The fact that the composition is primarily a tour de force of large figures interacting on a grand scale also tends to indicate that the conception originated with Rubens.

Rubens's process appears to have been as follows: first, he applied a gray paint layer over the prepared panel as a background color, outlining the form of the garland, the image of the Madonna and Child, and the putti. In so doing, he created reserves where the warm color of the imprimatura would be left clear for the painting of the figure's flesh tones.

Both the X-radiograph and infrared image of the painting suggest that initially Rubens planned for four putti around the garland.⁶³ It appears that Rubens created reserves for these four figures and then, before painting the putti, decided to change the composition to include a total of eleven putti, thus necessitating the enlargement of the panel.

The paint layer buildup on the added panels imitates that of the original panel: the panels are grounded and there is an imprimatura layer. A gray paint was also used in the background around the edges of the putti. In the corners of the painting the warm brown imprimatura remains visible.

Rubens may have completed his work on the panel before passing it to Brueghel. Brueghel was certainly the artist who finished the painting, as evidenced by the fact that the branches of flowers extending into the bottom left and right corners are painted directly over the putti (fig. 146).

In executing the garland, Brueghel applied a green under-paint layer to selected areas. This green layer covered the light-colored imprimatura, creating a sense of depth in the leaves. Areas where Brueghel anticipated painting light-colored flowers were left bare, allowing the imprimatura to stand alone.⁶⁴

The garland itself is a pastiche of flowers and floral groupings used in other garland paintings, such as the *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* in the Musée du Louvre (fig. 69).

The Munich *Madonna in a Flower Garland* is distinguished by the fact that the technical examination points to Rubens playing the lead role in determining the composition of the work.

Another collaborative garland picture, *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (cat. no. 12), dates to about 1620 and is a clear example of how collaborative works were passed back and forth between the artists during the painting process. Infrared examination of the painting makes clear that Brueghel initially sketched an oval form for the medallion in the painting but later changed the outlines to indicate an octagonal shape.

What seems probable is that Brueghel painted the majority of his portion of the work—the landscape background and floral garlands—after indicating the octagonal shape of the panel (which he left in reserve for Rubens). Rubens then painted the Madonna and Child and left another small reserve just above the Virgin's head for a floral wreath to be added by Brueghel. Brueghel then returned to the painting to add his flowers directly over the imprimatura. At this final stage, Brueghel painted the gold border of the medallion and also made small adjustments to the leaves that overlap the upper edge of the Madonna and Child.

It is also possible that Rubens painted his figural group first, and Brueghel then finished the painting, completing the landscape, adding the floral garland in the reserve left by Rubens, and accomplishing the transition between the landscape and Rubens's figural group by adding a gold border to the medallion.

Another collaborative painting, the *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* in Glasgow (fig. 83), follows the classic form of garland paintings, with Brueghel's elaborate assembly of fruits and vegetables framing a trompe l'oeil image painted by Rubens. The composition of this painting relates very closely to that of *Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons*, a col-



FIGURE 146 Detail from *Madonna in a Flower Garland* (fig. 1)

laboration between Brueghel and Hendrick van Balen that exists in two versions, one in the collection of the Mauritshuis, the other held by Dexia Bank in Antwerp (cat. nos. 20 and 21).

What makes the *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* interesting is the evidence that initially the artist planned for an oval shape within the garland. When the painting is viewed at an angle, three incised lines in the shape of an oval can be seen in the center of the painting.

This pattern of three parallel lines corresponds to the oval shape commonly seen in Brueghel's collaborative garland paintings. Typically, this oval shape is accented by a painted border, or an imitation frame, as in the Munich *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. The size of the oval created by the



FIGURE 147 Detail from *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* (fig. 83)

incised lines found on the *Fruit Garland* relates it most closely to the oval in the Brueghel/Van Balen painting.⁶⁵

Rubens appears to have been the first artist to paint on the panel for the *Fruit Garland*. He used a rather painterly, opaque technique as opposed to allowing the imprimatura layer to show through in the shadow areas. There are no brown painted contour lines for the figures nor any reserves. Infrared reflectography reveals that the dark passages that surround the figures come up just to their edges, indicating that the garland was painted after they were finished. Another indication of the order of painting can be found in the lower register, where the cabbage is painted around the satyr's fingers (fig. 147). The tiger and the wolf in the foreground appear to have been painted by Rubens.

It is interesting that when Brueghel painted his garlands, he painted the vegetables or flowers directly over the imprimatura. Sometimes the imprimatura is allowed to show through, such as in bunches of wheat. This approach is made very clear in the infrared reflectograms of the paintings, where the passages of dark, opaque paint that surround the garlands mask the underlying details, whereas the area of the garland appears transparent, indicating a reserved area of imprimatura over which the garland was painted.

Conclusion

The collaboration between Brueghel and Rubens was distinguished not only by the prestige of these two court painters but also by their distinctly individual styles. The two masters were good friends, and it is clear from the technical examination of their works that they had an intimate working relationship. The collaborative works were painted when both artists were living in the city of Antwerp, making it entirely plausible that they could walk to one another's studios. However, given the evidence of traveling frames, and the likelihood that artists would prefer to work within their own studios, it may be more likely that the paintings were transported back and forth.

The fact that there is very little overlap of the artists' paint films in these works, and very few pentimenti, indicates that the artists must have begun with a joint understanding of the compositional plan. Technical examinations make clear that the placement of the figures in the compositions was established before any painting began.

No known preparatory drawings or painted sketches have been identified for the collaborative works. We do know, however, that both artists were keenly adept at starting the painting process directly on their chosen support without a detailed underdrawing, beyond the occasional use of a few, loose lines. Often they began painting after having made sketches of the subject matter elsewhere, and they most certainly relied on studio models for many of the repeated motifs.

What little sketchy underdrawing has been found on the works themselves appears to have been done by Brueghel. This, as well as the fact that the few inscriptions on the surfaces of the pictures are also in Brueghel's hand, suggests that many of the collaborative works originated in his studio.

The collaboration between Brueghel and Rubens started just before Rubens went to Rome and resumed upon Rubens's return to Antwerp. The collaboration continued until Brueghel's death, after which, his son, Jan Brueghel the Younger, assumed control of the studio and continued to collaborate with Rubens and his assistants. These later works imitate the style and repeat many of the still-life elements and compositional designs initially developed by Jan Brueghel the Elder and Rubens. That numerous versions of these collaborative works still appear frequently on the art market testifies to their enduring appeal.

NOTES

1. Klaus Ertz, "Some Thoughts on the Paintings of Jan Brueghel the Elder," in London 1979, p. 11.
2. Resources that do exist include the published record books of Jan Brueghel the Younger, who operated a large studio, and Jan Brueghel the Elder's correspondence with Cardinal Borromeo, specifically his letters of February 11, 1622, April 1, 1622, and July 8, 1622: Crivelli 1868, pp. 223, 287–88, 296–97. For one painting, Cardinal Borromeo commissioned Brueghel to have another artist contribute a landscape (see also cat. no. 19).
3. In a letter of April 28, 1618, to the discerning collector Sir Dudley Carleton, Rubens was obliged to indicate the level of his involvement. In a list of paintings that are for sale, he specifies those that are "done entirely by my hand"; "... done by the hand of a master skillful in that department"; "... but this one not being finished, would be entirely retouched by my own hand, and by this means would pass as original"; "done by one of my pupils, but the whole retouched by my hand" (translated from the Italian): Magurn 1955, pp. 60–61.

In a letter to William Trumbell, dated September 13, 1621, Rubens states, "Sir: I am quite willing that the pictures done for my Lord Ambassador Carleton be returned to me and that I paint another Hunt less terrible than that of the lions, with a rebate on the price, as is reasonable, for the amount already paid; and all to be done by my own hand, without a single admixture of anyone else's work. This I will maintain on my word as a gentleman." (translated from the French): Magurn 1955, p. 77.
4. Daniel Seghers is documented as the pupil of Jan Brueghel in 1611. See Rombouts and van Lerijs 1864–76, p. 477.
5. In a letter to the artist Jacob de Bie, dated May 11, 1611, Rubens makes it very clear that he receives many requests from artists to work in his studio. "I can tell you truly, without exaggeration, that I have have [had] to refuse over one hundred, even some of my own relatives or my wife's, and not without causing great displeasure among many of my best friends." (translated from the Dutch): Magurn 1955, p. 55.

6. We know that paintings did travel great distances between artists who were working in collaboration. One of Brueghel's earliest collaborators was Hans Rottenhammer, with whom he worked when living in Italy. "Jan painted the landscape in Antwerp, Hans Rottenhammer added the putti in Milan; the small panel was then sent back to Antwerp so that Jan could add the flowers.": Ertz (note 1 above), p. 24. See also cat. nos. 14 and 15.
7. The panels found to have notches designed to accommodate traveling frames include the paintings from the Getty Museum (cat. no. 2), the Mauritshuis (cat. no. 4), Munich (fig. 1), and most likely Glasgow (fig. 83) (the last was viewed in the gallery under normal viewing conditions and not under a microscope).
8. Only two of the collaborative works, the *Portrait of Archduke Albert of Austria* and the *Portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia* (cat. nos. 9a and 9b) are painted on canvas. Brueghel's collaborations with other artists were most often painted on panel or copper supports.
9. Kirby 1999 and Wadum 1998a. See also Klein 1998 and Marette 1961.
10. Wadum 1998a.
11. Published details of panel construction in Rubens's oeuvre include: Poll-Frommel, Renger, and Schmidt 1993; Goetghebeur 1990; Brown 1996; and Madrid 1998.
12. The internal dowels of this painting are now visible since a past restoration thinned the panel to half the original thickness and then added wooden battens for support.
13. Wadum 1993.
14. Van Damme 1990.
15. Van Damme 1990 and Wadum 1993.
16. The verso of the following panels have been examined: *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*; *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*; *Flora and Zephyr*; *Diana at the Hunt*; *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*; *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*; *Madonna in a Flower Garland*; *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers*; and *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* (cat. nos. 2, 4, 6, 10, 11, and 12; fig. nos. 1, 69, and 83).
17. For example, the Louvre *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* (fig. 69) was transferred from panel to canvas. This process involves removing all traces of the panel support and adhering a canvas backing to the ground layer of the painting.
18. A later restoration added repaints to these unpainted strips on *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, in order to continue the image to the edge of the panel.
19. M. Witlox, unpublished Ph.D. research (University of Amsterdam, 2005).
20. A contemporary source for information on ground layers is Th. T. De Mayerne, *Pictoria, Sculptoria & quae subalternarum atrium*, 1620 (MS. Sloane 2052, British Museum). De Mayerne's treatise has been published in at least two versions: Berger 1901 and Van de Graaf 1958. Wadum (1993, n. 134) expands on this treatise: "de Mayerne in fact says, that the grounding of wood does not have to be done with chalk and glue-water but only with a weak glue and then a strong oil ground on top. However, earlier in his manuscript the contrary is stated. Here he first advises to apply a ground of chalk with glue, using 1/4 glue in two pots of water. 'When it all is diluted add enough chalk to give a good consistency before applying it smoothly and evenly with a knife. After this apply ceruse and umber grounded in oil. Let it dry.' (MS. Sloane 2052, p. 99; Berger 1901, p. 277, no. 214; Van de Graaf 1958, p. 138, no. 4: *The manner to prepare wood on which one wants to paint and the preparation of priming [Imprimer] before painting*). Further on in his manual, he tells us first to prime the panel with calf or goat skin glue mixed with chalk. When it is dry one should scrape and plane it with the knife, and then finally give it a thin layer consisting of lead white and umber. He adds that *terre d'ombre* spoils the colours so one should use the Braunrot [?] yellow or red ochre, lead white and carbon black (MS. Sloane 2052, p. 90v; Berger 1897–1909, p. 261, no. 194c; Van de Graaf 1958, p. 135, no. 2: *Imprimeure sur Bois*)."
21. A priming knife, measuring about thirty centimeters (12 inches), is reproduced in De Mayerne's treatise (Van de Graaf 1958, p. 138, no. 6) and in Van Hout 2000, pp. 279–88.
22. This term was not used in seventeenth-century Antwerp but is in common usage today.
23. Van Mander describes the practice of Jan den Hollander (ca. 1500–ca. 1542) thus, "He also had the habit of painting in a zig-zagging movement and allowing the preparation on the panels or canvases play a part—which Brueghel very idiosyncratically imitated." (Veel had hy oock de manier van alswadderende op de penneelen oft doecken de gronden mede te laten spelen, het welch Brueghel seer exghentlyck nae volghde): Van Mander/Miedema 1994–99, vol. 1, p. 118; vol. 3, p. 34.
24. In *The Descent from the Cross*, ca. 1611–15, the gray-colored imprimatura has been identified as being in an "aqueous medium"; see Coremans and Thissen 1962. No details of the analysis are given in this technical examination and conservation and restoration report.

In *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen* (London, National Gallery, inv. 66), the brown-colored imprimatura has been identified as being bound in linseed oil and pine resin, and a sample of paint from a brown tree branch and a sample of pale green grass as being bound in linseed oil and pine resin; see Brown, Reeve, and Wylde 1982, p. 28.

An imprimatura on a sketch, *Thetis Dipping Achilles in the Styx*, has been identified as being an emulsion of egg white and oil; see Lammertse and Vergara 2003.
25. See Wadum 2002.
26. Getty Conservation Institute reports on *The Return from War*: X-ray fluorescence analysis carried out by Satoko Tanimoto and David Scott (Museum Research Laboratory Report #2067-P-01, November 2001); cross section and polarized light microscopy carried out by Anna Schoenemann; Fourier-transform infrared spectroscopy carried out by

- A. Schoenemann with the assistance of Herant Khanjian; ESEM-EDS analysis carried out by David Carson (Conservation File Report, March 2004).
27. A few references, among many, in this regard include: Bomford 2002; Lammertse and Vergara 2003, p. 69; and Gifford 1999, p. 181.
 28. For a more detailed discussion of infrared reflectography used to image underdrawings see Bomford 2002, pp. 26–37.
 29. The underdrawing for the following paintings was examined: *The Battle of the Amazons*, *The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, *The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*; *The Vision of Saint Hubert*; the five *Allegories* from the Five Senses series; *Diana at the Hunt*; *Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*; *Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*; *Madonna in a Flower Garland*; and *Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* (cat. nos. 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, and 12; fig. nos. 1, 54–57, and 83).
 30. Wadum 2002.
 31. These dots could be misinterpreted as having been the result of pouncing—a technique of transferring a drawing from a piece of paper to the painting by means of dusting pounce (a fine powder of charcoal or similar dark substance) through holes pricked along the underdrawing lines. A similar phenomenon can be seen—in the extreme—in Brueghel's *A Road with a Ford in a Wood*, of 1608 (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 2001.216.1); see Broos and Wadum 1993, pp. 13–16.
 32. See Levy-van Halm 1998 and Kirby 1999, p. 35.
 33. Kirby 1999, p. 38. A red-brown earth pigment used by Rubens to paint outlines for forms on his Achilles series sketches has been identified as hematite; see Lammertse and Vergara 2003, p. 100.
 34. The brown imprimatura in *An Autumn Landscape with a View of Het Steen* (London, National Gallery, inv. 66) was identified by Raymond White as containing linseed oil and pine resin (National Gallery files, 2002) by gas chromatography–mass spectrometry and Fourier transform infrared reflectography. The brown tree branch and pale green grass also show linseed oil and pine resin.
Heat-bodied linseed oil and pine resin have been identified in *Family of Jan Brueghel the Elder* (frontispiece) by Raymond White (Courtauld Institute of Art conservation file).
Oil and resin also occur in the paint layers of *Samson and Delilah* (fig. 23); see Plesters 1983.
 35. “Rubens, for example, told de Mayerne that pigments should be ground quickly working with turpentine, which was better and less fierce than oil of spike lavender (this would be the preliminary grinding, before grinding with the oil medium). He also recommended dipping the brush in turpentine occasionally before blending the colours on the palette so that the paint was more easily worked and the colours did not ‘die’ or sink.”: Kirby 1999, p. 15.
 36. Ertz (note 1 above), p. 8.
 37. “. . . ma non avendo ancora potuto adempire la mia buona volontà per finiro l'opera già cominciata, fra tanto nascono itelli fiori che serano in qualita in detto quadro.” (letter dated January 27, 1606): Crivelli 1868, p. 62.
“. . . una Massa de vario fiori gli quali reucerani molto bello: tanta per la naturalleza come anco delle bellezza e rarita de vario fiori in questa parto alcuni inconita et non peiu uisto: per quella io son stata a Brussella per ritrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non si trova in Anuersa.” (letter dated April 14, 1606): Crivelli 1868, p. 63.
“Gli fiori bisogno fare alle prima, senza dessegni o boitssaturo:tutti fiori vengeno in quatra mesi, et sense inuencioni bisogno giungere seime con gran discretcion. Receuto sua letra fece tagliare un rama, paretcioato un ano fa, et il medesma giorno commico: per il caldo gli fiori nasceno foire il stagiono, per tale non se po perder il tempo d'Aprilli.” (letter dated April 22, 1611): Crivelli 1868, p. 168.
 38. In *Still Life with Flowers* (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum), which is executed in oil on panel, there is a thin, white ground layer and a yellow, ochre-colored imprimatura. Brueghel is described as “working alla prima with use of end of brush to inscribe patterns in flowers.”; see Murray and Groen 1994, pp. 7–20. An examination using infrared reflectography showed varying states of completion in the underdrawing of the flowers.
 39. Witlox 2001. See also Van de Graaf 1958, nos. 124, 130, 136, 137, 147, 151, 154, and 162, where there are references to amber, sandarac, mastic, and driers (metallic); spirit varnishes; “verniss delicats,” which exclude drying oils and are therefore lighter and more brittle; resins dissolved in volatile essential oils, e.g., sandarac in turpentine, mastic in oil of spike, *verniss d'italia* in turpentine, and resin and sandarac.
 40. See Plesters 1983, p. 41. “Rubens avoided painting in such a way that the color sank in. The luminous clarity of his work was proof of the excellence of his technique. He painted with resin varnish and thickened oil and with Venice turpentine, so that his colors had so much brilliance and binding medium within themselves that, like Van Eyck's pictures, they had a gloss without needing to be varnished.”: Doerner 1962, p. 186.
 41. Previous to 1598 Rubens apprenticed in Antwerp to Tobias Verhaecht (1561–1631) and the history painters Adam van Noort (1562–1641) and Otto van Veen (1556–1629); see Boston–Toledo 1993–94, p. 20.
 42. A similar clear division of labor can be observed in the portraits of Albert and Isabella of ca. 1618–20 (cat. nos. 9a and 9b), where Rubens's portraits are separated from the surrounding landscape by Brueghel (or Brueghel's studio). This may perhaps be attributed to the fact that the execution of a portrait commission allowed for a very clear division of labor.
 43. Although there is some consensus among scholars about the presence of overpainted fabrics on some of the figures in the painting, no technical analysis has been carried out. See Jaffé in London 2005–06, p. 44.
 44. The somewhat stiff execution of the underdrawing has prompted some scholars to attribute it to Otto van Veen. See cat. no. 1.
 45. A similar use of gilt details is found in Otto van Veen's *Portrait of Alessandro Farnese* (1586; Los Angeles County Museum of Art, inv. M. 2003.69).

46. The analysis of *The Return from War* was carried out using gas chromatography–mass spectrometry by Joy Mazurek and Michael Schilling (Getty Conservation Institute Report, Paintings Conservation Department files, February 2002).
47. X-ray fluorescence analysis was carried out by Satoko Tanimoto and David Scott at the Getty Conservation Institute (Museum Research Laboratory Report #2067-P-01, November 2001).
48. The single plank is between 10 and 11 mm ($\frac{3}{8}$ and $\frac{1}{2}$ in.) thick and measures 74.3 × 114.7 cm ($29\frac{1}{4}$ × $45\frac{1}{8}$ in.). Recent dendrochronological analysis of the panel by Dr. Peter Klein of the Universität Hamburg indicates a possible execution date ranging from as early as 1612 to 1622 or later. (Mauritshuis files, report dated April 29, 2005).
49. Wadum 1993, pp. 96–100.
50. The original infrared examination of the painting was carried out in October 2000 by Margreet Wolters (Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie) and Jørgen Wadum, using infrared equipment belonging to the Rijksbureau (Hamamatsu C 2400 with a N2606-06 Select Visicon, a Nikon Macro-Nikkor 1:2.8/55-mm lens, Kodak Wratten 87C filter, with a Lucius and Baer VM 1710 monitor [625 lines]).
- The images published in this essay were documented by Sabrina Meloni of the Mauritshuis in March 2005, using an Artist camera (Art Innovation, Hengelo) mounted with a CCD progressive scan image sensor (1360 × 1036 pixels) and a Schneider Kreuznach Xenoplan 1.4/23 mm CCTV-lens in N12 with a 1000 nm long-wave pass filter. The images were captured with Artist Software (release 1.2) and stitched together with a combination of Adobe Photoshop CS2 and PanaVue ImageAssembler.
51. In *Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia*, ca. 1615 (cat. no. 13), a comparable imprimatura and underdrawing have been detected. Here the landscape is by Brueghel and the figures are by one of Rubens's studio assistants; see Wadum 1993, pp. 97–100; and Broos and Wadum 1993, pp. 13–16. The figures in this painting appear to have been retouched by Rubens's own hand. The retouches were done after the underdrawing for the figure was carried out, correcting the lines of the sketch. The retouches around the figure are now covered by the paint of the background scenery.
- Compare also *A Road with a Ford in a Wood* (1608, oil on copper, 34.4 × 49.4 cm [$13\frac{1}{2}$ × $19\frac{1}{2}$ in.]; London, Collection of E. and S. Speelman [on loan to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.]; panelmaker's stamp, Peeter Stas); Wadum 1998b. The painting was examined and documented by M. Wolters; see note 50 above for equipment details.
- A few of Brueghel's drawings on paper and in particular the freely drawn *River Landscape with a Village* (1610–15, pen in brown, 18.5 × 17.8 cm [$7\frac{1}{4}$ × 7 in.]. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, inv. R.F. 00.653) have numerous elements comparable to the underdrawing in the Mauritshuis picture. See also the entry by T. Gerszi in Essen–Vienna 1997–98, p. 462, cat. no. 165.
52. See Wadum 2002.
53. The lions appear in a larger scale in Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (ca. 1613/15, oil on canvas, 224.3 × 330.4 cm [$88\frac{1}{4}$ × 130 in.]; Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, inv. 1965.13.1).
54. This technique is extensively described in Wadum 1987 and Gifford 1999.
55. The wooden support is composed of six planks of wood, which have been joined horizontally. A typical light gray imprimatura was applied and can be easily seen in many areas throughout the composition.
56. Held (1982, pp. 25–31) argues that Rubens is the inventor of the composition for this painting. Liedtke (1984, pp. 194–98) agrees with him.
57. See Held 1982.
58. See Wadum 1988; Wadum 1993; Wadum 1998a; Wadum 1998b; and Van Damme 1990, pp. 193–236.
59. There may be further underdrawing for this painting executed in a material that cannot be detected with the eye nor with infrared reflectography.
60. Boston–Toledo 1993–94, pp. 36–37.
61. The authors of this essay are indebted to Jan Schmidt for the technical findings on the Munich picture: Jan Schmidt, Conference Manuscript, Colloquium Braunschweig, February 10, 2004.
62. The dowels are made visible in the X-radiograph of the panels (information from J. Schmidt, Alte Pinakothek, Munich).
63. Information from J. Schmidt.
64. Information from J. Schmidt.
65. The incised lines of the Glasgow painting measure: inner oval: 40 × 30.2 cm ($15\frac{3}{4}$ × 12 in.); middle oval: 41.2 × 31.4 cm ($16\frac{1}{4}$ × $12\frac{3}{8}$ in.); and outer oval: 41.5 × 31.9 cm ($16\frac{3}{8}$ × $12\frac{1}{2}$ in.); there are two pinholes within the oval area, lying one above the other along a central vertical axis, which suggests a compass was used to draw the shapes, which were made in the ground layer (correspondence from Robert Wenley, curator of European art, and Polly Smith, conservator, Glasgow Museums, 2005). The ovals of the Mauritshuis painting measure: inner oval: 42.7 × 31 cm ($16\frac{3}{4}$ × $12\frac{1}{4}$ in.); and outer oval: 43.6 × 32 cm ($17\frac{1}{8}$ × $12\frac{5}{8}$ in.); there is just one pinhole in the middle of the medallion.

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Index

Note: *Italic* page numbers indicate illustrations. Parenthetical references to Brueghel refer to Jan Brueghel the Elder unless otherwise noted.

- Adam and Eve* (Rubens), 46
Adam Gives Names to the Animals (Van Tieghem and De Kempeneer), 194
The Adoration of the Magi (Rubens), 23, 56–57
Adoration of the Mystic Lamb (Hubert and Jan van Eyck). *See The Ghent Altarpiece (Adoration of the Mystic Lamb)* (Hubert and Jan van Eyck)
Aertssen, Guiliam, 81, 241
Albert, Archduke of Austria (Muller after Rubens), 105, 105
Albert (archduke of Austria), 2, 4, 5, 5, 9, 15, 17–19, 29, 46–47, 56, 70, 80, 82, 85, 88, 94, 96–98, 100–107, 102, 104, 105, 120, 139, 154, 161, 197–98, 206
Allegory of Air (Brueghel), 144, 198
Allegory of Fire (Brueghel), 12, 140, 142, 149
Allegory of Fire (Brueghel and Van Balen), 55, 140–45, 141, 149, 195, 230
Allegory of the Four Elements (Brueghel and De Clerck), 139
Allegory of Hearing, Taste, and Touch (after Brueghel), 94–96, 95, 105
Allegory of Hearing (Brueghel and Rubens), 90, 92, 96–97, 105, 112, 244, 245
Allegory of Sight (Brueghel and Rubens), 90, 92, 94, 96, 101, 106, 119, 124, 197, 217, 218, 242, 243, 243
Allegory of Sight and Smell (after Brueghel), 94–96, 95
Allegory of Smell (Brueghel and Rubens), 80, 93, 94, 97–98, 109, 243–44, 244
Allegory of Spring (Brueghel and Van Balen), 80, 80, 81, 105
Allegory of Taste (Brueghel and Rubens), viii, 90–99, 91, 104, 156, 161, 217, 218, 243–45, 244
Allegory of Touch (Brueghel and Rubens), 55, 57, 90–94, 93, 97, 219, 219, 230, 243–44
Alsloot, Denis van, 136, 139
Amorum Emblemata (Van Veen), 56, 56
Anna of Saxony (princess of Orange), 17–18
Antverpia (Hoefnagel), 11
Apelles Painting Campaspe (Van Haecht), 18
The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet (Francken and workshop with Jan Brueghel the Younger), 4, 5
The Archdukes Albert and Isabella before Castle Mariemont (Brueghel), 104
The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Hunting before Castle Mariemont (Brueghel), 104, 104
The Archdukes at the Chase (Brueghel), 88
The Archdukes in the Garden of Their Palace in Brussels (Jan Brueghel the Younger), 88
The Art of War (Galle after Floris), 56, 57
Avont, Pieter van, *The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (with Brueghel), 163, 164, 206
Avril, Jean-Jacques, *Mars au Retour de la Guerre* (engraving after Rubens), 57–58, 58
Balen, Hendrick van, 3, 10–13, 17, 60, 62–63, 75, 124, 133, 139
Saint John the Baptist Preaching, 149
works with other artists
Allegory of Fire, 55, 140–45, 141, 149, 195, 230
Allegory of Spring, 80–81, 80, 105
Blazon for the Rhetorician's Guild "De Violieren," 31, 31
Ceres and the Four Elements, 160
Concert of the Muses, 97
The Feast of Achelous, 62, 63
Feast of the Gods, 149, 150
Fruit Garland with Angels, 80, 152–55, 153
Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons (1617), 90, 126, 156–65, 158, 246–47
Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons (1621–22), 90, 126, 156–65, 159, 246–47
The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers, 161, 162
Madonna and Child in a Flower Garland, 12, 152, 154
Pan and Syrinx, 75, 76
The Prophecy of Isaiah, 55, 146–51, 147, 148
Venus and Cupid, 198
Venus in the Forge of Vulcan, 55, 230, 231
Venus Preparing Mars for War, 149, 150
View of Antwerp, 12
The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis, 60, 62, 62
Basket of Fruit (Caravaggio), 177
Bassano, Jacopo, 143
The Baths of Diocletian or the Cluvius Scauri (Brueghel), 7, 8, 52
Battle of Anghiari (Leonardo da Vinci), 47
The Battle of Constantine against Maxentius (Raphael), 48

- Battle of Eighteen Nude Men* (Beham), 46
- The Battle of Issus* (Brueghel), 48, 50
- Battle of Nude Men* (Rubens), 46
- The Battle of the Amazons* (Rubens), 48–50, 50
- The Battle of the Amazons* (Rubens and Brueghel), 2, 3, 9, 19, 30, 44–51, 45, 49, 169, 218, 223, 224, 229–30, 229
- Battle of the Greeks and Amazons* (Rubens), 48
- Battle of Titus Gracchus* (Beham), 46
- The Battle of Zama* (Penni after Romano), 48, 48
- Battle Scene between the Greeks and Amazons and Studies for Samson* (Rubens), 48
- Baudius, Dominicus, 168–69
- Beert, Osias, 29
- Beham, Barthel
- Battle of Eighteen Nude Men*, 46
 - Battle of Titus Gracchus*, 46
- The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist* (Rubens), 168
- Beuckelaer, Joachim, *The Miraculous Draft of Fishes*, 189
- Bianchi, Ercole, 12, 17, 30, 119–20, 143–44, 152
- binding media, 223, 225–26, 231
- Blazon for the Rhetorician's Guild "De Violieren"* (Van Balen, Brueghel, Francken, and Vrancx), 31, 31
- The Blinding of Samson* (Rembrandt), 172
- Borromeo, Federico, 4, 6, 8, 12–13, 17, 30, 34–35, 69, 97, 119–20, 129, 133–34, 140, 144, 152, 162, 168, 177, 195
- Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (Caravaggio), 177
- Brant, Isabella, 23, 30
- Brant, Jan, 11
- Bril, Paul, 6, 19, 29, 129, 189
- Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter*, 27, 29
 - The Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (with Rottenhammer), 132, 133
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, 5, 6, 30, 96, 98, 133, 133, 186, 195, 221
- Sermon of Saint John the Baptist*, 188–89, 188, 191
- Brueghel, Jan, the Elder
- collaboration of Rubens (Peter Paul) and, 32–34, 217–51. *See also specific paintings*
 - friendship of Rubens (Peter Paul) and, 29–31
 - life of, 5–17
 - painting technique of, 226, 227
 - studio of
 - Venus in the Smithy of Vulcan*, 144, 144
 - underdrawings by, 55, 67, 71, 85, 86, 87, 116–17, 223, 224, 225, 229, 230–31, 234, 235, 240, 242, 245, 246
- works by
- Allegory of Air*, 144, 198
 - Allegory of Fire*, 12, 140, 142, 149
 - The Archdukes Albert and Isabella before Castle Mariemont*, 104
 - The Archdukes Albert and Isabella Hunting before Castle Mariemont*, 104, 104
 - The Archdukes at the Chase*, 88
 - The Baths of Diocletian or the Cluvius Scauri*, 7, 8, 52
 - The Battle of Issus*, 48, 50
 - Calvary*, 189, 190
 - The Continnence of Scipio*, 10, 10, 48
 - Daniel in the Lions' Den*, 195–96
 - The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark*, 70, 80, 87, 125, 192–201, 193
 - The Flood with Noah's Ark*, 195, 196
 - Flower Still Life*, 80, 81
 - The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, 67–68, 68, 195–96, 199
 - Harbor Scene with Christ Preaching*, 47, 189, 190
 - Jonah Emerging from the Whale*, 151
 - Landscape with Ruins and a Hermit*, 8, 9
 - Landscape with Young Tobias*, 189
 - Orpheus Charming the Animals with His Music*, 97
 - Orpheus Singing before Pluto and Proserpina*, 7
 - Ostrich*, 197, 198, 206
 - The Palace of Isabella Clara Eugenia at Terruren*, 104, 104
 - Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam*, 136, 138, 138, 194–95, 198
 - Part of a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*, 163, 164
 - Port Scene in Venice*, 189
 - The Sermon on the Mount*, 186–91, 187
 - Sheet with Animals and Garlands*, 222, 223
 - Sketches of Ducks and Birds*, 68–69, 69
 - Studies of Asses, Cats, and Monkeys*, 202–7, 205
 - Studies of Deer in Various Positions*, 68, 69
 - Studies of Hunting Dogs*, 88, 202–7, 204, 226, 244
 - Study of Hunting Requisites*, 109–12, 112, 144
 - Study of Monkeys, a Deer, and Other Animals*, 206, 206
 - Vase of Flowers with Jewel, Coins and Shells*, 13, 14
 - View of the Interior of the Colosseum*, 7, 8, 52, 142
 - Village Landscape with Self-Portrait*, 15, 16
 - Wedding Banquet Presided over by the Archdukes*, 15, 15
 - Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils*, 114, 114, 206
- works with other artists
- Allegory of Fire*, 55, 140–45, 141, 149, 195, 230
 - Allegory of Hearing*, 90, 92, 96–97, 105, 112, 244, 245
 - Allegory of Hearing, Taste, and Touch*, 94–96, 95, 105
 - Allegory of Sight*, 90, 92, 94, 96, 101, 106, 119, 124, 197, 217, 218, 242, 243, 243
 - Allegory of Sight and Smell*, 94–96, 95
 - Allegory of Smell*, 80, 93, 94, 97–98, 109, 243–44, 244
 - Allegory of Spring*, 80, 80, 81, 105
 - Allegory of Taste*, viii, 90–99, 91, 104, 156, 161, 217, 218, 243, 244, 244, 245
 - Allegory of the Four Elements*, 139
 - Allegory of Touch*, 55, 57, 90–94, 93, 97, 219, 219, 230, 243, 244
 - The Battle of the Amazons*, 2, 3, 9, 19, 30, 44–51, 45, 49, 169, 218, 223, 224, 229–30, 229
 - Blazon for the Rhetorician's Guild "De Violieren,"* 31, 31
 - Ceres and the Four Elements*, 160
 - The Descent into Limbo*, 128–35, 131
 - Diana at the Hunt*, 87–88, 108–15, 110, 124, 203, 226
 - Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*, 75, 87–88, 108–15, 111, 177, 203, 245
 - The Feast of Achelous*, xiv, 60–63, 61, 80, 122, 124, 126, 218, 227, 229, 239–40, 239, 240
 - Feast of the Gods*, 149, 150
 - Flora and Zephyr*, 42, 78–81, 79, 219, 241–42, 241, 242
 - Fruit Garland with Angels*, 80, 152–55, 153
 - Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces*, 119, 124, 126, 157, 160, 162, 219, 246–47, 247

- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (with De Clerck), 136–39, 137, 194, 198
- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (with Rubens), *iv–v*, 2, 30, 64–71, 65, 72, 80, 87, 122, 124, 192, 198–99, 203, 216, 217, 219–21, 223, 225, 226, 229, 233–39, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238
- Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* (1617), 90, 126, 156–65, 158, 246–47
- Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* (1621–22), 90, 126, 156–65, 159, 246–47
- The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (with Van Avont), 163, 164, 206
- The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (with Van Balen), 161, 162
- Madonna and Child in a Flower Garland*, 12, 152, 154
- Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers*, 96, 116, 119, 120, 246
- Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*, 4, 116–21, 117, 118, 154–55, 163, 246
- Madonna in a Flower Garland*, 2, 3, 155, 163, 213, 228, 245–47, 247
- Music-making Angels with Flowers*, 133
- Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia*, 122–27, 123
- Pan and Syrinx* (with Van Balen), 75, 76
- Pan and Syrinx* (with Rubens), 72–77, 73, 74, 227
- Portrait of Archduke Albert of Austria*, 100–107, 102
- Portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia*, 100–107, 103
- The Prophecy of Isaiah*, 55, 146–51, 147, 148
- The Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, 128–35, 130, 132
- The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, 3, 4, 29, 30, 35, 50, 52–59, 53, 54, 80, 87, 119, 144, 149, 195, 197–99, 214, 218–21, 219, 226–34, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 244
- Venus and Cupid*, 198
- Venus in the Forge of Vulcan*, 55, 230, 231
- Venus Preparing Mars for War*, 149, 150
- The Vision of Saint Hubert*, 82–89, 83, 84, 86, 109, 120, 226, 240, 241
- The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (with Van Balen), 60, 62, 62
- The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (with De Clerck), 139
- Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers*, 133
- Brueghel, Jan, the Younger, 10, 15, 17, 30, 32–33, 75, 108, 124, 157, 160, 163, 206, 245
- The Archdukes in the Garden of Their Palace in Brussels*, 88
- The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet* (with Francken), 5
- The Feast of Achelouïs* (with Van Balen), 62, 63
- Brueghel, Pieter, the Younger, 5–6
- Calvary* (Brueghel), 189, 190
- Campo Weyerman, Jacob, 64
- Caravaggio, 19
- Basket of Fruit*, 177
- Boy with a Basket of Fruit*, 177
- The Medusa Head on Minerva's Shield*, 182, 183
- Carleton, Dudley, 29, 34–35, 166, 171–72, 177, 184, 196–97
- Centaur Tormented by Cupid* (Rubens), 169
- Ceres and the Four Elements* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 160
- Ceres Garlanded by Angels* (Rubens), 162
- Clerck, Hendrick de, 3, 15, 60, 66
- Concert of the Muses* (with Van Balen), 97
- works with Brueghel
- Allegory of the Four Elements*, 139
- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, 136–39, 137, 194, 198
- The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, 139
- Cobergher, Wenceslas, 9, 85, 104–5
- collaboration, practice of, 3–4, 32–35, 217–18
- colorants, 225
- Concert of the Muses* (Van Balen and De Clerck), 97
- The Continnence of Scipio* (Brueghel), 10, 10, 48
- Cort, Cornelius, *Tityus*, 169, 169
- Croes, J. van, 23
- The Crowning of Virtue* (Rubens), 56, 57
- Cupid Supplicating Jupiter* (Rubens), 170
- Daniel in the Lions' Den* (Brueghel), 195–96
- Daniel in the Lions' Den* (Rubens), 96, 196
- The Death of Hippolytus* (Rubens), 168
- The Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter* (Rubens), 30
- Departure for the Hunt* (Van Orley), 106
- The Descent into Limbo* (engraving after Pieter Bruegel the Elder), 133, 133
- The Descent into Limbo* (Brueghel and Rottenhammer), 128–35, 131
- Diana and Her Nymphs Attacked by Satyrs* (Rubens and Snyders), 178
- Diana and Her Nymphs Hunting Fallow Deer* (Rubens and Snyders), 178
- Diana at the Hunt* (Brueghel and Rubens), 87–88, 108–15, 110, 124, 203, 226
- Diana Returning from the Hunt* (Rubens and Snyders), 26, 174–79, 175, 177
- Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs* (Brueghel and Rubens), 75, 87, 88, 108–15, 111, 177, 203, 245
- Drunken Silenus* (Rubens), 96
- Dürer, Albrecht, 66, 203
- Saint Eustace*, 87, 87
- Dyck, Anthony van, 58
- Portrait of Frans Snyders*, 26, 26
- Portrait of Jan Brueghel the Elder*, 6
- earth pigments, 223–25
- Elsheimer, Adam, 19, 67
- The Stoning of Saint Stephen*, 191
- The Entry of the Animals into Noah's Ark* (Brueghel), 70, 80, 87, 125, 192–201, 193, 195
- Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* (Rubens), 20, 22, 87, 197
- Expulsion of Heliodoros* (Raphael), 169
- Eyck, Hubert van, 32, 34
- The Ghent Altarpiece (Adoration of the Mystic Lamb)*, 32, 33, 34
- Eyck, Jan van, 32, 34
- The Ghent Altarpiece (Adoration of the Mystic Lamb)*, 32, 33, 34
- Faber, Johann, 21, 56
- The Facade and Arch of Rubens's House* (Harrewyn after Van Croes), 23
- The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Floris), 184
- The Family of Jan Brueghel the Elder* (Rubens), *frontispiece*, 30
- The Feast of Achelouïs* (Van Balen and Jan Brueghel the Younger), 62, 63

- The Feast of Achelouis* (Rubens and Brueghel), *xiv*, 60–63, 61, 80, 122, 124, 126, 218, 227, 229, 239, 239–40, 240
- The Feast of the Gods* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 149, 150
- Ferdinand (cardinal-infante of Spain), 94
- Five Senses series, 2, 17, 90–99, 161, 242–45. *See also specific paintings*
- The Flood with Noah's Ark* (Brueghel), 195, 196
- Flora and Zephyr* (Brueghel and Rubens), 42, 78–81, 79, 219, 241–42, 241, 242
- Floris, Frans, 57, 60
- Fall of the Rebel Angels*, 184
- Flower Still Life* (Brueghel), 80, 81
- The Forge of Vulcan* (Paolo Fiammingo), 8, 142, 143, 149
- Four Female Figures* (Rubens), 75, 75
- Francken, Frans, the Younger, 4, 5, 17, 31, 31, 96, 98, 108
- The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella in a Collector's Cabinet* (with workshop of Jan Brueghel the Younger), 4, 5
- Frederik Hendrik (prince of Orange), 77, 81, 182
- Fruit Garland with Angels* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 80, 152–55, 153
- Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces* (Rubens and Brueghel), 119, 124, 126, 157, 160, 162, 219, 246–47, 247
- Gabron, Guiliam, 66, 234, 235
- Galle, Cornelis, *The Virgin in a Niche Adorned by Angels with a Garland*, 162, 163
- Galle, Philips, *The Art of War* (engraving after Frans Floris), 56, 57
- Ganymede* (Rubens), 170
- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (Brueghel), 67–68, 68, 195–96, 199
- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (Brueghel and De Clerck), 136–39, 137, 194, 198
- The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man* (Brueghel and Rubens), *iv–v*, 2, 30, 64–71, 65, 72, 80, 87, 122, 124, 192, 198–99, 203, 216, 217, 219–21, 223, 225, 226, 229, 233–39, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238
- Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* (Brueghel and Van Balen) (1617), 90, 126, 156–65, 158, 246–47
- Garland of Fruit around a Depiction of Ceres Receiving Gifts from the Four Seasons* (Brueghel and Van Balen) (1621–22), 90, 126, 156–65, 159, 246–47
- Gesner, Conrad, 68, 198
- The Ghent Altarpiece (Adoration of the Mystic Lamb)* (Hubert and Jan van Eyck), 32, 33, 34
- gilding, 228–29
- Giulio Romano, 19, 48
- Goltzius, Hendrick, 62, 75
- The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche*, 60
- Govaerts, Abraham, *Wooded Landscape with Gypsy Women*, 124
- Great Last Judgment* (Rubens), 183
- Grimmer, Abel, *View of Antwerp* (with Van Balen), 12, 12
- ground layers, 220–21
- Guild of Saint Luke, 9, 15, 19, 31, 218, 241
- Haecht, Willem van, 108
- Apelles Painting Campaspe*, 18
- Harbor Scene with Christ Preaching* (Brueghel), 47, 189, 190
- Harrewyn, Jacob, *The Facade and Arch of Rubens's House* (engraving after J. van Croes), 23
- The Head of Medusa* (Rubens and Snyders), 26, 35, 180–85, 181, 183
- Herodotus, 138
- Hoefnagel, Joris, 116, 198
- Antverpia*, 11
- Hollar, Wenceslas, 203
- Study of Hunting Dogs*, 112, 113
- The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (Brueghel and Van Avont), 163, 164, 206
- The Holy Family in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 161, 162
- The Horrors of War* (Rubens), 29
- Houbraken, Arnold, 64
- Huygens, Constantijn, 77, 126, 172, 182–83
- imprimatura, 221, 226, 234, 242, 244, 246
- infrared reflectograms, 55, 86, 224–25, 229–33, 235, 242–43, 245
- The Interior of the Colosseum* (Toeput), 8, 9
- Isabella, Infanta of Spain* (Muller after Rubens), 105, 105
- Isabella Clara Eugenia (archduchess of Austria), 2, 4, 5, 5, 9, 15, 17–18, 29, 46, 56, 70, 80–82, 85, 88, 94, 96–98, 100–107, 103, 104, 105, 109, 114, 120, 154, 161, 197–98, 206
- Janssens, Abraham, 33
- Peace and Plenty Binding the Arrows of War*, 57
- The Union of the Scheldt River and the City of Antwerp*, 56
- Jode, Isabella de, 10
- Johann Ernst (duke of Saxony), 2, 198
- Jonah Emerging from the Whale* (Brueghel), 151
- Judith Killing Holofernes* (Rubens), 168
- Juno and Argus* (Rubens), 168–69
- Kempeneer, Jan de, 194
- Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter* (Bril and Rubens), 27, 29
- Landscape with Ruins and a Hermit* (Brueghel), 8, 9
- Landscape with Young Tobias* (Brueghel), 189
- Laocoön, 19, 47, 168
- Leonardo da Vinci, 182
- Battle of Anghiari*, 47
- The Leopards* (after Rubens), 171, 196, 237, 238
- Limbourg brothers, *Très Riches Heures*, 106
- Lioness, Seen from the Rear, Turning Left* (Rubens), 196, 197
- Lucan, 183
- Madonna and Child in a Flower Garland* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 12, 152, 154
- Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers* (Brueghel and Rubens), 96, 116, 119, 120, 246
- Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers* (Brueghel and Rubens), 4, 116–21, 117, 118, 154–55, 163, 246

- Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels* (Rubens), 208–13, 209, 210, 211, 212
Madonna della Vallicella, Borne Aloft by Putti (Rubens), 212, 213
Madonna in a Flower Garland (Rubens and Brueghel), 2, 3, 155, 163, 213, 228, 245–47, 247
Mander, Karel van, 6, 9, 33–34, 69, 129, 182
Marienberghe, Catharina van, 10, 30
Marino, Giambattista, 182
A Market and Bleaching Fields (De Momper), 16, 17
Mars au Retour de la Guerre (Avril after Rubens), 57–58, 58
The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew (Van Veen), 18, 19
Maximilian I (elector of Bavaria), 149–51
The Medusa Head on Minerva's Shield (Caravaggio), 182, 183
Meeting of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain at Nördlingen (Rubens), 221, 222
Metsys, Quinten, 20, 32, 34–35
The Temptation of Saint Anthony (with Patinir), 20, 21, 34–35
Miracles of Saint Ignatius (Rubens), 183
Miraculous Draft of Fishes (Beuckelaer), 189
Momper, Joos de, the Younger, 15, 17
A Market and Bleaching Fields, 16, 17
Muller, Jan
Albert, Archduke of Austria (engraving after Rubens), 105, 105
Isabella, Infanta of Spain (engraving after Rubens), 105, 105
Music-making Angels with Flowers (Brueghel and Rottenhammer), 133
- Noort, Adam van, 18, 46
Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia (Brueghel and workshop of Rubens), 122–27, 123
- Orley, Bernard van, *Departure for the Hunt*, 106
Orpheus Charming the Animals with His Music (Brueghel), 97
Orpheus Singing before Pluto and Proserpina (Brueghel), 7
Ostrich (Brueghel), 197, 198, 206
Ovid, 29, 60–62, 78, 169, 174, 180, 182–83
- paint media, 223–26
The Painter in His Studio (Rembrandt), 220, 220
The Palace of Isabella Eugenia at Tervuren (Brueghel), 104, 104
Pan and Syrinx (Brueghel and Van Balen), 75, 76
Pan and Syrinx (Rubens and Brueghel), 72–77, 73, 74, 227
Pan Resting (Rubens), 75, 76
Pancels, Willem, *Studies of Horses after Jost Amman* (drawing after Rubens), 46, 47
panels, oak, 218–20
Paolo Fiammingo, 55, 142–43
The Forge of Vulcan, 8, 142, 143, 149
Paradise Landscape with the Creation of Adam (Brueghel), 136, 138, 138, 194–95, 198
Part of a Garland of Fruit and Flowers (Brueghel), 163, 164
Patinir, Joachim, 6, 20, 32, 34–35
The Temptation of Saint Anthony (with Metsys), 20, 21, 34, 35
Peace and Plenty Binding the Arrows of War (Janssens), 57
- Penni, Giovanni Francesco, *The Battle of Zama* (engraving after Giulio Romano), 48, 48
Philip II (king of Spain), 5, 20, 97, 101
Philip III (king of Spain), 19, 70
pigments, 223–25
Piles, Roger de, 108–9
Pliny the Elder, 68, 184
Plutarch, 44
Port Scene in Venice (Brueghel), 189
Portrait of a Man (Rubens), 19, 19
Portrait of Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia (Van Veen), 4, 5
Portrait of Archduke Albert of Austria (Rubens and Brueghel), 100–107, 102
Portrait of Frans Snyders (Van Dyck), 26, 26
Portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia (Rubens and Brueghel), 100–107, 103
Portrait of Jan Brueghel the Elder (Van Dyck), 6
preparatory layers, 220–221
Procession in the Place du Grand Sablon at Brussels (Sallaert), 106
Prometheus Bound (Rubens and Snyders), 26, 35, 166–73, 167, 184, 196
The Prophecy of Isaiah (Brueghel and Van Balen), 55, 146–51, 147, 148
Putti with a Garland of Fruit (Rubens, Snyders, and Wildens), 124, 125
- The Raising of the Cross* (Rubens), 24, 25
Raphael
The Battle of Constantine against Maxentius, 48
Expulsion of Heliodorus, 169
Saint Cecilia, 96
Reclining Male (Rubens), 170, 170
The Recognition of Philopoemen (Rubens), 25, 26, 168, 171, 177
The Recognition of Philopoemen (Rubens and Snyders), 25–26, 25, 168, 184
Rembrandt van Rijn
Blinding of Samson, 172
The Painter in His Studio, 220, 220
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Bril and Rottenhammer), 132, 133
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt (Brueghel and Rottenhammer), 128–35, 130, 132
The Return from War Mars Disarmed by Venus (Rubens and Brueghel), 3, 4, 29, 30, 35, 50, 52–59, 53, 54, 80, 87, 119, 144, 149, 195, 197, 198–99, 214, 218–21, 219, 226–34, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 244
The Riding School (Rubens), 197
Romanists, Confraternity of, 9, 29
Rottenhammer, Hans, 3, 6, 19, 46, 60
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt (with Bril), 132, 133
works with Brueghel
The Descent into Limbo, 128–35, 131
Music-making Angels with Flowers, 133
The Rest on the Flight into Egypt, 128–35, 130, 132
Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers, 133
- Rubens, Jan, 17–18
Rubens, Peter Paul
collaboration of Brueghel (Jan, the Elder) and, 32–34, 217–51
See also specific paintings
friendship of Brueghel (Jan, the Elder) and, 29–31
life of, 17–29
painting technique of, 226–27

- paint media used by, 225–26
- underdrawings by, 47, 223, 224, 225, 228, 229
- works after
- The Leopards*, 171, 196, 237, 238
- works by
- Adam and Eve*, 46
 - The Adoration of the Magi*, 23, 56–57
 - Battle of Nude Men*, 46
 - The Battle of the Amazons*, 48–50, 50
 - Battle of the Greeks and Amazons*, 48
 - Battle Scene between the Greeks and Amazons and Studies for Samson*, 48
 - The Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, 168
 - Centaur Tormented by Cupid*, 169
 - Ceres Garlanded by Angels*, 162
 - The Crowning of Virtue*, 56, 57
 - Cupid Supplicating Jupiter*, 170
 - Daniel in the Lions' Den*, 96, 196
 - The Death of Hippolytus*, 168
 - The Delivery of the Keys to Saint Peter*, 30
 - Drunken Silenus*, 96
 - Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, 20, 22, 87, 197
 - The Family of Jan Brueghel the Elder*, frontispiece, 30
 - Four Female Figures*, 75, 75
 - Ganymede*, 170
 - Great Last Judgment*, 183
 - The Horrors of War*, 29
 - Judith Killing Holofernes*, 168
 - Juno and Argus*, 168, 169
 - Lioness, Seen from the Rear, Turning Left*, 196, 197
 - Madonna della Vallicella, Adored by Angels*, 208–13, 209, 210, 211, 212
 - Madonna della Vallicella, Borne Aloft by Putti*, 212, 213
 - Meeting of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain at Nördlingen*, 221, 222
 - Miracles of Saint Ignatius*, 183
 - Pan Resting*, 75, 76
 - Portrait of a Man*, 19, 19
 - The Raising of the Cross*, 24, 25
 - Reclining Male*, 170, 170
 - The Recognition of Philopoemen*, 25, 26, 168, 171, 177
 - The Riding School*, 197
 - Saint George*, 168, 171
 - The Saint Ildefonso Altarpiece*, 28, 29
 - Samson and Delilah*, 23, 23
 - Self-Portrait with Friends*, 20
 - Studies of a Female Nude*, 124, 124
 - Two Satyrs*, 176, 176
 - Two Views of an Eagle*, 170
- workshop of Rubens
- Nymphs Filling the Cornucopia* (with Brueghel), 122–27, 123
- works with other artists
- Allegory of Hearing*, 90, 92, 96–97, 105, 112, 244, 245
 - Allegory of Sight*, 90, 92, 94, 96, 101, 106, 119, 124, 197, 217, 218, 242, 243, 243
 - Allegory of Smell*, 80, 93, 94, 97–98, 109, 243–44, 244
 - Allegory of Taste*, viii, 90–99, 91, 104, 156, 161, 217, 218, 243–44, 244, 245
 - Allegory of Touch*, 55, 57, 90–94, 93, 97, 219, 219, 230, 243–44
 - The Battle of the Amazons*, 2, 3, 9, 19, 30, 44–51, 45, 49, 169, 218, 223, 224, 229, 229–30
 - Diana and Her Nymphs Attacked by Satyrs*, 178
 - Diana and Her Nymphs Hunting Fallow Deer*, 178
 - Diana at the Hunt*, 87–88, 108–15, 110, 124, 203, 226
 - Diana Returning from the Hunt*, 26, 174–79, 175, 177
 - Diana's Sleeping Nymphs Observed by Satyrs*, 75, 87–88, 108–15, 111, 177, 203, 245
 - The Feast of Achelous*, xiv, 60–63, 61, 80, 122, 124, 126, 218, 227, 229, 239, 239–40, 240
 - Flora and Zephyr*, 42, 78–81; 79, 219, 241–42, 241, 242
 - Fruit Garland with Nature Adorned by the Graces*, 119, 124, 126, 157, 160, 162, 219, 246–47, 247
 - The Garden of Eden with the Fall of Man*, iv–v, 2, 30, 64–71, 65, 72, 80, 87, 122, 124, 192, 198–99, 203, 216, 217, 219–21, 223, 225, 226, 229, 233–39, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238
 - The Head of Medusa*, 26, 35, 180–85, 181, 183
 - Landscape with Psyche and Jupiter*, 27, 29
 - Madonna and Child in a Garland of Flowers*, 96, 116, 119, 120, 246
 - Madonna and Child in a Garland of Fruit and Flowers*, 4, 116–21, 117, 118, 154–55, 163, 246
 - Madonna in a Flower Garland*, 2, 3, 155, 163, 213, 228, 245–47, 247
 - Pan and Syrinx*, 72–77, 73, 74, 227
 - Portrait of Archduke Albert of Austria* (and workshop), 100–107, 102
 - Portrait of Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia* (and workshop), 100–107, 103
 - Prometheus Bound*, 26, 35, 166–73, 167, 184, 196
 - Putti with a Garland of Fruit*, 124, 125
 - The Recognition of Philopoemen*, 25–26, 25, 168, 184
 - The Return from War: Mars Disarmed by Venus*, 3, 4, 29–30, 35, 50, 52–59, 53, 54, 80, 87, 119, 144, 149, 195, 197–99, 214, 218–21, 219, 226–34, 227, 230, 231, 232, 233, 244
 - The Vision of Saint Hubert*, 82–89, 83, 84, 86, 109, 120, 226, 240, 241
 - Rudolf II (Holy Roman emperor), 13, 69, 116, 139, 198
 - Saint Cecilia* (Raphael), 96
 - Saint Eustace* (Dürer), 87, 87
 - Saint George* (Rubens), 168, 171
 - The Saint Ildefonso Altarpiece* (Rubens), 28, 29
 - Saint John the Baptist Preaching* (Van Balen), 149
 - Sallaert, Antoine, *Procession in the Place du Grand Sablon at Brussels*, 106
 - Samson and Delilah* (Rubens), 23, 23
 - Savery, Roelandt, 13, 203
 - Seghers, Daniel, 15, 217
 - Self-Portrait with Friends* (Rubens), 20
 - Sermon of Saint John the Baptist* (Pieter Bruegel the Elder), 188, 188, 189, 191
 - The Sermon on the Mount* (Brueghel), 186–91, 187
 - Sheet with Animals and Garlands* (Brueghel), 222, 223
 - signatures, 64, 66, 70, 94, 134, 192, 199, 233–34
 - Sketches of Ducks and Birds* (Brueghel), 68–69, 69
 - Snyders, Frans, 3, 17, 25–26, 29–30, 35, 198
 - Studies of Four Heads of Dogs*, 178, 178
 - Study for an Eagle*, 170, 171

- works with Rubens
- Diana and Her Nymphs Attacked by Satyrs*, 178
 - Diana and Her Nymphs Hunting Fallow Deer*, 178
 - Diana Returning from the Hunt*, 26, 174–79, 175, 177
 - The Head of Medusa*, 26, 35, 180–85, 181, 183
 - Prometheus Bound*, 26, 35, 166–73, 167, 184, 196
 - Putti with a Garland of Fruit* (and Wildens), 124, 125
 - The Recognition of Philopoemen*, 25–26, 25, 168, 184
- Sohier, Nicolaas, 182–83
- Spranger, Bartholomeus, 129
- Stoning of Saint Stephen* (Elsheimer), 191
- Studies of a Female Nude* (Rubens), 124, 124
- Studies of Asses, Cats, and Monkeys* (Brueghel), 202–7, 205
- Studies of Deer in Various Positions* (Brueghel), 68, 69
- Studies of Four Heads of Dogs* (Snyders), 178, 178
- Studies of Horses after Jost Amman* (Pancels after Rubens), 46, 47
- Studies of Hunting Dogs* (Brueghel), 88, 202–7, 204, 226, 244
- Study for an Eagle* (Snyders), 170, 171
- Study of Hunting Dogs* (Hollar), 112, 113
- Study of Hunting Requisites* (Brueghel), 109–12, 112, 144
- Study of Monkeys, a Deer, and Other Animals* (Brueghel), 206, 206
- Suerius, Samuel, 126
- supports, 218–20
- The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (Patinir and Metsys), 20, 21, 34–35
- Tieghem, Jan van, 194
- Titian, 19, 20, 96–97
- Tityus*, 169
- Tityus* (Cort), 169, 169
- Tityus* (Titian), 169
- Toeput, Lodewijk, 8
- The Interior of the Colosseum*, 8, 9
- Torso Belvedere, 19, 62, 67, 75, 168
- Très Riches Heures* (Limbourg brothers), 106
- The Trêves* (Van de Venne), 57
- Two Satyrs* (Rubens), 176, 176
- Two Views of an Eagle* (Rubens), 170
- varnish, 227–28
- Vase of Flowers with Jewel, Coins and Shells* (Brueghel), 13, 14
- Veen, Otto van, 9, 18–19, 46–47, 105, 229
- Amorum Emblemata*, 56, 56
 - The Martyrdom of Saint Andrew*, 18, 19
 - Portrait of Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia*, 4, 5
- Venne, Adriaen van de, *The Trêves*, 57
- Venus and Cupid* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 198
- Venus in the Forge of Vulcan* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 55, 230, 231
- Venus in the Smithy of Vulcan* (studio of Brueghel), 144, 144
- Venus Preparing Mars for War* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 149, 150
- Verhaecht, Tobias, 18, 46
- View of Antique Ruins*, 142, 143
- View of Antwerp* (Van Balen and Grimmer), 12
- View of the Interior of the Colosseum* (Brueghel), 7, 8, 52, 142
- Village Landscape with Self-Portrait* (Brueghel), 15, 16
- Vincenzo I Gonzaga (duke of Mantua), 19–20
- Virgil, 140, 174
- The Virgin in a Niche Adorned by Angels with a Garland* (Galle), 162, 163
- The Vision of Saint Hubert* (Brueghel and Rubens), 82–89, 83, 84, 86, 109, 120, 226, 240, 241
- Vranck, Sebastian, 31, 31, 163
- Wedding Banquet Presided over by the Archdukes* (Brueghel), 15, 15
- The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* (Goltzius), 60
- The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Brueghel and Van Balen), 60, 62, 62
- The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Brueghel and De Clerck), 139
- Wildens, Jan, 29, 124, 125
- Willem V (prince of Orange), 64
- Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers* (Brueghel and Rottenhammer), 133
- Wolfgang Wilhelm (duke of Pfalz-Neuburg), 94
- Wooded Landscape with Gypsy Women* (Govarts), 124
- Wooded Landscape with Nymphs, Dogs, and Hunting Spoils* (Brueghel), 114, 114, 206
- X-radiographs, 55, 183, 219, 231, 232, 234, 236, 236
- underdrawing, 221–23, 228–30, 243, 248. *See also under Brueghel and Rubens*
- The Union of the Scheldt River and the City of Antwerp* (Janssens), 56

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