

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART IX

THE DECORATION OF THE TORRE DE LA PARADA

SVETLANA ALPERS



CORPUS RUBENIANUM LUDWIG BURCHARD

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

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THE DECORATION
OF THE
TORRE DE LA PARADA

SVETLANA ALPERS



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FOREWORD

In our *Foreword* to *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Part I of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, we have already pointed out that the structure of each volume would be largely determined by the nature of its contents : some subjects are best treated as monographs, others in the form of a "catalogue raisonné". The former we called most appropriate for those series of paintings where the internal coherence requires such an approach. Therefore it will not surprise the reader that the volume devoted to *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada*, the largest commission ever given to Rubens, appears as a monograph. This was likewise the case with *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*.

Nevertheless, the reader will notice a certain difference between the two volumes. While in Professor Martin's book the monograph part was rather short compared to the "catalogue raisonné", in the present study it takes up more space. This can be accounted for by the complexity of the history of the *Torre de la Parada* series; among other things, the difficult question had to be answered which paintings from the former Spanish Royal Collection had originally belonged to this series. Professor Alpers may be credited with the merit of having solved this problem as far as possible, on the basis of a renewed research in the archives. The arguments and results of her study quite naturally had to be developed extensively.

There is, however, a second reason why the monograph part in Professor Alpers's book is more extensive : her study started from a part of her doctoral dissertation, which dealt essentially with iconographic problems. As a consequence, much attention is devoted to that aspect in the present volume. Nevertheless we decided that the book could be adapted to the purpose of our series, provided that the "catalogue raisonné" was equal to the standards aimed at in the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*. In order to achieve this, the "Nationale Centrum" has participated in the preparation of the catalogue, and those paintings from the *Torre de la Parada* series which are still preserved in the Prado have been studied again in Madrid by Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, Dr. C. Van de Velde and Dr. H. Vlieghe. Their investigations have led to some interesting conclusions.

In her *Author's Preface*, Professor S. Alpers has underlined the profit she has gained from consulting the documentation of Ludwig Burchard in Antwerp. On the other hand, she has pointed out that in a very few cases she does not agree with the attributions made by Dr. Burchard. In Part I such divergences of opinion did not arise, as Prof. Martin shared Burchard's views almost completely; hence we said briefly in our *Foreword* to the whole series : "Each collaborator will explain clearly in his preface and in his text what is his own contribution." The time has come to define our position in this matter more clearly. This can probably be done most easily by quoting the instructions handed to our authors :

"Special attention should be given to the catalogue entries, where the originality of the works of art will be discussed. It is absolutely necessary that the opinion of Dr. L. Burchard on this subject should be properly stated. Four possibilities are open :

- a) Dr. L. Burchard and the author agree on the authenticity; in this case no special mention of the fact is needed;
- b) Dr. L. Burchard and the author disagree totally or partially; if the author wants to include in his catalogue a work that was not accepted by Burchard as an original by Rubens, he is obliged to mention Burchard's opinion; on the other hand, if the author thinks that a certain attribution to Rubens by Burchard should not be accepted, he has no right simply to omit Burchard's opinion. The painting or drawing must be discussed in the catalogue, although the author is quite free to express his doubts;
- c) There is no clear evidence in the documentation to show the opinion of Dr. L. Burchard; if so, the author should state this in his text, and explain, if possible, the reason for this. Cases where the authenticity of a work is so obvious that Burchard did not mention it especially, should be treated as under a);
- d) The work under discussion does not figure in the documentation of Dr. L. Burchard; this fact should also be stated by the author, with an explanation (e.g. if a painting was only discovered after Dr. L. Burchard's death); this can be assimilated to the case described under b), when a discovery made only after Burchard's death has influenced the author's opinion on the authenticity of e.g. another version."

Naturally, these rules will also apply to the later volumes of the series. It is our conviction that they give each author the opportunity to express his

opinions freely, while at the same time they reflect our intention to make Dr. Burchard's work public in a way that does full justice to his achievements.

F. Baudouin

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

R.-A. d'Hulst

*President of the "Nationale Centrum
voor de Plasticke Kunsten
in de 16de en de 17de eeuw"*

*The Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard
will be divided into the following twenty-six Parts :*

- I. THE CEILING PAINTINGS FOR THE JESUIT CHURCH IN ANTWERP
- II. THE EUCHARIST SERIES
- III. THE OLD TESTAMENT
- IV. THE HOLY TRINITY, THE LIFE OF THE VIRGIN, MADONNAS,
THE HOLY FAMILY
- V. THE LIFE OF CHRIST BEFORE THE PASSION
- VI. THE PASSION OF CHRIST
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- VIII. ANGELS, APOSTLES AND SAINTS
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THE DECORATION
OF THE
TORRE DE LA PARADA

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Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass., Fig. 145

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O. Savio, Rome, Figs. 157, 158

Count Antoine Seilern, London, Figs. 69, 119, 120, 200

Service de Documentation Photographique, Versailles, Figs. 51, 89, 99, 109, 122, 160

Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Fig. 106

W. Suhr, New York, Fig. 84

University of California Library, Berkeley, Figs. 25, 27, 31

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, Fig. 60

ABBREVIATIONS

LITERATURE :

Antwerp, 1591 – Metamorphoses, Antwerp, 1591.

B. – Adam Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, I-XXI, Vienna, 1803-1821.

Baillie-Grohman – William A. Baillie-Grohman, *Sport in Art*, London, n.d.

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K.d.K., *Tizian – Tizian, Des Meisters Gemälde*, ed. by Oskar Fischel, *Klassiker der Kunst*, III, 4th ed., Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1911.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The present study of the Torre de la Parada series by Rubens began as part of my doctoral dissertation, "The Torre de la Parada Series and Narration in Rubens's Mythological Works," Harvard University, 1965. After I had completed my dissertation, Professor R.-A. d'Hulst asked me if I would prepare that part of my study devoted to the Torre de la Parada for publication as part of the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*. Since I consulted the wealth of material assembled by Ludwig Burchard after I was already far along in my own research, the amount of basic new material I found in his documentation was limited. However, the comfort of finding my own discoveries corroborated or, alternatively, being forced to reconsider my solutions to problems in the face of differing interpretations played a significant role in the preparation of this book. And for many individual points, in particular concerning the history of the sketches for the series, I am indebted to the Burchard files. The mention of Burchard's name, without further citation, means that the information or opinion in question is taken from his notes.

One point should be made about the plan of this volume. The history of Rubens's paintings and sketches for the Torre de la Parada is complex and tightly interrelated. While the history of each individual work is noted separately under each entry in the *Catalogue raisonné*, I have given a full account of their histories in Chapter I. The relationship of the Torre compositions to the tradition of illustrated Ovids is dealt with in Chapter II. But since so many Torre works are based on formulas found in the illustrated Ovids, the precise relationship of each sketch to the Ovid illustrations is set out in the individual catalogue entries rather than in the text itself.

Although my dissertation contained a thorough study of the history and character of the Torre commission, concentrating in particular on the sketches prepared for it by Rubens, it was neither conceived of, nor prepared, in the form of a *Catalogue raisonné*. My most immediate debt is therefore for the assistance given me by Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, President of the Nationaal Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de xvde en xviide eeuw, by Frans Baudouin, Keeper of the Kunsthistorische Musea, Antwerp, and by Dr. Carl Van de Velde and Miss Nora De Poorter at the Rubenianum. I should like to thank them for their great generosity in the time, energy, and expertise they

devoted to the final assembly of the material for the catalogue, and for the great effort that was put into reorganizing the catalogue entries to fit the format established for the entire Corpus. I might further note here two ways in which the format of the entire Corpus has influenced the presentation of the catalogue. First, in a very few cases, the catalogue entries represent attributions made by Ludwig Burchard with which, as the text of the entry will make clear, I do not agree. Secondly, discussion in the catalogue entries is limited to the Torre works and any reference to other representations by Rubens or his studio of the same scene has been left out of this volume unless the work in question has been somewhere described as part of the Torre series.

My earlier debts are numerous. I first studied seventeenth-century art under Professor Seymour Slive at Harvard University and I wrote my dissertation under his spirited direction. Professor Egbert Haverkamp Begemann expertly guided my first studies of Rubens and has since been a good friend and a stern and helpful critic to me and this book. It was he who, upon reading my dissertation, suggested that I submit the manuscript to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst for possible inclusion, in a revised form, in the Corpus. Professors Julius S. Held and Michael Jaffé have both been most generous in answering the questions of a younger student of Rubens. My few disagreements with them in no way alter the high regard in which I hold their voluminous and valuable contributions to our knowledge and understanding of Rubens's art. My greatest debt is to Professor E. H. Gombrich. He gave me the kind of encouragement and support that all beginning scholars hope to find. He taught me how many basic questions still remain to be answered about art and its history, and his work has been a model to me of how such questions might be addressed.

I wish to thank the following people individually for help in many different matters : Sr. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, Sr. M. Díaz Padrón, Mrs. Enriqueta Frankfort, Miss Katharine Fremantle, Professor Edith Helman, Professor Leonard Johnson, Professor Ulrich Knoepfelmacher, Professor Enrique Lafuente Ferrari, Professor John Rupert Martin, Sr. D. Federico Navarro, Dr. Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez, Professor Nicolai Rubinstein, the late Sr. Valentín Sambricio, Sr. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Professor Juergen Schulz, Count Antoine Seilern, Mr. J.B. Trapp, Dr. Hans Vlieghe.

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Arte "Diego Velázquez" in Madrid; the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague; the Frick Art Reference Library in New York.

I started my work on Rubens with a year of study abroad made possible with the help of the Kathryn McHale Fellowship, awarded to me in 1961-62 by the American Association of University Women. I am extremely grateful also to the Belgian American Educational Foundation for a fellowship, to the American Council of Learned Societies and the Kress Foundation for grants-in-aid, and to the University of California, Berkeley, for a Summer Faculty Fellowship, all of which enabled me to devote the year 1966-67 to research abroad, during which time I largely completed the present study.

My husband knows in how many ways his presence has made my life and work not merely possible, but immensely pleasurable.

Svetlana Alpers



INTRODUCTION

The series of works for the Torre de la Parada, a hunting lodge of Philip IV of Spain, was the largest commission given to Rubens by the most important patron he had during the last decade of his life. More significantly, it is the only series of paintings he did which was devoted to Ovidian and other mythological subjects. The series is most widely known, and most justly appreciated, for the more than fifty splendid sketches that survive, executed by Rubens himself in his swift and abbreviated late manner. The sketches are distinguished by the fact that they closely follow the formulas provided by illustrated editions of Ovid, and are remarkable for their closeness of tone to Ovid's text in dramatizing actions and passions of the gods as if they were human. Yet, far from being exceptional, the sketches exemplify, indeed fulfill, interests and techniques central to Rubens's whole artistic career. The paintings executed after these sketches were part of a decorative ensemble for a hunting lodge which included fifty animal and hunting scenes also ordered from Rubens's studio and which was unique in combining these with works by Rubens's leading Spanish contemporary, Velázquez. It is necessary to consider all of these other works which hung in the Torre de la Parada in order to fully describe and evaluate Rubens's own contributions.

The modern literature on the Torre de la Parada is not extensive, and most of the information that we have today about the commission was gathered in the nineteenth century. Gregorio Cruzada Villaamil,¹ who was the first to investigate Rubens's lifelong ties with Spain, surveyed his works as a painter for Philip IV, not in terms of individual commissions or decorative ensembles but by tracing individual paintings through successive Spanish royal inventories. Although it does not attempt to give an account of individual rooms in the Palace (or for that matter in the Torre), the catalogue that Cruzada Villaamil compiled of the sixty-three Rubens works he considered lost and the sixty-four he found to be extant remains a basic reference list of Rubens's paintings in Spain. Shortly after Cruzada Villaamil's publication, Carl Justi² published copies, which he had discovered in the Provincial Library in Toledo, of a series

¹ *Cruzada Villaamil.*

² First discussed in *Rubens und der Kardinal Infant Ferdinand*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, xv, 1880, pp. 225-262, and published afterwards in an appendix to *Justi, Velazquez*, II, pp. 363 ff.

of letters written by the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, Governor of Flanders, to his brother, Philip IV, concerning among other things the progress of the works for the Torre de la Parada. In 1888 Jules Finot³ published the records of the payments made to Rubens by his Spanish employers during these years, and his article was followed by a note by Alfred Weil⁴ which was the first attempt to indicate those paintings in the Prado which belonged to the Torre series. In 1890 Max Rooses combined all the previously published material with the results of his own research in the first section of the third volume of his *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens*, entitled "Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide peintes pour la Torre de la Parada."⁵ Rooses introduced for the first time the evidence of Rubens's sketches, many of which he saw when they were still in the collection of the Pastrana family in Madrid. As in the rest of his monumental study, Rooses attempted to make a complete list of all the subjects possibly connected with the Torre, and his has remained the most complete summary account of the mythological works in the Torre. In 1907 Narciso Sentenach y Cabañas⁶ published an undated and otherwise unidentified inventory of the Pastrana collection which included, under incredibly garbled names, most of the sketches for the Torre de la Parada that are known today. In the 1940s, Leo Van Puyvelde,⁷ in his books on Rubens's oil sketches, attempted to bring Rooses's catalogue up to date by making a list of all the subjects and extant works that made up the Torre commission. Egbert Haverkamp Begemann's catalogue of the exhibition of Rubens's sketches at Rotterdam in 1953-54,⁸ largely based on information communicated by L. Burchard, provided the best summary to that

³ *Documents relatifs à Rubens conservés aux archives du Nord*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, pp. 97-134. Transcripts of these documents are to be found below, Appendix I, p. 280 ff.

⁴ *Note communiquée par M. Alfred Weil sur les œuvres de décoration de Rubens pour le rendez-vous de chasse de la Torre de la Parada au Pardo*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, pp. 135-141.

⁵ *Rooses*, III, Nos. 501-556.

⁶ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, pp. 78-85.

⁷ *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 41-43. This brings up to date the information contained in his earlier book (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*). A study of the Torre was apparently planned, and perhaps made, by the Spanish scholar Elías Tormo y Monzó; however, it was never completed and any notes were probably lost in the destruction of his home during the Spanish Civil War. For reference to this study see the article by Tormo's student E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Peeter Symons : Colaborador de Rubens*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, p. 251 n.

⁸ *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, Nos. 100-114.

date of the discoveries about the Torre commission. More recently, Michael Jaffé⁹ has published a number of new sketches for the series, in an article in which he also indicates where he stands in relationship to previous attempts to reassemble the entire series.

For a variety of reasons, most previous scholars have expressed doubts about the possibility of reconstructing the decoration of the Torre de la Parada : there are no contemporary descriptions of the interior; the first inventory dates from over sixty years after its completion; and in the early eighteenth century the hunting lodge was sacked by invading Austrian soldiers with unassessed damage to the contents. I hope that this study will prove that a reconstruction is still possible.

⁹ Jaffé, 1964.

I. THE TORRE DE LA PARADA COMMISSION

The Building

The Torre de la Parada – literally, the tower of the stopping-place – was a hunting lodge situated on a hilltop about ten miles from Madrid within the great stretch of hills and forests surrounding the Pardo Palace. It was not the first building built on this site. The story of an earlier structure is told by Jéhan Lhermite, a Fleming who wrote an account of his experiences in Spain between 1587 and 1602. According to this account, the young Philip II wanted to build something and obtained permission from his father, Charles V, to supervise the construction of a tower to be built high on a hill in the Pardo for the purpose of guarding the game :

“Tellement que suyvant sa naturelle inclination, il fist tant que, peu de jours après, il obtint congé de son dict père pour y pouvoir bastir une tour tant seulement, laquelle s'y veoit encors pour le jourd'huy au mitant des Bois, soubz couleur quelle ne seroit que pour y mestre un homme de garde que nous appellons sergeant de bois, luy consignant pour cest effect quelque mille escus pour une fois, qui en ce temps là debvoit estre bien grande somme, mesmement en considération du peu d'argent que Sa Majesté manioit alors, n'ayant pour son gaſt ordinaire d'avantaige qu'un seul escu par jour, et comme son concept estoit autre, sçavoir est, c'y bastir quelque belle tour, haute et puissante, n'en peult bonnement furnir aux despens d'une si grande fabrique que force ne luy fust de prendre emprunitez, oultre les susdicts 1000 escus, quelques autres cinq cens (comme il le fist) d'un sien serviteur, gentilhomme de sa chambre, auquel sans double nulle, il les luy aura très bien payé à son temps, avecq usure et interest, et en fuſt ce bastiment le premier qu'il fist onques en sa vie, mais point le dernier, comme depuis si en a bien montré, nonobſtant les admonestations dudit feu Empereur son Père. Ceste tour est communement appellée *Atalaya*, qui est un mot barbare et vault autant à dire comme une place haulte, soit Tour, ou autrement, d'où on peult descouvrir toute la campagne d'alentour ou qu'anciennement du temps des Barbares on souloit mestre des guardes, ou sentinelles contre les

ennemys, mais ceste-cy y est pour garde de bois et de la chasse qu'il y en a en grande abondance.”¹⁰

According to Lhermite, this tower was still in use as a watchtower for a *sergeant de bois* late in the sixteenth century. A drawing of his showing the Pardo hills with the *Atalaya* itself marked (Fig. 1) is one of the rare indications of the site of the tower on any map or *veduta*.¹¹

The site is next mentioned in the account of the doings of the court of Philip IV by an anonymous chronicler in an entry dated January 10, 1636 :

“El sitio de la Torre del Pardo, que por todas partes descubre tan hermosa vista, ha convidado á S. M. de mandar labrar en él casa bastante en que alguna vez pueda aposentarse. El señor Marques de las Torres entiende en la obra y en juntar dineres para este efecto, vendiendo oficios, naturalezas y andando en otros arbitrios.”¹²

“His Majesty, attracted by the site of the Torre del Pardo, which commands a beautiful view on all sides, has decided to have some quarters built there where he could stay occasionally. The Marquis of Torres is in charge of the construction and of raising funds for this purpose by selling positions in the municipality, citizenship privileges and through implementing other work.”

Philip IV wanted to take advantage of the beautiful view and have a place in which to spend the night, most likely when on his way to or from Valsain, another hunting lodge higher up in the Sierra. It is unclear from this statement alone whether the sixteenth-century watchtower was still standing in 1636 and the King just added rooms to it, or whether he built a new tower on the same site as the old one. The fact that the King is reported to have ordered only enough rooms to be built to enable him occasionally to stay at the Torre suggests that the first tower was still standing. However, the reference of another contemporary chronicler to the *torre nueva de la Parada*¹³ seems to

¹⁰ *Le Passetemps de Jéhan Lhermite*, ed. by Charles Ruelens, Antwerp, 1890, 1, pp. 101, 102.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, between pp. 98 and 99. The only later depiction of the site I found is an engraving in Juan Alvarez de Colmenar, *Les Délices de l'Espagne*, Leiden, 1701, II, between pp. 256 and 257. It shows the Pardo hills with the name of the Torre inserted, although the building is not mentioned in the text.

¹² *La Corte y Monarquía de España en los años 1636 y 7*, ed. by Antonio Rodríguez Villa, Madrid, 1886, pp. 5, 6.

¹³ *Memorias de Matías de Novoa, Historia de Felipe IV, Rey de España*, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, LXXXVII, Madrid, 1881, p. 625.

contradict this. A brief description by Bellori leaves the matter uncertain : "... il palazzo delle Torre della Parada tre leghe distante da Madrid, così nominato da una gran Torre, alle cui falda è posto l'edificio..."¹⁴ On balance it seems most likely that the original tower was indeed still standing in the 1630s. The most persuasive evidence we have for this is a very brief description of the Torre de la Parada in the report of a visit there in 1677 to be found in the diary of Count Ferdinand Harrach, the ambassador from Vienna to the Spanish court. Harrach notes that the Torre de la Parada is *gar ein herziges Häusel*, and further says that it is built *gleich einem guardainfante um den Leib*, or like a crinoline or hoop skirt around the body.¹⁵ This phrase graphically describes the two-story structure surrounding a central tower seen in a contemporary painting of the Torre de la Parada (Fig. 2), probably one of a series depicting royal dwellings which hung along the stairway of the Torre itself.¹⁶ This unusual design suggests that the sixteenth-century tower was still standing and the new building was added around it.

Aside from the statement of the anonymous chronicler, information on the construction of the building is sadly lacking. The chronicler is the source of the often repeated statement that the architect of the Torre was Giovanni Battista Crescenzi, known in Spain as Juan Bautista de Castilla and given the

¹⁴ Bellori, p. 233. We do not know the source of Bellori's account.

¹⁵ Count Ferdinand Bonaventura Harrach was ambassador to Spain from Vienna in the years 1673-1677 and again 1697-1698. On June 26, 1677, he visited the Torre de la Parada in the company of his successor to this post, Count Paul Sixtus Trautson. *Justi, Velazquez*, II, p. 319 quoted these two phrases from the diary and drew the same conclusions about the design and date of the building. I am very grateful to Mrs. Enriqueta Frankfort of the Warburg Institute, University of London, for allowing me to look at the Institute's recently acquired photostat of Count Harrach's unpublished *Tagebuch*. Unfortunately his account of the visit to the Torre (fº 330, 330^v) says nothing of the interior besides mentioning that there was an alcove hung with red curtains.

¹⁶ Museo Municipal, Madrid, No. 279, 226 : 140 cm., with the name of the Torre de la Parada inscribed at the lower right-hand corner. Although the painting does not make clear whether the new building enclosed the tower or simply stood beside it, the description by Harrach removes any doubt. This painting was first published by Aguirre Velasco, *Catálogo general ilustrado de la Exposición del Antiguo Madrid*, Madrid, 1926, pp. 76-79, No. 279, and once again in *Velázquez y lo Velazqueño : Exposición Homenaje en el III centenario de su muerte*, Madrid, 1960, pp. 129, 130, No. 170. It is very possible that this completed structure is related to an Italian tradition of a square hunting lodge with a central belvedere as found in the "Barco", at Caprarola, recently attributed to Vignola. See Loren Partridge, *Vignola and the Villa Farnese at Caprarola - Part I*, *The Art Bulletin*, LII, 1970, pp. 81-87, figs. 7, 8.

title of Marques de las Torres by Philip IV, whom he served as *soperintendente de la junta de obras y bosques*. If Crescenzi had been selected as architect for the building in which a series of works by Rubens was to be the featured decoration, it would indeed have been a happy coincidence since we know that on Rubens's visit to Spain in 1628 he and Crescenzi knew each other well.¹⁷ The attribution of the building of the Torre to Crescenzi is, however, apparently incorrect. First, in contradiction to most modern accounts, Crescenzi died not in 1660 but in March 1635, just when the Torre was being built.¹⁸ Secondly, a recently discovered contemporary document apparently names the architect as Juan Gomez de Mora – who also designed the Zarzuela, another hunting lodge in the Pardo, planned and built at about the same time as the Torre – and places the start of the building in 1635, with the last payment in 1637.¹⁹

From the contemporary painting we can conclude little of real importance about the Torre de la Parada building other than that it was a small, square structure, with five bays on each side. In several architectural details, such as the design of the chimneys and dormer windows, it was similar to the Zarzuela, although much smaller. The second story, with its longer windows, would

¹⁷ See Lázaro Díaz del Valle, *Epílogo y nomenclatura de algunos artífices (1656-59), Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, II, Madrid, 1933, pp. 358, 359, and Antonio Palomino, *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado (1724)*, *Fuentes Literarias para la Historia del Arte Español*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, IV, Madrid, 1936, p. 108. This acquaintance could quite possibly have gone back to Rubens's early days in Rome, when he and Crescenzi moved in much the same artistic and ecclesiastical circles. For information on the Crescenzi family's private art academy, their close association with artists such as Roncalli, and their ties with the Oratorians, see Anna Grelle, *I Crescenzi e l'Accademia di via S. Eustache, Commentari*, XII, 1961, pp. 120-136.

¹⁸ The death of Crescenzi is reported by Commendatore Sorano, the Medici ambassador to the Spanish court, in a dispatch of March 17, 1635 (*Archivo Mediceo*, f. 4960). Sorano's dispatches, which also provide important background material for some of the Torre decorations, were unearthed by Justi.

¹⁹ Marqués del Saltillo, *Alonso Martínez de Espinar, Arte Español*, XVIII, 1951, p. 123 n. "Se [the Torre de la Parada] edificó en 1635-6 según la traza de Juan Gómez de Mora, por el maestro alarife Francisco de Mena, según escrituras de 26 abril 1635 y de 13 septiembre 1636, y fué apreciada por Alonso Carbonel y García de Encabo el 24 noviembre de 1637, ya que el plazo estipulado fué terminarla el día de Reyes de aquel año." The plans referred to have not been published. The *escrituras*, notaries' documents, which are the source of this information, are in the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos*, Madrid. However, the late Marqués del Saltillo, who did a great deal of work in these archives, did not reveal exactly where he found these particular documents.

appear to have been the main floor and this is confirmed by the description of the interior found in the inventories. According to the inventories the Torre de la Parada was entered from a hallway where the carriages drew up – perhaps the entrance shown in the painting. A staircase led directly from the carriages up to the first floor, where the main rooms were located : nine rooms and a small chapel decorated for use by the King. These included his bedroom, a reception room, two rooms for the Queen, and the largest room, called the *Galeria del Rey* or *Galeria del Estado*, which contained the royal hunting portraits by Velázquez. The inventories mention three or four further rooms on the ground floor, which also contained works of art. No works were hung in the tower itself, which is not mentioned in the inventories. The small building at the left of the main structure in the painting provided quarters for servants, the *casa de oficios* mentioned in the inventories.

Apparently some of the buildings on the site of the Torre de la Parada were still standing in the late nineteenth century, when Justi reported that it was serving, like the original tower, as a house for the *garde chasseur*. Unfortunately, we do not know what, if anything, remains at the site today. Situated as it is near Generalissimo Franco's official residence in the Pardo Palace, the site of the Torre de la Parada is completely inaccessible to visitors.

The History of the Commission

The Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand, younger brother of Philip IV, arrived in Brussels as newly appointed Governor of the Spanish Netherlands in November 1634, and on April 17, 1635 he made his triumphal entry into Antwerp greeted by Rubens's decorations. A year later, in April 1636, Rubens was officially named *Peintre de l'Hostel de Son Altèze*²⁰ – a continuation of the position he had held as court painter to Albert and Isabella ever since his return from Italy. The first official reference to the commission given to Rubens for the Torre de la Parada is in a letter from the Cardinal-Infante to Philip IV of November 20, 1636,²¹ reporting that Rubens had received the order and had already begun some of the works. The King, thus, must have placed his order

²⁰ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 162 n.

²¹ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 170.

sometime before this date. The building itself, as we recall, had been under construction at least since late 1635 or early 1636, and a document of October 16, 1636, finds Velázquez formally asking the King for money "para que pueda mejor acudir al servicio de V. Magd. en esta ocasión que se ha mandado pintar para la Torre de la Parada en la R.^a muy grande."²² Depending on how we interpret this document, it is possible that Velázquez not only executed some paintings to hang in the Torre, but that he was in fact actually in charge of decorating and furnishing it.²³ This would fit in well with what is known of Velázquez's activities as supervisor of the redecoration of many rooms in the Palace in Madrid.²⁴

Briefly, the chronology of the series is as follows : On November 20, 1636, and again on December 6, 1636, Rubens is reported by the Cardinal-Infante to be under way,²⁵ having divided the work up among what are referred to as his best painters, but doing all of the designs (with the exception of the animal and hunting pieces) himself. On December 9, 1636, the Cardinal-Infante authorized the payment of 10,000 *livres* for the Torre works — 2,500 of which was paid on January 7, 1637, with the remainder to be paid at three-month intervals ithin the year (Appendix I, Nos. 1, 1a).²⁶ In fact the remainder was paid in one payment (Appendix I, Nos. 2, 2a). At the end of April 1637, the Cardinal-Infante made one of several trips to Antwerp from Brussels to check on the progress of the work. Upon his return on April 30, Ferdinand, still assuring the King that all would be ready soon, said that

²² G. Cruzada Villaamil, *Anales de la vida y de las obras de Diego de Silva Velázquez*, Madrid, 1885, p. 93, first mentioned this document. For a transcript see *Varia Velazqueña : Homenaje a Velázquez en el III Centenario de su muerte*, Madrid, 1960, II, p. 242.

²³ The uncertainty about Velázquez's exact function in the decoration of the Torre is due to the difficulty of interpreting the phrase of this document in which Velázquez refers to his being commanded to *pintar para la Torre de la Parada en la R.^a muy grande*. Cruzada Villaamil interprets *R.^a muy grande* as meaning that Velázquez was to *reformar* or redesign the Torre. It probably refers, however, to the general building operation of adding the structure around the tower, which new building Velázquez then helped to decorate. There is the further problem as to whether Velázquez painted new works for the Torre or reworked old ones. It is also possible that he provided the compositional designs for some of the hunts to be executed in Flanders.

²⁴ See *Varia Velazqueña*, II, pp. 259-260, for the document dated 22 January 1647, which names Velázquez as *veedor de las obras* of the *pieza ochavada* in the Palace.

²⁵ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 171.

²⁶ The Flemish *livre* was the equivalent of a florin.

Rubens would finish ahead of the others, and that Snyders, who had sixty paintings to do, would take longer.²⁷ On June 24,²⁸ and on August 11, 1637,²⁹ Ferdinand again promised early completion. On November 2, with the painter referred to as *Esneyre* still hard at work on the animal paintings, the Cardinal-Infante reported sending for the passport to permit the works to travel through France, his reason for hurrying being, as he said, that the Torre itself was nearing completion and was ready for the pictures. On November 27, he authorized 12,000 additional *livres* in payment to Rubens – 3,000 to be paid immediately and the rest to follow – to make a total of 22,000 for the whole series (Appendix 1, No. 3). Although the yearbook recording payments for 1638 is missing in Lille, the monthly registrar for January 1638 records the first payment of 3,000 pounds to Rubens. We are most fortunate to have Rubens's signed receipts for the final three payments of 3,000 pounds each made on April 24, September 9, and December 4, 1638 (Appendix 1, Nos. 3a, 3b, 3c).³⁰ Finally, on March 11, 1638,³¹ the pictures departed from Antwerp and arrived in Madrid on or before May 1 – a year and a half after they were first discussed in the Cardinal-Infante's correspondence.³² From an inventory made of the furniture and other fittings in the Torre on March 31, 1638, we gather that the building was indeed ready and waiting for the works by Rubens and his assistants.³³

A word should be said about the amount that Rubens was paid for the Torre de la Parada works. Compared with the amount he was paid during the

²⁷ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 175.

²⁸ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 176.

²⁹ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 183.

³⁰ My thanks to Carl Van de Velde for informing me about the Lille record of payment and to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst and Frans Baudouin for advising me of the existence of Rubens's signed receipts in the Royal Archives in Brussels. With this evidence we can clearly say that Finot, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, p. 105 and others following him, e.g. *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 41, were wrong in stating that Rubens received only an additional 3,000 *livres*.

³¹ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 207.

³² The letter of Sorano, the Tuscan ambassador in Spain, which records the arrival of the shipment of paintings, placed the total number at 112 – intended, according to his account, for both the Torre de la Parada and the Buen Retiro (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 214).

³³ Archivo General de Palacio, *Legajo nº 16 del Pardo*, 31 March 1638. This was the only inventory of any kind made of the Torre until after the death of Charles II in 1700.

same years for works largely by his own hand – 10,000 *livres* for eighteen hunting works (by Rubens and Snyders, Appendix I, Nos. 5-8) and 4,200 *livres* for his last four mythologies,³⁴ all commissioned by Philip IV – the 22,000 *livres* for over sixty mythological works designed by Rubens and almost sixty animal and hunting works seems little indeed. It appears somewhat more in line with the amount he was paid for other single, large commissions executed with the help of assistants, for example, the approximately 3,000 to 4,000 *florins* for the several paintings on each arch for the entrance decorations for the Cardinal-Infante.³⁵ On the other hand, Rubens was paid a very generous 30,000 *florins* (3,000 English pounds) for the nine Whitehall ceiling paintings.³⁶ Perhaps the most appropriate comparison, as regards the nature of the commission and the actual rate of payment, is with the commission for the Jesuit ceiling. In 1620, when Rubens had already been paid 3,000 *florins* for the two altarpieces for that church, he was paid only 7,000 *florins* for his invention and his studio's execution of the thirty-nine ceiling paintings.³⁷ For both of these commissions Rubens was called upon to produce a very large number of compositions within the relatively short span of about a year. The demand for the rapid invention of a large number of similar works – be they religious or mythological in subject – was perfectly suited to Rubens's talents as an artist and, one might add, to his talents as director of a large workshop. By the time he did the Torre series Rubens was able to invent right on the spot, as it were. The brilliant Torre sketches were apparently created without preparatory drawings and with no preceding grisaille sketches such as he had prepared for the Jesuit ceiling paintings. It is possible that the relatively uncomplicated nature of the Torre scenes – which are normally limited, like those on the Jesuit ceiling, to a few figures – the large number of similar works ordered at one time, and the simplified process of designing them had something to do with the low price. Nonetheless, the brilliance of Rubens's inventions argues against the notion that the modest recompense for these sixty mythological works and animal scenes indicates a lack of effort or concern on his part. The Torre sketches are at once among the most fluid, inventive, and

³⁴ J. Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

³⁵ Rooses, III, pp. 292 ff.

³⁶ Rooses, III, p. 290.

³⁷ See John Rupert Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, I, Brussels, 1968, pp. 32, 214.

economically conceived of Rubens's works. Whatever his financial interests, his artistic involvement was strong.

To return to the history of the commission itself, the year 1638 was a banner year for celebrations in honour of foreign visitors to the Spanish Court, and the newly completed hunting lodge was made a part of these festivities. On September 24, 1638, Francesco d'Este, Duke of Modena, made his entry into Madrid. A month later, on October 22, after viewing a *fiesta de toros*, the Duke was taken on a grand tour to Aranjuez, the Pardo, and finally to the Torre. The account of this visit by Matías de Novoa, *ayuda de cámara* to Philip IV, probably gives us a terminal date for the decoration of the Torre. Although brief, this appears to be the only description of a visit to the Torre (aside from that of Count Harrach, referred to earlier) dating from the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, its conventional praise of the building and its decoration adds nothing to our admittedly meager knowledge of the Torre itself :

"De aquí pasó á ver Aranjuez y luégo al Pardo y la torre nueva de la Parada, fábrica del Rey, nuestro señor puesta en lo más alto del monte, que descubre toda la circunferencia, adornada de pinturas de Flandes, muchas de Rubens y otros excelentes flamencos, con oficinas y lo concerniente, hecho al servicio de la casa, con poca distancia, pero con todas las circunstancias de un Palacio Real, que admiró y alabó el Duque entre las cosas memorables que había visto en Italia y en las otras partes de la Europa que había andado."³⁸

"From here he went to see Aranjuez and afterwards the Pardo and the *torre nueva de la Parada*, built by His Majesty and located on the top of the mountain from where all the surroundings may be viewed. It is decorated with Flemish paintings, many of them by Rubens and other excellent Flemish masters. Nearby it has quarters and everything needed for the service of the house with all the appurtenances of a Royal Palace. The Duke admired and praised it among the memorable things he had seen in Italy and in other places in Europe he had visited."

It should be said that the absence of visitors' descriptions of the Torre is not due to a lack of interest in the paintings (an interest amply shown by the

³⁸ *Memorias de Matías de Novoa, Historia de Felipe IV, Rey de España*, in *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, LXXXVII, Madrid, 1881, p. 625. The account of the trip from Madrid to Aranjuez and finally to the Torre de la Parada obviously telescopes various trips since, in the seventeenth century, it was impossible to cover this distance in one day.

numerous contemporary Spanish copies, many of them by Juan Bautista del Mazo, hanging in other royal residences), but rather, as will become clear in Chapter III, to the secluded nature of the building.

As the Cardinal-Infante says in his letters to the King, and as the paintings preserved in the Prado reveal, Rubens undertook to design the mythological works himself. He divided their execution among several painters, himself included,³⁹ and handed sixty works over to be designed and executed by an artist referred to as *Esneyre* by Ferdinand.⁴⁰ From the signed paintings that have survived and from the names which appear in the inventories of the hunting lodge we learn that the following artists assisted Rubens in this task : Jan Boeckhorst, Jan-Baptist Borrekens, Jan Cossiers, Jan van Eyck, Jacob Peter Gow, Jacob Jordaens, Erasmus Quellinus, Peter Symons, Theodoor van Thulden, Cornelis de Vos, and Thomas Willeboirts. The list includes those of greater and lesser talents, ranging from Borrekens, by whom we know no other works, to Quellinus, Rubens's favourite pupil and assistant, who succeeded him as official painter for the city of Antwerp, to Jordaens, who was to succeed Rubens as the leading Flemish painter. Several of the artists (Cossiers, Van Thulden and Cornelis de Vos) had also participated in the execution of the entrance decorations for the Cardinal-Infante in the previous year. And as in the case of the earlier commission, some were neither Rubens's pupils nor members of his workshop, but just Antwerp artists available to aid in a large commission.

The practice of having collaborators execute works of his design is of course familiar to us from Rubens's studio, and it is after all what permitted him to complete a commission like that for the Torre so efficiently. However, two aspects of this common studio practice deserve special comment in the case of the Torre. The Torre works, unlike most products of Rubens's studio, are signed by the executing artists. While this might not be surprising in the case of Jordaens, it is in the case of run-of-the-mill artists such as Borrekens, Symons, or Gow, whose works for the Torre are in fact the only works that we know of from their brushes. Ferdinand's reference to the *memoria original* from the King (unfortunately lost) which he returned with the names of the painters who executed the paintings designed by Rubens⁴¹ suggests that the

³⁹ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 171.

⁴⁰ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 175.

⁴¹ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 213.

naming of the assisting artists was part of the arrangements made for the series. It is notorious that Rubens was not in the habit of signing works, whether painted by his own brush or by assistants – the famous exception being the series of dated works from 1613 and 1614. His assumption was that all works produced in his studio were, in an important sense, by Rubens. We know that it was his custom to touch up what were considered the most important passages (notably faces and hands) of the studio productions so as to bring them up to par as his works. In the Torre works, however, it appears that the paintings signed by assistants are not retouched by the master. His assistants seem to have had a larger share than was usual in the finished products of the studio. This leads to the second significant aspect of the Torre paintings, namely, their generally poor quality. With the exception of those works executed by Rubens (fourteen of which survive), the gap between Rubens's brilliant sketches and the dull and lifeless finished paintings is greater than was usual. While Rubens commonly presented the retouched products of his workshop as his own, in this case it seems very possible that, far from singling out the executing painters, Rubens had them sign their works so that he could in effect disown his responsibility for them. The obvious minimizing of Rubens's role in the completed paintings explains not only their poor quality but the relatively low price paid by Philip IV for the series. It should, however, be pointed out in defense of the artists that their task was unusually difficult : the particular subtlety of pose, gesture, and expression which distinguishes the sketches was quite impossible for even Rubens's well-trained assistants to emulate.

The most interesting and at the same time most tantalizing aspect of Ferdinand's letters is the indication they give us of the relation between the patron and his painter. After having sent the *memoria original* referred to above, the King apparently continued to express his opinions as the work went on. In an early letter of December 6, 1636, we read that Rubens agreed to do what the King desired about the landscapes.⁴² Again, in a letter of late January 1637, we read that a new memorandum was received from the King asking that some pictures be done over according to directions sent from Spain.⁴³ Since the King could not have seen the works, his memorandum must have

⁴² "Hele dicho lo de los payses, y dice que se ejecutará" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 171).

⁴³ "Las memorias de las pinturas, que V.M. manda se hagan de nuevo, he recibido, y lo que nos toca á nosotros decir en los dibujos se hace cada dia" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 172).

been in response to soon discover also that Rubens the paintings. Having apparently wanted to add been without figures.⁴⁴ permission even in this

art from Ferdinand that we do not have. We his own ideas about what he wanted to do in to do the landscapes the King wanted, Rubens added figures to paintings that would otherwise have though the Cardinal said he must wait for the King's tentatively gave Rubens his assent.

The probable nature of the King's demands can be more properly considered in the discussion of the nature of the paintings ordered from Rubens – both the mythologies and the hunts and animal works – in the following chapters. There was, also, the obvious practical problem of making certain that a large number of pictures ordered from Flanders, while the building in which they were to go was still under construction, would fit the rooms for which they were intended. All the evidence seems to indicate that this was in fact a problem in the case of the Torre. Both Bellori⁴⁵ and Palomino⁴⁶ (who was probably following a lost account by Lazaro Diaz del Valle⁴⁷) state that measured canvases were sent from Spain to Rubens. De Piles (whose source might have been Bellori) does not speak of the canvases, but says rather that the entire project was discussed and the measurements made at the time of Rubens's visit to Spain in 1628.⁴⁸ Since seven years passed before Rubens executed the Torre works and since the building itself did not exist as a plan until 1635, it is most likely that a *memoria* sent by the King initiated the series. We have no primary evidence for the sending of the measured canvases, and all the evidence that we do have in fact argues against it. First, the Cardinal

⁴⁴ "Dile licencia para mudar algo desta manera : que en algunos cuatro pequeños piden fabulas de pocas figuras, que querria trocar esto. Yo le he dicho no mude nada hasta que V.M. sepa lo que le parece á Rubens y mande lo que se ha de hacer..." (Rooses-Ruelens, vi, p. 171).

⁴⁵ "Furono in Madrid fatte le tele à misura, e mandate al Rubens à dipingere in Anversa..." (Bellori, p. 233).

⁴⁶ "...para lo qual se le enviaron a Flandes los lienzos ajustados a los sitios." (Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español, ed. by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, iv, Madrid, 1936, p. 106).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 323-328, presents a discussion of the lost manuscript of Diaz del Valle as a source for Palomino and other later writers on art in Spain in the seventeenth century.

⁴⁸ "...quantité de Tableaus... dont le Roy avoit fait prendre les mesures à Rubens dans le tems qu'il estoit a la Cour, pour y travailler a sa commodité & lors qu'il seroit arrivé dans sa maison." (Roger de Piles, *La Vie de Rubens*, p. 24, in *Dissertation sur les Œuvres des Plus Fameux Peintres*, Paris, 1681).

nal-Infante's correspondence indicates how much discussion about the works was still going on during the year and a half of their production. Although a technical examination of the canvases would be necessary in order to make certain of their provenance, in the seventeenth century the normal source of canvases was Flanders – *lana flamenca* being the common way to refer to canvas at the time. It is of course possible that the Cardinal-Infante in Brussels supplied the canvases according to measurements sent from Spain. However, a few of the Torre canvases which are in the Prado today have been enlarged. The most significant change was made to the *Death of Eurydice* (Fig. 103), which is enlarged considerably at both sides; other changes included *Jupiter and Lycaon* (Fig. 132), at the right side, and *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades* (Fig. 155), both sides.⁴⁹ We can probably conclude from the changes that the paintings were originally the wrong size for their places in the Torre – a mistake that would not have occurred if correctly measured canvases were indeed sent from Spain. Since in each case the signature lies within the original canvas the additions could have been made in Flanders before the works were dispatched, upon arrival in Spain, or, less likely, at some later date when the works were removed from the Torre to hang elsewhere.

The difficulty encountered in fitting the canvases to the Torre walls is reported by Bellori and de Piles, both of whom write that, when the pictures arrived in Madrid, it was discovered that empty spaces were left between the pictures and had to be filled by additional pictures. Bellori writes: "... havendovi infraposto in alcuni vani scherzi d'animali fatti da Sneyers Pittore eccellentissimo in questo genere."⁵⁰ The relevant passage in de Piles is as follows: "Et comme ces Tableaux sont disposez de manière qu'il y a beaucoup de vuide entre deux, Sneider a peint dans ces espaces des jeux d'animaux."⁵¹ Accepting these statements about the necessity for filling up the empty spaces left between the original paintings (and Bellori goes on to suggest that the pictures were meant to hang right next to each other, "tanto aggiustati che un quadro con l'altro si congiunge"), Rooses tentatively identified the supplementary pictures with an order, placed in June 1639, for eighteen hunting paintings

⁴⁹ This is based on what can be seen of the pictures as they hang today in the Prado. I did not have the paintings removed from their frames in order to determine exactly the extent of the additions.

⁵⁰ Bellori, p. 233.

⁵¹ Roger de Piles, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

to be painted jointly by Rubens and Snyders.⁵² This suggestion has been accepted in subsequent studies. But because of the great number of works by Rubens and his studio in the Spanish royal collection, and because of the large number of mythological and hunting pieces delivered by Rubens's studio to Philip IV in the last years of the artist's life, it is often very hard to connect a particular work in the inventories with a particular commission. The order for the eighteen pictures by Rubens and Snyders was recorded in a letter of the Cardinal-Infante dated June 22, 1639,⁵³ and by July 22⁵⁴ the works were under way. The intended payment of 10,000 *livres* for "18 peintures que, par ordre de Sa Majesté, se font en la ville d'Anvers par les peintres Rubbens et Sneyders" dates from February 7, 1640 (Appendix 1, Nos. 5-8). Eight of the pictures were ready to be sent to Spain on January 10, 1640,⁵⁵ and the remaining ten on May 20, 1640, just before Rubens's death.⁵⁶ The subjects – hunts, with figures and landscapes by Rubens and animals by Snyders – would have suited a hunting lodge. It can be shown, however, that they were not intended for the Torre at all, but rather for the Palace in Madrid.

In his letter of June 22, 1639, Ferdinand clearly refers to *las pinturas para la Bóveda de Palacio*. Rooses quite naturally translates this as *la voûte du palais* and, thinking it unlikely that they were indeed intended for a ceiling decoration, concludes that they were really intended to complete the decoration of the Torre.⁵⁷ The *Bóveda de Palacio* refers, however, not to a ceiling in the Palace, but rather to a room, or more properly a series of rooms, located in the lower part of the Madrid Palace. These rooms opened out onto the garden and served as the King's summer quarters. Referred to in the inventories as the *Bóvedas*

⁵² *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 232, 233 and n. *Rooses*, I, p. 134, makes the same connection between these works and the Torre. See Appendix 1, Nos. 5-8, pp. 286-288, for the documents relating to payments for these works.

⁵³ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 232.

⁵⁴ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 236. A letter of August 29, 1639, describes the works as follows: "Todas son de su [Rubens] mano y de Esneyre, del uno les figuras y países y del otro los animales." (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 237).

⁵⁵ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 247, 248.

⁵⁶ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 294. Rooses is thus in error when he states (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 232) that eight of the paintings were sent in 1640 with the remaining ten being sent after Rubens's death – eight in January 1641, and the final two only arriving in Madrid on June 2, 1641.

⁵⁷ In *Rooses*, VI, p. 599, however, Rooses refers to these same works as being designed for a vaulted hall of the palace.

que caen a la Priora, these rooms were located directly under the King's sleeping quarters. The palace inventories of 1666, 1686 and 1700 record four animal scenes by Rubens and Snyders in the *Pieza larga de las bóvedas* (Bottineau, Nos. 674-677) which could correspond to some of the eighteen pictures referred to in the Cardinal-Infante's letter.⁵⁸ It is very possible that *The Bear Hunt*, now in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina, No. 130, rather than being for the Torre (in whose inventories it does not appear) was one of these hunts destined for the Palace. The other rooms of the *bóvedas* contained sixteen other animal works apparently by Snyders alone (Bottineau, Nos. 628-635, 661, 662, 667, 669, 680, 720-721, and 725).

The presence of these four works in the *bóvedas* rooms suggests that the commission discussed by Rooses was indeed intended for the Palace and not for the Torre. It remains difficult if not impossible, however, to identify exactly the remainder of the eighteen works in the inventory. Any hunting pictures attributed jointly to Rubens and Snyders in the royal collection might have been part of this particular commission. Assuming that the eighteen paintings had originally hung in the *bóvedas*, it is possible that they were moved upstairs into the *pieza ochavada* in 1647, when that room was redecorated under the direction of Velázquez and was hung with a total of thirteen paintings – all of them hunting and mythological subjects, by Rubens and his assistants.⁵⁹ After redecoration this room contained two very large hunting scenes (Bottineau, Nos. 178, 182), and a picture of *Diana and Nymphs* (Bottineau, No. 166),

⁵⁸ Ludwig Burchard and Larsen, p. 220, No. 112, are among those who have related this particular hunt to the Torre series. For the hanging of Rubens's works in the Palace I shall refer to the inventory of 1686 as published in Bottineau. Not only is this inventory, made during the reign of Charles II, the only one that has been reprinted and closely studied, thus making it easy to refer to, but it also includes more rooms than the inventory of 1666. As Bottineau says, and as his notes on the position and valuation of each work in the 1666 and 1700 inventories reveal, there were very few changes in the hanging of the pictures during the reign of Charles II. This inventory of 1686 thus represents the palace in Madrid as it was hung at the death of Philip IV. For the inventory of the *Bóvedas que caen a la priora*, see Bottineau, Nos. 638-836. This part of the palace is followed in the inventory by the *Bóvedas del Tiziano* (Bottineau, Nos. 837-888), so-called because before 1666 these rooms contained some of the best Titians in the Spanish royal collection.

⁵⁹ See the document mentioned earlier, printed in *Varia Velazqueña : Homenaje a Velázquez en el III centenario de su muerte*, II, Madrid, 1960, pp. 259, 260, which names Velázquez as *Veedor de la obras* of the *pieza ochavada*. The only works not from Rubens's studio in the room were two ceiling paintings by Tintoretto.

and three small hunting scenes of identical size by Rubens and Snyders (*Bottineau*, Nos. 167-169). The addition of these six works to the four we find hanging in the *bóvedas* would give us ten of the eighteen pictures in the commission. The terrible palace fire of 1734, in which many Titians and other works were lost, apparently wiped out all the paintings in the *pieza ochavada*, where the works were hung high and could not be saved. We can, however, get an idea of what one of these paintings was like from a contemporary copy by Mazo,⁶⁰ probably made after the *Diana and Nymphs* by Rubens and Snyders in the *pieza ochavada*.⁶¹ The Mazo picture, which today hangs in the University of Barcelona (Fig. 3),⁶² is essentially an animal painting in which a pack of dogs attacks two deer, while Diana and two nymphs approach the scene of battle from the right edge of the canvas.

If the eighteen pictures were not intended as additional pictures to complete the Torre decorations, were there others ordered for this purpose? Is it in fact true, as both Bellori and de Piles wrote, that spaces between the mythological pictures were filled up with animal works? If we look at the inventory made in 1700, which, as I hope to be able to show, represents the Torre as it was during the lifetime of Philip IV, we find that almost none of the large number of animal and hunting scenes were placed between the mythological scenes. The animal works served rather the subsidiary role of decorating the spaces over doors and windows. Of the fifty hunt and animal pictures ordered from Rubens which are recorded in the 1700 inventory, only the five court hunts in the Galeria del Rey and three other works in different rooms were hung on the main part of the walls. As Bellori wrote, "volle adornarlo tutto di pitture ne' sopraporti, a soprafenestre, e ne gli altri vani, e sin ne gli anditi e ripiani delle scale."⁶³ Thus if extra pictures were needed, they could only have been intended for *sopraporti* and *soprafenestre*. Works answering to this

⁶⁰ Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo, the son-in-law and sometimes assistant to Velázquez. See Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Juan Bautista del Mazo, El Gran Discípulo de Velázquez, Varia Velazqueña*, Madrid, 1960, I, pp. 471-481.

⁶¹ *Bottineau*, No. 899. This was one of Mazo's many copies after Rubens's works, thirty-five of which hung in the *pieza principal*. The Mazo copy was mentioned in *Cruzada Villaamil*, under lost paintings, No. 13, as being in the Prado, Cat. 1873, No. 1633.

⁶² This, along with many other paintings by Mazo, was rusticated from the Prado to the provinces, which is why *Bottineau* (under No. 166) referred to it as lost.

⁶³ *Bellori*, p. 233.

description were in fact part of a hitherto unidentified order from the King received by Ferdinand on June 30, 1638, just after the arrival of the Torre de la Parada shipment in Madrid : "La memoria de las pinturas que V.M. manda se hagan nuevas, he dado yo mismo á Rubens, quien las hace todas de su mano por ganar tiempe, y yo me he conformado con él por la mejoría." ⁶⁴ The part of this order shipped from Antwerp on December 11, 1638, was small pictures, "Las de Esneyre van con este ordinº, que como son pequeñas, se han podido acomodar." ⁶⁵ This shipment, rather than the eighteen pictures by Rubens and Snyders, would thus have marked the final works from Rubens's studio destined for the Torre.

The Paintings Designed by Rubens

Unless the *memoria original* referred to by the Cardinal-Infante is found, we must reconstruct the Torre de la Parada series from the information supplied by the royal inventories of the building, combined with the evidence from existing paintings and sketches. ⁶⁶ Let us consider first the history of the paintings in the hunting lodge. It was not until the death of Philip's successor, Charles II, the last of the Hapsburgs, in 1700, over sixty years after the arrival and hanging of the Torre works and over thirty-five years after the death of

⁶⁴ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 220.

⁶⁵ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 227. We learn from a letter of February 27, 1639, that the Snyders paintings had arrived in poor condition (*Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 228). It is possible that the hitherto unnoted payment of 4,800 *livres* on 4 February 1639 for twelve paintings refers to this order. (See Appendix I, No. 4, p. 285). The large *Judgment of Paris* (K.d.K., p. 432) had apparently also been ordered at the same time as the Snyders works, but was not ready to be sent until February 27, 1639. See *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, pp. 220 and 228 for the ordering and sending of this work, which was inventoried in 1701 in the Buen Retiro and was not intended for the Torre de la Parada.

⁶⁶ The painting (not paintings, as has been suggested) of the Torre de la Parada in the possession of Prince Pio de Saboya of Madrid and Mombello, Italy, which José Lopez-Rey has noted might represent the interior of the hunting lodge (José Lopez-Rey, *Velázquez : A Catalogue Raisonné of His Œuvre*, London, 1963, p. 69), is apparently only a copy of the painting of the exterior – one of the series of royal sites – in the Museo Municipal, Madrid. See Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Francisco Ribaltia, Goya*, No. 20, 1957, p. 89, who mentions that the Prince owns several works from this series.

Philip IV, that the first inventory was made of the building.⁶⁷ At the time of this inventory there were along the stairway, in eight main rooms and the chapel on the first floor, and in three rooms on the ground floor, a total of 173 paintings. This number includes sixty-three mythological works and fifty hunting and animal scenes by Rubens and his assistants, eleven works by Velázquez, twenty-six religious works by Carducho in the chapel, seventeen views of Spanish royal residences along the main stairway, and finally six pictures which do not fit into these other groups – a St. John, a picture of dancing by Teniers, three tiny landscapes valued at almost nothing, and a puzzling unattributed work described as a *caza de Francia*.

But by 1700 the great days of the Torre were over and the history of the building through the eighteenth century is one of the gradual removal and loss of the works and total neglect of the building. In 1710, during the last years of the War of the Spanish Succession, the Torre was pillaged by Austrian troops. They destroyed some pictures, cut others from their frames, and carried off all the transportable valuables among the furnishings, including even the rich altar-cloths. A general account of this destruction is incorporated into the introductory section (the four *presupuestos*) of the next inventory, which was made in 1747 at the death of King Philip V.⁶⁸

The sack of 1710 has assumed great importance in modern studies of the Torre, because all writers on the subject treat it as the occasion on which a good number of Rubens's school works were lost – either by being destroyed on the spot or carried away by the marauding troops.⁶⁹ Any painting for the

⁶⁷ The general inventory or *testamentaria* of Charles II was begun in 1700 and completed in 1703. The inventory of the Torre de la Parada itself was started in April 1701, and the official signature put on it in 1703. I shall refer to it as the inventory of 1700 as did Cruzada Villaamil and the Prado catalogues. It is the same inventory that José López-Rey recently referred to as the inventory of 1703. General royal inventories had been made at the death of Philip IV in 1666, and again in 1686 – however, neither of these was a complete inventory of all the royal residences. For a description of these inventories see the introductory section of *Bottineau*.

⁶⁸ This valuable introductory section to the 1747 inventory has not been specifically referred to in any previous study of the Torre, although Justi did draw on it in his study of Velázquez. The typescript copies of the inventories in the Prado do not include the *presupuestos*.

⁶⁹ See, for example, *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 41 : "Most of the pictures disappeared when the pavilion of the Torre de la Parada was sacked by the troops of the Archduke Charles in 1710." This is the explanation that *Rooses*, III, p. 9, offered for the disappearance of Torre paintings.

Torre that is missing today is usually said to have been destroyed in the sack. There is further a general feeling that a number of Rubens's works for the Torre must have been destroyed in 1710 and are thus completely unknown today. The basis for this assumption is not the inventory of 1747 itself, but rather annotations added in the margins of the inventory of 1700, which note the fate of almost every one of the 173 works recorded there. These marginal notes claim to inform us whether a work was destroyed in 1710, moved subsequently to another palace, or finally, if it was neither moved nor destroyed, where it was located in the Torre de la Parada in 1747. In the margin beside twenty-three works – fifteen mythological works, seven hunts, and the Teniers – the words *perdida en el saqueo de 1710* or a similar annotation appear. Although it has been previously noted that in some cases paintings marked as lost were not destroyed and are still preserved in the Prado today,⁷⁰ the nature and reliability of these annotations have not been questioned.

In order to date and interpret these marginal notations, it is necessary to follow the history of the Torre between 1701 and 1747 as it is told in the introductory section of the second of these inventories. The lodge was apparently not used after the sack of 1710, and in 1714, at the order of the King, forty-two paintings were taken from the Torre to serve as decorations for the Pardo Palace.⁷¹ The entrance of these works into the Pardo is recorded in the fourth *presupuesto* to the inventory of that palace of the same year, 1747, which includes a copy of the list of the forty-two works which had been made at the time of their transfer and inserted into an earlier Pardo inventory.⁷² In 1719, according to the third *presupuesto* of the 1747 Torre inventory, five more works were removed – four from over windows and one from over a door – to the *nuevo salon* of the Palace in Madrid.⁷³ A few years earlier even one of the bells from the tower clock had been requisitioned for the Convent

⁷⁰ *Cephalus and Procris*, Inv. 1700, No. [157] is marked in the margin *perdida en el dicho saqueo*, but it survives today in the Prado. For a discussion of this work, see E. Lafuente Ferrari, Peeter Symons : *Colaborador de Rubens*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, pp. 251-258.

⁷¹ Inv. Torre 1747, *presupuesto segundo*, Appendix II, p. 315.

⁷² Inv. Pardo 1747, *presupuesto quarto*, Appendix II, 358-360. The original list was mentioned in passing by Cruzada Villaamil, p. 96 ("Memoria de las pinturas que se sacaron de la Torre de la Parada para el real sitio del pardo en 7 de Julio de 1714, de orden del señor conde de Montemar, y se entregan al señor marqués de Balus"), but he failed to indicate where the *memoria* (or the 1747 copy) was to be found.

⁷³ Appendix II, pp. 315, 316.

of the Capuchinos, which was also located in the grounds of the Pardo.⁷⁴ Annotations in the margins of the 1700 Torre inventory identify the forty-seven works thus removed at the order of the King in 1714 and 1719. As these annotations and the *presupuesto* to the Pardo inventory reveal, the great majority of the paintings that the King wanted for decorating the Pardo and the Palace were not mythological subjects, but rather the small hunting and animal pictures which had been placed over the doors and windows in the Torre. A total of five hunting pieces went to the Palace and thirty to the Pardo, along with seven works by Velázquez and five mythological scenes.

The 1747 Torre inventory (in which, unlike that of 1700, each item is numbered) records that, after the losses due to the enemy sack and the redistribution of the forty-seven works at the order of the King, 118 paintings still remained in the hunting lodge.⁷⁵ Subtracting this total from the earlier one of 173, we find that the difference is fifty-five works. This figure is, however, drastically reduced to a net loss of eight paintings if we in turn subtract from these fifty-five works the forty-seven removed to the Pardo and the Palace in Madrid. In other words, if we take into account the number of works known to have been removed by the King, we find that only eight paintings were actually missing, and we may presume that this is the sum total of the works lost in the sack of 1710. How are we then to explain the apparently conflicting fact that we find twenty-three works in the inventory of 1700 indicated as lost in the sack of 1710?

It has not been noticed before that this very discrepancy concerned the men who compiled the inventory in 1747: it was they, in fact, who were responsible for it. In the lengthy *nota*⁷⁶ at the end of the 1747 inventory of the Torre, the authors, after a brief discussion of the furnishings, state the problem we have just brought up. Performing the same process of subtraction that we have, they also arrive at the figure of eight paintings lost. There follows an explanation of the twenty-three paintings marked *perdida* in the margins of the 1700 inventory: because of the difference in the names (*señas*) given to the works in the two inventories – the second inventory having actually

⁷⁴ Appendix II, p. 335.

⁷⁵ After the sack of 1710, and probably in the course of moving out the forty-seven works, the remaining works were moved about in the hunting lodge so that they appear in different rooms in 1747.

⁷⁶ Appendix II, pp. 327 ff.

been compiled without reference to the names appearing in the earlier inventory – it was impossible, when a collation was finally attempted, to ascertain the whereabouts of twenty-three works named in the 1700 inventory. It is thus these works that are designated with what was meant, in the words of the authors of the *nota*, to be the intentionally vague term *Perdidas y Saqueadas*.⁷⁷

The 1700 marginalia do not date, as one might suppose, from immediately after the sack, but rather from 1747,⁷⁸ and represent an attempt on the part of the compilers of the second inventory to match up the two documents. The twenty-three works were not works found to be stolen or destroyed after the sack, but rather names in the earlier inventory that, in 1747, over thirty years later, could not be connected with the names of any works which had either been removed to other palaces in 1714 or 1719 or were still in the Torre.⁷⁹ In the *nota* at the end of the 1747 inventory the twenty-three unidentified works are listed, followed by a list of fifteen paintings in the 1714 inventory that conversely could not be connected with the names of any of the works in the earlier inventory. The authors hoped that by collating the two lists the fifteen paintings of 1747 could be matched up with their counterparts under different names among the twenty-three unidentified works from 1700. Thus, in this rather roundabout manner, the correct number of eight lost works would be left outstanding.⁸⁰

However logical this suggestion about collating the two lists of unmatched paintings might be, a study of the inventories reveals that these are not the only works about which mistakes in identification have been made. A thorough

⁷⁷ Although this expression might not seem vague, it is described as such by the compilers of the 1747 inventory themselves. See Appendix II, p. 329: "... que no a podido darse fixo paradero de ellas en dicho antiguo Inventario ni otro destino en las margenes de el, que el de *Perdidas y Saqueadas*; vajo del concepto..." Actually the marginalia read *perdida en el saqueo* rather than *perdida y saqueada* as the *nota* quoted here states.

⁷⁸ This date is confirmed by the fact that the marginalia on the 1700 inventory repeatedly refer to the room where a work is to be found and to its inventory number in the 1747 inventory.

⁷⁹ The compilers of the 1747 Torre inventory obviously knew the list naming those works which had been moved to the Pardo in 1714, since it was on the basis of such a list that they made their marginal annotations in the 1700 inventory marking those paintings which had been moved to the Pardo.

⁸⁰ The reason for the great care taken by the compilers of the inventory was apparently their concern to calculate accurately the total value of the remaining contents of the Torre, rather than a concern to identify all of the works.

review of the relation between the two inventories is necessary. This, however, is more properly done as part of a discussion of the actual subjects which formed part of the Torre decorations. Here it is important to emphasize that only eight out of the original total of 173 works were lost in the sack of 1710. A comparison of the inventories of 1700 and 1747, taking into account those works which were moved, reveals that of these eight, four or five at most were mythological works.⁸¹ In other words, a majority of the twenty-two or twenty-three mythological paintings for the Torre that have been lost disappeared sometime after the sack of 1710.

To return to the history of the Torre in the eighteenth century, although few pictures were actually destroyed or stolen in the sack of 1710, the interior was badly damaged. The author of the 1747 inventory bewails the ruined state in which he finds the Torre, which has apparently never been repaired since the time of the sack. He is at pains to point out that this is not due to the negligence of the responsible officials, who had often proposed the rebuilding of the lodge, but rather to the lack of funds available for this purpose at a time when the Spanish were hard-pressed financially.⁸² The continuing neglect of the Torre through the eighteenth century can be partly explained by the fact that Philip V concentrated on decorating the miniature Versailles at La Granja outside of Segovia, while, after the terrible fire of 1734 in the Palace in Madrid, the later Bourbon kings, and most particularly Charles III (1759-1788), devoted all their energies to the rebuilding and refurnishing of the Palacio Nuevo.

The reports of foreign travelers in Spain during this period testify to the Bourbons' general lack of interest in the Pardo, its royal residences, and grounds. Richard Twiss, in 1773, wrote: "I did not go to the Pardo which is one of the King's seats, about six miles from Madrid, as I was informed that there were no pictures preserved there nor anything worthy of obser-

⁸¹ As was pointed out earlier, the total of sixty-three mythological works is based on the undemonstrable assumption that the nine works of identical size in the *cubrierto* were mythological works. Since we are able to name the subjects of only sixty-two mythological works designed by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada, one of the works in the *cubrierto* could have been an animal picture.

⁸² Inv. 1747, *presupuesto primero*, Appendix II, p. 314. The single reference that I have found to the Torre in the life of the court (aside from visits of Francesco d'Este and Harrach) dates from the reign of Philip IV. It was from there that Philip, on January 17, 1643, wrote the letter that finally dismissed Olivares. See Luis Calandre, *El Palacio del Pardo : Henrique III-Carlos III*, Madrid, 1953, p. 97.

vation.”⁸³ And in 1788, the Baron de Bourgoing reported that during the entire reign of Charles III the court went to the Pardo for only two or three months.⁸⁴ It is probably due to the abandonment of the Torre that Antonio Ponz, that indefatigable traveler and reporter on art whose voyages through Spain were published from 1772 onwards, only mentions the building and its former decorations under a section on the Convent of the Capuchinos.⁸⁵ He does not record the works that still remained in the Torre. Instead, he lists about twenty-nine mythological works from the Torre in their new positions in other royal residences, principally in the newly decorated palace in Madrid.⁸⁶ For in order to furnish the rebuilt palace, Charles III took works from the Buen Retiro, the Pardo and the Zarzuela, as well as from the Torre de la Parada.⁸⁷

It does not surprise us, then, that in 1794, when the third and final inventory was made,⁸⁸ only twenty-five paintings – twenty-one of them mythological

⁸³ Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773*, London, 1775, p. 169. For the most complete bibliography of travel writings on Spain, see Arturo Farinelli, *Viajes por España y Portugal desde la edad media hasta el siglo XX: Nuevas y antiguas divagaciones bibliográficas*, I-III, Rome-Florence, 1942-1944. A cautionary word is in order for the sake of future students of such travel literature. The accounts of travelers to Spain in the eighteenth century hardly appear to be individual narratives. They are rather the result of a cumulative experience. Stock accounts of certain events (such as a bull fight) or of certain places (such as the Palace in Madrid) appear in every book, while the amount of new material in any account is minimal. The fact that the Torre was not one of the monuments traditionally visited does, however, probably testify to the fact that in the eighteenth century it was no longer of any importance.

⁸⁴ Baron de Bourgoing, *Nouveau Voyage en Espagne, ou Tableau de l'état actuel de cette monarchie...*, Paris, 1789, I, p. 237.

⁸⁵ Ponz, 1947, p. 567.

⁸⁶ Ponz, 1947, pp. 516-543, gives an account of works in the Palace in Madrid. The information that Ponz gives us about the subjects is sometimes contradictory: he refers, for example, to two works entitled *Mercury and Argus*. It is of course impossible to tell from Ponz which works had been in the Torre and which are copies. Rooses noted in each case if a particular work was named in the *Viaje*. However, Rooses also trusts Ponz to the extent of tentatively adding certain subjects to the Torre commission which are named in Ponz and *not* in the inventories, e.g., Rooses, III, No. 52, *The Golden Age*, under Rooses, III, No. 542, *Neptune in His Chariot and Olympus with Assembly of Gods*.

⁸⁷ For a discussion of the history of the collection of art owned by the Spanish kings, see D. Pedro de Madrazo, *Viaje Artístico de Tres Siglos por Las Colecciones de Cuadros de los Reyes de España...*, Barcelona, 1884.

⁸⁸ The inventory bears the name of Charles III. It was begun after his death in 1789. The Torre de la Parada was not inventoried until 1794.

works – remain in the Torre out of the 173 listed in the original inventory of 1700. As the 1794 inventory notes, the frames of many of the works were by this time *mui maltratado*. Although this inventory shows a total of eighty-four works, this includes fifty-nine additional works deposited for the first time, apparently simply to be stored.⁸⁹ It is important to note here that it is very difficult to trace individual Torre paintings once they leave the hunting lodge, since there were sometimes several copies of certain of the works hanging in the royal residences that are almost impossible to distinguish from the Torre works themselves in the inventories.

In 1792 and again in 1796, many paintings that were considered dangerously erotic by Charles III, because of their depiction of nudes, were saved from destruction by fire only by the quick action of the Marques de Santa Cruz, who had them all locked up in the Academia de San Fernando, the Royal Academy of Art. Many of the Torre paintings – taken both from the Palace, other royal residences, and from the Torre itself – along with other works by Rubens, Titian and other masters were locked up from this time until the 1827 founding of the Prado Museum, to which they were brought only to be locked up there again from 1827 until 1833.⁹⁰ Thirty-eight of the original sixty-three mythological paintings from the Torre de la Parada are in the Prado today, and two more are outside Spain. The loss of some of the other works may be due to the fact that during the Napoleonic occupation of Spain various paintings from the Academia disappeared from behind the locked doors.⁹¹

How much can the inventories of the Torre de la Parada actually tell us about the nature of the original decorations and of the commission given to Rubens ? Faced with the large number of sketches scattered in many collections,

⁸⁹ In 1794 the oratory has twenty-three paintings never mentioned before in the Torre : eleven by Matias Donoso, twelve small works by various painters, and five ceiling paintings. The third room on the second floor has thirty-six royal portraits not previously inventoried in the Torre (Appendix II, pp. 352, 353).

⁹⁰ For a brief history of the events leading up to the founding of the Prado, see F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *The Prado*, London, 1959, pp. 13-34. A number of works attributed to Rubens and depicting subjects found in the Torre de la Parada are noted by Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp. 131 ff. It is frequently hard to ascertain whether a particular work is the original Torre painting or a copy.

⁹¹ It might be possible to determine whether certain of the Torre de la Parada works were in fact stolen from the Academia de San Fernando by discovering exactly which paintings were locked up in 1792 and 1796. The Prado Museum has a record only of those paintings which emerged from storage to enter the museum in 1827.

and with thirty-eight of the original paintings preserved in the Prado, it has seemed largely a matter of guesswork to estimate the number of original works and their subjects.⁹² It appears, however, that the answer is to be found in the inventory of 1700, for extraordinary as it may seem, this inventory apparently represents the works that hung in the hunting lodge at the death of Philip IV thirty-five years earlier. In order to be certain of this, one would of course like to be able to demonstrate that no works had been removed or, for that matter, added between Philip's death in 1665 and the death of Charles II in 1700. Charles II, who was but a child when Philip died and who grew up a feeble idiot, was not a hunter and therefore is not likely to have had use for the hunting lodge, although his second wife does appear to have been an enthusiastic huntress. Of course, his lack of interest might have meant either ignoring the Torre or beginning to dismantle it. Madrazo and Sánchez Cantón have both stated, although without offering evidence, that works were removed from the Torre immediately after Philip's death.⁹³ Neither of these writers has supported his case by pointing to any works from the Torre among the many mythological works by Rubens and his studio that were listed in other royal residences in the inventory of 1686, the first which could reflect changes made after the death of Philip IV. On the other hand, following Rooses's suggestions, a small number of works first inventoried in the Palace in Madrid in 1686 and 1700 have repeatedly been associated with the Torre commission solely on the grounds of their subjects, with no attempt being made to show that they belonged to the Torre commission and under what circumstances they were removed from the hunting lodge between Philip's death and 1700. I am referring

⁹² Previous estimates about the number of mythological works were : Rooses, fifty-six; Van Puyvelde, sixty-two. It is only a coincidence that Van Puyvelde's total is so close to the actual total of sixty-two to sixty-three works in the 1700 Torre de la Parada inventory, since he reached this total by adding together titles from the Torre inventories, palace inventories, and an assortment of extant mythological sketches by Rubens. His list contains many errors : subjects that are unaccountably connected with the Torre (e.g., *Arion Saved by the Dolphins*, *Thetis and Athena*), works that have no relationship to the Torre (*Hercules Leaning on His Club* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum), and finally single works which often appear under two different titles (*Procne and Tereus* is the same as *The Banquet of Tereus*; *Cadmus Sowing the Dragons' Teeth* is the same as *Cadmus and Minerva*).

⁹³ This was first suggested by Madrazo in the Prado catalogue, 1920, p. 326, and repeated in stronger terms by F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *The Prado*, London, 1959, p. 26 : "The works placed in the Torre de la Parada were removed immediately after the King's death."

here particularly to a group of works representing scenes of the life and deeds of Hercules (*Rooses*, III, Nos. 525-532) and a single work representing *Dido and Aeneas on the Hunt* (*Rooses*, III, No. 517). Although there are only three, or maybe four, works depicting Hercules in the Torre inventory of 1700, Rooses mistakenly, I believe, associates eight such works with the commission.

The problems connected with these individual works and others that have, according to my judgment, been incorrectly associated with the Torre are dealt with in the *Addenda* to the *Catalogue raisonné*. Because of the number of mythological works by Rubens and his assistants hanging in the Spanish royal residences, it remains very difficult to demonstrate with certainty that a work found, let us say, in the Palace in Madrid in 1700 had not been in the Torre at an earlier date. It is certainly significant, though, that the number of such works that might fit into this particular category is not very large, perhaps four or five. We can conclude from this fact what is the working assumption of this discussion: that, with the exceptions noted above, which will be discussed later, the 1700 inventory accurately represents the original commission.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the question of the arrangement of the works, there is however a more direct way of demonstrating that the 1700 inventory represents, at least numerically, the original commission. The shipment of paintings coming from Flanders by way of France, whose arrival was reported on May 1, 1638,⁹⁴ in the often quoted letter from Sorano, the Tuscan ambassador in Spain, was numbered at 112 works. Sorano noted that these were intended for the Buen Retiro as well as for the Torre de la Parada. The total of 113 paintings from Rubens's studio – sixty-three mythological and fifty hunting pictures – in the Torre in 1700 is very close to that number. The letter of the Cardinal-Infante which reports on the departure of the shipment certainly leads us to believe that it was to be made up exclusively of works for the Torre.⁹⁵ Is it possible that Sorano made a mistake and that in fact these 112 works were intended for the Torre alone? This is not at all unlikely in view of the fact that three days later another shipment of Flemish paintings

⁹⁴ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 214. "È arrivato quà un Aiutante di Cam^a dell'Infante di Fiandra con un carro di 112 quadri di paesi e pitture boschereccie, che S.A. manda all' M^a per il Ritiro, et per la nuova casa della Parada, che si fabbrica nei Boschi del Pardo. È venuto per la Francia con passaporto del Crist^{mo} et di passo portò anche un presente di S.A. a quella Regina Regnante sua sorella."

⁹⁵ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 213.

is reported to have already arrived from the Cardinal-Infante by way of England intended specifically for the Buen Retiro.⁹⁶ It is quite possible that Sorano conflated the number of works in the Torre shipment with the destination of the one intended for the Buen Retiro.⁹⁷ The 112 works whose arrival was reported by Sorano seem thus to have been mythological and hunting works for the Torre de la Parada. The 113 works by Rubens and assistants inventoried in 1700 thus represent no significant change in number.

Thus, to answer our original question : by following the 1700 inventory through the Torre de la Parada, it is possible to discover how the hunting lodge was decorated in the thirties. We shall put off a detailed discussion of the actual decoration of the building until the third chapter, and concentrate for the moment on the identification of the mythological paintings alone. Because of the often puzzling nature of the descriptions, and the actual errors in the naming of the subjects of many of the mythological works in the Torre inventories, it is impossible to identify all the works in either the 1700 or the 1747 inventory if we consider each separately. Assuming that no paintings

⁹⁶ This shipment is reported in the *Cartas de algunos PP. de la Compañía de Jesús...* in a letter dated Madrid, May 4, 1638, and printed by the Real Academia de la Historia in *Memorial histórico español*, xiv, Madrid, [1862], p. 402 : "Estos días vino un gentil-hombre del Sr. Infante por Inglaterra; trajo cantidad de pinturas para el Buen Retiro, que el Sr. Cardenal Infante enviaba á S.M. con el dicho vinieron cartas á otros particulares en que avisan que el Sr. Cardenal quedaba sangrado y purgado, disponiéndose con esta prevención para salir en campaña." This letter has been referred to before by students of Spanish art, but it has not been connected with the statement made by Sorano about the shipment for the Torre de la Parada. See P. de Madrazo, *Viaje Artístico*, p. 110, and Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *The School of Madrid and Van Dyck*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, p. 266 and n., who suggests that some works by Van Dyck might have arrived in the English shipment.

⁹⁷ The two separate shipments arriving at almost the same date have been an invitation to confusion. In the *Catalogue des Tableaux du Musée du Prado*, Madrid, 1913, No. 1658, p. 335, Madrazo managed to turn the whole situation upside down by suggesting that the shipment from England was the one that contained works for the Torre de la Parada. These two shipments of late April 1638 must be distinguished in turn from the shipment of twenty-five works sent to the Queen from the Cardinal-Infante in 1635 or 1636 and inventoried in the King's private supper room in the Palace in 1636. See *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 380, 381, for this inventory. See also Rooses, I, pp. 130 ff., for a summary of the various works and groups of works done by Rubens for the Spanish court in the 1630s, and Rooses, *Vie*, pp. 596-600. Rooses does not mention the 1638 shipment of works sent by way of England for the Buen Retiro.

were added between the two inventories, we should be able to connect each of the fifty-three mythological works described in the 1747 inventory with a name in the earlier inventory – in this case the ten extra works in the 1700 inventory would thus be those either destroyed in 1710 or moved to another royal residence. This is in fact precisely the task attempted with not too much success in 1747 by whoever wrote the marginal annotations on the 1700 inventory. By reviewing the evidence in the inventories and combining it with the added knowledge from the surviving paintings and sketches, we can collate the two inventories better and offer numerous corrections to the marginalia although it still remains impossible to do a perfect job. We are helped in this task by the difference in the character of the two inventories. While the 1700 inventory always tries to give a subject title to each work, the 1747 inventory, when it is uncertain, rather describes the action taking place. The second inventory can thus serve as a check on the often mistaken identifications in the first inventory. In some cases the 1747 inventory even supplies a title for a subject incorrectly titled in 1700. The earlier inventory on the other hand almost always names the artist while the second inventory never does. Thus, although we cannot connect every subject we know today with the paintings as they were hung, nor collate the inventories perfectly, we can name almost all of the works that were in the Torre de la Parada in 1700, and we can further supply the subject and artist of three works for which neither painting nor sketch survives today.

Starting from the sixty-three mythological works in the 1700 inventory, I have attempted in the table below to collate them with entries in the later two inventories.⁹⁸ The works are seldom given clear titles, nor are the titles given to a work in the three inventories identical. We are forced to make intelligent guesses as to the subject of a given work, using the valuable information we have from the fifty-nine subjects for which works (or copies of works) have

⁹⁸ Although the table incidentally serves to clarify what happened in the sack of 1710, its purpose is not to trace the history of each painting in the Torre, but rather to combine a history of the building with the more important task of reassembling the actual mythological works that made up its original decoration. It is mostly for the sake of giving a complete description of the Torre building itself that the 1794 inventory is included here. For although in certain cases it serves to confirm the presence of certain subjects and the names of artists of lost works, the 1794 inventory also introduces some contradictory and misleading information about titles and artists. Several brief footnotes will point to some of the problems (and solutions) offered by the collation of the inventories.

survived. The comments appearing in the margins of the 1700 inventory are reproduced in the second column of the table and corrections are noted where they are obviously in error about the fate of a particular work. It has been possible to straighten out in this way the misleading note *perdida en el saqueo militar del año 1710* resorted to so often in the marginal notes. A blank space in the 1747 column indicates that a work in the 1700 inventory could not be identified in the second inventory. Obviously if the painting was not moved to the Pardo and was inventoried in the Torre in 1794, or if it exists today, we are safe in assuming that it was still in the Torre at the time of the 1747 inventory. At the end of the table appear the names of those works from the 1747 and 1794 inventories which could not be definitely identified or connected with any particular works in the earlier inventory, although we know that they must have been in the Torre in 1700.

A Comparative Table of the Mythological Works in
the Inventories of the Torre de la Parada
in 1700, 1747, 1794

The numbers assigned to the works in the 1700 and 1747 inventories are mine and they have been numbered consecutively to include all the works although only the mythological works are listed here. Brackets are used to denote my comments or additions. In the last column an asterisk (*) indicates that a sketch survives. The corresponding numbers of the *Catalogue raisonné* are added in parentheses. All measurements are in *varas* (1 *vara* = 83.5 cm.), height before width.

1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
[18] La Monteria de Diana ? : 4 Pedro de Vox [Vos] y Rubenes	No. 23	23 Diana cazando con sus Ninfas 2-1/2 : 4-1/2		Formerly Coll. Mrs. E. Hugh Smith, London (Nos. 20, 20a)
[23] un Atlante [Atlas] copia de Rubenes	lost [error]	20 Un Gigante con el mundo a cuestos 2-1/2 : 1-1/2	[29] Atlante ? : 2-1/4 Copia de Rubens	* (No. 5a)
[24] leda con el cisne copia de Rubenes	lost			
[25] Benus y vaco [Bacchus and Ariadne ?] copia de Rubenes	lost [error]	?	[79] Baco y Ariadna 2-1/4 : 1-1/4 Equilin [E. Quellinus]	Prado No. 1629* (Nos. 8, 8a)
[26] prometeo copia de Rubenes	No. 22	22 Prometheo 2-1/2 : 1		Prado No. 1464* (Nos. 52, 52a)
[29] el Triumpho de Vaco ? : 4 Cornelio de Vos	No. 98	98 el Triumpho de Vaco 2-1/4 : 3-1/2		Prado No. 1860* (Nos. 7, 7a)
[30] Dios Neptuno y Galatea [Birth of Venus ?] ** ? : 2-1/2 Cornelis de Vos	lost [error]	95 Venus que sale de las Aguas 2-3/4 : 2-1/4	[74] dos Nereidas y un Triton 2 : 2-1/3 Cornelis de Vos	Prado No. 1863* (Nos. 58, 58a)
[31] Erudice y Orfeo [Death of Eurydice] 2-1/3 : ?	No. 37	37 Erudice y Orfeo 2-1/4 : 3		Prado No. 1630* (Nos. 22, 22a)

[39] la Conquista de los Gigantes ? : 4 Rubenes	No. 88	88 unos Gigantes que cargan con unos montes 2-1/4 : 3-1/2	Prado No. 1539* (Nos. 25, 25a)
[40] Aragne y palas [Minerva and Arachne] ? : 3 Escuela de Rubenes	No. 89	89 fabula de Tragne 2-1/4 : 3	[81] Minerva castigando a Aracne Copia de Rubens * (No. 3a)
[41] Mercurio cortando la Cabeza a Argos ? : 4 original de Rubenes	No. 91	91 la fabula de Argos 2-1/4 : 3-1/2	Prado No. 1673* (Nos. 40, 40a)
[42] Jason 2-1/2 : 2-1/2 Equelinio [E. Quellinus]	Pardo		Prado No. 1631* (Nos. 34, 34a)
[43] Ipogres y Atlante [Hippomenes and Atalanta] Goui [J. Gow]	No. 85	85 Ipomenes y Athalantha 2-1/4 : 2-3/4	Prado No. 1538* (Nos. 4, 4a)

²⁹ This is a good example of the kind of imprecision and resulting confusion to be found in the identification of works in the Torre inventories. *The Birth of Venus*, a work for which both painting and sketch survive, is not only closer to a description of the scene than any other entry in the 1700 inventory (and, conversely, it fits no other known work), but it is identified as by Cornelis de Vos, who

painted the surviving painting of *The Birth of Venus* in the Prado. The description in the 1747 inventory of *Venus que sale de las Aguas* certainly refers to the scene of Venus's birth, and finally the *dos Nereidas y un Triton* of the 1794 inventory seems also, if with slightly less precision, to be referring to the same scene.

1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
[44] Laverinto de minottauro [Daedalus and the Minotaur] 2-1/2 : ? Voxs [De Vos]	lost			* (No. 14a)
[53] Juno y Jupiter ¹⁰⁰ [Milky Way ?] ? : 4 original de Rubenes	lost [error]	83 Bialactea 2 : 3		Prado No. 1668* (Nos. 42, 42a)
[54] el Robo de Proserpina ? : 4 original de Rubenes	No. 84	84 Pluton Robando a Proserpina 2-1/4 : 3-1/4		Prado No. 1659* (Nos. 53, 53a)
[55] Siquis y Cupido 2-1/2 : ? Erasmo de Clinio [E. Quellinus]	No. 81	81 Adonis dormido velandole el Amor 2-1/4 : 2	[82] Siquis y Cupido 2 : 1-3/4 Equillin	Prado No. 1715* (Nos. 13, 13a)
[56] un Satiro 2-1/2 : 1 Rubenes	No. 96 [error]	80 (or 44) Saturno 2-1/4 : 1-1/4		Prado No. 1681 (No. 56)
[57] Polifemo 2-1/2 : 1 Cosiers	No. 20 [error]	25 un hombre que es Polipemo amagando con una Peña a un Barco 2-1/2 : 1-1/4	[78] Polifemo 2-1/4 : 1-1/4 Equillin ¹⁰¹	*(copy; No. 51a)

[62] Jupiter y Semele	No. 74	74 Jupiter y Semele 2-1/4 : 3-1/4	* (No. 36a)
4 : ? Jordems			
[63] Orfeo ¹⁰² [same size as No. 62] Feg [?]	Pardo		
[64] Andromeda y perses quadrada Corneli [Cornelis de Vos]	No. 76	76 Andromeda y Perseo 2-1/4 : 2	[77] Andromaca y Perseo 2-1/4 : 1-3/4 Vox
			* (No. 49a)
[65] una Ninfa [Clytie ?] 2-1/2 : ? Tulde [T. van Thulden]	No. 86	86 una Ninfa 2-1/4 : 1-1/2	* (No. 11a)

¹⁰⁰ Rooses, III, No. 537, catalogues this work as a lost composition entitled *Juno and Jupiter* and it has been suggested that this was the central work of the whole series. It is in fact not distinguished on the basis of size or value from any other of the larger paintings in the Torre inventories. It seems most likely that, in keeping with the narrative content of the other works, it too was a narrative painting – most probably *The Creation of the Milky Way* – which depicts Juno nursing Hercules or Mercury with Jupiter in attendance.

¹⁰¹ When in doubt, the 1794 Torre inventory simply attributes paintings to Erasmus Quellinus. The 1700 inventory is more trustworthy in this respect and we can therefore assume that Cossiers, not Quellinus, was the painter of the lost

Polyphemus. See Torre Inv. 1700, No. [143], *Apollo and Daphne* for an instance in which we can demonstrate the error by means of the surviving painting, which is unsigned.

¹⁰² There seem to have been but three Orpheus scenes in the Torre series : *The Death of Eurydice*, Inv. 1700, No. [31], *Orpheus and Eurydice in Hades*, Inv. 1700, No. [152], and *Orpheus Playing to the Animals*, Inv. 1700, No. [138]. This work, or one of the others, would appear to be mis-titled. The fourth *presupuesto* of the Pardo inventory of 1747, No. 37, describes one of the transferred works as *Erudise y Orfeo cuerpos enteros*, which also appears to be mis-titled and was probably the source of the error in the margin of the 1700 Torre inventory.

1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
[66] Lacrito [Heraclitus] angosta [narrow] Rubenes	Pardo ¹⁰³			Prado No. 1680 (No. 62)
[67] Mocrito [Democritus]	Pardo			Prado No. 1682 (No. 61)
angosta				
Rubenes				
[72] las bodas de los lapittas y centauros ? : 3-1/2 Rubenes	Pardo ¹⁰⁴ [error]	46 el Robo de Elena 2-1/4 : 3-1/2		Prado No. 1658* (Nos. 37, 37b)
[74] Ganimes Rubenes	No. 43 [error]			Prado No. 1679 (No. 24)
[75] Saturno [same size as Ganimes]	No. 44	44 (or 80) Saturno 2-1/4 : 1-1/4		Prado No. 1678* (Nos. 55, 55a)
[94] las Bodas de Tettis y peleo ? : 4 Irrisi [Jordaens]	lost [error]	29 el convite de las tres Diosas, y la Diosa de la discordia con la Manzana en la mano ¹⁰⁵ 2-1/4 : 3-1/3		Prado No. 1634* (Nos. 48, 48a)
[128-136] Nuebe Pinturas igualos de diferentes fabulas y animales ¹⁰⁶	No. 27 [error]	18 Narciso mirandose a la Fuente 1 : 1 Original flamenco		Prado No. 1465* (Nos. 43, 43a)

No. 29 [error]	21 un Satiro y una Ninfa [Nereid and Triton ?] 1 : 1	* (No. 44a)
No. 46 [error]	87 un Niño sobre un Delfín [Cupid on a Dolphin] 1-1/4 : 1-1/4	Prado No. 1632* (Nos. 12, 12a)
No. 80 [error]	99 una Ninfa herida en la cabeza [Hyacinth ?] 1-1/4 : 1-1/4	* (No. 32a)

¹⁰³ Rubens's paintings of *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* are both named in the fourth *presupuesto* of the 1747 Pardo Inv., Nos 13 and 14.

¹⁰⁴ This annotation is apparently mistaken. The fourth *presupuesto* of the Pardo inventory of 1747, No. 12, is "Una Sobrepuesta en que estan unas Bodas de unos Villanos flamencos de gran mano." The compilers of the 1747 Torre inventory identified this painting, which was moved to the Pardo, with *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs* of the 1700 inventory which is described as *las bodas de los lapittas y centauros*. Except for the common word *bodas* the description of the Pardo work as a peasant wedding does not apply to the rape scene of Rubens's sketch and the painting of *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs*. This scene, or *The Rape of Hippodamia*, would seem rather to be lurking under the name of *The Rape of Helen* in the 1747 Torre inventory, for the carrying away of Hippodamia is similar to that of Helen. It would seem that the Pardo list is describing another Torre work, which, however, I am unable to identify among the contents of the 1700 Torre inventory. We cannot, in fact, be certain that the work removed to the Pardo was by Rubens or his assistants. The net result of this confusion is that it leaves uncertain

whether five or but four of the works moved to the Pardo were by Rubens.

¹⁰⁵ It is perhaps because of this description of a painting that *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43, concluded that a *Judgment of Paris* was included in the Torre series. However, it is not the scene of the judgment, but rather the commencement of the competition at the wedding feast of Peleus and Thetis that Rubens depicted in the Torre series.

¹⁰⁶ The following nine paintings are not identified or described beyond the statement that they are equal in size and depict different myths and animal scenes. The nine reference numbers to the 1747 inventory given in the margin of the 1700 inventory all refer to paintings which not only vary greatly in size, but which are actually listed elsewhere in the 1700 inventory. In other words, the compilers of the 1747 inventory, having made certain mistakes in collating the two inventories, merely used these nine untitled works as a way to account for pictures in the 1747 inventory which they had been unable to account for otherwise. I have tried to clear up this matter somewhat by tentatively identifying these nine unknown works with six small paintings of almost identical size and proportions from the 1747 inventory which do not appear to have otherwise been named in the 1700 inventory.

1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
No. 83 [error]	100 las Arpias [Harpies] 1-1/4 : 1-1/4 Original de Rubenes			Prado No. 1633* (Nos. 27, 27a)
No. 110 [error]	102 una Ninfa elevada [Reason ?] 1-1/4 : 1-1/4			?* (No. 54a)
No. 112 [error]				
No. 115 [error]				
No. 117 [error]				
[138] Orfeo con variedad de Animales ? : 5 Rubenes	No. 38	38 Orpheo atrayendo diferentes aves y animales con su musica 2-1/2 : 5		Prado No. 1844 (No. 45)
[139] Fabula [Judgment of Midas?] ? : 4 Jordani	No. 77	77 la fabula de Midas 2-1/4 : 3-1/4		Prado No. 1551* (Nos. 41, 41a)
[140] Fabula [?] ? : 4 Cornelis de Vos	No. 111	111 la Historia de Muriel [?] 2-1/2 : 2-1/2		

[141] Icaro	No. 105 [error]	108 Icaro 2-1/2 : 2-1/4		Prado No. 1540* (Nos. 33, 33a)
[142] Faetton	No. 106 [error]	105 Faetonte 2-1/2 : 2-1/4		Prado No. 1345* (Nos. 50, 50a)
[143] Apolo y Damphe	No. 107 [error]	106 Apolo y Dafne 2-1/2 : 3	[87] Apolo y Dafne 2-1/2 : ? Equillin	Prado No. 1714* (Nos. 1, 1a)
[144] Siringa y Pan	No. 108 [error]	107 Pan y Syringe 2-1/2 : 2-1/2	[86] Dios Pan y Syringa 2-1/4 : 2 Equillin	* (No. 47a)
[147] Historia de Hercules [Triumph of Hercules ?] ? : 3 Borques [J. Borrekens]	lost [error]	114 Jupiter en su carro de cuatro caballos		Prado No. 1368* (Nos. 28, 28a)
[148] Historia de Hercules [Hercules and Cerberus ?] ? : 3 Lanquean [Johan "Lange Jan" Boeckhorst] ¹⁰⁷	lost [error]	112 el Cansebero 2-1/2 : 3		* (No. 29a)

¹⁰⁷ This interpretation of the puzzling *Lanquean* was made by Ludwig Burchard.

	1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
[149] Historia de Hercules [Discovery of Purple?] ? : 3 Tuldel [T. van Thulden]	lost [error]		?		Prado No. 1845* (Nos. 31, 31a)
[150] Anteon y Diana ? : 5 Jordens	lost				
[151] Progne y Filomena ? : 4	No. 113 [error]		110 dos Ninfas que llevan la Cauza de un Niño a un Personage 2-1/2 : 3		Prado No. 1660* (Nos. 57, 57a)
[152] Orfeo Sacando de Erudice del Infierno ? : 4 de mano no conocida	No. 109		109 Orpheo sacando a Proserpina del Avismo 2-1/2 : 3		Prado No. 1667* (Nos. 46, 46a)
[157] pocris y Zolairo ¹⁰⁸ [Cephalus and Procris ?] ? : 3-1/2 Pedro Simon [P. Symons]	lost [error]		?	[32] Cefalo y Procris 2 : 4	Prado No. 1971* (Nos. 10, 10a)
[158] Neptuno y una Ninfa [Glaucus and Scylla] ? : 3-1/2 Pedro Simon	lost		115 Sale un Satiro y Perros de las Aguas a una Ninfa 2-1/4 : 3	[84] una Nereida que se arroja al Mar 2 : 3 Equillin	* (No. 26a)

[159]	Leucarion y Tirria [Deucalion and Pyrrha] ? : 3-1/2 Cosiers	lost [error]	?	[85]	Ducalion y Pirra 2 : 3 Copia de Rubens	* (No. 17a)
[160]	dana con la Lluvia de oro [Danaë] 2-1/2 : ? Cornelio de Vos	No. 97	97 Danae en la Torre 2-1/4 : 1-1/2	[75]	Danae 1-1/3 : 1-1/4 Vox	
[161]	Mercurio Angosta [narrow]	No. 94	94 Mercurio 2-1/4 : 1			Prado No. 1677 (No. 39)
[162]	Jupiter y Momo [Jupiter and Lycaon?] sobrepuesta	No. 114 [error]	117 comiendo en messa un Personage admirando de ver otro que se le pone delante con caueza de lobo 1-1/2 : 1-1/2			Prado No. 1463* (Nos. 35, 35a)
[163]	Europa [same size as 162]	No. 93	93 Europa sobre el Toro 1-3/4 : 1	[83]	el robo de Europa 1-1/2 : 1 Equillin	Prado No. 1628* (Nos. 21, 21a)
[164]	Zentauro [Nessus and Dejanira ?] [same size as 162]	lost [error]	96 un Satiro y una Ninfa 1-1/4 : 1	[76]	Centauro y Deyanira 1-1/3 : 1 Equillin	* (No. 16a)

¹⁰⁸ For the history of this painting through the various inventories, see E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Peeter Symons: Colaborador de Rubens, Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, pp. 251-258.

It is possible, as Lafuente suggests, that the 1794 inventory listing does not refer to this painting.

1700	1700 Marginal Notation	1747	1794	Surviving Works
[166] Cadmo [Cadmus and Minerva] ? : 5 Rubenes	No. 116	116 la fabula de Cadmo 2-1/2 : 3-1/2		Prado No. 1713* (Nos. 9, 9a)
[168] Venus [Fortune ?] 2-1/2 : ? Escuela de Rubenes	No. 79	19 Una ninfa con el pie sobre una Vola 3 : 1-1/2 Original Escuela de Rubenes	[30] una Fortuna ? : 2-1/4 copia de Rubens	Prado No. 1674* (Nos. 23, 23a)
[169] bulcan [Vulcan] 2-1/2 : ? Escuela de Rubenes	No. 95 [error]	79 Bulcano en la Fragua 2-1/4 : 1-1/4		Prado No. 1676* (Nos. 60, 602)
[170] Indimien y Diana ? : 2-1/2 Villebors [T. Willeborts]	No. 40	40 Endimion y Diana ¹⁰⁹ 2-1/2 : 4 [Aurora and Cephalus?]	[80] Endimion y Diana 2 : 2-1/3 copia de Rubens	* (No. 6a)
		43 Apolo Asacteando la Sierpe [Apollo and Python] 2-1/2 : 3-1/4	[33] Apolo matando a la Serpiente Phiton 2-1/4 : 3-1/2 Cornelio de Box	Prado No. 1861* (Nos. 2, 2a)
		92 Endimion y la Luna [?] 2-1/2 : 1 Rubenes		* (No. 19a)

101 una Ninfa passando un
Rio [?]
2 : 1
escuela de Rubens

113 un Personage en ademan
de asegurar a una Ninfa
su buen proceder
[Vertumnus and
Pomona ?]
2-1/2 : 3-1/2

118 Marte [?]
2-1/4 : 3-3/4

Caramulo,
Museu No. 334*
(Nos. 59, 59a)

[34] un cometa [?]
2-1/4 : 1-1/3
Equillin

[35] una Fabula
2 : 2-3/4
copia de Rubens

[88] un Bacanal
2 : 1-1/3

¹⁰⁹ Inv. 1747, Nos. 40 and 92 both seem to describe the same subject : *Endimion y Diana* and *Endimion y la Luna*. No. 92, however, corresponds more closely to the proportions of the surviving sketch of *Diana and Endymion* in Bayonne. No. 40 is thus incorrectly titled – and it probably

marks the beginning of the uncertainty about the subject of the sketch now preserved in the National Gallery in London and only recently retitled *Cephalus and Aurora* instead of *Diana and Endymion*.

The surviving mythological sketches and paintings for the Torre series represent fifty-nine of the original total of sixty-three subjects commissioned from Rubens. The inventories of the hunting lodge provide us with the names of the following three subjects for which neither paintings nor sketches are known today : Danaë and the Golden Rain, Diana and Actæon, Leda and the Swan (Inv. 1700, Nos. [160], [150], [124]). Adding these three subjects to the fifty-nine that we know from surviving works we have a total of sixty-two out of the original sixty-three mythological subjects that hung in the Torre. This remaining subject must be lurking beneath the indecipherable names, such as *Muriel*, which we find in the 1700 and 1747 inventories. (It is possible, although not probable, as I suggest in the *Addenda* to the *Catalogue raisonné*, that the sketch of *Cyparissus* in Bayonne belongs to the Torre series and is this missing subject.) It is unfortunate that the unidentified subject was not represented among the copies after Torre paintings by Mazo, many of which were recorded in 1686 in the *pieza principal* of the Palace in Madrid.¹¹⁰

The Sketches

Much of our knowledge of, and certainly most of the joy we take in, the works made for the Torre de la Parada is due to the surviving oil sketches by Rubens's own hand. All these small panels are quite similar in size, execution, and character. The range in the width of the sketches is greater than that in their height. With few exceptions, the sketches are either 26, 27, or 28 centimeters in height or half of that, around 14 centimeters, while their width varies from the smallest at 14 centimeters to the widest at 57, with the average being

¹¹⁰ *Bottineau*, Nos. 889-911 and 917-928 are Mazo copies after Rubens; Nos. 889, 890, 892, 893, 895-899, 901-904, 923-927 can be said with certainty to be after Torre compositions. A few mistakes have been made in identifying the subjects in this list of Mazo works after Rubens. *Bottineau*, No. 898, "faeton con un carro de cuatro Caballos blancos y unos cupillos" describes a copy of the Torre de la Parada *The Apotheosis of Hercules* (Fig. 113) while *Bottineau*, No. 904, "otro que parece Ercules con una acha encendida en la mano" is not Mazo's copy of *Hercules in the Garden of Hesperides*, as *Bottineau* suggests, but rather Prometheus bringing fire to earth.

somewhere between 30 and 40 centimeters. Similarly the paintings are mostly about 180 to 190 centimeters in height (which must have corresponded to the space available on the Torre walls) with a few, like the smaller sketches, being about half of that, or 98 centimeters. The paintings range in width from 95 to 376 centimeters, with the average being over 200. In the smallest of these panels, such as that of *The Death of Hyacinth* (Fig. 123), the figures are large enough to almost fill the whole panel. In the larger sketches, such as *Vertumnus and Pomona* (Fig. 190), *Cephalus and Procris* (Fig. 81), or *Deucalion and Pyrrha* (Fig. 96), the figures are smaller in relation to the panel and Rubens devoted himself to making detailed settings for the action. The sketches are all painted on an ivory-white ground, previously covered lightly with diluted sepia by means of a large brush. The figures are worked in slightly darker tones of brown, their clothing is often grey with the only color being supplied by touches of brilliant red and pink details on the drapery or a yellow sun blazing in the sky. There are, with three exceptions (Nos. 37a, 40b, 46b), no preparatory drawings for the Torre sketches, which appear to have been worked directly on the panels in oil, since no chalk lines are visible under the paint. Each represents at once, and in the most economical manner, Rubens's working out of his idea and his final solution to be presented to his studio assistants. Unlike the ceiling paintings for the Jesuit church, there is no distinction between the quickly jotted down ideas of a sketch and the finished conception presented in a modello. One of the most distinctive features of these sketches is the dark straight lines visible under the thinly applied paint. This kind of line was normally used by Rubens to mark the boundary of a sketch when, as was probably the case in the Torre sketches, the small panels were cut from a large piece of wood. However, while some of these lines mark the edge, others run right down the middle of the sketches, as in *The Birth of Venus* (Fig. 188). In most cases these lines could not refer to the boundaries of the completed sketch, nor do they appear to serve as guidelines for the alignment of the compositions as they rarely have any obvious relation to the placement of the figures or setting. Their purpose is puzzling. It is possible, though unlikely, that they remain from an earlier project. They are an identifying feature of the sketches for the Torre since no other sketches by Rubens display demarcation lines in such meaningless places.

The first reference to the Rubens sketches for the mythological works of the Torre de la Parada is made by Ceán Bermúdez, who records that in 1800 the

house of the "duque del Infantado ... contiene quarenta y seis bocetos originales de Rúbens en diferentes tamaños, cuyos asuntos pertenecen á la mitología."¹¹¹ The sketches referred to here are certainly the works mentioned twenty-five years before in a more general way by Ponz in the fifth volume of his *Viaje* : "En casa del duque Infantado hay algunos asuntos fabulosos ejecutados por Rubens."¹¹² The sketches remained in the Infantado family until the death of the thirteenth Duke, November 27, 1841, who left the entailed part of his estate to his great-nephew, who became the Duke of Osuna, and the unentailed part to his natural son, who became the Duke of Pastrana.¹¹³ In this way the Infantado collection was divided up, the minor part going to the Duke of Osuna and the major part to the Duke of Pastrana. Although the history of the sketches is known, it has not been emphasized that the great majority of those which survive in various museums and private collections come from the Infantado collection.

The early history of the sketches remains a mystery. Were they sent along with the large pictures to Spain and were they thus originally part of the royal collection ? There is precedent for Rubens's sketches being sought as part of the commission in the case of the sketches for the Jesuit church in Antwerp, although in this instance Rubens chose to keep the sketches himself and supplied another altar-piece in their stead. There is, however, no mention of the sketches in the correspondence between Ferdinand and Philip IV. Since the sketches are not in the inventory of Rubens's possessions made after his death, we can assume that they left his possession during his lifetime. The only proposal that has been put forward about the earlier history of the sketches is that they might have hung in a room called *Las Furias*, which was one of the King's private chambers. As such, they would have been included in the gift of the contents of this room that Charles II made upon his death in 1700 to the Duke of Benavente, a member of the King's governing council and a

¹¹¹ J. A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres professores de las Bellas Artes en España*, Madrid, IV, 1800, pp. 272, 273 n.

¹¹² Ponz, 1947, p. 498.

¹¹³ This division of the Infantado estate was clarified by Paul Lafond in his discussion of the provenance of Rubens's modelli for the *Achilles* series (P. Lafond, *Histoire d'Achille par Rubens, Les Arts anciens de Flandre*, IV, 1909, pp. 125-129; see also Seilern, I, p. 59 n.).

member of the same family as the Dukes of Infantado.¹¹⁴ Although repeated in most accounts of the provenance of sketches for the Torre, this proposal is founded on very slight evidence indeed. It is true, as Madrazo has pointed out, that all the works in *Las Furias* were left to the Duke of Benavente, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Torre sketches were hanging there.¹¹⁵ The inventory of 1700 – the first to be made of this room after the death of Philip IV – makes no mention of the sketches. In fact, the room contained mostly religious works by Giordano and Rubens, as well as several portraits, the only mythological works being two scenes from the life of Hercules by Rubens.¹¹⁶ We are thus not even certain that the sketches were part of the royal collection before they came into the possession of the Infantado family, although this appears to be a likely hypothesis.¹¹⁷ The sum of our present knowledge is that forty-six Rubens sketches of mythological subjects, most of which were certainly for the Torre series, were in the possession of the Infantado family in the late eighteenth century. Upon the death of the thirteenth Duke of Infantado on November 27, 1841, most of them passed into the collection of his natural son, the Duke of Pastrana, with the rest going to his great-nephew, the Duke of Osuna.

There are two inventories which document the sketches while they were still in private hands in Spain : an inventory, published by Sentenach y Cabañas,

¹¹⁴ Narciso Sentenach y Cabañas first suggested this in *Osuna, Catalogue*, 1896, p. 134, and he repeated it when he published the Pastrana inventory in *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 78.

¹¹⁵ P. de Madrazo, *Viaje Artístico*, p. 146. The inventory reads : "Declaración de las Alhajas que había en esta Pieza y se entregaron al Señor Conde de Benavente."

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 146 n., refers to the *imperfechas descripciones* of this room in the inventory – which implies that there might have been more works there not mentioned in the inventory – but he does not suggest that the Torre sketches were there.

¹¹⁷ Pedro Beroqui took issue with Sentenach's version of the history of the sketches, after initially having supported it. Unfortunately, he never fulfilled his promise to demonstrate that the sketches did not come from the legacy given by Charles II to the Duke of Benavente (Pedro Beroqui, *Adiciones y Correciones al catálogo del museo del Prado, Boletín de la Sociedad castellana de excusiones*, 2nd series, 1, 1917, p. 292). In *El Museo del Prado*, Madrid [1933], p. 29 n., Beroqui points out, as we have, that the *Pieza de las Furias* which contained the legacy given to the Conde de Benavente did not contain the Torre sketches. E. Lafuente Ferrari has referred to Beroqui's proof that the sketches were not given by Charles II to Benavente (see his Peeter Symons : *Colaborador de Rubens, Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, p. 251), but in a conversation with me he said he was unable to remember the source for his remark.

containing many mythological sketches by Rubens and a few works by other northern artists identified only as being works in the Pastrana collection,¹¹⁸ and the 1896 catalogue of the Osuna collection.¹¹⁹ While the Osuna inventory clearly contains the works left to the Duke of Osuna in the division of the Infantado estate, the Pastrana inventory presents a serious problem since neither its date, source, nor present location is known.¹²⁰ Sentenach identifies it as being an inventory of part of the entailed part of the Pastrana estate :

“... todas aquellas joyas del arte fueron incorporadas al caudal del condado de Benavente ... llegaron á formar parte del vínculo del estado de Pastrana, en uno de cuyos inventarios aparece la relación exacta de estos preciosos bocetos de Rubens ...”¹²¹

It is wrong, however, to conclude from Sentenach's brief introduction that the inventory represents the Pastrana collection after the division of the Infantado estate. For, as Sentenach himself notes, five or six of these sketches also appear in the catalogue of the Osuna collection.¹²² If this were in fact a post-1841 Pastrana inventory, it could not contain sketches in common with the Osuna collection since the two collections were formed at the same time, and out of the same source, at the death of the Duke of Infantado. This inventory must date from a time before the collection of sketches was broken up, or in other words from before 1841, when the entire collection of sketches was in the possession of the Infantado family. Confusion about the date of the inventory is natural because Sentenach simply introduces it as a Pastrana inventory, a fact that can probably be explained because Pastrana was one of the numerous ducal names carried by the Infantado family. With the aid of Ceán Bermúdez's brief but detailed enumeration of Rubens's works in the house of the Duke of Infantado in 1800, it is possible to demonstrate that the Pastrana inventory

¹¹⁸ Sentenach y Cabañas, pp. 78-85.

¹¹⁹ Narciso Sentenach y Cabañas, *Catálogo de los quadros, esculturas, grabadas, y otros objetos artísticos de la antigua casa ducal de Osuna, expuestos en el Palacio de la industrias y de las artes*, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1896 (abbreviated *Osuna, Catalogue 1896*).

¹²⁰ Sentenach unfortunately did not reveal any information about the date or whereabouts of the inventory when he published it. I had no success in my attempt to locate it in Spain.

¹²¹ Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 78.

¹²² Sentenach y Cabañas, pp. 81 n., 82 n., 83 n.

published by Sentenach represents the Infantado collection as it was in 1800.¹²³ Ceán Bermúdez notes that the house of the Duke of Infantado

"contiene quarenta y seis bocetos originales de Rubens en diferentes tamaños, cuyos asuntos pertenecen á la mitología; doce quadros del propio autor, tambien de fabulas, excepto algun otra; y el famoso de la familia del mismo Rúbens de su mano."¹²⁴

The forty-five mythological sketches published in Sentenach's inventory¹²⁵ clearly correspond to the forty-six recorded by Ceán Bermúdez. The eight modelli for the Achilles series,¹²⁶ a painting of the defeat of Sennacherib,¹²⁷ a work representing Elijah and the Angel,¹²⁸ a Madonna and sleeping Christ Child,¹²⁹ and a painting with Venus¹³⁰ add up to the total of twelve paintings mentioned by Ceán Bermúdez. And finally, *La familia de dicho Pablo Rubens*¹³¹ is the name given by both Ceán Bermúdez and the inventory published by Sentenach to Rubens's *Garden of Love*.

Although it bears out the information given by Ceán Bermúdez about the number of mythological sketches in the possession of the Infantado family, the inventory published by Sentenach y Cabañas is so unreliable that it can

¹²³ Ludwig Burchard suggested that the inventory dated from not earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century, his reasoning being that, since the inventory contains a painting by Corrado Giaquinto (see *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 84), it must have been dated after his 1753 visit to Spain. Thus in the *Catalogue raisonné* I have used the presence of a sketch in the inventory published by Sentenach y Cabañas as evidence that the sketch was in the Infantado collection.

¹²⁴ J.A. Ceán Bermúdez, *Diccionario histórico de los mas ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, IV, Madrid, 1800, pp. 272, 273 n.

¹²⁵ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, pp. 80-83.

¹²⁶ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79. As Ludwig Burchard suggests (*Burchard*, 1950, p. 16), the two subjects described incorrectly in the inventory as *Dos asuntos de Mucio Excebola* are actually part of the series of eight Achilles compositions.

¹²⁷ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79. Prado, No. 2456.

¹²⁸ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79.

¹²⁹ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80.

¹³⁰ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 84.

¹³¹ *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 79. According to Ludwig Burchard, this version of *The Garden of Love*, at present the property of the National Trust, Waddesdon Manor, England, is one of three versions, all by Rubens's hand. The others are in Dresden (*K.d.K.*, p. 349) and Madrid (*K.d.K.*, p. 348). For a discussion of these three works, see the article by his son, Wolfgang Burchard, 'The Garden of Love' by Rubens, *The Burlington Magazine*, CV, 1963, pp. 428-432, which is based on Ludwig Burchard's notes.

tell us little that is new about the subjects of the individual works. There is tremendous confusion in the names by which the various sketches are identified. Not only are the names of the subjects often simply interchanged – as pointed out by Sentenach himself in the footnotes¹³² – but some subjects like Daphne and the Satyr¹³³ or Io Looking at Narcissus¹³⁴ are sheer inventions with no classical authority. It is even possible that some of the sketches are not connected with the Torre de la Parada series at all.¹³⁵ The most direct way of making a list of Torre sketches is thus to begin not with this inventory but rather with those sketches which are preserved today.

The initial and still most useful attempt to catalogue all the surviving sketches by Rubens for the Torre de la Parada was made by Rooses in the section of his *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens* devoted to the Torre. Rooses was apparently unaware of the pre-1841 inventory, which was yet to be printed by Sentenach, but he compiled his catalogue from what seems to have been first-hand knowledge of the Pastrana and Osuna collections. He was writing this part of the *Œuvre* in 1888, the year in which the Duke of Pastrana died and his widowed Duchess began to dispose of the rest of the collection. According to Rooses, the Duchess turned the Pastrana house in Madrid over to the Dames du Sacré-Cœur, and the entire collection of art was offered for sale in May 1888.¹³⁶ Rooses further refers to a catalogue of the Pastrana collection which was published for this sale.¹³⁷ This is, however, the only reference made to this catalogue, of which no copy or record seems to exist today.¹³⁸ The Pastrana collection was not, in fact, sold on a single occasion, but was gradually liquidated over a period of years in several private transactions, starting during the Duke's lifetime sometime before 1883 and continuing until the remaining sketches and paintings by Rubens and numerous other works, mostly by northern artists, were given to the Prado in 1889. As a summary of material which

¹³² Sentenach y Cabañas, pp. 81, 82.

¹³³ Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 80.

¹³⁴ Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 82.

¹³⁵ Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 81. *La noche*, *La aurora*, *El día*, and *La tarde* cannot easily be connected with the known subjects of Torre works.

¹³⁶ Rooses, III, p. 40.

¹³⁷ Rooses, III, p. 14.

¹³⁸ The Pastrana sale catalogue is not listed in the third volume of Frits Lugt, *Répertoire des catalogues de ventes publiques*, The Hague, I-III, 1938-1964.

perforce appears rather diffused in the *Catalogue raisonné*, let us briefly indicate the history of various groups of these sketches. Twelve sketches from the Pastrana collection are today in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. Three, *The Fall of the Giants*, *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs* and *Mercury and Argus* were sold by the Duke of Pastrana to M. Léon Gauchez of Paris sometime before 1883, when M. Gauchez sold them to the museum in Brussels. Four others, *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, *Jason and the Golden Fleece*, *The Creation of the Milky Way* and *The Birth of Venus*, were apparently sold out of the Pastrana collection before 1888, when Rooses noted that the *Hercules*, *Jason*, and *Venus* were formerly in the Pastrana collection. They passed to the collection of Madame J. Errera of Brussels, who gave them to the museum in 1917. (In addition, it seems that the *Jupiter and Lycaon* sketch might have entered the Municipal Museum in Rochefort-sur-Mer, France, from the Errera collection and it too might have come from the Pastrana collection.) The other five sketches in Brussels, *Cupid on a Dolphin*, *The Fall of Icarus*, *Jupiter and Semele*, *The Judgment of Midas*, and *The Fall of Phaethon*, were sold by the Pastrana to Count Valencia de Don Juan, probably in 1888, when Rooses notes their new ownership. They were given to the museum in Brussels in 1919 by the Countess Valencia de Don Juan, who was at this time living in Paris, estranged from her husband.

Two sketches apparently passed from the Pastrana collection to the collection of Michel van Gelder in Brussels : The *Arachne and Minerva*, now in Richmond, Virginia, was described by Rooses as being in the Pastrana collection in 1888, and the *Clytie*¹³⁹ is presently in the collection of Mr. William Suhr, New York City. The sketches of *Reason (?)*¹⁴⁰ and *Dædalus and the Labyrinth* are in the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, La Coruña, Spain. They were described by Rooses in 1888, when still in the Pastrana collection, and their whereabouts has not been recorded since. They were apparently sold after

¹³⁹ My thanks to Julius S. Held, who advised me of the existence of the sketch. It has since been published as *Ariadne* (Jaffé, 1964, p. 320).

¹⁴⁰ The subject of this sketch poses a problem which will be discussed in the next chapter. The Museum at La Coruña has called it *Aurora* – the name of one of the four unidentified sketches representing times of day in the inventory published by Sentenach y Cabañas. Rooses, III, No. 510, entitled it *Canens*, thinking that it represented the nymph who turned into water and vanished into thin air from her grief for her lost husband (Ovid, *Met.*, XIV, 416-432).

this date and were finally deposited in the La Coruña museum sometime after its founding in 1947.¹⁴¹

Twelve sketches, *Apollo and the Python*, *Cephalus and Procris*, *Deucalion and Pyrrha*, *The Rape of Europa*, *The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais*, *The Death of Hyacinth*, *Hercules and Cerberus*, *Prometheus*, *Polyphemus*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, a copy after the *Atlas* in the Seilern collection, and a copy of the lost *Dejanira and Nessus* were given to the Prado museum by the widowed Duchess of Pastrana on May 28, 1889, as part of a large gift of 214 works mostly by northern artists.¹⁴² From the beginning mistakes were made in entering the new acquisitions of the museum in the book in which gifts are recorded. Because the titles assigned to them in the Pastrana collection were not questioned, several sketches are misnamed in the Prado's own record of the gift. The *Cephalus and Procris* is referred to as *Vertumnus and Pomona*; the true *Vertumnus and Pomona* is in turn entitled *Arachne and Minerva*, the latter being a work that was not even included in the gift to the Prado.¹⁴³ Although the names have since been corrected, the legacy of this original error is that until this day the dimensions of the *Vertumnus and Pomona*, which is 27 : 38 cm., are recorded incorrectly in the Prado catalogue as 29 : 32 cm., which is the size of the *Cephalus and Procris*! Of greater importance is the fact that two further mythological works included in the original gift have never appeared in the catalogue of the Prado, and are not now part of the Prado collection. Because none of the sketches given in 1888 were catalogued until 1913 – and then only seven of the twelve appeared in an appendix written by Pedro Beroqui¹⁴⁴ – there is no immediate

¹⁴¹ Sr. José Seijo Rubio, the Director of the Museo Provincial, was unable to provide any information about the provenance of these sketches other than the fact that they had been deposited in the museum by the Biblioteca Pública of La Coruña.

¹⁴² These are presumably works for which the Duchess had been unable to find buyers in the previous year. Rooses is mistaken in saying (Rooses, IV, p. 12) that he had learned in September 1889 that the Pastrana collection had just been offered to the Prado and refused and would thus be sold. The paintings had in fact already been part of the Prado collection for four months.

¹⁴³ It is possible to trace these mistakes because each work which entered the museum from the Pastrana collection was numbered with a light blue acquisition number preceded by the letter "T" which remains on the sketches today.

¹⁴⁴ *Rectifications et Additions in Catalogue des Tableaux du Musée du Prado*, Madrid, 1913, p. 506.

record of the two lost works, entitled *Los Siete Sabios de Grecia*¹⁴⁵ and the *Naciamente de Apollo y Diana*,¹⁴⁶ after they were recorded as gifts to the museum.¹⁴⁷ These two lost works were known to Rooses when they were in the Pastrana collection. He suggested that the so-called *Birth of Apollo and Diana* really represented *The Death of Dido* and included it among the works for the Torre de la Parada.¹⁴⁸ The physical nature of these two works, which is made clear in the inventory published by Sentenach, precludes their being Torre sketches. At the end of the list of the Torre sketches in this inventory two works are listed whose subjects, the *Muerta de Pandora con todos sus descendientes* and the *Sabios de la escuela de Atenas*,¹⁴⁹ certainly reveal them to be the works given by the Duchess of Pastrana to the Prado. They are, however, not described as *pinturas en tabla* like the other sketches, but rather as *pinturas de carton*, probably works on paper pasted on wood, and as such perhaps modelli for some larger works. All the sketches for the Torre de la Parada, on the other hand, are oil on panel.

A group of six sketches listed in the 1896 catalogue of the Osuna collection, and apparently bought as a group by Colnaghi in London,¹⁵⁰ included the *Atalanta and Hippomenes* in the collection of Mrs. Henri Heugel, Paris, the so-called *Aurora and Cephalus* in the National Gallery, London, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* in the collection of Major General Sir Harold Wernher,

¹⁴⁵ This entered the museum as *T* 994.

¹⁴⁶ Entered the museum as *T* 996.

¹⁴⁷ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, who has recently gone through the storage rooms of the Prado, assures me that the two works in question are not now in the museum. Rooses noted that both these sketches, along with many other works in the Pastrana collection, were photographed by Laurent when still in the Pastrana collection. The glass negatives of these photographs, which are at present owned by Ruiz Vernacci, an art bookstore in Madrid, are part of an uncatalogued collection of some 100,000 negatives, so that it is impossible to find them.

¹⁴⁸ Rooses, III, No. 518. The *Siete Sabios de Grecia* (Rooses, IV, No. 796) is not included by Rooses among the Torre works.

¹⁴⁹ Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 83.

¹⁵⁰ Osuna, Catalogue, 1896, Nos. 133, 135, 137, 136, 138, and 134, respectively. The six sketches are listed by Dillon, p. 219, as having been bought by Colnaghi from the Osuna collection. Also included in the Osuna catalogue were two copies after sketches whose original version had been in the Pastrana collection: No. 281, *The Fall of the Giants*, and No. 282, *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs*. This suggests that there was a desire within the owner's family itself to possess replicas of these beautiful works and perhaps they were responsible for having them made.

Bart., *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades* in the Kunsthaus, Zürich, *The Rape of Proserpina*, Bayonne, and *Perseus and Andromeda*, location unknown.

Although it is difficult to match up the names at all exactly because of the repetition of titles and the confusion in the inventory published by Sentenach, we can safely assume that the twenty-six original sketches listed above from the Pastrana collection and the six from the Osuna collection are all included in the pre-1841 inventory that Sentenach printed. In addition to these thirty-two sketches, five sketches, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *The Triumph of Bacchus*, *The Death of Eurydice*, *Narcissus* and *Nereid and Triton*, were bought by F. Koenigs in 1927 from a private collection in southern France and were given to the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, in 1940 by D. G. van Beuningen.

None of these five sketches was known to Rooses – probably because they left the collection before the death of the thirteenth Duke in 1841 – and their provenance remains a mystery. Following the suggestion made by Ludwig Burchard¹⁵¹ that *The Triumph of Bacchus* might be identical with *El Trionfo de Sileno* in the inventory published by Sentenach, it appears that the five sketches found in southern France were also part of the Infantado collection and thus can be detected in Sentenach's inventory.¹⁵² It further seems that the six sketches recently discovered in Bayonne – *Apollo and Daphne*, *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*, *Pan and Syrinx*, *Cupid and Psyche*, *Glaucus and Scylla*, and *Diana and Endymion*, a gift to the municipality of Bayonne by the widow of one General Derrecagaix, a native of the region – were also once in the Infantado collection. These sketches, too, appear to correspond to names in the Pastrana inventory.¹⁵³

The total number of sketches in the Sentenach inventory that are definitely for Torre de la Parada works is thirty-nine, or forty-three if we include the

¹⁵¹ London, 1950, No. 17, p. 50.

¹⁵² A *Narciso* appears in the inventory on p. 81. It is possible that one of the two works described as *Daianira y Nisias* (pp. 81, 82) is *Nereid and Triton*, that *Galatea y Apolo moribunda en sus brazos* (p. 82) is *The Death of Eurydice*. The only problem is *Bacchus and Ariadne* which cannot be definitely identified in the inventory.

¹⁵³ *Hercules con su perro* is *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*; *Apolo y Daphne convertida en Laurel* is clear; *Siquis y Cupid* is *Cupid and Psyche*; *Adimeon y Diana* is *Diana and Endymion*; and perhaps *Daphne y el Satire* describes *Pan and Syrinx*. Only *Glaucus and Scylla* cannot be definitely connected with a name in the Pastrana inventory.

four compositions ambiguously titled *Night*, *Day*, *Morning* and *Evening* (which could be misnomers for Torre subjects). The latter figure is precisely what we get by totaling up the sketches given away and sold from the Pastrana and Osuna collections, those found in southern France, and the recently discovered Bayonne sketches. It seems justified to conclude that all these sketches came from the Infantado collection.

The remaining sketches which survive for the Torre either were never in the Infantado collection or had been sold before Ceán Bermúdez wrote his account of the collection in 1800. The original sketch of *Dejanira and Nessus*, which has been lost track of since it was sold in Berlin in 1895, very likely came from Spain as we know that its former owner, Giorgio Augusto Wallis of Florence, obtained works in Spain. Three further sketches preserved today were recorded on the art market outside Spain in the eighteenth century: *Cadmus and Minerva*, *Fortune*, and *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*. There is no information about the provenance of four of the surviving Torre sketches and it is impossible to tell if they were ever part of the Infantado collection: *Atlas and Hercules and the Hydra* in the collection of Count Seilern, London, *Perseus and Andromeda*, formerly in the collection of the late Dr. Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam, and *Vulcan* in the collection of Mrs. Nicholas Mosley, England.

Finally, we apparently have no original sketches – assuming that they did exist – for the following Torre subjects: *Mercury*, *Orpheus Playing the Lyre*, *Saturn*, *Satyr*, *The Banquet of Tereus* (though we know it from several copies), *Democritus* and *Heraclitus*. L. Burchard, however, considered the sketches for *Saturn* (No. 55a) and *The Banquet of Tereus* (No. 57a) as original works by Rubens. We have photographs of the sketches for *Perseus and Andromeda* and *Dejanira and Nessus*, although the sketches have disappeared.

II. THE TRADITION OF THE ILLUSTRATED OVIDS AND RUBENS'S SKETCHES FOR THE TORRE DE LA PARADA

It is largely because of uncertainty about the number and arrangement of the mythological works in the hunting lodge that neither their general nature nor the character of the individual paintings has ever been defined beyond the general description of the series as a group of scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Of the sixty-three mythological works painted for the Torre, forty-one depicted narratives from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, twelve more either depicted myths referred to though not narrated by Ovid, or myths not told at all by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*, nine were non-narrative works with mythological or allegorical figures, and one subject remains unidentified.

In spite of the addition of non-Ovidian narratives and non-narrative figures, the series must be seen as a version of an Ovidian series. In most cases, Rubens's pictorial sources for the mythological scenes in the Torre series were woodcuts and engravings in illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*. Not only the individual designs but the overall selection of subjects relates the series peculiarly to illustrated Ovids. Rubens avoided almost all those Ovidian subjects, such as Venus and Adonis, and Atalanta and Meleager, which had a firmly established tradition of representation in monumental paintings, and chose instead the less popular subjects which were primarily depicted in illustrated Ovids, such as Apollo and the Python, and the Banquet of Tereus. He seems also to have avoided all the more unusual Ovidian subjects which he had himself painted earlier in his career such as the Death of Hippolytus, the Feast of Achelous, Boreas and Orithyia, and the Discovery of Erichthonius. Thus the works for the Torre illustrate stories many of which Rubens had never attempted to paint before, whose designs are primarily based on the tradition of illustrated Ovids.¹⁵⁴ Although the Torre series includes at least one narrative from each of the first fourteen of the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses* – ranging from seven subjects from the first book to but one from the fourteenth – it seems most unlikely that Rubens set out to illustrate each book. For one thing, the pictures do not appear to have been hung in the order of the

¹⁵⁴ Although other works by Ovid were printed with illustrations, e.g., the *Heroides*, the references to illustrated Ovids in this chapter are explicitly to illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses*. Unless otherwise indicated, all the references to Rubens's works for the Torre are to the sketches.

Ovidian narratives. And indeed, if Rubens had planned to illustrate something from each book, this would still not explain the selection of subjects.

Although illustrated Ovids might seem the natural source for an artist to turn to in depicting mythological narratives, monumental art in the Renaissance seems to have represented, in general, a separate illustrative tradition from that of the Ovids. First of all, it was only in the mid-sixteenth century that the technical proficiency and artistic level of the Ovid illustrations made the scenes attractive or suitable for imitation. Secondly, many of the most popular mythological scenes, such as Cupid and Psyche, the Judgment of Paris, Diana and Endymion, and Hero and Leander, are not found in the *Metamorphoses* at all. One should add that, conversely, many stories commonly illustrated in editions of Ovid were seldom, if ever, represented in monumental art. Finally, even in the case of stories narrated in the *Metamorphoses*, the pictorial tradition in monumental painting is often completely separate from that of the illustrated Ovids. To take a prominent example, in the illustrated Ovids the love scene between Venus and Adonis shows Venus resting her head on Adonis's lap as she tells him a tale to warn him of the dangers of the wild beasts.¹⁵⁵ Monumental paintings, on the other hand, usually depict a scene of conflict, with Venus attempting to prevent Adonis's departure to the fatal hunt – for example, the painting by Titian in the Prado or Rubens's version in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.¹⁵⁶ In Ovid's text (*Met.*, x, 529-559, 705-709) there is in fact no description of Adonis leaving Venus; it is Venus who rises at the end of her story to leave Adonis. While the painters invented the narrative action of Adonis's departure to make clear the moral conflict inherent in the story, the illustrators of the *Metamorphoses* represented the action narrated in Ovid's text itself.¹⁵⁷ In turning to the illustrated Ovids as the main source for his Torre works, Rubens made a specific choice which must significantly influence our understanding of the individual works as well as of the series

¹⁵⁵ Lyons, 1557, 12v.

¹⁵⁶ A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, Budapest, 1956, p. 239, reports the majority of Venus and Adonis scenes to be of the leave-taking despite such a prominent work as Veronese's in Madrid.

¹⁵⁷ A contemporary writer on art, Raffaello Borghini, objected to Titian's manner of depicting Venus and Adonis because he was not following the Ovidian text. "Tiziano nell'invenzione abbia mancato, fingendo Adone da Venere, che sta in atto d'abbracciarlo, fuggire ... ella da lui, a non egli da lei si partì, ver lo cielo volando." (*Il Riposo*, Florence, 1730, first published in 1584, p. 49).

as a whole. As the example of Venus and Adonis suggests, and as further examples will bear out, the illustrations in the printed Ovids were narrative, not allegorical, in intent. In using these works as his models, Rubens was frankly setting himself a similar illustrative task.¹⁵⁸ The fact that so many of the compositions for the Torre de la Parada have this common source suggests that the series taken as a whole should be seen as Rubens's version of an illustrated Ovid. His works, as we shall see in the concluding chapter, are greatly superior to their models not only by virtue of his technical skill but also because of the unique human sympathy and understanding with which he informs this rendering of the lives and loves of the gods. Let us now turn to the illustrated *Metamorphoses* themselves and define what we mean when we speak of a tradition of Ovid illustrations and, since Rubens's Torre de la Parada works are dependent on this tradition, what its nature is when considered from the point of view of narrative conventions.

Bernard Salomon and the Narrative Tradition of Illustrated Ovids

If any single edition can be called central to the illustrated Ovids of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is the Lyons edition of 1557, *La Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, with woodcuts by Bernard Salomon.¹⁵⁹ Here, for the first time, an artist produced illustrations which, both in choice of incidents and in design, were commanding enough to serve as the models for many followers. We must first, however, mention what was perhaps the most ambitious illustrated Ovid prior to this date, the so-called *Grand Olympe*, a French

¹⁵⁸ Our sense of the non-allegorical aim of the works is confirmed by the nature of the inscriptions found under the engravings made after various of the Torre works. The inscriptions which follow the title merely quote the appropriate lines from the *Metamorphoses* without comment. Under the engraving after *The Banquet of Tereus* by C. Galle (V.S., p. 129, No. 94), for example, Ovid. *Met.*, vi, 655, 656 and 658, 659, is quoted.

¹⁵⁹ *La Métamorphose d'Ovide figurée*, Lyons, 1557 (abbreviated *Lyons*, 1557). The most complete description of the various editions of illustrated Ovids in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is Henkel. For a bibliography of Ovid editions printed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, see Georges Duplessis, *Essai bibliographique sur les différentes éditions des œuvres d'Ovide, ornées de planches publiées aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris, 1889. Unless otherwise noted, all editions of illustrated Ovids discussed here were consulted in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

prose translation published at Paris in 1539.¹⁶⁰ For sheer number of illustrations this edition, with 252 woodcuts by three different hands, surpasses all others, but the result is not a series of narrative scenes illustrating the text. Not only are individual woodcuts repeated several times to represent a number of different scenes, but even some woodcuts illustrating biblical texts are brought in. Despite the often meaningless repetitions, the illustrative task is not completely disregarded and the various uses of a single illustration are sometimes most ingenious. For example, the same woodcut of a figure charming animals is used to represent both Orpheus¹⁶¹ and Circe.¹⁶² Similarly, one woodcut is used to represent two fatal encounters between a god and a mortal woman – Apollo and Coronis,¹⁶³ and Jupiter and Semele¹⁶⁴ – although the circumstances of the two stories are very different. Perhaps the most original idea of this edition is the introduction, by one of the illustrators, of scenes from ancient art, most notably from sarcophagi, to illustrate the ancient myths. Only certain Ovidian scenes – the Fall of Phaethon, Orpheus and Eurydice, and the Death of Meleager among others – can be found on sarcophagi, and the illustrator turned even these ancient representations, whose narrative meaning was well-established, into neutral counters intended to represent a variety of scenes. The only indication that the classical scene representing the Death of Meleager (Fig. 3) stands for Apollo's Discovery of Venus in the arms of Mars¹⁶⁵ in one place, and for Minerva's conflict with Arachne¹⁶⁶ in another, is the descriptive title, which is conveniently placed above every illustration in the book. In the *Grand Olympe* of 1539 we have stock scenes rather than stock figures, and the general impression is that they attempt mainly to decorate the text for the reader and only in a very limited sense to illustrate the different narratives of the *Metamorphoses*.

While the *Grand Olympe* uses 252 woodcuts to decorate a prose translation of the entire *Metamorphoses*, the Lyons 1557 edition presents what apparently

¹⁶⁰ *Les xv livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide (Poète tresélegant) contenant L'Olympe des Histoires poetiques...*, Paris, 1539 (abbreviated Paris, 1539).

¹⁶¹ Paris, 1539, II, 84^v.

¹⁶² Paris, 1539, III, 92^v.

¹⁶³ Paris, 1539, I, 30^v.

¹⁶⁴ Paris, 1539, I, 43^v.

¹⁶⁵ Paris, 1539, I, 59.

¹⁶⁶ Paris, 1539, II, 2.

were considered the most important narratives in 178 original French stanzas. A separate page is devoted to each stanza, which is placed beneath the woodcut which illustrates it. Each page is titled with the name of the incident described. In this form the woodcuts serve not merely as decorative additions, but are in fact given equal importance with the text – both being, as it were, translations, one pictorial, one verbal, of the Ovidian narrative. Bernard Salomon's woodcuts for the 1557 edition became the models for what might be called the central tradition of Ovid illustrations in the second half of the sixteenth century,¹⁶⁷ even though the text might differ from edition to edition (being either the entire Latin poem, a complete translation, or selections in Latin, French, Italian or some other language), and the scenes themselves might appear in reverse, with their individual dimensions, the proportions of the figures, and even their exact actions altered. It is to this tradition that I referred earlier as the basis for the scenes in Rubens's *Torre de la Parada* series.

We shall look more closely at the individual scenes from which Rubens was to borrow, but first we must consider the nature of Bernard Salomon's woodcuts themselves. It is important to emphasize, first of all, that Salomon is not illustrating an *Ovide moralisé*. The French verses under each picture emphasize the action depicted and do not refer to any meaning outside that action.¹⁶⁸ And it was in the interest of clarifying and refining the depiction of these actions that the followers of Salomon, among whom the greatest was Rubens himself, tended to modify and alter Salomon's models. In his study of the illustrated editions of Ovid, Henkel¹⁶⁹ rightly praised the dramatic brilliance of Salomon's scenes with their lively figures set in charming landscapes, but he

¹⁶⁷ A year before the appearance of this edition, the first three books of the *Metamorphoses* were printed in a translation by the French poet Clement Marot with fifty-seven woodcuts by an unknown artist, which served, in some cases, as models for Bernard Salomon (*Trois premiers livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide*, Lyons, 1556, abbreviated *Lyons*, 1556).

¹⁶⁸ Negative proof of the narrative intention of these woodcuts is provided by an emblem book by Nicolaus Reusner which appeared thirty years later and used, among other illustrations, woodcuts by Virgil Solis after the Lyons 1557 *Metamorphoses* as the subject of moralistic mottos. The woodcut depicting the Banquet of Tereus is presented, rather strangely, as an injunction to be courageous, "Imperat, iratus quoties rogat hostis : at hostem/ Qui rogitat timidè, spontè negare docet." (Nicolaus Reusner, *Emblemata*, Frankfort, 1581, I, p. 16). It is interesting to contrast this with the purely narrative lines from Ovid which accompanied the Galle engraving after Rubens's painting.

¹⁶⁹ Henkel, pp. 79, 80.

treated the individual woodcuts much as he would any other work of Renaissance art. Given such a task, an artist tends to develop and employ certain narrative techniques throughout the series to simplify his work. It is these techniques, along with the lay-out of the action of each scene, which Salomon's illustrations established for future editions of Ovid.

In putting together this Lyons 1557 edition of the *Metamorphoses*, both translator and illustrator thought in terms of presenting a succession of separate, individual narratives, rather than of binding the whole together in imitation of Ovid's cleverly unified, consecutive narrative poem of fifteen books. This disregard for the actual form of the poem is further demonstrated by the fact that the number of illustrations per book is not proportionate to the length of the individual books: Book Five has only half as many illustrations as Book One (nine versus nineteen) whereas it is only one hundred lines shorter (678 versus 779).

The decision as to how many woodcuts to devote to each story was also the artist's option. Bernard Salomon tended to break Ovid's sequence of stories and the individual stories themselves into significant actions so that the central event of each woodcut is a single, simple action separate from those immediately before and after it. Apollo, for example, stands beside the recently slain Python in one woodcut, and in the next he pursues Daphne (Figs. 57, 52).¹⁷⁰ Salomon does not attempt to represent the connection between these incidents, which Ovid explicitly provided in his account of Apollo's disagreement with Cupid over the power of their arrows. Rubens's sketch of *Apollo and the Python* (Fig. 55) stands in direct contrast to Salomon's approach, since its effect is achieved specifically by yoking together, into a single scene, the two successive events of Apollo slaying the Python and his disagreement with Cupid. Sometimes we find Salomon recognizing and trying to get around the limitations of his way of depicting a continuous narrative sequence. He presents the story of Apollo and Daphne, for example, in two very similar woodcuts of the chase. In the first, Apollo is running after Daphne; in the second he is still running, but Daphne has just become rooted and transformed into a laurel (Figs. 52, 53).¹⁷¹ Salomon attempts to depict the narrative sequence

¹⁷⁰ Lyons, 1557, a8v and b1.

¹⁷¹ Lyons, 1557, b1 and b1v.

more persuasively not by complicating the action in an individual scene, but rather by adding another independent scene with its own action, somewhat in the manner of a comic strip artist.

Salomon typically uses additional figures in the background when he wishes to present a narrative in a more detailed form without changing this emphasis on the single, significant action. In the scene of Meleager presenting the boar's head to Atalanta (Fig. 5)¹⁷² for example, we can just make out two men in the distance at the right. These figures make no dramatic impact and are so small that they are difficult to identify. Without a knowledge of the text it would be hard to tell that these two men are bearing the body of a third – perhaps the body of Ancæus, who has been killed on the hunt (*Met.*, VIII, 401). Again in the scene of the Banquet of Tereus¹⁷³ – when the king unwittingly devours the body of his son and is presented with the head by Philomela and her sister, his wife – we see, before a back wall, the tiny figures of Procne and Philomela as they kill the son prior to the feast. Like the figures in the background of Meleager and Atalanta, these figures can be termed pictorial notations about events, rather than a dramatic presentation like the central action.

Such little background figures are often used to represent the gods who, in Ovid's poem, are continually intervening in the lives of mortals. A tiny Cupid is just visible in both scenes of the story of Apollo and Daphne. He is depicted sitting in the clouds in the first chase scene, and in the transformation scene he appears, out of narrative sequence, up in the sky aiming his arrow in the general direction of the two figures. Again in the background of the race between Atalanta and Hippomenes (Fig. 68),¹⁷⁴ we see a cloud bearing Venus, who is handing the golden apples to Hippomenes. With very few exceptions, such as the scene in which Minerva counsels Cadmus to sow the dragon's teeth,¹⁷⁵ Salomon does not make these intervening gods part of the central action of his illustrations. In most cases they make the individual scenes very crowded, an effect which other artists working after these woodcuts attempted to alleviate.

It is, however, not only these tiny background figures that make Bernard Salomon's woodcuts appear very crowded. One of the distinctive aspects of

¹⁷² *Lyons*, 1557, 83^v.

¹⁷³ *Lyons*, 1557, e8.

¹⁷⁴ *Lyons*, 1557, i3.

¹⁷⁵ *Lyons*, 1557, c6.

his illustrations is the great detail of the settings in which each incident takes place – this in spite of the very small scale in which the artist worked. These settings are not merely decorative in intent, but are used by Salomon to set the scene appropriate to the action and they thus play an important part in the representation of it. We see the barrier and the course along which Atalanta and Hippomenes are racing (Fig. 68) as well as the spectators at the race, the lush arbor in which Vertumnus seduces Pomona (Fig. 191),¹⁷⁶ and the bosky forest in which Meleager presents the boar's head to Atalanta (Fig. 5). When appropriate, the setting is an interior as in the Banquet of Tereus or in the seduction of Leucothoe by Apollo. The size of the main actors in each scene is not very large, and they tend to be dominated by or even lost in the setting, as in the woodcut of *Vertumnus and Pomona*.

It should finally be noted that neither in his figures nor in the settings is Salomon at great pains to follow the details so relentlessly set forth in Ovid's poem. While Ovid, for example, describes Apollo as shooting countless arrows into the Python (*Met.*, I, 443), Salomon shows us only one (Fig. 57).¹⁷⁷ Even dramatic actions narrated by Ovid – such as Tereus rising to turn over the table in horror upon seeing his son's head (*Met.*, VI, 661) – are disregarded by Salomon,¹⁷⁸ who depicts Tereus rising from his seat with his sword raised, while the table remains standing. The details of a setting specifically described by Ovid, such as the elm tree covered with a grapevine and trees heavy with fruit in Pomona's bower (*Met.*, XIV, 559-561), are not depicted in the Lyons edition of 1557 (Fig. 191),¹⁷⁹ where we find, instead, a vine-covered trellis. Although the followers of Salomon altered details of the woodcuts, they did not do so with particular reference to the text. Thus the whole tradition of Ovid illustrations initiated by Bernard Salomon is, in many of its details, independent of Ovid's text.

The first re-use of Salomon's illustrations of 1557 was in the Italian translation of the same edition published in Lyons two years later.¹⁸⁰ The wood-

¹⁷⁶ Lyons, 1557, L7v.

¹⁷⁷ Lyons, 1557, 28v.

¹⁷⁸ Lyons, 1557, e8.

¹⁷⁹ Lyons, 1557, L7v.

¹⁸⁰ *La vita e metamorfoseo d'Ouidio...*, Lyons, 1559 (abbreviated *Lyons, 1559*). This edition was not seen by Henkel, though he knew of its existence. The format of the pages is exactly the same as the Lyons 1557 edition.

cuts here are exactly the same as in the French edition, but there are now 187 instead of 178 – fifteen new woodcuts having been added, six left out and two replaced by other scenes.¹⁸¹ It is the subject of the new woodcuts that is of interest to us. With but a single exception, all the woodcuts added to the Lyons 1559 edition depict scenes of metamorphoses. Bernard Salomon had included many of the scenes of metamorphoses described by Ovid, but very often as an incident in the background rather than as the central action. In the Lyons 1559 edition we find a specific interest in such scenes. Certain of these scenes, like the woodcut of *Arachne and Minerva* (Fig. 61),¹⁸² belong to narratives which had not appeared at all in the 1557 edition; others, like the nymphs being changed into islands by Achelous,¹⁸³ represent the addition of a metamorphosis scene to a narrative sequence already illustrated by Salomon.

In 1563, an edition of the *Metamorphoses* illustrated by Virgil Solis¹⁸⁴ appeared in Frankfort. In it the original 178 woodcuts of Bernard Salomon are simply copied in reverse and printed with a running German translation of the poem. The difference in appearance between these woodcuts and the original ones by Salomon is due almost entirely to their increased size.¹⁸⁵ Not only is each woodcut now easier to read, but certain elements take on a new importance. Most significantly, the larger size of the figures makes gestures and facial expressions much more important as conveyors of the narrative action. As a result, in spite of the fact that Virgil Solis was a less capable artist than Salomon, the woodcuts of 1563 have more immediacy and life than the earlier models.

But the artist who most actively took advantage of the possibilities offered by the new size of the woodcuts was the anonymous illustrator of the Leipzig edition of 1582.¹⁸⁶ The brilliant suggestions of Salomon are here turned into

¹⁸¹ It is very possible that the design and cutting of the additional woodcuts was by another hand than Bernard Salomon.

¹⁸² *Lyons*, 1559, p. 88.

¹⁸³ *Lyons*, 1559, p. 119.

¹⁸⁴ *Metamorphoseon Libri xv...*, Frankfort, 1563 (abbreviated *Frankfort*, 1563).

¹⁸⁵ Henkel, p. 88, gives the comparative measurements as 6 : 8 instead of 4.2 : 5.4 cm. Compare, for example, the woodcuts of *Cephalus and Procris* by Virgil Solis (*Frankfort*, 1563, p. 265) and Bernard Salomon (*Lyons*, 1557, f7v; Fig. 82).

¹⁸⁶ *Metamorphoseon Libri xv...*, Leipzig, 1582 (abbreviated *Leipzig*, 1582). This is a complete Latin text of the poem.

expressive dramas. Where Rubens follows Bernard Salomon's inventions in the *Torre* series, the spirit of his works is close to these woodcuts of 1582. In the scene of *The Fall of Icarus*, for example, Salomon had depicted Dædalus, still held aloft by his wings, glancing in the direction of the helpless, falling Icarus (Fig. 125).¹⁸⁷ In the Leipzig 1582 edition¹⁸⁸ the larger size of the figures enables us to see the horrified glance of the father, and the drama is heightened further because the artist changed Icarus's position so that he falls with his face, rather than his back, toward the viewer (Fig. 124). Figures that had been inactive in Salomon's woodcuts become active in these illustrations : Apollo does not stand by the Python, which he has just killed, but is shooting the fatal arrows (Fig. 56).¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, without changing the general nature of the component details of the setting, the illustrator of the Leipzig 1582 edition accompanies the new, dramatic nature of the scenes with a more extended and complicated depiction of the space in which the action takes place. Here, however, the results are not completely successful. The barrier holding back the crowd in the race of Atalanta and Hippomenes is not placed parallel to the picture plane, as in Bernard Salomon's woodcut (Fig. 68),¹⁹⁰ but diagonally back into space, and in a clever bit of perspective the heads of two spectators appear at the lower left edge of the woodcut as if they were standing between us and the race course (Fig. 67).¹⁹¹ It should be noted also that, as in *The Fall of Icarus*, the illustrator has altered the poses of the main figures in order to clarify the action and emphasize the drama : their strides are made strictly parallel and are interrupted, as it were, by Atalanta's reaching for the apple. In spite of the new spatial design, however, the two figures are still running along parallel to the picture plane as in Salomon's woodcut, and as a result an odd discontinuity is created between the space depicted and the position of the figures in it.

Two later reworkings of the tradition initiated by Bernard Salomon are the 178 engravings by Pieter van der Borcht for the Plantin-Moretus Press¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ *Lyons*, 1557, 82.

¹⁸⁸ *Leipzig*, 1582, p. 317.

¹⁸⁹ *Leipzig*, 1582, p. 57.

¹⁹⁰ *Lyons*, 1557, i3.

¹⁹¹ *Leipzig*, 1582, p. 419.

¹⁹² *Metamorphoses*, Antwerp, 1591 (abbreviated *Antwerp*, 1591). This book was consulted in the library of the Warburg Institute, University of London.

(Antwerp, 1591) and the 150 engravings by Antonio Tempesta¹⁹³ probably to be dated between 1600 and 1606. Both publications are collections of Ovid illustrations printed without text. Pieter van der Borcht's engravings are printed on the right-hand page with a brief argument in Latin on the left, while Tempesta's engravings have merely short, descriptive titles. What interests us here is the tremendous contrast between the individual engravings, since they develop two different aspects of Salomon's woodcuts. Pieter van der Borcht emphasizes the landscape at the expense of the figures, while Tempesta concentrates on the action while largely ignoring the settings.

Pieter van der Borcht demonstrates his dependence on Bernard Salomon simply in the content of his book, which has the same number of illustrations and sequence of scenes as the Lyons 1557 edition. He, however, not only changes the designs of the figures but, because of his interest in landscape, constantly undercuts the dramatic action. He is closest to Bernard Salomon in scenes such as *Cephalus and Procris*, in which the landscape was already of central importance in the 1557 woodcuts. The interest that any Ovid illustrator has in landscape is revealed by his depiction of the Fall of Icarus. Ovid had explicitly mentioned the fisherman, the shepherd, and the plowman, who are busy at work in the countryside where Icarus falls (*Met.*, VIII, 217-220), and this myth was traditionally treated by northern engravers and painters – we think immediately of Bruegel – as a landscape scene. As we might expect, Van der Borcht was the first artist to introduce the entire landscape, including the shepherd and fisherman, into an illustrated edition of Ovid.¹⁹⁴ This represents a change in emphasis from the human drama of Dædalus and Icarus depicted by Bernard Salomon, but it can be defended in terms of Ovid's text. The prominence given to landscape is however less appropriate in Pieter van der Borcht's depiction of Daphne's transformation.¹⁹⁵ Here a farmhouse, rather than the rather ill-defined shrubbery of Salomon's woodcut, appears in the distant landscape in such a way that it is situated between Apollo and his desire, Daphne. The setting has here the effect not only of distracting our eyes from the central action, but also of taking our interest away from the

¹⁹³ *Metamorfoseon, sive Transformationum Ovidianarum Libri quindecim*, Amsterdam, n.d.

¹⁹⁴ *Antwerp*, 1591, p. 195, fig. 95.

¹⁹⁵ *Antwerp*, 1591, p. 31, fig. 14.

metamorphosis by creating a second and irrelevant barrier between Apollo and Daphne. Finally, in *The Rape of Proserpina*,¹⁹⁶ Van der Borcht's interest in the landscape causes him to alter the scene radically. Pluto's chariot and the struggling Proserpina are no longer the center of the drama. In the foreground we see her picking flowers with her friends, and not until we look back through the extensive landscape do we catch sight of Pluto, on foot, carrying her off. The change in emphasis that is so clear here – turning a dramatic rape scene into a pastoral country idyll – is characteristic of the way Van der Borcht remakes almost all of Bernard Salomon's inventions.

Tempesta, on the other hand, simplifies and de-emphasizes the settings while increasing the size of the illustrations¹⁹⁷ and the scale of the figures within them. Familiar details such as the wooden barrier in the race of Atalanta or the forest in which Meleager hands the boar's head to Atalanta have disappeared. Even the tiny figures that we saw in the background of Bernard Salomon's woodcuts have been eliminated. Tempesta's concern is with the main figures. He generally follows the more active depiction that we saw in the Leipzig 1582 edition – Apollo, for example, is shown shooting the Python rather than standing victoriously beside him (Fig. 58).¹⁹⁸ However, in many details Tempesta returns to Salomon's original inventions. As in the Lyons 1557 edition, Tempesta's Atalanta sits as she receives the boar's head¹⁹⁹ while she had stood in the woodcut of *Leipzig*, 1582. Icarus is seen from the back as in Salomon's woodcut and not from the front as in *Leipzig*, 1582. The obvious weakness of Tempesta's engravings lies in the lack of convincing expressions on the prominent faces. The dramatic gestures of their bodies are deadened by the blankness of their features. Tempesta attempts to minimize this failing by using many profile heads and by casting many of the faces in shadows – the two techniques often being used jointly, as in the scene with Atalanta and Meleager. Tempesta's strength, however, is that he is freer from his models than the artist of the 1582 woodcuts. He not only enlivens the narrative formulas invented by Salomon, but he invents some new ones of his own which enable him to convey more of the complexities of a given situation. The story

¹⁹⁶ *Antwerp*, 1591, p. 133, fig. 64.

¹⁹⁷ The engravings are 9.5 : 11.7 cm.

¹⁹⁸ *Tempesta*, no. 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Tempesta*, no. 77.

of Mercury and Argus, for example, is told in a single engraving (Fig. 140),²⁰⁰ in which Mercury is shown cutting off the giant's head with the sword in his left hand, while in his right hand he still holds the pipe, which was, so to speak, the weapon of an earlier moment. The innovation of this illustration is twofold : for the first time in the followers of Bernard Salomon the actual act of beheading is depicted, and, as the presence of the pipe reveals, the entire story of Mercury and Argus has been condensed into a single scene. In reducing to 150, the number of illustrations of the *Metamorphoses*, Tempesta did not just cut out whole narratives, but also cleverly attempted to condense individual stories in just this way. The particular importance for us of Tempesta's innovations is that they are closely related in some cases to the innovations that Rubens was to make in the series of works for the Torre.²⁰¹

There are of course some contemporary illustrated editions of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which are independent of the tradition established by Bernard Salomon. I shall mention only those which have some connection with Rubens's works for the Torre, even though it be as a parallel phenomenon rather than as a direct influence. The earliest in date is Lodovico Dolce's Italian translation of the Ovid into thirty-one cantos (Venice, 1553).²⁰² The eighty-four woodcuts²⁰³ which appear at the beginning and two or three times in the course of each canto include some scenes which, like those in the *Grand Olympe* of 1539, are biblical rather than Ovidian. Also as in the *Grand Olympe*, certain scenes – for example, one depicting a battle – are repeated more than once.

²⁰⁰ *Tempesta*, no. 10.

²⁰¹ Although Goltzius's engraved series of scenes from the *Metamorphoses* of 1589-90 reveals a knowledge of Bernard Salomon's inventions, the engravings can in no way be said to be based on Salomon, and one must also disagree with Henkel (p. 102) who suggested that Goltzius's engravings depend on a knowledge of Tempesta's *Metamorphoses* series. It is most likely that Tempesta's undated engravings were not printed before the turn of the century and thus would not have been available to Goltzius before he completed his own designs. Although it would seem most fitting for Rubens to have turned to a great northern predecessor in mythological designs when designing the Torre series, I can find no grounds on which to connect any of Rubens's Torre works with Goltzius. It is to Tempesta and Bernard Salomon (not to Goltzius as Christopher Norris suggested, *Rubens's Sketches at Rotterdam, The Connoisseur*, CXXXIII, suppl., 1954, p. 29) that Rubens turned when designing *The Fall of Phaethon* and *The Fall of Icarus*.

²⁰² *Le Transformationi di M. Lodovico Dolce*, Venice, 1553 (abbreviated *Venice, 1553*).

²⁰³ Although Henkel, p. 82, numbers the woodcuts in this book at ninety-four, the copy at Houghton Library, Harvard University, has only eighty-four.

Not only the number of the scenes, but the choice of the stories and the manner of the illustrations differ from the Salomon tradition. The artist is less interested in quiet love scenes than Salomon was : Venus and Adonis, and Atalanta and Meleager do not appear in this edition. Among the scenes in the Dolce Ovid which are not part of the canon of stories depicted by Bernard Salomon or his followers is that showing Clytie worshipping the sun (*Met.*, iv, 260-270; Fig. 85),²⁰⁴ a scene which Rubens represents in the Torre series although he does not use this woodcut as his model. As this woodcut shows, the narrative technique of this artist is very different from that of Salomon. He freely gives two separate scenes – Clytie worshipping the sun and the burial of Leucothoe – equal importance. In some instances the combination of different actions in one woodcut goes beyond an additive impression to actually relate and combine two narrative moments. A single woodcut is used for the stories of Apollo and Python, and Apollo and Daphne (Fig. 6).²⁰⁵ The huge, impressive form of the dead Python fills up the right third of the composition while the triumphant Apollo chases Daphne off to the left and Cupid hovers above in a cloud. Although this narrative technique, which is similar to that used by Tempesta in his *Mercury and Argus* mentioned above, is of importance in Rubens's Torre works, Rubens does not seem to have based any of his scenes on the Venice 1553 Ovid. In only one case – the rocks emerging into people in the Deucalion and Pyrrha scene²⁰⁶ – does this artist invent figures which are actually similar to those in Rubens's sketch. This would appear to be a case of the artist having a similar idea rather than supplying a source for Rubens.

There is finally a group of illustrated editions of Ovid which adopt a completely different format from those discussed so far. In these editions a single full-page illustration, placed at the start of each book, presents a compendium of the stories contained in the book. This idea goes back to *La Bible des Poëtes*, a French prose translation of the *Metamorphoses* published in 1520, but there a single story was selected to illustrate each book. The artist's problem is how to combine a large number of independent stories into a single scene, while still permitting each one to be clearly seen. Inevitably a certain story (or stories)

²⁰⁴ *Henkel*, p. 87.

²⁰⁵ *Henkel*, p. 17.

²⁰⁶ *Henkel*, p. 13.

is placed prominently in the foreground of these full-page illustrations, with the rest less legibly scattered through the middleground and background. The necessary unity is achieved not by showing the connections between the different stories, but by the unified setting of the whole. A single extensive landscape, with whatever buildings are needed for interior scenes, contains all the narratives. The first edition illustrated in this way was the Italian translation of Ovid in *ottava rima* by Andrea dell'Anguillara (Venice, 1584)²⁰⁷ with engravings by Giacomo Franco, which are entirely independent of the Bernard Salomon tradition. In the other important example of this format – the George Sandys translation published first in England in 1632²⁰⁸ and illustrated with engravings invented by Franz Cleyn and executed by Salomon Savery – the large figures in the foreground are completely of Cleyn's own invention while the smaller background figures are often dependent on those in the Salomon tradition.

Giacomo Franco, like the Italian edition of Bernard Salomon published at Lyons in 1559, emphasizes the metamorphoses described by Ovid and so each engraving tends to be a compendium of the transformations that occur in the book to follow. To help us identify the various small figures which are transformed, Franco engraves their names on the page. The illustrations to Sandys's edition are much more successful because the size of the page and the figures is increased, the narratives are placed in more legible landscape settings, and the incidents concentrate not on the fact of metamorphosis, but on the drama itself.²⁰⁹ An example of the superiority of the Sandys illustration is the way the two editions present the illustrations to Book Six of the *Metamorphoses* (Figs. 7, 63). The Sandys edition, unlike the earlier Italian one, presents a possible landscape setting for the actors and for the cross-sections of the buildings in which some of the actions take place. As we might expect, Franco places Arachne's transformation into a spider prominently in the left foreground, while Cleyn chooses the killing of Niobe's children. The contrast between the two artists becomes clear if we look at the way each one depicts

²⁰⁷ *Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio, Ridotte da Giovanni Andrea dell' Anguillara ... con le Annotationi de M. Giuseppe Horologgi*, Venice, 1584 (abbreviated *Venice, 1584*).

²⁰⁸ George Sandys, *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished and Mythologized...*, Oxford, 1632 (abbreviated *Oxford, 1632*).

²⁰⁹ Henkel, pp. 99, 100, underestimates the success of some of the scenes in the Sandys Ovid and dismisses the engravings with very brief comments.

a single story. While Franco shows Marsyas turning into a stream, Cleyn depicts the actual flaying. Or again, still looking at the engraving for Book Six, while Franco shows Tereus at the moment when Procne and Philomela have turned into birds, Cleyn shows the dramatic moment when Tereus is presented with his son's head and rises, sword in hand, overturning the table. Franco consistently depicts the metamorphoses while Cleyn, although not ignoring the metamorphoses, picks the dramatic actions which led to the metamorphoses.

Sandys's edition of Ovid often achieves its dramatic impact simply by following the text. No illustrated Ovid before this had, for example, depicted Tereus actually throwing over the table. This is also the first edition in which Deucalion and Pyrrha are explicitly shown, following Ovid, with their heads covered as they toss the rocks over their shoulders (Fig. 134).²¹⁰ The last thing one would expect in such crowded pages is a close attention to the relationships of the figures depicted. Time and time again, however, Sandys's Ovid surprises by such touches as the twisted figure of the dying Hyacinth with the helpless Apollo leaning over him (Fig. 126).²¹¹ These engravings for Sandys's Ovid, published only four or five years before the Torre sketches, represent a parallel effort to Rubens's works. They share with Rubens an interest in the mythological narratives as human dramas.

The Relationship of Rubens's Sketches to the Illustrated Ovids

When we spoke earlier of the illustrated Ovids as sources for Rubens's works for the Torre de la Parada, we were making the dual assumption that there was in fact a central or main tradition of such illustrations and that Rubens was displaying his familiarity with this tradition. Our survey of the illustrated Ovids in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries certainly demonstrates that there was such a central tradition. The general popularity of the illustrated Ovids at the time and Rubens's particular interest in mythology and Latin literature give assurance of Rubens's familiarity with the Ovid illustrations. We have evidence of Rubens's use of this source in his early *Banquet of*

²¹⁰ Oxford, 1632, book I, facing p. 1.

²¹¹ Oxford, 1632, book X, facing p. 337.

Achelous in New York.²¹² Furthermore, we know from the account book of Balthasar Moretus that, while Rubens was at work on the Torre sketches in January of 1637, an Ovid with engravings was delivered to him : "1 Ovidii Metamorphoses 16° cop. fl. 4-00."²¹³ This reference to an edition of Ovid which Rubens purchased could perhaps provide the key to the Torre series. But this particular edition has proved impossible to identify.²¹⁴ One wonders if it might have been the 1591 *Metamorphoses* illustrated by Pieter van der Borcht and published in Antwerp by the Plantin-Moretus Press. But this hypothesis must be rejected. Not only do the engravings of the 1591 edition have no particular connection with Rubens's sketches, but the size of the book purchased by Rubens is stated to have been a *sesto-decimo*, while the 1591 edition is an *octavo*. Furthermore, the books that Rubens bought through Moretus were not all published by the Antwerp publisher, who often served simply as Rubens's book dealer.²¹⁵ A check of Ovid editions published before this date reveals that some illustrated Ovids as small as a *sesto-decimo* had indeed been published. In fact many of the important illustrated editions first printed in a larger format were later printed in this reduced size. The 1557 edition, for example, appeared as an *octavo* in Lyons and soon after as a *sesto-decimo* without its border designs in Paris in 1566. Rubens might have acquired one of these editions in 1637. On the other hand the identification of the particular volume received by Rubens seems less important when we consider that, although the sketches for the Torre leave no doubt that he had illustrated Ovids in mind, there does not seem to have been a single edition which provided the designs for most of the sketches.

²¹² K.d.K., p. 117. See Julius S. Held, *Achelous' Banquet*, *The Art Quarterly*, IV, 1941, pp. 122-133.

²¹³ M. Rooses, *Rekeningen der Boeken geleverd door Balthasar Moretus aan P.P. Rubens*, *Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, p. 206.

²¹⁴ The inventory of Rubens's library, made up after his death, has unfortunately disappeared. We know that his books were bequeathed to his son Albert, but the catalogue of the books left after Albert's death in 1658 does not contain any Ovid text, only two commentaries, indicated as "Herculis Ciofani Comment. in Opera Ovidii in 8°" and "Caroli de Neapolis in Fasta Ovidii" (only known copy of the inventory in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; photocopy in the Antwerp Library; brought to light by P. Arents, *De bibliotheek van Pieter Pauwel Rubens*, Noordgouw, I, 1961, p. 163).

²¹⁵ The place of publication is noted in the case of many of the books in the account book. However, as the modern editor's notes to this list reveal, we cannot conclude that those books which, like the Ovid *Metamorphoses*, bear no such description were all published by the Plantin-Moretus press.

About half the narrative works based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Torre series derive from the tradition of Ovid illustrations. At the simplest and most obvious level, Rubens utilized the compositional design, the rendering of action, and details of setting found in illustrated Ovids. See for example the *Glaucus and Scylla* (No. 26a; Figs. 109, 110).

Rubens's inventions seem to be closest to three editions in particular: *Lyons, 1557*, *Leipzig, 1582*, and Tempesta's Ovid. It is hardly possible to say which of these he had in mind when producing a particular sketch. The direction of the image is no help to us here since in works based on this tradition Rubens does not consistently follow either the direction of the images in Bernard Salomon's original woodcuts or the reversed images in Virgil Solis. (There is a similar mixture of reversed and non-reversed images in the Leipzig 1582 edition.) For example, in the scene of Atalanta and Hippomenes, Rubens's sketch combines features from the various models, but departs from all the illustrators by depicting the end of the race (see Figs. 65, 66, 67, 68). A comparison between the three Ovid editions and Rubens's sketch will be found in the *Catalogue raisonné* (No. 4a).

Although Rubens's sketches often seem closer to the *Leipzig, 1582* representations than the original woodcuts of Bernard Salomon, this might be due to a common interest in clarifying and enforcing the depiction of dramatic actions rather than to a particular indebtedness on Rubens's part. An example is *The Fall of Icarus*, discussed in detail in No. 33a (see Figs. 124, 125, 129).

The similarity that one frequently feels between Rubens's sketches and compositions and Tempesta's engravings is due to the fact that Tempesta was the one illustrator before Rubens to isolate the main actors in each scene and to concentrate on their acting out of the drama. In only one instance, however, is Rubens clearly indebted to Tempesta for a figural invention. The pose of Phaethon in Rubens's sketch (Fig. 165) – stretched out on his back, legs kicking wide and arms gesturing – as well as the fanning out of the four horses is based on Tempesta (Fig. 166). But Rubens conveys the terrible confusion of the moment by swinging Tempesta's horses around to form an arc to the left of Phaethon so that they do not appear to offer him support from underneath as in the engraving. Rubens further concentrates our attention on Phaethon's fall by replacing the figure of Jupiter and destructive arrows with an effect of light. Finally, his arrangement of the chariot, horses, and Phaethon himself clearly describes the diagonal movement of the plunge to earth.

In spite of Rubens's constant reference to these models, the total effect made by his sketches is very far indeed from that of the Ovid illustrations. As suggested earlier, of all the illustrated Ovids that we have discussed, only Sandys's edition renders the passions of the gods and men of myths with any of the subtlety and inventiveness we find in Rubens. The most striking parallel is between their renderings of Hyacinth and Apollo. While *Lyons*, 1557 and *Leipzig*, 1582 represent Apollo standing and supporting the body of the seated Hyacinth, whose neck has fallen forward in death, both Sandys (Fig. 126) and Rubens (Fig. 123) depict Hyacinth stretched out with Apollo bending low over him. Similarly, in deciding to follow Ovid's text and to depict Tereus rising, sword in hand, and overturning the table as he realizes that he has devoured his son's flesh, Sandys stands alone among Ovid illustrators, but significantly close to Rubens. But the kinship between the tiny vignettes in Sandys's Ovid and Rubens's sketches is the result of some common sympathies and interests, not of a direct influence. In no case did Rubens borrow a pose or a compositional device from Sandys's Ovid as he did from the Bernard Salomon tradition.

There is an unusual aspect of the Torre sketches that further corroborates their relation to the general tradition of illustrated Ovids. One of the first things we notice about many of the sketches and the paintings after them is the prominence of the settings in which the action takes place. This is hardly a central factor in Rubens's art. With the rare exception of the pastoral landscapes of the 1630s, in which the Holy Family might rest, the Judgment of Paris takes place, or ladies and gentlemen romp, Rubens trusts to human figures not only to carry the meaning of his works, but also to set the scenes and define the picture space. Except in designs for triumphal arches, it is characteristic that settings and props are kept to a minimum in Rubens's paintings. Where architecture is present, as in large altar-pieces such as *The Adoration of the Magi* of 1624 or *The Marriage of St. Catherine*, it serves mainly to support the design formed by the throng of kings or saints. In mythological works, which, unlike altar-pieces, did not traditionally make use of architectural settings, Rubens, one might say, hardly ever refers to them. The prominence of certain settings in the Torre works is not to be explained by an about-face in the nature of Rubens's artistic statement – the figures are still made to carry the full meaning – but rather by his sources. In *The Banquet of Tereus*, Bernard Salomon places the banquet and the presentation of the head in the fore-

ground of a room with a view at the right through a distant arched window, and beyond the building. The architecture is further worked out in the Leipzig edition of 1582 (Fig. 181), in which there are two arched entrances to the room, one on either side. Although, as what I take to be a copy after the lost sketch shows (Fig. 183), Rubens defines the wall more completely in architectural terms than does the Leipzig 1582 edition, the pattern he is following is obviously that of the small woodcut – with a columned arch to the right and a doorway with lintel replacing the simple arches. Even the column at the center of the sketch appears to be an architectural resolution of the illegible vertical accent to the left of center in the Leipzig woodcut, and the canopy over the king comes from the same source. Another setting taken by Rubens from an illustrated Ovid is the barrier in the race between Atalanta and Hippomenes which, together with the assembled spectators, appears first in Bernard Salomon's woodcut (Fig. 68). Rubens (Fig. 65) changes the setting not only by opening the barrier up to the landscape beyond, but also by introducing the post marking the end of the course so that the sketch shows Hippomenes's victory rather than the race itself. Finally, in the case of Arachne's loom, we can be more specific about the source, because this is one of the metamorphoses added in the Italian translation of Bernard Salomon's Ovid. Although Rubens (Fig. 60) decorates the room with one of Arachne's tapestries and alters the action quite radically, the construction and placing of the loom and the figure within the structure have their source in the 1559 Lyons edition (Fig. 61), which was repeated by Tempesta (Fig. 62). To this list of specific settings taken from the illustrated Ovids might be added such details as the temple behind Deucalion and Pyrrha (Fig. 96) and the arbor in the scene with Vertumnus and Pomona (Fig. 190). Having accepted the full description of settings common in the illustrated Ovids, Rubens went on to invent some of his own in the same mode. Thus two of his sketches which are not dependent on the illustrated Ovids take place in interiors similar to those used in many scenes by Bernard Salomon. He depicts Jupiter and Semele not in the heavens, as Salomon does, but in Semele's bedroom (Fig. 135), and Jason, instead of taking the Golden Fleece from the tree, finds it in the temple of Mars (Fig. 131) where, according to Hyginus, the fleece was preserved.

There are two major considerations in mapping the relation of Rubens's Torre inventions to the tradition of illustrated Ovids. First, we want to establish the precise relation of each sketch to the tradition. A start has been made on

this task in the present chapter and the reader can turn to the catalogue entries for separate discussions of the sources of each sketch and of its relation to the three major illustrated editions : *Lyons*, 1557, *Leipzig*, 1582, and *Tempesta*. (In cases in which a sketch is not related to the tradition of illustrated Ovids, I have indicated how it differs from that tradition.) In the second instance, Rubens's use of these sources provides a most valuable key to the analysis of his narrative methods and the particular manner in which he presents the lives and loves of the gods. We shall consider the nature and character of Rubens's Torre series as revealed by its relation to the Ovid illustrations and to Ovid's text itself at some length in the final chapter. However, it must be admitted that certain problems remain in our description of this as an Ovidian series.

The close relation between so many of the Torre sketches and the tradition of illustrated Ovids not only confirms the common assumption that this is an Ovidian series, but also suggests that it can be seen as Rubens's version of an illustrated Ovid. There are, however, several subjects that are not Ovidian in source, such as *Cupid and Psyche*, *Diana and Endymion*, *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*, and the lost *Danaë* and *Leda*. Less out of place are scenes which are referred to but not directly narrated by Ovid nor illustrated in the illustrated editions of his work – *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, *The Birth of Venus*, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting*, *The Creation of the Milky Way*, *The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais*, *Hercules and the Hydra*, *Prometheus* and *Saturn*. As will be seen in the final chapter, the presence of almost all these works can be explained in terms of the character or concerns peculiar to Rubens's series. The *Cupid and Psyche*, *Diana and Endymion*, and, we are safe to assume, the lost *Danaë* and *Leda*, are all love scenes popular among Renaissance and Baroque artists and similar to many Ovidian love scenes in the series such as the *Bacchus and Ariadne*. Turning to the second group of works, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* was a conventional scene which permitted the artists to represent a general gathering of the gods, and *The Birth of Venus* and *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* were equally conventional excuses for depicting these goddesses. The presence of *The Creation of the Milky Way* is harder to explain. In spite of the inclusion of *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*, and *Prometheus* (bringing fire to earth), natural allegory as such is not an important element in the Torre series. Furthermore, the Milky Way was seldom depicted. Tintoretto's London painting seems to be the only version of it in monumental art besides

Rubens's scene for the Torre. The Milky Way is referred to only once in the *Metamorphoses*, as the road along which the gods proceed to the Olympic council called by Jupiter (*Met.*, I, 168-171). As far as I know, this scene is never used in a sequence of Hercules subjects, and, in fact, in this case the infant might well be Mercury instead of Hercules. Rubens's emphasis would thus seem to be on the creation of the Milky Way itself.

Finally, there is a group of apparently non-narrative works, vertical in format and similar in all-over dimensions, each depicting a single figure : *Mercury*, *Fortune*, the *Satyr*, and the female figure I have called *Reason* (?). (I do not include in this group those narrative works in a similar format which concentrate on single figures such as the *Ganymede*, *Vulcan*, *Prometheus*, *Saturn*, and the entirely separate *Democritus* and *Heraclitus*). Not only the choice of these figures but the very identification of the *Satyr* and the figure I have called *Reason* are uncertain. The answer to the problem of their presence seems dependent on how we interpret them and their place in the decoration of the Torre.

Leaving the particular problems posed by individual works aside for the moment, one might wonder whether the description of the Torre works as Rubens's version of an illustrated Ovid is a just or, better, a complete one. Is there any evidence that there was a program, perhaps allegorical in nature, which can explain the selection of subjects – both Ovidian and non-Ovidian – that hung in the hunting lodge ? As we noted earlier, the King does appear to have had some ideas when ordering the works. In particular the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's letters mention the so-called *memoria original* from the King, which was returned to him at the completion of the series with the names of the painters who assisted Rubens. Does this mean that Philip wanted certain subjects or themes depicted ? There is also evidence from the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's letters that the King had certain desires about how to do some landscapes – we know that he wanted some works redone. Did these requests for specific changes refer to the mythological works or to the many hunting and animal pictures that were also part of the same large order ?

Without the *memoria original* and the King's half of the correspondence, we cannot answer these questions directly. I have found no persuasive reason to think that there was a program for the Torre other than that of a loosely conceived Ovidian mythological series. It is, I think, possible to explain the presence of such puzzling works as the *Mercury*, *Fortune*, *Satyr* and *Reason* (?)

in relation to – more specifically, as commentaries on – the Ovidian series that we have described. However, before going into this interpretation in more detail, we must consider the alternatives to this conclusion. Lacking any direct evidence – if in fact it did exist – the only way to judge the plan of the mythological series is to study it in its intended context. The question to be asked in the next chapter, then, is : how is our understanding of the series affected if we consider the mythological works not as a separate group but in their intended setting in the Torre de la Parada ? How did these works, along with the hunting and animal pictures ordered from Rubens's studio, and the works by Velázquez and others, serve as decoration for a hunting lodge ?

III. THE DECORATION OF THE HUNTING LODGE

It is hard today to conceive of the high seriousness with which hunting was pursued by the courts of Europe in the seventeenth century. The famous Cranach paintings depicting the hunts given in honour of Charles V and the tapestry series designed by Bernard van Orley known as *Les Chasses de Maximilien*²¹⁶ are not only fine examples of a secular genre of art, but testimonies to the importance this sport had in the life of the courts. Although we might understand a prince being entertained by Rubens's exotic though somewhat improbable images of brave men struggling against crocodiles and hippopotami, or admire the swift dogs by Snyders and Paul de Vos which scramble after game and burst into magnificent still-life scenes, it is hard to imagine, let alone understand, the wholesale slaughter of wild animals in which many seventeenth-century courts reveled. While the hunting treatises of the time read rather like natural histories of the appearance and habits of the different animals to be hunted and of the various species of dogs used to do the hunting, the facts of the hunt are of a different character.²¹⁷ In the north of Europe, where game abounded, two mid-century German princes (the Elector of Saxony and his son) managed within a thirty-year period to kill – and carefully recorded that they had done so – 110,530 deer, 54,200 boar, 6,067 wolves, and 477 bears.²¹⁸ Such enormous totals first appear in accounts of seventeenth-century hunts when the gun replaced the cross-bow and slaughter replaced the chase and confrontation as the major pleasure of the hunt. The laws relating to the punishment of poachers bear out the single-mindedness with which rulers pursued this sport : poachers were either killed, blinded, or,

²¹⁶ They seem to have been ordered by Charles V as one of the tapestries shows his emblem on a dog's collar. The hunts are situated in the woods near Brussels (R.-A. d'Hulst, *Vlaamse Wandtapijten van de 14de tot de 18de eeuw*, Brussels, 1960, pp. 180, 181).

²¹⁷ As a typical treatise see, for example, Jacques Du Fouilloux, *La Venerie*, ed. by M. Pressac, 1928 (first printed in 1561). I owe much of my sense of the nature of the hunt in the Renaissance to the general discussion in *Baillie-Grohman* and further works as listed in C.F.G.R. Schwerdt, *Hunting, Hawking, Shooting...*, I-IV, London, 1928-37, an exhaustive if cumbersome bibliography of hunting literature.

²¹⁸ *Baillie-Grohman*, p. 181.

when leniency was shown, had their hands cut off.²¹⁹ There was of course danger to the hunters and huntresses as well : the first and second wives of Maximilian of Bavaria (the forebear of Philip IV and the first in a great line of Hapsburg hunters) were both killed while hunting. It was in fact the mortal danger to the hunter, combined with the skills and strategy needed to corner and kill the game, that made hunting a noble exercise and thus, in the views of the time, a proper training ground for kings.

The traditional idea of hunting as the peaceful school for war is stated repeatedly in the hunting literature of the time and demonstrated in the field.²²⁰ It is with an appeal to this hallowed notion that Juan Mateos, the hunting master of Philip IV, introduces his treatise dedicated to the King :

“La dignidad de este noble ejercicio se conoce fácilmente por su propia acción de Reyes y Príncipes, y el maestro más docto que puede enseñar mejor el arte militar, teórica y prácticamente.”²²¹

As Maximilian wrote to his sister in Flanders, “Nous fusmes bien joyeux que notre filz Charles prenne tant de plaisir à la chasse, aulement on pourroit penser qu'il fust bastard.”²²² Maximilian's belief that the love of hunting was the mark of a true Hapsburg was set forth in the decoration of Tratzberg, a Hapsburg hunting lodge in the Tyrol where an enormous family tree of portraits appeared to grow out of the antlers of deer-head trophies on one wall.²²³ It was perhaps in this same spirit of marking the nobility of his family that Philip IV had Velázquez portray himself, his brother Ferdinand, and the little Balthasar Carlos in hunting outfits for the main room of the Torre de la Parada. A monarch's display of particular bravery on a hunt was praised and commemorated as if it were an heroic act on the field of battle. Thus, for example, Maximilian's *Hunting Book* records and illustrates his shooting of a mountain goat two hundred yards above him in the mountains after one of his men had shot unsuccessfully.²²⁴ And the spot in Flanders, near the

²¹⁹ Baillie-Grohman, pp. 182-186. The large body of printed hunting statutes testifies to the concern to protect hunters' rights to their game.

²²⁰ The *locus classicus* for this idea is in Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, I, 18.

²²¹ Mateos, pp. 9, 10.

²²² A. de la Ferrière, *Les Chasses de François 1^{er} racontées par Louis de Brézé... Précédées de la Chasse sous les Valois par le Cte H. de la Ferrière*, Paris, 1869, p. 66.

²²³ Baillie-Grohman illustrates this odd decoration, p. 65, fig. 33.

²²⁴ Baillie-Grohman, p. 61 and fig. 26.

castle of Bosvoorde (Boitsfort), where Charles V shot a heron with great skill was commemorated with a column topped with a bronze heron.²²⁵ Similarly, Philip IV's single-handed confrontation with a cornered boar is one of several of his feats of bravery in the hunt to be described in detail in the text and depicted in the engravings of Juan Mateos's treatise. Similar incidents were also, as we shall see, celebrated in paintings ordered for the Torre de la Parada.

To give a balanced view, it must be added that hunting not only offered an opportunity for the display of heroism, but was also a major form of court entertainment. A day of hunting was often organized to honour a distinguished visitor. If a visitor arrived in Madrid in January, as did the Princess of Cari-gnan in 1637 and the Duchesse de Chevreuse in 1638, a boar hunt, or more precisely a boar slaying, might be arranged. This is the type of hunt shown in the well-known *Tela Real* attributed to Velázquez in the National Gallery in London.²²⁶ In Spain particularly, innovations were introduced to make the hunt exciting for spectators as well as for participants. In the *Tela Real*, for example, we see the carriages of the court drawn up into the center of the enclosure so that even the women can be close to the action.

The court at Madrid, like other courts of the time, devoted much time and thought to the hunt. Philip's hunting exploits were celebrated in word and image, and an important and lasting bond between the King and his brother Ferdinand was the fact that, until the latter's departure in 1632, they had always hunted together. We get a clear picture both of their relationship and of their deep and abiding preoccupation with the hunt in the letters Ferdinand wrote to the King when he was already Governor of Flanders. These letters not only provide an account of the progress of the numerous artistic works that Philip was ordering from Rubens and his studio – including the Torre paintings about which they are a prime source – but also a running account of how hunting was proceeding in Flanders, how it compared with that in Spain, and so on. In a letter of June 7, 1637, Ferdinand complains that hunting

²²⁵ Baillie-Grohman, p. 84.

²²⁶ For a description of these particular occasions see *La corte y monarquía de España en los años de 1636 y 37*, ed. by A. Rodríguez Villa, Madrid, 1886, pp. 71, 259. The Chevreuse hunt is also described in *Memoria histórico español*, Madrid, [1862], XIV, pp. 301, 302.

is a bit phlegmatic in Flanders,²²⁷ but about a year later things appear to be improving as he recounts the recent killing of a fine boar and deer.²²⁸ By carrying some of his native Spain to the north, the Cardinal-Infante had in fact revitalized hunting in Flanders. Among his first acts as Governor was to send for ninety-one dogs from Milan and to reorganize the hunt with provisions for more men to guard against poachers. By 1641 the accounts show that he was spending three times as much per year on hunting as had the previous rulers, Albert and Isabella – or to bring out the magnitude in a different way, the 31,567 *livres de flandres* which Ferdinand spent on the hunt at the court in Brussels this single year represents three times the amount originally earmarked for Rubens for the Torre de la Parada decoration.²²⁹

Because of the great extent of the lands devoted to hunting, and because of the nature of the land and of the sport itself, Philip IV had need of many hunting lodges. As we have already pointed out, it is a mistake to refer to the Torre de la Parada as *the* royal hunting lodge : the Torre was but one of three located within the Pardo alone. Such buildings were not intended as permanent dwelling places, but rather as temporary shelters for refreshment and rest, perhaps for overnight. In the case of the Zarzuela, where there was a theater, entertainment was provided in the evening after the hunt. A watch-tower was apparently rebuilt into the lodge known as the Torre de la Parada to serve, as the name suggests, as a stopping-off place during the hunt or perhaps on the long way to or from the hunting territory up in the Sierra, where Valsaín, another hunting lodge, was located. We recall that the anonymous chronicler recorded that the King wanted *casa bastante en que alguna vez pueda aposentarse*. In size (there were only nine rooms in the royal apartments in the second floor) and character, the Torre was a private place intended for

²²⁷ Justi, *Velazquez*, II, p. 365 : "Auszüge aus den Briefen des Cardinal-Infanten Don Fernando, Statthalters von Flandern, an Philipp IV." Rooses-Ruelens extracted only those parts of the letters that were directly relevant to artistic matters, and in doing so left out some material of importance to the Torre commission. Justi, who had discovered the copies of the Cardinal-Infante's letters in Toledo, although himself only printing extracts, includes other material as well. I shall refer to Justi only when a letter, or section of it, is not to be found in Rooses-Ruelens.

²²⁸ Justi, *Velazquez*, II, p. 367, letter of 21 January 1637.

²²⁹ For an account of Ferdinand's hunting in Flanders see A. Louis Galesloot, *Recherches historiques sur la Maison de Chasse des Ducs de Brabant et de l'ancienne cour de Bruxelles*, Brussels-Leipzig, 1854, ch. IX.

the use of the King and his entourage, *gar herziges Häusel*, as Count Harrach described it. The almost complete absence of any mention of the Torre in accounts of seventeenth-century travelers to Spain, and the fact that, as far as one can discover, only two of the numerous distinguished visitors at the Spanish Court – Count Harrach and Francesco D'Este, Duke of Modena – mention seeing the building, testifies to its private and secluded nature.

As Justi suggested long ago, the Torre is perhaps best understood in contrast to the Buen Retiro, whose completion was celebrated in 1635.²³⁰ In fact a good part of the *raison d'être* of the Torre seems to have been that it offered the King an alternative to the newly completed Buen Retiro. The brainchild of the King's leading adviser, Olivares, the Buen Retiro was a large structure erected at vast expense just outside the city of Madrid to serve as a pleasure palace for the King and his court (Fig. 46). The Torre de la Parada, in contrast, rebuilt at little expense apparently at the instigation of Philip himself, was of very modest size and was situated in a secluded part of the Pardo accessible only to the King and his intimates (Fig. 2). As created by Olivares, the Buen Retiro was a showplace which presented a public image of the court. It was a center for large court entertainments, in particular theatrical ones, and an attraction for visitors to Madrid. The Torre was largely a place by and for Philip himself, and the fact that the world did not take notice of it is entirely consistent with its function. In size, in its practical purpose of providing rest from the hunt, and in its conception as a private refuge for the King, the Torre is comparable to a building such as the early Versailles of Louis XIII.²³¹ The contrast between the Torre and the Buen Retiro was borne out in their interior decorations. While the great series of historical paintings in the Sala de los Reinos of the Buen Retiro celebrated the military triumphs of Spain (the most famous work being Velázquez's *Surrender of Breda*), the main room of the Torre celebrated the King's exploits on the peaceful field of battle – the hunt.

The Torre de la Parada was the only hunting lodge, as far as we know, to have had a large number of works specially commissioned for it. From the

²³⁰ Justi, *Velazquez*, I, p. 319.

²³¹ See Pierre de Nolhac, *La Crédation de Versailles*, Versailles, 1901, for the early history of this building.

royal inventories of the period one gathers that it was common practice to move paintings from one building to another to fill up the bare walls of a new, or newly-favored, residence – it was for this purpose that the walls of the Torre itself were gradually stripped of paintings in the eighteenth century. The Torre contained more than one hundred works ordered from Rubens's shop and it was unique in bringing together, although in a very loose relationship, works by Velázquez and Rubens. It is hard today to reconcile the brilliance of Rubens's mythological dramas, and the fame of the ten paintings by Velázquez (including the three royal hunting portraits, four court dwarfs, *Aesop*, *Menippus*, *Mars*, and probably, in addition, the *Tela Real*), with the relative obscurity of the building in which they hung. But the situation is not quite as paradoxical as it seems, and must not be thought of as involving a different artistic evaluation of the decorations then and now. For we must remember that the Torre de la Parada was not hung with Rubens's brilliant sketches, but with the large and mostly dull paintings from his studio, and anyone who has seen these pictures in the Prado knows that they are – with the exception of those works by Rubens's own hand – among the most disappointing to come out of the shop of the great Flemish master. They display awkward figures with expressionless faces painted in dark, dull colors, in depressing contrast to the subtle, pale tones and the persuasive drama of Rubens's sketches. The split between invention and realization is wider than normally allowed by Rubens in his studio products. The King apparently got only what he paid for, and he paid, as has been pointed out in Chapter II, comparatively little. Although it is impressive on paper and in the sketches, the series in its finished form did not compare, for example, with the ensemble of works by Rubens, Titian, Tintoretto, and Veronese in the *Salon de los Espejos* of the Royal Palace in Madrid.²³² If we exclude Velázquez's paintings for the moment, the relative obscurity of the building is in no conflict with the unexciting quality of the paintings in it. Our high evaluation of the decorations for the Torre de la Parada is due to the quality of Rubens's sketches, and to the novelty that the paintings were assembled into a series giving independent emphasis to each individual dramatic scene rather than to the decorative ensemble as a whole.

²³² *Bottineau*, Nos. 57-87.

The Assemblage of Works

The eleven rooms, chapels and main entrance stairway of the Torre de la Parada were hung with a variety of paintings, which, with a few exceptions, can be divided up into the following groups : the mythological subjects from Rubens's workshop (to which we might append Velázquez's *Mars*); paintings of animals without human participants; three paintings of Philip IV hunting and three views of court hunts, all from Rubens's studio; Velázquez's portraits of the King, his brother and son, and of the court-dwarfs; the views of the Spanish royal dwellings near Madrid by unidentified Spanish artists; a number of religious works by Carducho. ²³³

Althoug it is difficult to give a precise explanation for the presence of works such as Velázquez's *Aesop* and *Menippus*, and Rubens's *Democritus* and *Heraclitus*, there is clearly a general appropriateness about the kinds of pictures which hung in the Torre. Nothing in the hunting retreat was out of place. Ovidian myths provided the kind of light, licentious entertainment traditionally recommended for a pleasure house in the country. As Alberti wrote about villas, "All the gayest and most licentious Embellishments are allowable." ²³⁴ The animal and hunting pictures referred directly to the purpose of the building, and the royal portraits and depictions of the royal dwellings were the conventional way of commemorating the owners of any building. Vincenzo Carducho, an Italian artist living in Spain who published a treatise in 1633, just before the King began to make plans for the Torre, wrote :

"Si fuere Casa de campo de recreacion, serán mui à propósito pintar caças, bolaterias, pescas, países, frutas, animales diversos, trajes de las naciones diferentes, Ciudades y Provincias : y si fuere compuesto todo debaxo de alguna ingeniosa fabula, metafora, ó historia que dé gusto al sentido, y doctrina al curioso, con alguna Filosofia natural, será de mayor alabança y estimacion..." ²³⁵

²³³ The six works which do not appear to fit into the above categories include three landscapes (Inv. 1700, Nos. [38], [155], [165]), an unidentified hunt (No. [167]), a St. John (No. [173]), and David Teniers's painting of dancing *los vayles* (No. [73]).

²³⁴ Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, transl. Bartoli Leoni, ed. by Joseph Rykwert, London, 1955, IX, 2, p. 188.

²³⁵ Vincenzo Carducho, *Diálogos de la Pintura*, Madrid, 1633, pp. 109, 110.

(If it were a country house for recreation it would be most proper to paint hunts, bird hunts, fishing scenes, landscapes, fruits, different animals, folk dresses of the different nations, cities and provinces; and if everything were presented under the guise of a clever story, metaphor or history which might please the senses and instruct the inquiring mind, along with some natural philosophy, it would be even more praised and esteemed.)

To his list of appropriate subjects such as animals, hunts, and landscapes, Carducho adds the suggestion that everything be composed in the form of a clever story or history conveying a natural allegory.

Of course we want to do more than establish the "general appropriateness" of the decorations. Was there a more detailed and comprehensive scheme or program for the Torre, integrating the various individual works and the different types of pictures? And, of greatest interest for the present study, did such a scheme determine the particular choice of mythological scenes and figures depicted by Rubens? Our prime evidence in answering the question about an integrated program is the nature of the different works and the order in which they were actually hung.

The 1700 inventory records that, with the striking exceptions of the *Galeria del Rey* and the chapel, all the rooms in the Torre had mythological works on the walls and animal scenes over the doors and windows. The *Galeria del Rey*, which had no mythological works, contained the three royal hunting portraits, scenes of the King and court hunting, as well as the usual animals over the windows and doors. The portraits of the court dwarfs hung separately from the portrait of royalty, Velázquez's *Aesop* and *Menippus* and Rubens's *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* were in separate rooms, and finally the pictures of the royal dwellings lined the staircase leading from the entrance courtyard up to the main floor. From the evidence that we have, this seems to have been the original arrangement. There is no good reason to believe that any of the works commissioned from Rubens's workshop were removed from the hunting lodge between their arrival in 1638 and the compiling of the 1700 inventory. Numerically, the 1700 inventory certainly seems to represent the Torre de la Parada as it was in 1638. On the question of whether in 1700 the paintings were still hanging in their original positions, we have only internal evidence. While common sense might suggest that they were moved around during the sixty intervening years, there is nothing in the nature of the works themselves to

indicate that the arrangement we find in 1700 could not have been the original one.

From the dimensions of the animal paintings and from the fact that, excluding the court hunts in the *Galeria del Rey*, forty-two out of the forty-five are listed in the 1700 inventory as hanging over the doors and windows, we can safely assume that these were still in their original positions. The fact that the main reception room on the second floor was decorated exclusively with royal hunts and hunting portraits, without any mythological works at all, suggests the original plan. It is perhaps surprising, however, that with very few exceptions – notably the three scenes from the life of Hercules in the second room on the ground floor (Inv. 1700, Nos. [147], [148], [149]), and the coupling of *The Fall of Phaethon* and *The Fall of Icarus* in the first room on the same floor (Inv. 1700, Nos. [141], [142]) – the mythological works designed by Rubens were not hung according to any discernible plan. They appear neither in the sequence of Ovid's poem, nor so as to connect the narratives which concern a single mythological personage. *The Death of Eurydice*, for example, hangs in the second room on the second floor, and *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades* in the second room on the first floor, while *Orpheus Playing the Lyre* is in the first room on the first floor (Inv. 1700, Nos. [31], [132], [138]). Neither are similar scenes – declarations of love, death scenes and so on – hung together. Furthermore, the four puzzling, non-narrative figures are scattered through different rooms (*Satyr*, Inv. 1700, No. [56]; *Reason (?)*, No. [65]; *Mercury*, No. [161]; *Fortune*, No. [168]). In fact, the only intentional aspect of the arrangement seems to be the placing of the one painting of all the gods assembled at *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, which is distinguished by its subject but not by its size, and is allowed to hang as the only mythological work by Rubens in the eighth room on the second floor (Inv. 1700, No. [94]). It is very possible that the narrow works with single figures, such as the four non-narrative paintings mentioned above, were hung beside doors or windows, since size was probably a factor in the ordering and hanging. It is also likely that the five small, square works of almost identical size were among those intended for the small room on the second floor referred to as the *cubierto*. But in keeping with general practice, although they are almost the same size and probably hung together, there is no apparent rationale behind the subjects they represent : *Narcissus*, *Nereid and Triton*,

The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais, Cupid on a Dolphin, and The Death of Hyacinth.

There is then no reason to think that a definite room by room order or grouping of the mythological works was planned. The contrast between this random arrangement of the Torre and the careful planning that went into the arrangement of the works in all the other series designed by Rubens, whether the Marie de Medici series, the Life of Achilles, or the Jesuit Church Ceiling, is, I suggest, part of the particular nature of this series and of the individual works of which it consists. In the face of the present widespread assumption that Renaissance and Baroque mythological decorations were normally planned and organized with an allegorical aim in view, we must make place for this very different kind of series : a group of mythological works which Rubens expected would be looked at as just that – separate illustrative scenes.²³⁶

The lack of any apparent program in the arrangement is evident also in the choice of mythological subjects to be represented in the setting of a hunting lodge. Although myths were certainly considered appropriate for such a building, those in the Torre were not chosen for their relevance to animals, the hunt, or the natural allegory suggested by Carducho. It is striking that the metamorphosis of man into beast gets little attention and that well-known Ovidian hunting scenes are left out. This indicates that there was no particular interest in the introduction of animals. With the exception of *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* and the lost *Diana and Actæon*, none of the mythological works for the Torre is explicitly concerned with the hunt. Those Ovidian myths which have an obvious connection with hunting, among the most common of which are Atalanta and Meleager and Venus and Adonis, are absent. None of the Ovidian scenes, nor the puzzling single figures, are included in the Torre series because of their special reference to hunting. Nor is there any special attempt to include scenes from the lives of those ancient heroes who were famed as hunters as, it has been suggested, was done at the destroyed Gonzaga hunting lodge of Marmirolo. The evidence there is that Rubens was

²³⁶ Our argument for the lack of allegorical intent in the mythological scenes in the Torre seems to be supported by the evidence of the few contemporary engravings we have after Torre compositions – for example, *V.S.*, p. 130, No. 105, after *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs*, and *V.S.*, p. 129, No. 94, after *The Banquet of Tereus* – whose inscriptions in Latin simply narrate the scenes illustrated.

attracted to and involved in four of the mythological scenes that probably hung in the Gonzaga hunting lodge, and the fact that a few figures and several of the compositions for the Torre are otherwise related to Giulio Romano's inventions in the Palazzo del Te, only makes the contrast more striking between Giulio Romano's works, which were so directly concerned with hunting and hunters, and Rubens's Torre works, which are not so concerned.²³⁷

²³⁷ From the little we know about the decoration of this lodge, which Rubens probably saw in his days at Mantua, and about individual works of which he seems to have known, it seems that the Torre is not related to it. It is important to set the evidence straight on this matter since the probability, if not the actuality, of such a relationship has been suggested by Michael Jaffé (*Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua, The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, pp. 326, 327 and n.). Following Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, pp. 225, 259-261, Jaffé has suggested that a series of four mythological scenes by Giulio Romano depicting *The Death of Adonis*, *Cephalus Mourning Over the Dead Procris*, *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, and *Hylas and the Nymphs* were among works intended for the hunting lodge. Although the paintings are destroyed, we know what they looked like from the two surviving original drawings by Giulio Romano, an engraving, and two copies which were apparently reworked by Rubens (see Jaffé, *op. cit.*, pp. 326, 327; for a list of further anonymous copies after these compositions see Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, I, p. 225). Hartt connects these four works with Marmirolo because of their subject matter. They are all concerned with tragic love stories and although only one scene actually represents a hunt, the heroes of the stories were all hunters. Further, each of the scenes is set in a rich and detailed landscape well populated by woodland deities and animals. As Jaffé has suggested, not only might Rubens have seen the lodge but further, drawings exist for both the *Hylas and the Nymphs* and *The Death of Adonis*, which are apparently Rubens's reworking of anonymous copies after Giulio Romano's compositions. I have found more evidence of Rubens's interest in these mythological scenes in a sketch made by Rubens of *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* (Fig. 11), the entire right side of which is based on the figures to the right in Giulio Romano's drawing of *The Calydonian Boar Hunt*, (Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, II, fig. 472). While Rubens evidently knew and studied Giulio Romano's compositions for Marmirolo, these compositions have no relation in subject or composition to the Torre de la Parada works. Rubens's *Diana* sketch, one of a pair representing *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* and *Diana and Astæon* (Fig. 12), was sold at Christie's, March 31, 1939, lot 113, to Tomas Harris, and from there passed to the collection of J. Nieuwenhuys, Brussels, in 1955 (Cat. Exh. Brussels, 1965, nos. 203 a and b). The panels measured 33 : 52 cm. when sold at Christie's (as illustrated here), but when an added horizontal strip across the top was removed by Tomas Harris they measured 23.5 : 52 cm. A painting closely connected with the *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* is catalogued by Rooses, III, No. 591. His plate 188 reproduces an engraving after this picture made in 1835 by its owner, Fr. Lamb. The engraving, however, is in the same direction as the sketch. Is it possible that these two sketches were enlarged at one time to fit with the sketches of *Sylvia and Her Stag* and *The Calydonian Boar Hunt* now in Philadelphia and Ghent? See Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 54, for a discussion of these other two panels.

Many mythological heroes connected with the hunt are named by Xenophon in his *Cynegeticus*, one of the most famous ancient books on hunting. In the introduction to his treatise, Xenophon relates how hunting was invented by Apollo and Artemis, who taught it to the centaur Chiron, who was, in turn, the teacher of many heroes including Cephalus, Nestor, Peleus, Meleager, Theseus, Hippolytus, Castor, and Achilles.²³⁸ Of these, only Cephalus and, marginally, Peleus (in *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*) appear in the Torre series and even they do not seem to be included because of their connection with the hunt. The only heroic figure depicted in the Torre works who had traditionally been connected with the hunt is Hercules, who had also been a pupil of Chiron's and commonly served as a model for hunters. Juan Mateos, to give a contemporary example, holds Hercules up as a model to follow when he reminds his readers in the introduction to his treatise that "La caza fué la academia de Hércules."²³⁹ A second reason for the inclusion of Hercules in the Torre might have been his fame as a Spanish hero. Gibraltar was known as the Gates of Hercules and he was said to have founded several towns, including Tarragona and Seville.²⁴⁰ Yet, in spite of this double reason for emphasizing Hercules, he appears to have been given no special place in the Torre de la Parada decorations. As we shall point out (see the *Addenda* to the *Catalogue raisonné*), we have concrete evidence of only four Hercules scenes in the Torre : *Hercules and Cerberus*, *Hercules and the Hydra*, *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, and *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*. Although the subjects are different, they represent no increase in the number of Hercules scenes over that illustrated in a typical edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Bernard Salomon, for example, included four scenes – Hercules and Cerberus, Hercules and Achelous, Hercules Burning, and Hercules's Apotheosis, his minor appearance in the Dejanira and Nessus scene making a fifth.

Finally, with the possible exception of four pictures (*Prometheus*, *Vulcan*, *The Creation of the Milky Way*, and *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*), the Torre works do not make direct reference to the elements, seasons, or any aspect of the natural world that we might expect to find in a country retreat. And of these four works, only two – *Prometheus* and *Vulcan*, both concerned with the

²³⁸ Xenophon, *Cynegeticus*, 1, 2.

²³⁹ Mateos, p. 10.

²⁴⁰ For Hercules's relation to Spain and to Spanish art, see Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *La mitología y el arte español del renacimiento*, Madrid, 1952.

element *fire* – are conventional nature allegories, if in fact that is the reason for their presence in the Torre de la Parada, while the creation of the Milky Way and the discovery of the dye known as Tyrian purple are very unusual scenes.²⁴¹ In short, there is a signal absence of natural allegories in the Torre. Rooses himself pointed to this lack, and attempted to compensate for it by suggesting that two Rubens studio works representing *Air* and *Fire* (Prado, Nos. 1716, 1717; Figs. 8, 9) belonged to a larger series of elements from the Torre de la Parada. There is no evidence in the inventories, in the history of these works, or in the nature of the decoration, that such a group of works had ever been intended for the Torre.²⁴² I find it equally unlikely, and for the same reasons, that the *Flora* (Prado, No. 1675; Fig. 10) was part of the Torre decorations, although Rooses (III, p. 17, No. 521) thought it was.

Not only is there no apparent logic behind the selection of the mythological works, but it is also notable that, although each type of work, be it mythological, portrait or animal painting, was fitting for a hunting lodge, there was no attempt to relate these groups to each other. Thus the myths are not in any way related to the animal scenes hung in the same rooms; the royal dwellings are not related in any way to the life of the court or to the hunt (these works might, for example, have been hung in the main room with the court scenes, or the royal dwellings might have appeared in the settings of the hunting scenes); and the portraits of dwarfs, whose character and court position made them particularly suited to a pleasure house, were hung quite separately from the court portraits in the *Galeria del Rey*. Although there was certainly some planning prior to hanging the paintings, the lack of a discernible program for the mythological works and the fact that the different groups of paintings were kept discrete is a significant argument against the existence of an integrated scheme.

²⁴¹ For a discussion of their literary sources, see Cat. Nos. 42 and 31.

²⁴² Rooses, IV, p. 60, under No. 835, refers to the two Prado paintings as perhaps being part of a series of *The Five Senses* (sic) intended for the Torre de la Parada. Jaffé, 1964, p. 321, suggests the pairing of Prado, No. 1716, with the painting of *Vulcan* (it is unclear whether Jaffé is here referring to Prado, No. 1676, which is universally accepted as being for the Torre, or Prado, No. 1717, which is not). A perhaps obvious argument against Prado Nos. 1716 and 1717 is their size: they are both 140 : 126 cm., which does not correspond to any other Torre work and is most significantly different as regards height. The Torre de la Parada paintings are uniformly around 180-190 centimeters high.

To give a concrete example of what such an “integrated scheme” could be like – one which closely relates figures of myth, nature, the hunt, and the life of the court similar to those found in the Torre – let us look briefly at the interior of the *Venaria Reale*, the hunting lodge of the Dukes of Savoy, which is painstakingly described in words and engravings in the contemporary account of Conte Amedeo di Castellamonte.²⁴³ As an explanation for introducing this book, which actually postdates the Torre, a word should be said about the genuine difficulties in giving an account of hunting lodge decorations. If we exclude the more general category of villas and consider only buildings directly associated with the hunt (and the character of the Torre decorations suggests that this is justified), we find very few such buildings whose decorations are known. One looks in vain, for example, for accounts of the interior of the original buildings at Fontainebleau or Versailles. There are several explanations for this situation. First, lodges such as these were often the predecessors of important royal dwellings, the earlier history of which is obscured and overshadowed by later splendors. Further, many lodges had no planned decorative schemes at all, being primarily utilitarian structures furnished for brief stopovers. And finally, like the Torre itself, royal hunting lodges were often the passing fancy of one monarch, falling into disuse, ruin, and eventual oblivion after his death. We turn to the *Veneria Reale* because Count di Castellamonte has provided us with perhaps the most detailed account we have of any hunting lodge. The fact that it postdates the Torre does not invalidate the comparison between an integrated and a freer decorative scheme, and in fact the correspondence between several elements in the Spanish and the Italian buildings reveals that they are both drawing on what must have been a single, broad decorative tradition.

The central building of what is perhaps best described as the Savoy hunting compound was organized as a group of apartments around a large central gallery. Diana, the goddess of the chase, was the major figure in the decoration of the building, which was dedicated to the celebration of her reign. The ceiling of the main gallery displayed the young Diana receiving her bow from Jupiter, and this was surrounded by four emblematic representations of different kinds of hunting, and ten *quadri riportati* illustrating important incidents

²⁴³ Conte Amedeo di Castellamonte, *Venaria Reale, Palazzo di piacere, e di caccia...*, Turin, 1674.

from the life of her court, including such well-known stories as Diana and Actæon, and Diana and Callisto, and such rare ones as Diana and Britomart.²⁴⁴ While the ceiling was devoted to the heavenly huntress, the walls presented the hunt on earth, at the Savoy court. An upper register of ten royal hunting portraits depicted the important men and women of the princely court and their royal guests departing for the hunt or engaged in the kill, and beneath there were scenes of actual hunts, six devoted to hunting different common kinds of game (deer, bear, and wolf) and four devoted to different stages in the hunt of the deer (the assembling of the hunters, the chase, and so on). The former scenes were separated by stucco decorations formed of satyrs' masks from which hung animal skins, the latter by caryatids of satyrs and children. The four corner apartments of the building specified Diana's reign over different kinds of hunts in terms of her command over the four elements, which were represented as the realms of Diana. Her reign over the hunt in air, on earth, in fire, and in water was presented on the ceiling of the apartment, and each in turn was surrounded by myths and emblems particularly relevant to the kind of hunt represented. Thus Bellerophon and the Harpies represented the hunt in the air, Proserpina that in fire, and so on. The subsidiary rooms in each apartment offered the opportunity for displaying more mythological or hunting subjects appropriate to each element. Finally, a separate room was devoted to famous dogs (including those which belonged to Ulysses, Vulcan, Diana, Dædalus, and so on) and to famous deer (including those belonging to various historical and mythological figures such as Camillus, Charles V, Caesar, Cyparissus and Sylvia).

The simple overall plan of the *Venaria Reale* decorations would surely not have been lost on a visitor. He would have recognized the Reign of Diana as it was used to bring together and relate the order of the natural world, represented by the four elements, a host of different stories and figures both mythological, historical and allegorical, the hunt itself, and the noble lords and ladies of the house of Savoy. The advantages of the program were two-fold : it provided grounds for including a large number of scenes, such as the myths of Bellerophon and Proserpina, that are not normally connected with the hunt; it further related these scenes to the order of nature, and it also heightened the significance of things normally connected with the hunt.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-33, and folded plates after p. 99.

Hunting dogs, for example, were presented as servants of famous masters or, to take another example, different kinds of hunts were related to the different elements by being depicted in apartments dedicated to Diana's reign over those elements. And the members of the Savoy court, in particular its women, were placed in a special relationship to Diana by virtue of being painted directly beneath her in the central hall : the *Reali heroine e principale Dame di questa Regia Corte* as opposed to the *Deità Poetiche e Favolese della Regia di Diana*.²⁴⁵

Although lacking an overall plan, the Torre de la Parada had many individual decorative features in common with the Savoy hunting lodge : mythological scenes, depictions of different kinds of animals, portraits of the court and court hunting scenes. (Perhaps Rubens's puzzling *Satyr* can be compared to the satyrs' heads in the main hall of *La Venaria Reale*.) However, it is not profitable to look for the key to the Torre in the particular way in which it related different kinds of works, since the various groups were not related to each other and do not help to explain each other. In distinct contrast to the Savoy lodge, the Torre does not appear to have been planned as an integrated ensemble, but rather as a loose combination of various appropriate kinds of works, a majority of which were ordered for the building, a minority of which had even been painted previously and were simply moved in. Therefore, instead of trying to compare the Torre decorations to the programs of other individual buildings, it will be most useful and appropriate for us to try to understand the different types of works in the Torre separately, as drawing on different aspects of those scenes and themes which conventionally clustered around the large theme of the hunt.

The Animal Paintings

The animal and hunting scenes ordered from Rubens's studio – numbering fifty works – provided much of the flavor of the interior of the Torre. They can be roughly divided into two groups : the large number of animal pictures which hung over the doors and windows of every room (described in the inventories as *sobreventana* or *sobrepuerta*) and a much smaller group of

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

hunts with human participants (referred to as *pintura*) which hung on the main walls, all but one of them in the *Galeria del Rey*. No one has attempted to reconstruct the entire group as they were originally hung. Several animal paintings in the Prado are catalogued as having been in the Torre. And recently, too late for inclusion in this study, it has been brought to my attention that practically all the rest of the animal scenes mentioned in the Torre inventories are in the possession of the Patrimonio Nacional and are now exhibited in the palace of Rio Frio near Segovia.

There is, to begin with, conflicting evidence as to which artists were responsible for these paintings. This problem is compounded by great confusion about how to interpret the names that appear in the different sources. In the correspondence of the Cardinal-Infante, *Esneyre* (sometimes spelled *Esneire*) is mentioned as the one artist for whose works Rubens will not make sketches,²⁴⁶ as having sixty works to do, and as being slower than the other artists.²⁴⁷ This artist has often been taken to be the animal painter Frans Snyders,²⁴⁸ but the identification is very doubtful since no works by Snyders are mentioned in the Torre inventories, and only one work attributed to him survives today as having come from the Torre. Furthermore, Snyders's name was commonly written as *Esneyle* rather than *Esneyre* in contemporary Spanish inventories.²⁴⁹ We can confirm that *Esneyle* refers to Snyders because it is the name given to the painter who worked with Rubens on twenty-five pictures sent to the Spanish Queen in the 1630s.²⁵⁰ Two of these paintings (Prado, Nos. 1664, 1672) survive today and are by Rubens and Snyders.²⁵¹ It is obvious that the similarity between *Esneyre* and *Esneyle* has been the source of much confusion since the seventeenth century. Some writers, starting with

²⁴⁶ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 171.

²⁴⁷ *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 175.

²⁴⁸ See Roger de Piles, *La Vie de Rubens* in *Dissertation sur les Œuvres des Plus Famous Peintres*, Paris, 1681, p. 24, and more recently H. Gerson and E.H. ter Kuile, *Art and Architecture in Belgium, 1600-1800*, Harmondsworth, 1960, p. 103; see also *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 171.

²⁴⁹ See *Bottineau*, Nos. 674-677.

²⁵⁰ *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 380, 381.

²⁵¹ It should be noted that *Cruzada Villaamil* does not reproduce names as they appear in inventories, but instead tends to translate them into what he considers to be their modern equivalents – thus in this case he changes *Esneyle* to Snyders.

Bellori²⁵² and followed recently by Justi²⁵³ and E. du Gué Trapier,²⁵⁴ have interpreted *Esneyre* as referring not to Frans Snyders but to Pieter Snayers. The evidence for Snayers's connection with the Torre commission is most persuasive. Five pictures attributed to him were inventoried in the Torre in 1700 and two pictures from the Torre signed by Snayers survive in the Prado today (Prado, Nos. 1736, 1737; Figs. 24, 26). (To add one further note of confusion, in the Torre inventory itself Snayers is referred to as *Arniens* and not as *Esneyre*.) Further evidence of Snayers's work on the commission is found in the Cardinal-Infante's two references to an unnamed artist working on hunts (*cazas*) in Brussels rather than in Antwerp, where Rubens had his studio.²⁵⁵ Snayers, alone among the painters associated with Rubens on this commission, had in fact been working since June 1628 as a free-master in Brussels and thus fits the Cardinal's description. The identification of Snayers does not, however, solve the problem of the many *sobrepuerta* and *sobrebentana* paintings, because the works attributed to Snayers in the Torre inventory were the court hunts and depictions of Philip IV hunting which hung in the *Galeria del Rey*. It is clear from the character of the hunting paintings from the Torre which survive in the Prado that it was not inappropriate to ask Snayers, who was primarily a painter of panoramic battle scenes, to do these panoramic hunts. However, it is highly unlikely that he would have been asked to do a large number of animal pictures. Thus there seems to be some confusion in the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand's letters. While we can safely assume that the Brussels painter who painted five court hunts was Snayers, the sixty works (which must have been animal paintings) attributed by Ferdinand to *Esneyre* cannot have been by Snayers. On the other hand, if we treat the Brussels painter and *Esneyre* as two different artists, we are back where we started with the problem of identifying *Esneyre*. The solution I shall propose will, I am afraid, still leave the interpretation of the Cardinal-Infante's letters in doubt, but it does satisfactorily clear up the problem of who painted the animal works for the Torre.

²⁵² Bellori, p. 233.

²⁵³ Justi, *Velazquez*, II, p. 363 n.

²⁵⁴ Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Martinez del Mazo as a Landscapist*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 6th series, 1963, p. 305.

²⁵⁵ Justi, *Velazquez*, II, pp. 364, 365. This letter of April 3, 1637, is not included in Rooses-Ruelens.

Of the forty-five animal paintings in the Torre de la Parada in 1700 (the number remaining after we subtract the so-called *Tela Real* attributed to Velázquez and the five hunts we can attribute to Snayers), sixteen are inventoried as by Paul de Vos, one (probably through an error) as by Cornelis de Vos, and twenty-eight remain unattributed. From the inventories it thus seems numerically impossible that any single artist painted sixty paintings for the Torre as the Cardinal-Infante claims, although it is indeed most likely that Paul de Vos was responsible for many, if not all, of the forty-two *sobreventana* and *sobrepuerta* paintings.²⁵⁶ Paul de Vos was the brother of Cornelis de Vos, a well-known portrait painter, and their sister was married to Frans Snyders. In 1620 Paul de Vos was admitted to the Antwerp guild and in 1628 his son was christened Peter Paul de Vos, with Rubens named as godfather. Thus Paul de Vos, like several other assistants chosen by Rubens to work on the Torre project, seems to have had a close personal relationship with the master. De Vos's animal pictures are often unsigned and are frequently confused with those of Snyders, although de Vos's animals are often less intense and stylized and therefore more simply realistic in appearance than those of Snyders.

The *sobreventana* and *sobrepuerta* pictures were animal scenes of various types without human participants. By combining the information in the inventories with what we know from the surviving works, we can define in some detail the character of these works. There were six dramatic scenes of hunting dogs attacking the normal objects of court hunts such as the wild bull, deer, and boar (e.g., see Figs. 13, 14, 15, 16). Although no hunters were shown, the conflict between the dogs and their prey was that common to the closing moments of an organized hunt. There was also a group of what might be called portraits of animals. Seven of these depicted different kinds of hunting dogs, with each work presenting a single, life-size dog seen against a landscape

²⁵⁶ It is conceivable that the total of sixty paintings included some works for the Buen Retiro. It has been pointed out that there was some confusion in reporting the arrival of the shipments of works for the two buildings, and we know that Paul de Vos painted works for the Buen Retiro; see, for example, Prado, No. 1875. This same proposal about the painters responsible for the hunting and animal paintings was made by Palomino when he wrote about the Torre in 1724: "... para los animales se valió de Azneira y Pedro de Vos, discípulos suyos [Rubens] eminentes en esta línea." Antonio Palomino, *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado* (1724), *Fuentes Literarias para la Historia del Arte Español*, ed. by F.J. Sánchez-Cánton, IV, Madrid, 1936, p. 106. A footnote to this passage identifies *Azneira* incorrectly as Snyders.

setting (see Figs. 17, 18, 19). There were also depictions of the eagle, elephant, boar, rabbit, fox, sheep, hen, and others, with some works combining several animals (see Fig. 20). Often in the same room in the Torre we find animals commonly hunted at the Spanish court juxtaposed with more exotic animals, on the one hand, and farmyard animals on the other.²⁵⁷

The 1700 inventory, which is very succinct in titling pictures, simplifies the subjects of some of the animal pictures by referring to them by the name of a single animal, for example, Inv. 1700, No. [69], *Lion*, or Inv. 1700, No. [99], *Conejo*. In the 1747 inventory, however, and in the list of paintings removed from the Torre de la Parada to the Pardo in 1714, which appears in the fourth *presupuesto* at the beginning of the 1747 Pardo inventory, we find the actions in these pictures described, and discover that some of them are not simple animal portraits, but illustrate fables of the Aesopian type. Although only one of these works is described as a *fabula* (Pardo 1747, No. [19]), we also find the lion in the net and the mouse (Pardo 1747, No. [15]), the tortoise and the hare (Pardo 1747, No. [27]), and the eagle with the tortoise in its claws (Torre 1747, No. [90]). By combining the descriptions from the later inventories with our knowledge of the few extant pictures of this type from the Torre, we can conclude that probably at least ten of the forty-two *sobreventana* and *sobrepuerta* works illustrated fables. Subtracting these, the six hunts and seven dog portraits from the total leaves nineteen animal works unaccounted for. Some of these might have illustrated fables, although I have been unable to identify the particular fables from the inventories. The Pardo inventory entries, however, seem to suggest that many of these pictures portrayed different kinds of animals in simple actions – for example, a hog backed up against a tree (Inv. 1747, No. [9]) – rather than fables. The fable was an accepted kind of animal painting at this time, and was apparently popular in Spain. Paintings of such subjects were ordered for the Buen Retiro as well as for the Torre and they were painted by De Vos, Snyders, and certainly other artists as well. Snyders's *Tortoise and the Hare* (Prado, No. 1753), for example, was said to have been in the Buen Retiro in 1700. It is difficult to identify the paintings of fables which hung in the Torre, and I have made no concerted effort to assemble all that may survive. As an example of the genre, however we may take Paus de Vos's *The Dog and the Shadow* (Prado, No. 1875, as originally

²⁵⁷ For more information, see the *Checklist of Animal Works*, pp. 143–145.

from the Buen Retiro; Fig. 21), which is characteristic of these works as painted by De Vos and Snyders: a stilted and awkward picture which does not solve satisfactorily the problem of presenting the dramatic reversal and resulting moral instruction common to all of Aesop's fables.

It was of course traditional to have paintings of animals in a hunting lodge, but the realization of what kinds of works the Torre paintings could have been, but were not, will emphasize once more the loose and unprogrammatic nature of the Torre decorations. Since the animal works did not contain human figures, they should not be termed actual hunting scenes. They did not combine to narrate the sequence of events in an actual hunt, as for example did the scenes in the *Venaria Reale*, nor did they commemorate particular kinds of hunting or particular events in the hunt as did the works in the *Galeria del Rey*. They did not depict the actual setting or royal dwelling near which a hunt took place, such as we find in the Maximilian series. (Such buildings of course appear in the Torre in the separate group of works on the main staircase). Finally, the Torre animal paintings did not attempt to record the techniques of the hunter and the fantastic catalogue of hunted creatures that Stradanus, for example, depicted in the famous tapestries he designed for the Medici villa at Poggio a Caiano.²⁵⁸

But although not belonging to an integrated program, the animal paintings in the Torre were related to the traditional concerns of the hunt. The portraits of hunting dogs, for example, reflect the great importance given to the selection and breeding of different kinds of dogs for the hunt. Every hunting treatise of the time gave infinitely detailed accounts of the capabilities of different breeds of dogs, their mating habits, growth, development, and the proper care to be given them in case of injury or sickness.²⁵⁹ The paintings

²⁵⁸ Tempting though it might be, it is in fact an error to look to this earlier building, renowned for its assemblage of mythologies and hunting scenes, as a model for the superficially similar combination of works at the Torre. There seems to be no connection between these decorations beyond the general one of combining myths and hunts. For the mythological decorations of Poggio a Caiano, see D. Heikamp, *Arazzi a soggetto profane su cartoni di Alessandro Allori*, *Rivista d'Arte*, XXXI, 3rd series, VI, 1956, pp. 105-155, and bibl. The hunting scenes were engraved by Ph. Galle and were the first in the newly popular genre of hunting prints; see *Venationes*, Antwerp, 1578. The first complete edition was dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici and claimed to include every kind of hunting, hawking, and fishing.

²⁵⁹ See, for example, Jacques Du Fouilloux, *La Venerie*, ed. by M. Pressac, Paris, 1928 (first printed in 1561).

of the other animals, such as that of the elephant, can be compared to the verbal descriptions which made up the bulk of every hunting treatise. What we have referred to as the concerns of the hunt were represented neither very clearly nor with great vigor in the Torre, and the Aesopian fables take us far from the world of the hunt itself. But it is wrong, I think, to attach too much programmatic significance to the presence of the fables. Although it is possible that they can be linked to Velázquez's portrait of *Aesop*, which hung in the Torre, it must be remembered that fables were also a standard part of the repertory of animal painters. Aside from the fact that animals are a major concern in a hunting lodge, there appears to be no clear arrangement of the dogs, other animals, and fables. The animals seem to have been intended to contrast with the human actors and the dramas of the mythologies : the animal world over the doors and windows setting off the passions of the gods and humans, which filled the main wall spaces of the Torre de la Parada. In short, the animal pictures as a group are best described by Bellori's phrase *scherzi d'animali*.²⁶⁰

The Galeria del Rey : Hunting Scenes and Velázquez's Royal Hunting Portraits

The portraits in hunting attire of the King, his brother Ferdinand, and his little son Balthasar Carlos, set the tone of the *Galeria del Rey*, the main public room of the Torre. Here the paintings celebrated the actual life of the court, with views of animal life, as in all the rooms, filling the spaces over the doors and windows. Aside from the royal portraits, there were paintings representing the kinds of hunts favored by the court, and others commemorating the King's heroic deeds in the field. According to the 1700 inventory, there were six hunting scenes : the well-known *Tela Real* attributed to Velázquez (Fig. 28), and five paintings by Snayers (called *Arniens* in the inventory). Although it is hard to tell from the inventories, or even from the pictures themselves, exactly what is depicted, we have important evidence in sources as diverse as the hunting treatise of Juan Mateos and the diplomatic reports of Il Commendatore di Sorano, the Florentine ambassador in Madrid at this time. From these sources we learn not only about the types of hunts, but even about particular incidents

²⁶⁰ Bellori, p. 233.

depicted in these scenes. A comparison of the paintings with the textual sources reveals that both the kinds of hunts and the particular incidents were already celebrated before they were painted, and the paintings obviously aimed at descriptive accuracy. Two paintings by Snayers, which hung over the fireplaces, appear to have survived. In one, Philip is depicted on foot, approaching a wild boar cornered by his dogs and about to kill it single-handed (Inv. 1700, No. [83]; Prado, No. 1736; Fig. 24). Justi pointed out long ago that this incident is identical with that reported by Sorano in one of his dispatches from Madrid.²⁶¹ The second fireplace piece of Snayers (Inv. 1700, No. [84]; Prado No. 1737; Fig. 26) shows the King coolly taking aim with his rifle at one of several deer in the forest, in a manner similar to that depicted in an engraving in Mateos's treatise (Fig. 27).²⁶² It is not clear whether a particular occasion is depicted here or just a kind of hunt favored by the King. There is some of the same uncertainty about a third painting by Snayers, now lost (Inv. 1700, No. [79]), which depicted the King and his two brothers, Don Juan and Ferdinand, on horseback chasing a boar. Juan Mateos describes this as a favorite sport of the King, its unique feature being that the boar was pursued on horseback without the help of dogs so that the hunt ended with a direct and highly dangerous confrontation between man (with spear) and boar. Mateos gives detailed accounts of particular hunts of this kind,²⁶³ and his book contains two engravings depicting such hunts (Fig. 25).²⁶⁴ The final two works by Snayers in the *Galeria del Rey*, also apparently lost, represented the flushing out of wolves by beating the undergrowth (Inv. 1700, No. [80]), which corresponds to a type of hunting described by Mateos,²⁶⁵ and a bird hunt with nets (*buiton*) (Inv. 1700, No. [82]).

It is probable that these three lost works by Snayers were similar in character to the London *Tela Real* (Fig. 28) since all four were inventoried as being the same size. The practice of hunting boars in a canvas enclosure (*tela*) – a technique so expensive that only the King could afford it, hence “tela real” –

²⁶¹ Although Justi, *Velazquez*, I, p. 325, quotes from a report of Sorano which describes this scene, no report of this date, 20 August 1635, exists in the Medici archives in Florence, nor has this passage been found in another Sorano entry.

²⁶² Mateos, between pp. 148 and 149.

²⁶³ Mateos, pp. 33-35.

²⁶⁴ Mateos, between pp. 38 and 39, and 91 and 92.

²⁶⁵ Mateos, pp. 208, 209.

is described at length by Mateos and illustrated in his book.²⁶⁶ As a group, these four works depicted a particular, favored kind of hunt, and at the same time honored the royal family and other members of the court by showing them either participating in or simply watching, the sport.²⁶⁷ The presence of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in at least one (the boar hunt) and perhaps a second (the *Tela Real*) of these paintings, which were ordered after he had left Spain for Flanders, underlines the close family interest in the hunt and the commemorative nature of these works.

The Cardinal-Infante's letters reveal that the accuracy of these hunting pictures was of great importance to the King, who no doubt wanted to be certain that he was depicted in the correct posture in the two paintings celebrating his own feats of heroism and that the technique and accoutrements in the larger works were accurately rendered. We know that the setting and manner of hunting was an issue in the larger works because the Cardinal-Infante explains to the King in one letter how hard it is to explain to the painter what the pit (*oyo*) at Valvelada was like; and he particularly regrets that, since he is the only man in Flanders to have seen it, everything depends on his guiding the artist.²⁶⁸ The *oyo*, located in the Cuartel de Velada of the Pardo, was a large, specially constructed pit into which animals were driven from a canvas enclosure for the entertainment of the assembled court. The painting which depicts this place and form of hunting is inventoried in 1700 in a room on the ground floor of the Torre as being by Cornelis de Vos (Inv. 1700, No. [156], *Monteria de el fosso* [ditch or hole]). The attribution to Cornelis de Vos is most unlikely, and the work seems identical with an unsigned painting in the Prado which has been sensibly attributed to Snayers (Prado, No. 1734; Fig. 29). The extraordinary width of this painting (576 cm.) as well as its subject correspond with the description in the inventory.²⁶⁹ This picture, which records another kind of hunt favored by the

²⁶⁶ Mateos, between pp. 86 and 87.

²⁶⁷ For a discussion of the *Tela Real*, see Neil MacLaren, *The Spanish School, National Gallery Catalogues*, London, 1962, pp. 78-84, No. 197. I agree with MacLaren that in this painting the interest is in the type of hunt rather than, as has sometimes been suggested, in the particular occasion on which the hunt took place.

²⁶⁸ *Justi, Velazquez*, II, p. 365, letter of April 3, 1637.

²⁶⁹ This picture is included in the list of numerous hunts and animal pictures transferred from the Torre de la Parada to the Pardo in 1714 : No. 34 "La caza del oyo, un lienzo muy largo y ancho."

court and includes royal observers, is similar in character to the four large court hunts which hung in the *Galeria del Rey*, although it was not in the same room with them.²⁷⁰

Although the Spanish court ordered many animal pictures from Flanders, court hunts were also produced by native artists. In fact, apparently on the basis of a reference to *dibujos* in one of Ferdinand's letters, and of a reference in another letter to the difficulty of explaining to the painter how certain circumstances of the hunts were to be represented, it has been suggested that the designs for the Torre court hunts were made by a Spanish artist and were then sent to Antwerp to be executed by Snayers.²⁷¹ The text of the first letter, however, does not clearly refer to *dibujos* sent from Spain, but rather to *dibujos* probably being prepared in Flanders on the basis of instructions sent from Spain at the planning stage of the Torre hunting pictures. And the second letter, which was incorrectly paraphrased by Justi, does not refer to sketches at all but simply to the difficulty that a man named Velada has in making clear to the painter what certain hunts were like.²⁷² It is of course possible, nevertheless, that some pictorial as well as written instructions were sent from Spain. The suggestion that perhaps Velázquez himself was involved does not have much to recommend it. It is true that Spanish inventories of the seven-

²⁷⁰ In the Prado painting, the *oyo*, or pit (which is very hard to make out in any photograph of the work) is located in the foreground just to the right of the assembled royal party. Because of the prominence of the canvas enclosure the Prado catalogue mistakenly refers to the *tela* here as if it were the same kind of hunt as that depicted in the *Tela Real*.

²⁷¹ Justi, *Velazquez*, I, p. 324, was the first to refer to sketches sent from Spain and recently Elizabeth du Gué Trapier carried his statement one step further to suggest that the Spanish artist involved was Mazo; see *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 6th series, 1963, p. 305.

²⁷² The relevant text of the first letter referred to above reads as follows : "Las memorias de las pinturas, que V.M. manda se hagan de nuevo, he recibido, y lo que nos toca à nosotros decir en los dibujos se hace cada dia." (Rooses-Ruelens, VI, p. 172.) Two months later, on the third of April, the second letter referred to above states : "Las de las cazar se hacen aquí de mano de un pintor que de este genero es famoso. Harto trabajo ha costado á Velada darle a entender como ha de ser, pero espero saldrán bien, aunque en la del Oyo de Valdelatas..." (Justi, *Velazquez*, II, p. 365). The similarity between the name of the man referred to in the letter and the place where the hunt took place is confusing. The name of the Marqués de Velada appears in the prefatory material of Juan Mateos' hunting treatise giving formal approval to publication of the book. I have been unable to discover whether this is the same Velada referred to in Ferdinand's letter of 3 April 1637.

teenth century name him as the painter of the *Tela Real*, and a replica of Snayers's *Wolf Hunt* (Inv. 1700, No. [80]) in the Palace (Bottineau, No. 938), and in the late eighteenth century his name is attached to a painting of a deer hunt held at Aranjuez.²⁷³ Since the *Tela Real* is apparently the only one of the hunting pictures attributed to Velázquez which survives today, we cannot conclusively decide about his participation in such works. The *Tela Real* itself is so damaged that one can only guess Velázquez's role in it, and Neil McLaren's suggestion that Velázquez did the foreground figures and Mazo the background seems convincing. It is very possible that Velázquez and his studio had a hand in designing such hunting works, and perhaps it was Mazo who was responsible for any pictorial instructions sent to Flanders, though the only evidence at present is the character of his known landscape paintings. It is furthermore very likely that the engravings in Juan Mateos's hunting treatise also served as models, either directly or indirectly, for the Flemish painters.

The representation of court hunts was a well-established genre, and the large pictures in the Torre continued the type represented earlier by the tapestries of the Maximilian series or by Cranach's paintings of the hunts of Charles V. The Torre works share with their predecessors an interest in depicting the setting and the action, and in including the royal participants, and they handle these several tasks in a similar manner: the setting in each case being an extensive one, with small figures of the hunters carefully placed in it.

This genre of hunting reportage and commemoration was not peculiar to works destined for the Torre de la Parada. We find other examples, and even replicas of the Torre hunts, in the inventories of other royal residences. The incident when Philip IV's horse dropped dead under him during a chase after the wild boar was thought important enough to be reported back to Florence by Sorano, narrated by Mateos, engraved in his treatise (Fig. 31)²⁷⁴ and illustrated in a painting inventoried in the Palace in Madrid.²⁷⁵ It is not sur-

²⁷³ See Justi, *Velazquez*, II, p. 336. This deer hunt is listed in the 1772 inventory of the Palace, Antecámara de la Princesa, No. 38. Another replica of this work was listed among the works transferred from the Torre to the Pardo in 1747, No. [2], although I have not been able to find it in the Torre inventory of 1700. A painting of this subject by Mazo is in the Prado today (No. 2571).

²⁷⁴ Sorano dispatch of February 5, 1633, *Archivo Mediceo*, f. 4959; Mateos, p. 35, and plate between pp. 36 and 37.

²⁷⁵ Bottineau, No. 939. Justi, *Velazquez*, I, p. 325, n. 3, notes that a painting of this same event by Snayers was moved from the Torre to the Prado in 1714, but I have not been able to find this work in the inventory.

rising that Snayers, who specialized in producing panoramic views of battle-fields, was asked to paint this particular kind of hunt view. The pictorial conventions of the genres as well as the demand for descriptive accuracy were very similar. The paintings of Philip IV alone, killing the boar and shooting the stag, would seem to present different problems. In these scenes the King was clearly meant to be the special hero and one might well have expected a monumental figure. Nevertheless, Snayers's pair of paintings were not calculated to overwhelm the viewer with the King's heroism and skill – rather they inform us about him even as the other hunting pictures inform us about the court hunts. In fact, it is only by virtue of the King's foreground position that we notice him at all in this pair of works. There are precedents for this kind of scene in hunting art, but they were generally confined to a very intimate format such as the *Hunting Book* of Maximilian, an account written under Maximilian's supervision by his master of the hunt and illustrated with some memorable hunting experiences.

The presence of the King, and of his brother Ferdinand and his son Balthasar Carlos, made itself felt in the main room of the Torre not in the small hunting scenes, but in the portraits by Velázquez (Figs. 32, 33, 34). But even here we do not find a heroic image of the royal hunters. Much has been written about these portraits and some questions still remain unanswered about their date and history. But Velázquez's special and remarkable achievement becomes very clear if we think of their relation to the genre of hunting portraits and of the context in which they were hung in the Torre. They are far from being glamorizing, and the portraits of leading members of the Savoy court in the *Venaria Reale*, or even the engraving of Conde-Duque de Sanlucar la Mayor on horseback which introduces Mateos's treatise, are far more triumphant images. Velázquez avoids any suggestion of triumph. He does not, for example, depict the royal hunters with booty at their feet as it became popular to do in the eighteenth century.²⁷⁶ He even ignores the extravagant trappings so beloved by royal and aristocratic followers of the sport.²⁷⁷ The three royal

²⁷⁶ See, for example, François Desportes, *Self-Portrait of 1699* (Baillie-Grohman, fig. 144).

²⁷⁷ See, for example, the elaborate gun given to the little prince Balthasar Carlos by the Duke of Osuna (Duque de Almazán, *Historia de la Montería en España*, Madrid, 1934, pl. LXI).

personages are identified as hunters by the simplest and most economical of means : guns, dogs, sporting dress, and the landscape settings. In fact, Velázquez has done with the hunting portrait what he did with his other royal portraits. They are only marginally royal hunting portraits, and are primarily portraits of the two men and the boy. Although Philip IV was most serious about the hunt, and took pride in his prowess as a hunter, these unadorned and unglamorous portraits were hung in the place of honor in the Torre de la Parada.

Despite the Cardinal-Infante's remark that nothing must be changed in certain (unidentified) paintings until the King knows what Rubens would like and, by implication, approves of it,²⁷⁸ we cannot be sure, without the King's half of the correspondence, to what extent the entire commission was directly controlled from Madrid. From my sense of the nature of the mythological works, I very much doubt that it was. From the discussion of the difficulty in having the *oyo* correctly represented, we learn that the accurate representation of such details was of the greatest concern to the King, and this is the only certain evidence we have at this point as to the nature of the control he exercised.

The Court Dwarfs

While we know that portraits by Velázquez of court dwarfs were hung in the Torre, we have no firsthand evidence as to their number, or which portraits they were. Since four of his portraits of dwarfs and fools – *Francisco Lezcano*, *Juan de Calabazas*, *Diego de Acedo* (also known as *El Primo*), and *Sebastián de Morra* – are almost identical in size (although the Morra portrait appears to have been changed from an oval shape), it is tempting to think that they were intended to hang together. Is it possible that they hung in the Torre de la Parada? The 1700 inventory simply lists *cuatro retratos de diferentes Sugertos y Enanos originales de Velazquez* (Inv. 1700, Nos. [19-22]), which solves neither the problem of number nor that of identification. The list included in the 1747 Pardo inventory of works removed from the Torre in 1714 is more informative, listing a *Bufon rebestido de filosofo estudiando*,

²⁷⁸ *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, p. 171.

and an *otro Bufon con un baraja de naype* (Pardo, Inv. 1747, fourth *presupuesto*, Nos. [24], [25]). These entries appear to describe two of the Velázquez portraits in the Prado today – *Diego de Acedo, El Primo* (Prado, No. 1201, with a book on his knees; Fig. 35) and *Francisco Lezcano* (Prado, No. 1204, with an object that is possibly a card in his hands; Fig. 36) – and confirm that they came from the Torre. It is very possible that *Juan de Calabazas* (Prado, No. 1205; Fig. 37), which appears in no inventory until that of the Palace made in 1772, was also in the Torre and, since he was a fool, not a dwarf, it is just possible that he is one of the *diferentes Sugetos* of the 1700 Torre inventory. *Sebastian de Morra* (Prado, No. 1202), who appears repeatedly in the Palace inventories from 1666 on, would appear to have never been in the hunting lodge.²⁷⁹ Thus, we can be quite certain that three of Velázquez's portraits of court entertainers were in the Torre (*Diego de Acedo, El Primo, Francisco Lezcano*, and *Juan de Calabazas*) and equally certain that *Sebastian de Morra* was not there.²⁸⁰ Since, except for the portrait of Calabazas (who died in 1639 and was most probably painted before that date), these portraits are almost unanimously dated on external evidence or for stylistic reasons in the 1640s, it seems clear that they were not hanging in the Torre when the works from Flanders were first hung in 1638. And we do not know whether they were planned by this date as part of the Torre decorations or

²⁷⁹ Let me summarize at this point what is known about the confusing history of these works, emphasizing that with the exception of the 1700 Torre inventory and the 1714 works transferred to the Pardo, I am only collating information from other researchers and not presenting original research in an area that is marginal to my major concern with Rubens. *Lezcano* : first mentioned in the list of works transferred from the Torre to the Pardo in 1714. *Calabazas* : first mentioned in 1772 in the Royal Palace and therefore possibly a Torre painting. *Sebastian de Morra* : listed in the Palace in Madrid in every seventeenth-century inventory starting with 1666, it therefore was never in the Torre. *El Primo* : listed in 1714 among the works removed from the Torre to the Pardo but also listed in 1666 in the Royal Palace. Either there were two copies of this work (which is, of course, possible in the case of the other portraits also) or, more unlikely, it was moved from the Palace to the Torre and then to the Pardo.

²⁸⁰ A major problem in sorting out the history of these works is the failure of previous scholars to report the actual inventory entries on which they base their account of these works. It is thus usually impossible to tell how much is set down in an inventory and how much deduced by a particular scholar. E. du Gué Trapier states that *Calabazas* and *Lezcano* were definitely in the Torre, López-Rey suggests *Calabazas, Lezcano*, and *El Primo*, and the Prado catalogue makes the claim for *El Primo* and *Lezcano*.

whether they were even painted with the Torre in mind. Since the fool Calabazas had belonged to the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand before his departure for Flanders in 1632, one wonders if this particular portrait was painted for and hung in the Torre de la Parada in memory of the King's brother much as was Ferdinand's own portrait and some of the court hunts. At any rate it would be in keeping with the haphazard hanging of these works in the Torre for the portraits of the court fools to have been simply moved into a down-stairs room whenever they were completed.

As essentially comic court figures, the dwarfs and fools were most appropriately displayed on the walls of a pleasure house. There is no evidence that the dwarfs played a part in the ceremony of the Spanish court hunts although this does appear to have been common practice at European courts of the time. For example, Claus, the famous jester to Duke John Casimir of Saxe-Coburg, is present at the side of his master in several of the ceremonial hunting scenes of the Coburg Chronicle, which dates from the 1630s.²⁸¹ As so often in the Torre, however, the traditional relationship of different figures or works is merely implied by their presence in the building. The dwarfs are not included in the court scenes, nor hung in the same room with them, but their connection to the court explains their presence in the hunting lodge. The particular effect of Velázquez's art was to make the dwarfs and fools as impressive, in spite of their obvious deformities, as the royal figures. On the walls of the Torre they did not appear as objects of jest and humor, but as creatures made into distinct individuals by being treated as members of the court. Thus, although not included in a decorative scheme, they are given more importance in the Torre through their human dignity than was an attendant figure such as Claus in the Coburg Chronicle.

The Series of Royal Residences

The description of the court world informally assembled in the Torre de la Parada was completed with the seventeen paintings of royal residences and hunting lodges near Madrid – including the Torre de la Parada itself, which was discussed earlier – which hung along the walls of the main staircase

²⁸¹ See *Baillie-Grohman*, figs. 111, 113.

(Inv. 1700, Nos. [1-17]). There were apparently several series of this kind decorating royal residences in the seventeenth century. A number of pictures of this type survive in Spain today, most of them under the jurisdiction of the Patrimonio Nacional, which has divided them up among various museums and monuments, and some seem indeed to be the very paintings inventoried in the Torre.

The 1700 inventory of the Torre identifies the seventeen works as follows : “[1] Casa de Campo, [2] Balsayn, [3] La Casilla del Bacia Madrid, [4] el Pardo, [5] Casa de Araso, [6] el Castillo de Azeca, [7] Campillo, [8] Zarzuela, [9] Torre de la Parada, [10] Aranjuez, [11] Escorial, [12] Herjínio, [13] Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial, [14] Torrecilla de San Antonio de los Portugueses, [15] otra Casilla de Retiro, [16] el Sitio del Retiro, [17] Palacio de Madrid.” While in 1700 all the buildings are named with the exception of No. [15], in 1747 only twelve are named and the remaining five are referred to as *una casa de campo* (Nos. 2, 12, 15, 16) or *un Palacio con su Torre* (No. 9). The 1747 inventory does, however, note the size of each picture. The following anonymous paintings represent the royal residences inventoried in the Torre :

Madrid, Museo Municipal :

Casa de Campo (Fig. 38; oil on canvas, 125 : 165 cm.; Cat. 1926, No. 272);

Torre de la Parada (Fig. 2; oil on canvas, 226 : 140 cm.; Cat. 1926, No. 279);

Real Alcazar, Madrid (Fig. 39; oil on canvas, 62 : 117 cm.; Cat. 1926, No. 212);

Patrimonio Nacional. On deposit in the Escorial and the Royal Palace in Madrid :

Valsain (Fig. 40; oil on canvas, 137 : 205 cm.; Inv. No. 1480);

Aceca (Fig. 41; oil on canvas, 80 : 127 cm.; Inv. No. 1481);

Aranjuez (oil on canvas, 215 : 187 cm.; Inv. No. 1482);

Escorial (Fig. 42; oil on canvas, 112 : 192 cm.; Inv. No. 1483);

Monasterio (oil on canvas, 77 : 91 cm.; Inv. No. 1484);

Campillo (Fig. 43; oil on canvas, 81 : 136 cm.; Inv. No. 1485);

Pardo Palace (Fig. 44; oil on canvas, 137 : 278 cm.; Inv. No. 1486);

Vacia Madrid (Fig. 45; oil on canvas, 110 : 188 cm.; Inv. No. 1487);

Buen Retiro (Fig. 46; oil on canvas, 130 : 305 cm.; Inv. No. 4059);

Madrid, Instituto Valencia de Don Juan :

Pardo Palace, a different view of the Pardo from that listed above (oil on canvas, 142 : 187 cm.; Cat. 1923, No. 96);

Valsain, a replica of the painting listed above (oil on canvas, 142 : 187 cm.; Cat. 1923, No. 97).

The paintings of the Torre de la Parada, the Casa de Campo, the Alcazar and the Campillo, all have their names inscribed in white lettering at the lower righthand corner. These works include twelve of the seventeen sites inventoried in the Torre; paintings of Araso, Zarzuela, Harjinio, Torrecilla de San Antonio de los Portugueses, and a Casilla de Retiro, which are named in the Torre inventory, are missing.²⁸²

Since there were apparently several such series, and the paintings of royal sites inventoried in the Torre were not necessarily by one hand, it is very hard to be sure that the surviving anonymous works, which are obviously by several hands, are identical with those in the 1700 and 1747 Torre de la Parada inventories. A few years ago documentation was found in the *Archivo Histórico de Protocolos* in Madrid which attributed five of these paintings to Felix Castello and one to Jusepe Leonardo.²⁸³ Since Velázquez was employed to assist in the decoration of the Torre, it would seem natural for Jusepe Leonardo, who has frequently been referred to as his follower, to have been selected to do some of the views of royal sites. José Lopez-Rey has, however, recently stated that we have no evidence that Jusepe Leonardo was in fact Velázquez's follower.²⁸⁴ Although Juan Bautista Martínez del Mazo has been suggested as the artist of some of these works,²⁸⁵ a recent article on the land-

²⁸² The problem remains that in many cases the size and even the proportions of the extant works do not correspond exactly with those of the works inventoried in the hunting lodge. In the case of the Torre painting the relationship is rather close – the extant painting is 226 : 140 cm. and the painting in the 1747 inventory is 3 : 2 varas or, on the basis of approx. 83.5 cm. = 1 vara, 250.5 : 167 cm.

²⁸³ See María Luisa Caturla, *Pinturas, Frondas, y Fuentes del Buen Retiro*, Madrid, 1947, p. 38. Francisco Iñiguez Almech, *Casas Reales y Jardines de Felipe II*, *Cuadernos de Trabajo de la Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma*, 2, no. 1, Madrid, 1952, pp. 22, 23, suggests that five of the paintings – Aceca, *El Campillo*, *Monasterio*, *Vaciamadrid*, and *Casa de la Nieve* – are perhaps by Jusepe Leonardo.

²⁸⁴ José Lopez-Rey, *Velázquez : A Catalogue Raisonné of His Œuvre*, London, 1963, p. 68.

²⁸⁵ See F.J. Sánchez-Cantón, *Catálogo de las Pinturas del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan*, Madrid, 1923, p. 187, referring to the unpublished results of research by Elías Tormo y Monzó.

scapes of Mazo did not mention these paintings of royal sites, which, it should be noted, are very different in character from the landscapes by Mazo.²⁸⁶ More work remains to be done on the surviving paintings of royal sites to determine, if possible, whether they are identical with the pictures that hung in the Torre de la Parada, and further to discover what artists were responsible for their execution.

The topographical depiction of court residences was a traditional genre of court decoration and particularly popular as villa decorations.²⁸⁷ Though the paintings of this genre which appear to have hung in the Torre differ in details such as clouds and trees, and in that some have figures and some do not, they share an interest in simply documenting the appearance of the various residences. They are neither detailed depictions of court life nor attractive landscape views. In this respect they differ, for example, from two paintings of royal sites signed by Benito Manuel de Agüero (Prado, Nos. 891, 892) which, by lowering the viewpoint of the observer, attempt to bring him closer to the life around the buildings. Although not all the royal residences which lined the Torre staircase were hunting centers, enough were to perhaps justify us in comparing this series with the buildings depicted in the tapestries of the Maximilian series. Once again we find a traditional genre present in the Torre, but neither related particularly to the other works nor integrated into an overall plan for the building.

The Philosophers and Mars

The informal nature of the selection and organization of the works in the Torre makes it impossible to decide, without other evidence, whether particular works were made for the Torre or were simply hung there. Hence there is an

²⁸⁶ See Elizabeth du Gué Trapier, *Martínez del Mazo as a Landscapist*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXI, 6th series, 1963, pp. 293-310.

²⁸⁷ From the number of Spanish seventeenth-century pictures of this kind which survive, and from the frequent repetition of individual works, one gathers that they were in widespread use at the court. In discussing other versions of several such works, Sánchez-Cantón has mentioned "las dos o tres series de vistas de sitios reales" (*Catálogo de las Pinturas del Instituto Valencia de Don Juan*, Madrid, 1923, p. 187). Copies of several of these works, including one of the painting which represents the Torre de la Parada itself, have been recorded in a private Italian collection by Juan Ainaud de Lasarte, *Francisco Ribalta: Notas y Comentarios*, Goya, XX, 1957, p. 89.

important and apparently unsolvable problem in determining the part played in the Torre by the *Aesop* (Fig. 48), *Menippus* (Fig. 49), and *Mars* (Fig. 47) of Velázquez. It has generally been assumed that these works were painted for the Torre, and although they have been variously dated from 1635-40, they have seemed to fit Velázquez's style of the late 1630s. Students of Velázquez are puzzled by the choice of these particular ancient writers and it has been commonly assumed that their similarity in size and subject matter to Rubens's *Democritus* (Fig. 195) and *Heraclitus* (Fig. 196) means that the four works were somehow related. However, since the two pairs hung in different rooms in the Torre, this relationship seems somewhat improbable. And, while the four works are similar in height (from 179 to 181 cm.), this is within the ordinary range of height of the mythological paintings (probably corresponding to the placing of the molding on the walls) and it must be pointed out that they differ significantly in width (*Aesop* and *Menippus* are 95 cm. and *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* 64 cm.).

The ancient philosophers Democritus and Heraclitus have no direct relation to the Ovidian narratives or to the moral commentary provided by the allegorical figures. The popularity of this contrasting pair of the weeping and the laughing philosopher in the seventeenth century – most particularly in the Netherlands and Spain – would seem to be the only explanation for their presence in the Torre.²⁸⁸

A recent study by E.W. Palm has attempted to explain the choice of *Aesop* by placing him in the tradition of beggar philosophers, demonstrating that this author of fables was considered to be one of the ancient philosophers and citing as precedent an earlier Spanish representation of *Aesop* from the Ribera workshop.²⁸⁹ The material on *Menippus* is, as Palm himself admits, really

²⁸⁸ For contemporary interpretations of these two figures which have only a general bearing on their place in the Torre, see W. Weisbach, *Der sogenannte Geograph von Velazquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit*, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 141-148, and Delphine Fitz Darby, *Ribera and the Wise Men*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, pp. 284-288. A recent study by A. Blankert, *Heraclitus en Democritus, in het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 31-124, discusses the pictorial traditions for depicting these two figures.

²⁸⁹ Erwin Walter Palm, *Diego Velazquez: Aesop und Menippus*, *Lebende Antike*, ed. by H. Meller and H. Zimmermann, Berlin, 1967, pp. 207-217. On the other hand Delphine Fitz Darby, *op. cit.*, identifies *Aesop* with a famous tragic actor rather than with the writer.

non-existent : his reputation rested on the praise of Lucian and there was no pictorial tradition of portraying him. It is only by his similarity to Aesop as a former slave, moral philosopher and inventor of a literary genre, that his depiction by Velázquez can be explained. The unwarranted consideration of *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* in relation to the unresolved problem of *Aesop* and *Menippus* has not clarified their purpose. Palm unpersuasively suggests that both pairs represent laughing and crying at the world and further attempts to tie Velázquez's *Mars* and Rubens's *Vulcan* (Fig. 193) and *Fortune* (Fig. 105) to the same group. Given the informal nature of the Torre de la Parada decorative scheme, it is unlikely that we shall succeed in accounting for the presence of these figures by relating them to other Torre works. However, the appropriateness of these works to the general concerns of the Torre can be clearly demonstrated and makes more sense in explaining them.

First, there is the obvious connection between Aesop and the animal world of his fables, some of which, as we have seen, were illustrated in the Torre. It is possible that, when ordering the animal works from Flanders, the King or his advisers came upon the happy plan of having some fables illustrated to go along with Velázquez's portrait of Aesop, or conversely, perhaps the portrait was ordered to accompany the fables. Certainly the simple character of Aesop, the fact that he was a freed Thracian slave and famed as a maker and teller of prose stories, seems to make him a suitable subject for a simple hunting lodge and also, as has often been pointed out, for the brush of Velázquez, the painter of the *bodegones* and the dwarfs. Furthermore, he fits in well with the myths and animals of the Torre because the *Life of Aesop* and other texts depicted him as a Phrygian, a defender of the simple life against the higher culture of Apollo.²⁹⁰ Although Menippus the Cynic is less well-known than Aesop, one could offer rather similar reasons for his presence in the Torre. He too was a freed slave who, according to the characterization offered by Lucian in his dialogue *Menippus*, became suspicious of the higher forms of thinking represented by metaphysical speculation and investigation and discovered that the best life was to be found in the common man. He took as his philosophy that you should "make it always your sole object to put the

²⁹⁰ For an intelligent and concise discussion of Aesop's life and writings see the introduction to *Babrius and Phaedrus*, ed. by Ben Edwin Perry, *The Loeb Classical Library*, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

present to good use and to hasten on your way, laughing a great deal and taking nothing seriously.”²⁹¹ His writings were apparently in accordance with this comic view, and hence Varro, the early Roman satirist, christened some of his own works *Saturaे Menippeae*. This is as far as we can go in explaining the presence of Velázquez’s pair of ancient authors in the Torre.

The single figures of gods which Rubens supplied for the Torre are all depicted in dramatic situations and are thus more similar to the large mythologies than their format would suggest. But the *Mars* by Velázquez is a distinctly undramatic figure. It has been suggested that he is a parody of the warrior god, although it has not been persuasively demonstrated that Velázquez ever depicted the gods of ancient myth satirically. And it is certainly significant in this instance that Mars is depicted not only as a simple man but as a warrior at rest. The battle is far from his mind. We are of course familiar with Mars and Venus as an image of harmony, and with Mars disarmed as an image of Peace. This *Mars*, however, can best be understood in the context of the hunting lodge, the home of a pursuit conceived of quite literally as the peaceful equivalent of, and training ground for, war. Mars is at rest in respect to the hunt. There is no conclusive evidence that Velázquez’s *Mars* was painted for the Torre, but, like the *Aesop* and *Menippus*, it does fit in with the concerns of the building. It is clear that, in the context of the decorative schemes being carried out in Madrid in the 1630s, this figure suits the Torre, but would not have suited the triumphant depiction of war being assembled in the main gallery of the Buen Retiro. The *Mars*, in fact, serves to underline the contrast between these buildings, a contrast which, at least at its simplest level, the King must have had in mind when he ordered the Torre to be rebuilt and decorated.

Four Allegories

Our study of Rubens’s mythological works in the context of the hunting lodge and of the other paintings assembled there gives us no reason to reject our earlier hypothesis that this is Rubens’s version of an illustrated Ovid. Although

²⁹¹ *Menippus* in Lucian, *Works*, transl. A.M. Harmon, *The Loeb Classical Library*, iv, 2nd ed., Cambridge, Mass., 1952, paragraph 21.

they are appropriate to a hunting lodge, neither the mythological works nor the other Torre paintings appear to have been commissioned and hung in accordance with a detailed and integrated overall program. We can thus return to the problems about the presence of certain of Rubens's mythological figures posed at the end of the preceding chapter, and try to answer them in terms of our sense of the nature of the Torre decorations as a whole.

Chapter II concluded by isolating the problems raised by four works : *Mercury*, *Fortune*, the *Satyr*, and the figure I have called *Reason* (?). These works are similar in format and are distinguished from the other mythological works in the Torre by their concentration on single figures not involved in dramatic action. The three paintings of the group that survive are all 179 to 181 centimeters in height; the *Mercury* and the *Satyr* are narrow (64-67 cm.) while the figure of *Fortune* is wider (95 cm.). It is very possible that the La Coruña sketch of a female figure was intended to be an allegorical figure the same size as the *Fortune*.²⁹²

Let us try to establish their identity first. There seems little doubt that the figure variously identified as Marsyas (K.d.K., p. 12 left), Silenus, or a Faun (Prado, No. 1681), or even Diogenes,²⁹³ is actually a Satyr (Fig. 179).²⁹⁴ He is identifiable as such by his pointed ears and by the bearded mask, which rests on what might well be an altar by his side. Satyrs are conventionally used to make reference to man's lusts and lower passions,²⁹⁵ and the mask, which

²⁹² I have estimated the size on the basis of the relationship between a sketch of the size of that in La Coruña and a completed painting in the Torre series. The *Bacchus and Ariadne* sketch is, for example, this size (27 : 16 cm.) and the completed painting is 180 : 95 cm., although the sketch for *Prometheus*, which is 25 : 17 cm., ended up in a painting of 182 : 113 cm.

²⁹³ Werner Weisbach, *Der sogenannte Geograph von Velazquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit*, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 142, 143, who incidentally thanks Ludwig Burchard for his opinion on this matter. The identification of this figure as the ancient philosopher is due to Weisbach's assumption that it belongs in a series of three with the *Democritus* and *Heraclitus*. Once again, the similarity in size of the three works does not dictate a relationship. The identification as Diogenes is probably due to his nakedness and to the animal skin which is interpreted as being that of a dog, the animal associated with Diogenes. This explanation fails, however, to take account of the figure's pointed ears and smiling face, the gesture of his hand, and the mask and small structure to his left.

²⁹⁴ This work is probably identical with the painting inventoried in the Torre, Inv. 1700, No. [56], and mistakenly called lost by Rooses, III, No. 551.

²⁹⁵ Guy de Tervarent, *Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane*, 1450-1600..., II, Geneva, 1959, col. 335, 336, s.v. *satyre*.

often accompanies satyrs in bacchanalian scenes, is a conventional emblem of deception.²⁹⁶ In the case of Rubens's figure, the reference to deception is emphasized by the furpiece, which is most likely the skin of a fox, an animal traditionally signifying craftiness and deception.²⁹⁷ Associated with the satyr, the mask and the furpiece have a particular meaning – they point to the deception of human passions. A parallel example to Rubens's *Satyr* with the mask is Michelangelo's lost cartoon of *Venus and Cupid*.²⁹⁸ The two masks, one old and bearded, one youthful, which lie on the altar of love, have been interpreted as a comment on the deception of the sensual pleasures, which are represented by Venus and Cupid.²⁹⁹

We have moved from identifying the figure of the Satyr to interpreting the force or specific allegorical meaning with which it is intended in the Torre. Having argued for the unprogrammed nature of the Torre and the emphasis on the narration of the Ovidian myths, it is with some hesitation that I

²⁹⁶ C. Ripa, *Nova Iconologia*, Padua, 1616, s.v. *bugia, fraude, inganno, imitatione*. See the similar bearded mask lying in the foreground of Rubens's *Worship of Venus* (K.D.K., p. 324). Masks appear also in the foreground of Poussin's *Triumph of Pan*, Coll. S. Morrison, Sudeley Castle (A. Blunt, *The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin*, London, 1966, p. 97, No. 136).

²⁹⁷ C. Ripa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *astutia ingannevole*. "Donna vestita di pelle di volpe." It does not look like a panther or goat skin, both traditionally associated with a satyr; Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 2nd series, III, Stuttgart, 1929, s.v. *Silenos* and *Satyros*.

²⁹⁸ See the painting in the Uffizi, Florence, attributed to Pontormo, after Michelangelo's lost cartoon (Cat. *Mostra del Pontormo*, Florence, 1956, No. 66, pl. LI).

²⁹⁹ Another use of a mask and altar in a similar context is in Annibale Carracci's *Choice of Hercules* in the Camerino Farnese ("Masken die das Trügerische aller sinnlicher Genüsse andeuten"; Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst*, Leipzig, 1930, p. 125). A problem remains : Rubens's satyr appears to be pointing at his head with two fingers of his right hand and not holding something, as might appear at first glance. The gesture is perhaps directed toward the head as the seat of reason which is deceived by the senses. This gesture of pointing at the head in order to signify reason occurs in an emblem in Bocchi which depicts a Satyr carrying a pipe and pointing at his head, and bears the following motto : "Certum est iudicium rationis obedienti huic subdita" (Achilles Bocchi, *Symbolicae quaestiones*, II, Bologna, 1574, p. 98). The verse accompanying this emblem is not about reason and the senses but about harmony. While in this emblem the figure points with a single finger, the peculiar gesture with two fingers made by Rubens's *Satyr* would seem to have been a conventional gesture as it appears in another emblem by Bocchi in which a man points with two fingers at the eyes of a blind man (*Ibid.*, II, p. 86).

propose that not only the *Satyr* but this entire group of four figures is meant to be understood allegorically as a kind of commentary on the Ovidian myths. The nature of the other works in Rubens's mythological series, and the fact that these four works hung separately from each other, argues against such an interpretation. But the fact remains that these figures stand still and seem to represent something, rather than acting out dramas as do the other mythological works.

The woman in the La Coruña sketch is sitting on what looks like a cloud, eyes gazing upward, holding a lighted lamp in her raised right hand (Fig. 176). The names of Canens³⁰⁰ and Aurora³⁰¹ have been suggested for this figure, but neither seems satisfactory. Canens, who lost her husband, Picus, to Circe's charms and searched for him in vain, died on the bank of the Tiber and dissolved into thin air (*Met.*, XIV, 416-432); she did not rise as does this figure. Canens is typically represented carrying a torch in each hand to aid her in the desperate search for her husband, while this figure calmly raises a single lamp, which does not seem designed to aid in a search.³⁰² Although Aurora is described by Ripa as carrying a lamp, she is always depicted with flowers. Rubens's figure does not correspond to any figure described by Ripa.³⁰³ Individual elements, however, can be explained. The upward glance signifies contemplation of God,³⁰⁴ and the lighted lamp is the attribute of several virtues including constancy, charity and wisdom.³⁰⁵ In this last instance, the lighted lamp represents the intellect. Rubens's figure is in fact similar in appearance to the figure floating in the clouds above the combatants in the well-known engraving after Baccio Bandinelli representing the *psychomachia* between ratio and libido – or reason and the passions.³⁰⁶ This figure, holding a lighted lamp aloft in her hand, is identified in the verses under the engraving as *Mens generosa* or that noble intelligence which illuminates the side of reason with the light of divine wisdom. Another figure holding a lighted lamp

³⁰⁰ Rooses, III, p. 510, and Jaffé, 1964, p. 320.

³⁰¹ The Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, La Coruña has entitled it *Aurora*.

³⁰² See *Canens* in *Tempesta*, No. 157 (Fig. 175).

³⁰³ Perhaps more details of the lower area of the sketch could be seen in the original. I have seen only a photograph.

³⁰⁴ See C. Ripa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *bontà, conversione, felicità eterna*.

³⁰⁵ C. Ripa, *op. cit.*, s.v. *carità, costanza, sapienza*.

³⁰⁶ Jean Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods*, Bollingen Series, XXXVIII, New York, 1953, fig. 38.

is the woman to the right in Titian's so-called *Sacred and Profane Love*. Understood in the neo-platonic framework in which this figure is presented by Bandinelli, the woman represents that highest faculty of the human soul – the wisdom which exists above warring reason and the passions, and close to God.³⁰⁷ While the figure and the issues contested here are not irrelevant to Rubens's *La Coruña* figure, we have no reason to see her in a neo-platonic context. The context in which Rubens presents her is simpler – not a three-sided but a two-sided contrast between this figure and the *Satyr* which we have just discussed. The woman with her lamp seems to be proposed by Rubens as the alternative to the deception of the senses and the passions as represented in the *Satyr*. Thus it would probably be most accurate to see in her that wisdom or reason which is related to God and is opposed to the earthly senses. The contrast between reason and the passions that is established by these two figures is directly relevant to a series of works largely based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The metamorphosis of man into beast was interpreted as the state in which man deserted his reason and succumbed to the animal passions in his nature. Sandys, who produced one of the most ornate figured and moralized frontispieces of all the editions of the *Metamorphoses*, made this conflict the subject of an introductory verse :

"But who forsake that faire *Intelligence*,
To follow *Passion* and voluptuous *Sense*;
That shun the Path and Toyles of Hercules;
Such, charmed by Circe's luxuries, and ease,
Themselves deform : 'twixt whom, so great an ods,
That these are held for Beasts, and those for Gods." ³⁰⁸

It is only to be expected that this analysis of metamorphosis is most clearly put forth in interpretations of the Circe episode, which Ovid recounts in his fourteenth Book. Sandys based his own verse on one of the most popular sixteenth-century commentaries on Ovid, that of Giuseppe Horologgi, who speaks of the Circe episode as follows :

³⁰⁷ For a discussion of the neo-platonic ideas present in Bandinelli's *psychomachia* and Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love*, see Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, pp. 148-153.

³⁰⁸ *Oxford*, 1632.

“CIRCE, che trasforma gli huomini in fiere, e in sassi, è quella fiera passion naturale, che chiamano Amore ... I COMPAGNI di Ulisse, trasformati da Circe in Porci, significano, gli huomini, che si lasciano vincere dalla libidine, divenire come Porci, perdendo l’uso della ragione, che fossero poi liberati da Ulisse per mezzo della Instruzione di Mercurio, ci fa vedere, che la prudentia sola può guidare gli huomini fuori dell’inestimabile laberinto della perturbationi.”³⁰⁹

“Circe who transforms men into beasts, and rocks, is that fierce natural passion, which men call love ... The companions of Ulysses, transformed by Circe into swine, signify that men who let themselves be overcome by lust become like swine and lose the use of reason. That they were later freed by Ulysses by means of Mercury’s instructions makes us see that prudence alone can guide men out of the incomprehensible labyrinth of the passions.”

It is this basic interpretation of metamorphosis as the bestial or passionate side of man’s nature versus his reason that Rubens presents in the figures of the *Satyr* and *Reason* (?). And to these figures we must add the other two non-narrative figures of similar dimensions, *Mercury* (Fig. 143) and *Fortune* (Fig. 105). The presence of Mercury in Bandinelli’s *psychomachia* on the side of reason, and the aid he gives Ulysses in escaping from Circe’s charms, permits us to see him as an aspect of human reason, perhaps prudence, as Horologgi suggests. Fortune as the uncertainty of chance appears to be related to the uncertainty of the senses and passions as represented by the Satyr. There is in fact an emblem in Alciati’s *Emblemata*, based on a passage in Galen, which brings together Mercury seated on a cube and Fortune on a sphere while the accompanying verse describes him as the ruler of the various arts and her as the mistress of chance.³¹⁰ In the sixteenth century Fortune (representing chance) was conventionally coupled, both verbally and pictorially, with a figure representing Virtue – a conjunction of opposites which traced its source to antiquity, for example to Cicero’s “virtute duce, comite Fortuna”. It is in this context, with the emphasis in Rubens’s works less on the recon-

³⁰⁹ *Venice*, 1584, pp. 517, 518.

³¹⁰ A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, Lyons, 1600, emb. xcvi, p. 344. The discussion of Fortune and her pairing with Mercury is largely based on the material presented by Erwin Panofsky in “*Good Government or Fortune*”, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, LXVIII, 1966, pp. 305-326.

ciliation than on the contrast between the two, that we can perhaps understand the presence of Mercury and Fortune in the Torre series.

We might well compare these figures – their posture, allegorical meaning, and relationship to the Ovidian narratives – to the caryatids of the gods which frame the narrative action in Rubens's series of *The Life of Achilles*. In terms of an illustrated edition of Ovid, these four works are closest to the figures, or figure, which would be put on a frontispiece page as the general introduction to the work. Rubens does not try to persuade us that they supply the key to the meaning of all the mythological narratives, nor does he take the part of the moralist advising us to follow reason rather than the senses. For the mythological works in the Torre must be seen as developing out of the narrative traditions established by the illustrators of Ovid, and out of Rubens's own responsive reading of the text, rather than out of the allegorical or moralizing attitudes of translators and commentators such as Horologgi and Sandys. That is why these works are “unlocated” in relation to the other paintings and to the overall decoration of the hunting lodge.

The major works in the Torre de la Parada were mythological scenes largely based on Ovid's tales. A conventional commentary on Ovid was provided by the four figures of *Reason* (?), *Mercury*, *Fortune*, and the *Satyr*. The world of hunting was introduced in the paintings of animals over the doors and windows of all the Ovidian rooms, and the court's connection with hunting was referred to in the portraits of the royal family and pictures of hunts conducted by royalty, which hung in the main room.

There was, as far as we can tell, no comprehensive program for the Torre decorations. The mythological paintings contain no reference whatever to either the activities of hunters or to the natural world in which the hunt takes place. It is possible that some narratives interested the King more than others. There might be a clue here, for example, to the inclusion of *Cupid and Psyche*, *Diana and Endymion*, and other non-Ovidian scenes, or to the most unusual subject of *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*. The King may have indicated how many mythological and animal scenes he wanted. Finally, he may have asked Rubens to design completely new works – dealing with subjects he had not painted before – and this would account for the surprising fact that in the Torre series Rubens avoids almost every Ovidian scene he had dealt with in an earlier work. Philip was not particularly interested in the display of the nude in these works. Unlike the other mythological works by

Rubens which the Spanish King was to treasure in his collection – such as *Diana and Callisto*, *The Three Graces*, and *The Judgment of Paris* – the Torre works do not afford many opportunities for displaying the female nude. When the nude does appear in Rubens's sketches for the Torre, the female body is often far from beautiful. In short, the King seems to have ordered Rubens to make a group of mythological narratives and animal works. In selecting the scenes that he would depict and in working out his inventions, Rubens turned in many instances to the printed Ovids, which had the advantage of containing a large number of illustrations without any particular allegorical or programmatic intent. While this simplified his working procedure and made it easier for him to produce a large number of works in a short time, it was also characteristic of Rubens to want to find and make use of an artistic precedent for his works. The resulting series thus contains within it what amounts to Rubens's painted version of an illustrated Ovid, although because of the presence of a number of works which do not fit this description, we must conclude that no such explicit program existed either in the King's commission or in the mind of the artist.

Checklist of Animal Works

The following is a checklist of all the animal and hunting paintings listed in the Torre de la Parada inventory of 1700 with reference, whenever possible, to their appearance in the later Torre inventories and in the fourth *presupuesto* of the Pardo inventory of 1747, and to their possible survival today. I have not included here the substantial number of animal paintings said to be from the Torre which are presently exhibited in the palace of Rio Frio near Segovia. Unfortunately, these works were brought to my attention too late for inclusion in this study. However I think it safe to assume that although they would substantially add to the number of known surviving works listed below, they would not significantly alter our analysis of the animal works based on the examples we have discussed. The figure reference are to plates in this volume.

1. Works listed as *sobrepuertas* and *sobrebentanas* in 1700

a. *Animals*

Nos. [27], [32], [33], [34], [36], [37], [45], [46], [47], [48], [49], [50], [51], [52], [58], [60], [61], [68], [69], [70], [71], [76], [77], [78], [88], [89], [92], [93], [98], [99].

Although it is hard to match them up with particular works in the inventories, many if not all of the following paintings of animals by Paul de Vos, presently in the Prado, were probably in the Torre de la Parada : *Fox* (Fig. 20; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 84 : 81 cm.; Cat. No. 1865), *Dog* (Fig. 17; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 116 : 82 cm.; Cat. No. 1867), *Dog* (Fig. 18; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 116 : 84 cm.; Cat. No. 1871), *Dog* (Fig. 19; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 105 : 105 cm.; Cat. No. 1876).

b. *Dogs Hunting Animals*

Nos. [50], [91] P. de Vos, *Fallow Deer Hunt with Dogs* (Fig. 15; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 212 : 347 cm.; Cat. No. 1869), [92] *Deer Hunt with Dogs* (Fig. 14; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 212 : 347 cm.; Cat. No. 1870), [154], [171] *Bull Hunt with Dogs* (Fig. 13; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 157 : 200 cm.; Cat. No. 1872), [172] Attributed to P. de Vos, *Boar Hunt with Dogs* (Fig. 16; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 109 : 192 cm.; Cat. No. 1749).

2. Works listed as *pinturas* in 1700 (presumably hung on the main walls rather than over windows and doors)

a. *Animals*

Nos. [35], [137].

b. *Hunts*³¹¹

Nos. [79] (Pardo 1747, No. [71]), [80] (Pardo 1747, No. [5]), [81] Velázquez with an assistant, *Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar* (Fig. 28; London, National Gallery; oil on canvas, 182 : 302 cm.; Inv. No. 197; Pardo, 1747, No. [4]), [82], [83] P. Snayers, *Philip IV Killing a Wild Boar* (Fig. 24; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 180 : 149 cm.; Cat. No. 1736; Pardo 1747, No. [3]); [84] P. Snayers, *Philip IV Shooting Deer* (Fig. 26; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 162 : 145 cm.; Cat. No. 1737; Pardo 1747, No. [6]), [156] P. Snayers, *Hunting at the Pit at the Cuartel de Velada* (Fig. 29; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 181 : 576 cm.; Cat. No. 1734; Pardo 1747, No. [34]). Two works listed as *pintura* and described as depicting hunts in the Pardo *presupuesto* cannot be connected specifically with entries in the Torre de la Parada inventory of 1700 : Pardo 1747, Nos. [2] and [33] P. Snayers,

³¹¹ All but No. [156] were in the *Galeria del Rey*.

Court Hunt (Caza de Francia?) (Fig. 30; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 195 : 302 cm.; Cat. No. 1733).

3. Proverbs

With the exception of the entries in the Pardo 1747 inventory which describe the action taking place in the paintings fully, it is impossible to identify the paintings depicting proverbs among the general group of animal works (see 1a above). I am listing separately here all the references to works which apparently illustrate proverbs : Torre de la Parada 1700, No. [28], Torre de la Parada 1747, No. 90, Pardo 1747, fourth *presupuesto*, Nos. [10], [11], [15], [18] P. de Vos, *A Fable : The Dog and the Magpie* (Fig. 23; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 115 : 83 cm.; Cat. No. 1868), [19] P. de Vos, *A Fable : The Fox and the Crane* (Fig. 22; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 60 : 219 cm.; Cat. No. 1878), [22], [26], [27].

Although *A Fable : The Dog and the Shadow* (Fig. 21; Madrid, Prado; oil on canvas, 207 : 209 cm.; Cat. No. 1875), another representation of a proverb by Paul de Vos, is similar to the works listed above, it does not depict one of the proverbs described in the Pardo 1747 inventory, and it seems most uncertain that it was ever in the Torre.

IV. RUBENS'S OVIDIAN PRESENTATION OF THE GODS

In an earlier chapter we showed that a large number of the designs for the Torre mythological works were based on the compositional formulas provided by illustrated Ovids. Nevertheless there are certain differences between Rubens's series and the printed Ovids : the Torre series is made up of fewer scenes; for the most part it avoids the violent deaths and fantastic metamorphoses which entertained readers of the printed Ovids; and it contains some non-Ovidian subjects. But, as we have seen, neither the mythological works themselves nor their relation to the other works in the hunting lodge give us good reason to think that they were ever considered as something other than a series of paintings illustrating Ovidian stories. We are now ready to consider the individual works themselves. Although often based on the compositions of the illustrated Ovids, Rubens's sketches are not adequately accounted for by simply demonstrating this fact. Their superiority is not only a matter of that great technical skill which enabled Rubens to "bring to life" the bare outlines of the stories provided by the Ovid illustrators. For Rubens informs these works with a particular sense of human life and experience. Even when he follows the ground plan of a scene closely, Rubens produces a far more complex work of art – one which deals both generously and subtly with gods and human men and women in their tangled relationships. What is persuasive and moving about the Torre series is the masterly way in which it deals with passions common to all men and women – jealousy, pride, anger, sorrow, and many moods and varieties of love. And it is this particular strength and character of Rubens's Torre sketches that we shall consider in this chapter.

Let us approach the characteristic tone of the Torre sketches by turning first to one of the simpler compositions, *The Birth of Venus* (Fig. 188). Venus is depicted as she steps onto the shore, accompanied by two cupids, leaving behind her in the water a trio of sea deities who are celebrating her birth; Neptune supports a nymph offering a string of pearls, while Triton blows on his horn. In spite of the fact that the goddess is depicted in the familiar pose of the Venus Anadyomene, rising from the sea and arranging her hair with both hands, she does not strike us as simply an idealized goddess. For while the characteristic pose and the accompanying figures clearly identify her as Venus, she is intentionally depicted much like any woman wringing her hair out as she comes out of the water. Rubens wants us to recognize her as a goddess and

at the same time to see her in frankly human terms. The effect is not that of parody, for Rubens intends neither to mock the goddess nor to make her seem foolish. He makes Venus less the goddess in order to make her more the woman. The force of this sketch, and of many other Torre mythologies, is that "even the gods are human", and the conclusion we are continually invited to draw is that this is the way human beings act and feel.

The artistic means by which Rubens creates this effect are brilliantly simple. First, he presents the Birth of Venus as a dramatic action involving several figures rather than as an isolated figure as, for example, had Giulio Romano, whose Venus riding on a sea shell and combing her hair, in the Palazzo del Te, has been suggested as a source.³¹² In representing a real, dramatic moment instead of an isolated, ideal gesture, Rubens is in effect re-interpreting the conventional pose of the Venus Anadyomene as an ordinary human action in a particular situation. He reinforces the actuality of the figure by the very way in which he depicts her: hanging over her left shoulder is an ungraceful mass of hair, which she grabs rather awkwardly and squeezes out with her strong hands; her eyes are cast downwards as if she were concentrating on the physical effort of drying her hair. The contrast between this figure and the prettied-up goddess in Cornelis de Vos's painting after the sketch (Fig. 186) – where Venus is made to seem clearly aware of her high station as she looks toward the admiring sea gods and arranges her hair with elegant hands – only serves to confirm our characterization.

It is true that the dramatic rendering of a scene, the enlivening realistic touches in the figures, and the use of classical types are characteristics common to many of Rubens's best works. And it might thus be asked, in what way are we saying anything more about *The Birth of Venus* than that it is, in these respects, a typical Rubens creation? The answer is that the way in which

³¹² Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua*, *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, p. 326. I do not see any necessary connection between Rubens's sketch and the inventions of Giulio Romano either in the Venus, or, as Jaffé further suggests, in the nymph to her right. The figure was after all one of the most commonly imitated of classical formulae. As for the nymph, although the gesture of her arms connects her with the nymph in Giulio Romano's drawing for *Hylas and the Nymphs* as Jaffé suggests, the angle at which we see the left arm, the head, and the lower part of the body in Rubens's sketch has nothing to do with Giulio's invention. Rubens's figure was in fact common on Nereid sarcophagi. See Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, III, Paris, 1912, p. 119, No. 6, p. 383, No. 5, and p. 384, No. 1.

these artistic means are employed makes all the difference. Furthermore, the specific changes in gesture and descriptive detail that De Vos automatically introduced to restore beauty and dignity to Venus – changes that are unfortunately typical of so many of the Torre paintings – also demonstrate that the characteristics we attributed to the sketch are not merely instances of that vigor and immediacy of brush which is the common property of Rubens's finest preparatory studies, but rather Rubens's means of conveying a particular conception of the scene. We can see these points very clearly by comparing the Torre sketch to Rubens's design for a silver dish also illustrating *The Birth of Venus* (Fig. 187), a work which is similar in subject and technique, but completely different in its force. Here, too, the triumphal procession of Venus is handled as a dramatic action. Venus is sped towards the shore on her shell by three nymphs while she is being crowned by a putto and a nymph, and the whole train is completed by a trumpeting Triton and a Naiad. Here, too, the energetic gestures and the lush bodies convey an immediate sensation of life and movement. The brilliant device of turning the decorative border of the plate into a lively chain of similarly lush, active figures reinforces, by extending, the life in the center of the plate as if it knew no bounds. Though Venus's fleshy body is right in the midst of the general activity, she remains here a true goddess. Rubens makes this clear by using her stance (here, too, based on the Venus *Anadyomene*) to remove her from the action of the scene: she is not moving herself toward the shore, but is being carried; she is not wringing out her hair, but is posing before the viewer (she is the only figure looking out of the scene) with one hand extended holding out a lock of hair. Because this Venus is not dramatically involved, her pose appears distinctly idealized, and being handled as such, it is lent a special dignity. The vital and distinct character of Rubens's style should not blind us to the subtleties of its range of tone and effect, as we see here in the contrast between Venus as goddess in the design for the plate and Venus as one of womankind in the Torre sketch.

The particular vigor and liveliness of the Torre sketches is largely due to this human emphasis in the depiction of the gods. The incongruity of the effect induces a fresh look at the actions and feelings of human beings. In the sketch depicting *The Creation of the Milky Way* (Fig. 150), for example, Juno is sitting down and squeezing her breast to suckle the infant balanced on her knee. Although in the seventeenth century the undecorous depiction of a woman nursing would itself have struck the viewer as surprising (after all, even genre

painting had its strict conventions) this surprise would have been intensified, as it is for us today, by the incongruous fact that the suckling woman was a goddess. The painting done after this sketch (Fig. 149), like so many in the Torre series, retreats from this kind of realism to a more conventionally ideal presentation. Although in the painting the goddess still retains the lush fleshiness of all Rubens's nudes, her body is now gracefully posed in a classical position, and her face appears composed as it did not in the sketch. The addition of Jupiter seems to be an attempt to compensate for the loss of the intimacy of the sketch by making the picture into a family scene, and the awkwardly posed infant, suspended in the air where Juno's knee had been earlier, reminds us of this revision.

One of the finest works in this vein is *Bacchus and Ariadne* on the shore of Naxos (Fig. 75), in which Rubens shows us Bacchus coming up behind the sorrowing Ariadne and taking her by surprise. The sketch is extraordinary for the immediacy with which Rubens renders both Bacchus's joyous declaration of love and Ariadne's mixed reactions. A great deal of its power lies in intimate details such as the gestures (Bacchus's hand raised to his chest as he speaks, Ariadne's hand raised apprehensively), facial expressions (the beginning of a smile on Bacchus's face, Ariadne's powerful gaze), and such descriptive details as Ariadne's disheveled hair (*incultis comis* in Ovid's *Fasti*, III, 470) and her handsome face contrasted with Bacchus's funny plump one. Rubens bases his account on Ovid's *Fasti*, but he is able to render a dramatic moment which is more intense than any single one narrated in his source. He shows us, as the poet does not, both Bacchus's declaration of love and Ariadne's reaction, and he suggests by her disheveled hair and serious glance the full force of her long lament, which, in the text, immediately precedes this scene. It is striking how much of the expressive force of the sketch is due to Rubens's description of the faces. The power of the sketch is largely lost in the painting by Quellinus because the facial expressions have been tidied up to become characterless and lifeless.

The *Bacchus and Ariadne* is characteristic of the entire series of works for the Torre de la Parada, in which Rubens presents dramatic action in terms of the private world of human impulses and feelings, and it is this that determines the series' particular character. This character is seen very clearly if we compare the *Bacchus and Ariadne* for the Torre de la Parada with Titian's famous painting in London. Titian presents the meeting of the lovers through

Bacchus's splendid leap – an action generated by the driving wedge of the bacchic train, which the young god leads across the painting – and the responding *contrapposto* turn of Ariadne. We are not told, as we are in Rubens's sketch, about the lovers' intimate feelings. Titian trusts instead to the pattern of their bodies to convey the fact that they are attracted to each other and are bound by love. He based his depiction on the account in the *Ars Amatoria* (I, 525-564), where Ovid tells how Bacchus leapt from his chariot because he thought that Ariadne might be afraid of the tigers. But the painting makes no attempt to render Ovid's common sense explanation of this great leap – Ovid presents a realistically conceived drama, while Titian does not. Similarly the important difference between Rubens and Titian is that Titian presents us with an ideal figure making a public declaration of his love while Rubens treats the god as an individual. The different character of these two pictorial narrations is largely dependent on the ways in which Titian and Rubens conceive of the actors, and, to return to our main point, it is the human reference in Rubens's presentation of the gods that is peculiar to the Torre series. Rubens preserves this same emphasis on each individual even when he chooses to include the full complement of accompanying figures. In the sketch of *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Fig. 163), Rubens turns a theme commonly used by northern artists as an occasion for holding a "feast of the gods", and for displaying their knowledge of the nude,³¹³ into a scene of dissension among the gods upon the tossing out of the golden apple. Although the figures are still recognizably Rubensian gods and goddesses, Rubens is out to show us with obvious amusement that at this moment the gods act just as men would. While Jupiter looks worried, and, at the right, Thetis rests her head against her husband's shoulder, Minerva and Juno lurch forward for the apple and Venus looks taken aback that there should be any contest at all. Contrary to the established tradition for handling this scene, Rubens depicts the gods with reference to the actions of ordinary men and does so with a keen wit. The viewer cannot help but be amused at these otherwise august figures sitting around their heavenly table in a state of excitement and confusion.

The gods are handled in a variety of manners and presented in many different contexts in Rubens's works. They can have an allegorical force as in the Medici

³¹³ Pigler includes the subject of *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* under the general category of *Göttermahl* and almost all the works that he lists are by northern artists. See A. Pigler, *Barockthemen*, II, Budapest, 1956, pp. 93-96.

series, where they stand for specific ideas or things, or a kind of humanized allegorical force as in *The Horrors of War*, while in the Torre series they are simply performing actions and suffering the passions of ordinary men and women. No doubt this list could be extended.³¹⁴ In almost every work, regardless of the meaning they convey, the gods display the actuality and lifelikeness common to all of Rubens's figures – they appear, in other words, as flesh and blood, believable men and women. One hesitates to claim that the tone taken in describing the gods here is unique in Rubens's works, for a clear sense of human passions and foibles is a central element throughout his art. But it is most fitting that Rubens should have handled the gods in this way in a series which is largely based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for the tone of his sketches recalls in many significant ways Ovid's tone. In producing his own version of an illustrated Ovid, Rubens demonstrated that he was also a good and sympathetic reader of the text itself.

Before discussing the relation of Rubens's sketches to Ovid's text, let us quickly summarize the nature of the Ovidian tradition in art as it is generally understood today. Modern studies have gone far to clarify the great popularity of the *Metamorphoses* as a source for artists. The "painter's bible," as the name implies, was first of all the most popular and convenient source for mythological narratives. In this sense "Ovidian" is simply synonymous with mythological although some of the frequently represented myths, such as Cupid and Psyche, and Diana and Endymion, are not found in Ovid's compendium. Ovidian myths were not only hallowed antique stories but, it has been argued, they offered the artist an approved context in which to entertain his audience with sensually rich and often frankly erotic scenes. Further, as the enormous output of *Ovid moralisé*s and mythological handbooks reveals, Ovid's myths were commonly invested with an allegorical and often a specifically Christian meaning. Renaissance art offers many examples of complex decorative and iconographic schemes in which Ovidian myths were selected and arranged to make an allegorical point. Ovidian art was thus a very popular tradition which presented, alone or in various combinations, moral instruction and erotic narrations of the lives and loves of the gods. A major problem in interpretation, as recent discussion

³¹⁴ For a discussion of the manner in which Rubens presented mythological figures and the meaning which he intended them to carry, see my article *Manner and Meaning in some Rubens Mythologies*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, pp. 272-295.

over the nature of the Farnese Ceiling reveals, is whether or how the two aspects are combined in Ovidian works of art.³¹⁵

All of this is common knowledge, but it has not been sufficiently recognized that the Ovidian tradition in art, like so many artistic traditions based on particular literary sources, is separate from, or at least stands in a selective relation to, its textual source. The artistic tradition seized on certain important aspects of the *Metamorphoses* and ignored others. It was concerned with the myths as narratives and particularly with the ways of love and lovers, but it ignored the epic framework of the poem. Our knowledge and sense of Ovid – like that of the Renaissance, we can safely assume – is largely determined by the artistic tradition and not by the poem. Rare Ovidian series, such as the so-called Marino drawings by Poussin, which included some of the historical scenes that are part of Ovid's epic framework, presented interpretative problems to historians and viewers who thought of the *Metamorphoses* as simply a compendium of myths and thus did not recognize the battle scenes as being based on Ovid.³¹⁶ In the case of the Torre de la Parada series, on the other hand, while the works are clearly Ovidian in source one could easily fail to recognize how truly close to Ovid they are in style and attitude. A most persuasive analysis of the literary character of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* has been made by Brooks Otis in his recent book entitled *Ovid as an Epic Poet*.³¹⁷ He argues that Ovid tried but failed to write an Augustan epic tracing the history of the world from the Creation to his own times. Ovid's poetic talent was simply not suited to the epic mode (the *Metamorphoses* is his only work in hexameters) and the *Metamorphoses* as we know it results from the inconsistency between the epic style, theme, and structure that Ovid employed, and his realistic and comic view of the gods and man. While making the poem notoriously hard to grasp as a whole, this basic inconsistency, so Otis argues, offered Ovid the opportunity in scene after scene to exercise his real talent for handling heroic material for the purpose of comedy and pathos. We need not follow Otis's argument further to see its relevance to the Torre series.

³¹⁵ See John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Ceiling*, Princeton, 1965, where a strong case is made for a complex allegorical program, and the review by Donald Posner, *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 109-114, in which this is disputed.

³¹⁶ See Jane Costello, *Poussin's Drawing for Marino and the New Classicism* : I. *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVIII, 1955, pp. 296 ff.

³¹⁷ Brooks Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*, Cambridge, 1966.

For though Rubens's work does not boast of an epic structure, and though, unlike Ovid, he was fully capable of creating heroic images, the constant emphasis we have found in the Torre works on the fact that the gods act and feel like human beings corresponds to Ovid's tone in the *Metamorphoses* as Otis describes it. Time and time again in reading Otis's analyses of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one feels that one has discovered the verbal counterpart to Rubens's pictorial inventions.

Ovid starts off the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* with a comic handling of the gods which is based on the same incongruity between station and behavior that we have found in Rubens. As he tells it (*Met.*, I, 452 et seqq.), Apollo kills the Python, then taunts Cupid about the ineffectiveness of his arrows, only to be answered by an arrow from Cupid's bow which literally fires him with love for Daphne and starts him off on the vain chase. The triumphant god thus becomes love's victim. Ovid uses the episode with Cupid, which might have simply been a device to bind together the stories of Apollo and the Python and Apollo and Daphne, in order to make the transition from the triumphant god to the god made foolish by love. And the language of the poem traces this change from the dignity of the god's address to Cupid to his desperate, breathless pleas as he races along behind Daphne. In Rubens's sketch (Fig. 55), we find exactly the same emphasis on love's undoing of the self-important god. Rubens departs from the illustrated Ovids and complicates the Apollo and Python scene by adding the second contest between Apollo and Cupid. The argument between Apollo and Cupid is thus made into the crux of the drama, and Rubens brilliantly uses this conflict to show us how the triumphant, all-powerful god is made to look like but a foolish mortal when challenged by Cupid. Though similar to Ovid in tone, Rubens's sketch cannot be said to follow Ovid's text. Rubens combines the killing of the Python, the argument with Cupid and the shooting of Cupid's arrow – three scenes in Ovid – into one image and further he brings Cupid down from mount Parnassus, from where he shoots in the poem. But Rubens uses pictorial devices which are the counterparts to Ovid's literary ones. What gives the figure of Apollo its particular character is the fact that Rubens presents him in the pose of the Apollo Belvedere and then proceeds to treat this epitome of a graceful gesture as an awkward movement. The elegant pose, which is held even while Apollo shoots at the Python, bespeaks tremendous pride, which is undone by the sudden turn of the head and the unbalance introduced into the figure.

We could easily apply Otis's description of Ovid's technique to Rubens's sketch : "The style, the conventions, the speeches, even some of the *dramatis personae*, are not only epic but Virgilian : the actions and feelings, however, are neither, and it is the discrepancy that constitutes the comedy."³¹⁸

Very roughly, one might say that in the Torre sketches Rubens handles antique figural sources in the way that Ovid handles the epic or Virgilian mode in the *Metamorphoses*. One of the important changes Rubens makes in the compositions that he takes over from the illustrated Ovids is the introduction of the appropriate classical figures, such as the Apollo Belvedere in the example just discussed. What initially appears to be the attempt of a classically oriented artist to classicize his sources is given an unexpected turn when Rubens involves the figure in actions and suggests feelings that are more human than godlike. In a number of Torre works this manner of handling figures is obviously comic in intent. We think of the jaunty, triumphant Jason parading through the temple of Mars with the Golden Fleece (Fig. 131) or of the overbearing Apollo in *The Judgment of Midas* (Fig. 148), who cannot take the time to be crowned victor in the musical contest before accusing Midas, or of the excited gods and goddesses in *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (Fig. 163), who are jolted into various responses by the tossing of the apple. In the first two of these, Rubens's comic handling of the Apollo Belvedere once again determines the way in which we understand the main figure. Rubens does not usually follow the text in producing these comic scenes. It is Midas, for example, not Apollo, who is the object of Ovid's humor in that episode (*Met.*, xi, 157 et seqq.). But Rubens produces works in keeping with the poet's humor — the poet who has Jupiter pleading for Io's attentions like a desperate husband, or Jupiter caught by Juno acting like any husband trying to fib his way out of his misdeeds, or the poet who turns the epic Rape of Proserpina into a domestic comedy about an innocent girl, an outraged mother and a desperate lover.

While the sketches do not necessarily follow the text, they do reveal that Rubens was an attentive and responsive reader of Ovid. He sympathized with the tone and thrust of Ovidian comedy and shared certain of the poet's attitudes toward the human scene. Like Ovid, he viewed man with sympathy and broad-

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

mindedness and perceived life as a comedy in the fullest sense of the word rather than as a tragedy. One significant symptom of this common attitude toward human experience is an interest in and high valuation of love. Ovid's poem is not merely a collection of the erotic set-pieces, such as Venus and Adonis, which were so popular among artists. It is concerned with the broad spectrum of human relationships in which love plays a central part. The *metamorphoses* themselves, which can provide for the rebirth of man in nature, are often the means by which the potential tragedy of human love is turned into a natural triumph. Ovid's concern with love is of course a commonplace, but in the *Metamorphoses*, as Otis has shown, it is love that gives the poem its "epic scope and unity ... so far as it is an epic, it is an epic of love."³¹⁹ In the Torre sketches Rubens was neither following the epic design nor trusting to metamorphosis as Ovid did, but many of them depict encounters between lovers or more indirectly the power of love. And if we compare the Torre series to the tradition of illustrated Ovids, we find that many of Rubens's changes in the established representations and a number of additions – both Ovidian and non-Ovidian – to the established canon of illustrations, were made, as it were, in the name of love. And in all these works Rubens, far from exalting love, was seeing it as Ovid had done long before – in terms of its pathos, as part of the human condition.

In both Ovid and Rubens this emphasis on love corresponds to a de-emphasis of heroic action. Rubens's *Torre de la Parada* series, like Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is essentially anti-heroic in attitude and effect. We have already seen that the basis of the comic treatment of the gods in both the *Metamorphoses* and the Torre works is the conflict between heroism and love – or to put it differently, the conflict between the ideal stance of the gods and the experience of the common human passions. Given this concern with human passions, Rubens, like Ovid before him, was sure to find difficulty in handling heroic action convincingly. This problem was much more serious for Ovid, given his intention to write an Augustan epic (the net result being the tendency for his readers to ignore the epic themes of the last four books of the *Metamorphoses*). Rubens simply avoided the problem of the truly heroic figure by depicting none except in the sketch of *The Apotheosis of Hercules* (Fig. 116), which

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 334.

offers a surprise to anyone used to the heroic yet humanly convincing figures so common in Rubens's works. This self-conscious, self-important figure swaggering his way up to heaven is the result of Rubens's presentation of a heroic image from the radical, anti-heroic point of view of the Torre works. It is symptomatic of this anti-heroic attitude that the only truly ideal figures in the entire series are those like *Mercury* and *Fortune* who are presented separately, outside of any narrative context. These figures incidentally also serve to remind us that, unlike Ovid, Rubens could create ideal images of the gods, but has chosen not to do so in the context of the Torre narrative works.

We have now outlined the general nature of the relationship between the *Torre de la Parada* mythologies and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. We shall not get very far in trying to understand this relationship by simply examining whether Rubens's renderings of passages from the *Metamorphoses* exactly follow the text – although there are indeed isolated examples, such as the *Apollo and the Python*, where such a close connection exists. Rubens rejects certain basic aspects of Ovid's poem. While Rubens is normally quite easygoing in his moral outlook, Ovid is not : Ovid describes the vindictive Minerva attacking Arachne and implies that the goddess has every right to punish pride in this way (*Met.*, vi, 26 et seqq.), while Rubens's sketch shows us simply a vindictive goddess and a helpless victim (Fig. 60). Rubens also rejects the importance given by Ovid to the process of metamorphosis itself. But in spite of these differences, we must constantly bear in mind the tone and orientation of Ovid's treatment of the myths. For it was Rubens's sympathy with the Ovidian outlook that provided much of the impetus behind the mythological works for the *Torre de la Parada*.

We are now in a position to conclude our discussion of Rubens's use of the illustrated Ovids begun in Chapter II. In the section that follows we shall examine briefly certain obvious and recurrent differences between Rubens's inventions and the Ovid illustrations. These include his consistent introduction of classical figure types, the exclusion of background scenes and in particular of the intervening gods, the rejection of the concern with metamorphosis as such and of the violence which so often led to or accompanied it, and the emphasis, instead, on love as it is experienced at moments of great stress and peril. Although these changes differ in kind and importance, we shall see that they all point to the same end : Rubens's concern to dramatize the common human passions, even at the expense of god-like heroism, or to amplify human

pathos. They thus all play a role in producing that Ovidian tone which is so characteristic of the Torre series.³²⁰

Not since the *Grande Olympe* of 1539 had classical figures been employed in the illustrated Ovids. It is remarkable that even Tempesta, who gave the individual figures as much weight and importance as Rubens, did not employ a classical vocabulary. While it is not surprising that an artist such as Rubens should introduce classical figures, it is striking that he does so in the Torre series not with the aim of ennobling the gods and heroes, but as a means of revealing the gods as victims of their all too human feelings and passions. We have already observed this in *The Birth of Venus* and the *Apollo and the Python*. *The Rape of Proserpina* (Fig. 171), to which we turn now, gives us the unusual opportunity of comparing Rubens's use of a particular classical source in and out of the Torre series. Rubens returned to the sarcophagus that he had used for an earlier rendering of this myth, which is preserved in a sketch in the Petit Palais, Paris (Fig. 173).³²¹ As contemporary commentators repeatedly pointed out, Rubens normally took liberties in treating classical figure types, but such liberties can differ in kind. In the early sketch Rubens altered the source in order to accentuate the overall movement and thus the inevitability of Pluto's success. *The Rape of Proserpina* of the Torre de la Parada series is in many respects closer to the antique source: its composition is more consistently relief-like, the playmate pulling on Proserpina's robe – added

³²⁰ It is perhaps appropriate to mention here a recent study whose subject seems relevant to the problems discussed in this chapter. E. Paratore, in *Ovidio e Seneca nella Cultura e nell'Arte de Rubens*, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, XXXVIII, 1967, pp. 533-565, attempts to demonstrate the relationship between Rubens's inventions and the Senecan tradition in literature as well as the manner in which, in his later mythological works, Rubens followed Ovid's text closely. The study is disappointing first because of the author's very uncertain knowledge of Rubens's works and in particular of those works which made up the Torre series. Secondly, he ignores the most important things that shaped the Torre de la Parada mythologies: the format provided by the illustrated Ovids and the tone and style, as differentiated from the events narrated, of the *Metamorphoses*. This leads Mr. Paratore to continually produce what can only be called irrelevant explanations for the character of the Torre de la Parada works.

³²¹ This is a sketch for a painting (Rooses, III, No. 672) last owned by the Duke of Marlborough at Blenheim, destroyed in a fire in 1861 and preserved in an engraving in reverse by Soutman (V.S., p. 126, No. 66). The sketch is generally dated c. 1615-20. For the sarcophagus on which it is based, see Carl Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, Berlin, 1897, No. 3.363, in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, or No. 3.373 in the Palazzo Barberini.

in the early sketch – has been removed, and the gestures of Minerva and Pluto are once again similar to those on the sarcophagus. Yet in another important respect it is more radical in its handling of its source since Rubens rejects the ideal assumptions of the antique figures in order to depict graphically the terror on Proserpina's face, Minerva's desperate lunge at Pluto, and the god's frenzied glance. Proserpina is depicted open-mouthed, her none-too-beautiful face distorted as she calls out, her hair a great tangle. This realistic treatment also extends to the handling of the action. In Proserpina's case we can pinpoint this because Rubens significantly alters her gesture between the sketch and the final painting. In the sketch her gesture follows the sarcophagus, in the finished painting her right arm goes straight back and her left hand is at her forehead. In making this change Rubens intentionally interrupted the measured rhythm of the composition in order to introduce a particularly intimate expression of despair. He employs the Proserpina figure again in his depiction of the final and fatal assignation between *Jupiter and Semele* (Fig. 135), where, because the figure is disengaged from its original dramatic context, we do not interpret her pose as that of a physical struggle against a captor, but rather as a total display of anguish and pain as Semele recognizes her lover to be the all-powerful god. This scene is unusual among the Torre works because it deals with the relationship between a god as such and a human being. Rubens uses this noble Jupiter, pirouetting away from Semele in the pose of the Apollo Belvedere, to make the point that even a god can be helpless to prevent the fate of his mistress. Jupiter is thus one of the rare idealized figures in the Torre series since the ideal view of Jupiter is in fact the realistic one here, and it is his divinity that is at issue.

Returning to the more normal mode of employing antique sources in the Torre series, in the sketch of Eurydice dying in Orpheus's arms (Fig. 104) the all but lifeless body of Eurydice is rendered by means of a lounging classical figure.³²² Here Rubens intentionally contradicts the grace of the original pose by the concrete dramatic context in which he places it and by such realistic details as the limp, awkward slump of the head. We thus have a double awareness, on the one hand of the formal quality of the pose itself, and on the other of a direct and realistic rendering of the circumstances of a particular

³²² Rubens perhaps knew this figure as it was used by Giulio Romano in his modello for *The Death of Procris*; see Cat. No. 22a.

woman dying. By forcing the viewer to see a classical pose in this completely new light, Rubens heightens the immediacy of the scene.

Rubens supports this human emphasis in the Torre works by carefully controlling the way in which he presents the relationships of gods and men. A significant innovation in his reworking of the illustrated Ovids is the exclusion of the small background figures. Part of his aim is to concentrate on the central dramatic action of each scene. For example, in his *Atalanta and Hippomenes* (Fig. 65) he omits the background scene of Venus handing the apples to Hippomenes, thus sacrificing any reference to the circumstances which led to this race. While the elimination of the supporting background figures serves to emphasize the human drama here, as in many other sketches, Rubens is also motivated by the desire to remove any reference to the intervention of the gods. We do not see Juno as she places Argus's eyes in the tail of her peacock in the background of *Mercury and Argus*, nor Jupiter when he directs the fall of the Giants, hurls Phaethon to his death, or welcomes the triumphant Hercules into heaven, although each of these figures had been commonly represented in Ovid illustrations. Rubens chose to represent the story in terms of the actions and reactions of those affected by the intervention of the gods rather than to document, as Bernard Salomon had done, the fact of the intervention. In the two instances in which the intervening god is Apollo – in the scene in which Clytie is worshipping the sun (Fig. 84), and in *The Fall of Icarus* (Fig. 129) – Rubens simply uses the color of the sun, in brilliant yellow brush-strokes, to stand for the god.

One of the few scenes in which Rubens does depict an intervening god confirms our explanation of his reasons for excluding such figures. The scene of Minerva counseling Cadmus to sow the dragon's teeth is one of the few in which the illustrated Ovids had treated the intervention of a god not as a background detail but as the central action of the scene itself. But Rubens, rather than showing Minerva hidden in a cloud above Cadmus, as does *Leipzig*, 1582 (Fig. 178), places her hovering right over Cadmus's shoulder and talking with him at his earthly level (Fig. 77). The illustrated Ovid's follow the text in which Minerva is first described as calling to Cadmus from a cloud before alighting to stand beside him on the ground (*Met.*, III, 95-103). Rubens chooses to employ his own device for representing the conversation between god and mortal, a device familiar to us from his Achilles series. The conversing figures of Minerva and Cadmus fill up almost one-half of his sketch and he is thus

able to fully study the intimate relationship between god and mortal, which is simply assumed in so many of the tiny background figures in the illustrated Ovids.

As a rule, in the *Torre de la Parada* series, when the gods have dealings with human beings they do so at the human level. The fate of man, as in Rubens's rendering of *The Fall of Icarus* or *The Fall of Phaethon*, is made his own by the absence of the gods. In scenes such as these Rubens invokes the viewer's sympathy for man's self-destructiveness. While Ovid makes no bones about the wanton cruelty of a vengeful goddess such as Diana, when she transforms and destroys the innocent Actæon, Rubens generally avoids presenting the gods in this commanding light. With the exception of *Arachne and Minerva* and *Jupiter and Lycaon*, such scenes are either left out of the series or presented so as to avoid the conflict. (This fact makes one wonder what the lost *Diana and Actæon* was like.) The reasons for this important difference between Ovid's and Rubens's depiction of the gods are complicated. However, it is clear that, while Ovid is interested in the gods' quite human misuse of their power, Rubens does not endow his gods in the *Torre* series with such superior power. While the relationship between the gods and the mortals in the *Metamorphoses* can often be seen as, and was perhaps intended to provide, an analogy to a social order such as that of Ovid's Rome, in Rubens's *Torre* series the relationship between gods and men is private, not public, in nature.

The emphasis on human passions and relationships that we find in Rubens's *Torre* series is largely due to his decision to concentrate the drama by selecting or even creating moments which most fully exploit and present the feelings of those involved. Thus, as we have seen, in the *Atalanta and Hippomenes* (Fig. 65) Rubens departs from the Ovid illustrators to depict the end of the race: Hippomenes is at the finish line, hands empty, while Atalanta, holding the first two apples in her skirt, reaches for the third. The relation of this sketch to the tradition of Ovid illustrations is typical of many of the *Torre* works. Elements from several works — the setting from Bernard Salomon (Fig. 68), the gestures from the Leipzig 1582 edition (Fig. 67), and the size of the figures from *Tempesta* (Fig. 66) — have been combined and completely reworked. But in following the general position of the Leipzig 1582 figures, Rubens adds a particular dramatic and expressive force. While accepting the parallel position of the two runners' legs, Rubens changes their arms in order to differentiate between Hippomenes's wild lunge toward the goalpost and

Atalanta's graceful gesture to pick up the apples. Rubens carefully contrasts the graceless joy of Hippomenes with the beauty of the athletic young woman. Even the onlookers, another element taken from the illustrated Ovids, are given an active role to play in this human drama : their gestures share in Hippomenes's gay abandon and high excitement as they cheer on the underdog.

Given the human orientation and concern of the Torre works, it is not surprising that Rubens generally avoids the depiction of metamorphoses, whereas the illustrated editions depict them with great enthusiasm. There are many scenes in which the detailed account of a metamorphosis is the main action : the sisters of Phaethon transformed into a tree; Coronis transformed into a crow; Battus transformed into a stone; Cadmus transformed into a serpent; Atlas transformed into a mountain, and so on. In fact, at least 40 of the 178 woodcuts in the Lyons 1557 edition include metamorphoses. Although Ovid took great care and delight in the naturalistic description of the transformation of human beings into plants or animals, he also gave them a particular value, which is determined by the context in which they occur. As Brooks Otis has argued persuasively, Ovid makes the change in the nature of the metamorphoses part of the epic progression of his poem. Daphne's metamorphosis is presented as a simple miracle, that of Tereus, Procne and Philomela as the just judgment on the animal-like nature of these people, that of Ceyx and Alcyone as the happy solution to a potentially tragic tale. Rubens had no such interest in the phenomenon of metamorphosis. In all but one of the few scenes in which we witness a metamorphosis – *Apollo and Daphne*, *Deucalion and Pyrrha*, *Glaucus and Scylla*, *Jupiter and Lycaon*, *The Judgment of Midas*, *Arachne and Minerva* (the exception being *Jupiter and Lycaon*), Rubens's emphasis is not on the transformation but on the previous relationship of the actors. And in those scenes in which a human being or god appears already transformed, as in *The Rape of Europa* or *Mercury and Argus*, their features and poses are designed to reveal that they have human feelings and act with human impulses.

Although this attitude suits the general tenor of the Torre series, it was by no means a new departure for Rubens. In the various paintings of *Pan and Syrinx* which can be connected with Rubens, Syrinx is always shown before her transformation into reeds. In the late *Diana and Actæon*, part of which is preserved today in Rotterdam (K.d.K., p. 350), we see Actæon before his

transformation.³²³ And finally, in the *The Banquet of Achelous* in New York (K.d.K., p. 117), Rubens leaves out the girls transformed into islands, who were commonly depicted in the illustrated Ovids. Paradoxically, it is just this attitude toward metamorphosis that enabled Rubens to produce the marvelously convincing representations of mythical beings such as the satyrs and centaurs in the Munich *Silenus* (K.d.K., p. 177), where a female satyr is suckling her young, or in the drawing of the *Centaurs Mating* (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No. 197). It is not the fact that such creatures are oddities that is of interest to Rubens, but rather their human attributes, the analogy that can be made between them and human beings, and therefore he strives to make them convincing in human terms. In works such as these Rubens comes very close to Ovid in another way, for both artists treat love, be it maternal or frankly sexual, as the common denominator between all living creatures.

Almost as striking as the absence of metamorphosis in Rubens's series is the absence of those scenes of physical violence in which Ovid, followed by his illustrators, so delighted. Because of their artistic limitations the small woodcuts or engravings of the illustrated Ovids do not convey much of the pain and horror of violent death, yet at least twenty of the 178 illustrations by Bernard Salomon represent such scenes: Apollo killing Coronis, the serpent devouring Cadmus's men, Actæon devoured by his dogs, Pentheus and Orpheus torn apart by the Bacchantes, Thisbe committing suicide, and so on. With few exceptions Rubens either avoids such stories completely (Apollo and Coronis, Pentheus, Niobe's children) or leaves out the scene which contains violent death. Rubens's Orpheus sequence, for example, does not include his death, and we are shown Cadmus being counseled by Minerva rather than the previous scene of his men being eaten by the serpent. When Rubens does deal with violence in the Torre series he commonly transforms it into a drama of aroused human passions, specifically into a love scene. For example, in representing the final meetings of Cephalus and Procris (Fig. 81), or of Jupiter and Semele (Fig. 135), Rubens chooses to show us not the actual deaths of these unfortunate women, as had the illustrated Ovids, but the relationship of these couples in what we are to understand as their final moments together.

³²³ In depicting Actæon in human form, Rubens is following the painters' tradition, as represented, for example, by Titian's Bridgewater painting, rather than the tradition of the illustrated Ovids.

Imminent death heightens the expression of passion and in each case the self-destructive yet persistent nature of love is very much on Rubens's mind.

Ovid (*Met.*, VII, 835-850) tells how Procris, hearing rumors of her husband's infidelity, went to the woods where he hunted in order to see for herself. Cephalus, tired from the hunt, stretched out on the ground and, as was his habit, addressed the cooling breeze, Aura, asking her to refresh him. Procris, who was hidden and watched her husband, thought that he was speaking to his mistress. She rustled the leaves in her hiding place and Cephalus threw his spear (ironically, a gift his wife had given him), only to discover that he had killed his wife instead of an animal. This is but the finale of a complex tale of mutual love and jealousy which the illustrated Ovids commonly dealt with in several scenes. Of this final sequence it is the death scene that the illustrators chose to depict. Bernard Salomon (Fig. 82) and the Leipzig 1582 edition depicted Cephalus withdrawing his spear from his wife's body, and Tempesta depicted the moment when, having thrown the spear, Cephalus realizes that he has killed her. Rubens condenses the story to produce a work which departs completely from the illustrated Ovids in composition and tone. He returns to the moments before the horrible deed is done. We see Procris solemnly waiting in her hiding place and having her worst fears confirmed as she overhears Cephalus, with left hand raised, addressing the breeze. Simultaneously, Cephalus hears a rustle in the bushes and turns his head toward Procris's hiding place, with his right hand on his spear suggesting the tragedy to come. The sketch in effect proposes a moment when both Cephalus and Procris are being cruelly deceived about one another (and this of course is the key to their tragic tale). Procris mistakes her husband's address to the wind for an address to a mistress even as Cephalus mistakes the rustle of his wife for that of an animal. This sketch is unusual among the Torre works in its dependence on a compositional device for much of its effect. Rubens cleverly utilizes the diagonal arrangement of figures which is commonly found in illustrated Ovids to represent the separation of husband and wife. See, for example, the traditional rendering of *Apollo and Coronis* (Fig. 83). By placing the victim in the foreground he forcefully engages our sympathy in her plight. In spite of the inventive composition, it must be admitted, however, that this sketch is noticeably weaker in its characterization of the actors than the other Torre works.

The effect of this turning of violent death into a scene of love is even more forceful in Rubens's renderings of *The Death of Eurydice* and *The Death of Hyacinth*, in which one of the lovers is shown dying before our eyes. While Bernard Salomon had followed Ovid's text (*Met.*, x, 8-10) and shown Eurydice bitten by the snake while strolling with a group of Naiads, Rubens, with no textual authority, depicts her dying in her husband's arms (Fig. 104). Although he shows the snake at her right ankle, he is not interested in the incident of the snake bite and in the death that results, but in the relationship of Orpheus and Eurydice. We have already mentioned the immediate effect made by Eurydice's crumpled body, which is based on an antique lounging figure. If we consider the relationship of the two figures we discover that the upright position of Eurydice's torso is completely dependent on Orpheus's support. Her open eyes and parted lips give him reason to believe some trace of life might remain as he tenderly embraces her and looks expectantly into her face. Rubens has transformed the moment of death into the final love scene between mortal lovers.

The scene of *The Death of Hyacinth*, in which Apollo mourns the death of his beloved youth from an accidental blow of the discus, had been represented in the illustrated Ovids as a scene of mourning. Rubens, however, finds new positions for the figures as he once again reworks antique sources with reference to the actual situation at hand (Fig. 123). The death scene of Bernard Salomon's woodcut is turned into the active drama of Apollo's lament (a lament which, incidentally, has an important place in Ovid's text, *Met.*, x, 196-208) as he kneels beside the youth, caressing his forehead with his right hand and expressing horror with his left. Rubens does not try to hide the fact of death here; he depicts the blood from Hyacinth's fatal wound staining his head, but he does not go on to turn death into a rebirth and omits the natural metamorphosis provided by Ovid. Instead, he makes this into an intimate love scene, the bodies of god and youth bound together, with Hyacinth's open eyes and parted lips, like Eurydice's, recalling life while signifying death.

The consistent turning of scenes of death and violence into final love scenes can be understood, on the one hand, as a sign of Rubens's limited interest in, or perhaps even limited sense of, the tragic side of human life. He could have avoided the simple celebration of violence and death he found in the illustrated Ovids, and could have developed such scenes to bring out the sense of human loss, which is so significantly lacking in the book illustrations. But this would

have been to go against his own sense of life as well as that of Ovid, with whom Rubens, in this respect, has much in common. As we suggested earlier in discussing the relation of the Torre works to the *Metamorphoses*, a major concern in the paintings, as in Ovid's poem, is the nature and power of love between human beings. And it is in this context that we should see the transformation of violence and death that we have just discussed. A large number of the Torre works deal with different aspects of love : the pursuit and declaration of love (*Apollo and Daphne*, *Atalanta and Hippomenes*, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Clytie*, *Diana and Endymion*, *The Rape of Europa*, *Ganymede*, *Narcissus*, *Dejanira and Nessus*, *The Rape of Proserpina*, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Cupid and Psyche*, and the lost *Danaë*); the ramifications and consequences of love (*Cephalus and Procris*, *The Banquet of Tereus*, and *Jupiter and Semele*); and the parting of lovers (*Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades*, *The Death of Hyacinth*). Love is the most important single theme of the entire series, and these love scenes are clearly the most successful works.

That this involvement in love is characteristic of the works for the Torre de la Parada is shown not only by the brilliance of such works as the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, *The Death of Eurydice*, *The Death of Hyacinth*, and the *Jupiter and Semele*, but also by the way in which precisely these scenes depart from the illustrated Ovids by introducing rarely depicted stories such as the *Bacchus and Ariadne*, and altering conventional ones such as the *Vertumnus and Pomona*. The story of Bacchus and Ariadne is only briefly mentioned in the *Metamorphoses* and is illustrated in very few Ovid editions. The change Rubens made was to separate the two figures from the scene of Bacchus and his train and to represent them, as we have seen, in an intimate encounter. An even more radical innovation was his decision to represent the last scene of the Vertumnus and Pomona story when Vertumnus appears to Pomona in his own form as a beautiful youth declaring his love and winning his suit, rather than when he appears in the guise of an old woman, as commonly found both in the illustrated Ovids and in monumental art (Figs. 190, 191). Similarly (although the work seems less successful in the poor copy left today), Nessus is represented as Dejanira's lover rather than as a thief pursued by Hercules, and Rubens depicts the conflict between his declaration of love and Dejanira's rejection of it (Fig. 93). In fact, almost all the non-Ovidian scenes introduced into the otherwise Ovidian series – the exceptions being *The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais* and *Prometheus* – share this concern with love.

V. CONCLUSION

One would ideally like to be able to conclude a study of this kind by showing the relation of the series under consideration to other similar series. In Chapter III we saw that the decorative scheme of the Torre de la Parada, considered as a whole, contained traditional categories of works which were, however, most informally arranged. Turning to the mythological works alone, we find that their relation to other decorative programs is severely limited by the unusual fact that so many of them have their source in Ovid illustrations. The mythological paintings make but few references to other monumental works of art representing Ovidian subjects, and the series as a whole is conceived of more as a compendium of individual narrative scenes than as an organized program. It is in fact just in this respect, if my analysis has been correct, that the study of the Torre can be instructive. We are accustomed to assume an allegorical program as the ground work for any mythological series in the Renaissance, but we must also be prepared to allow for the possible absence of such a program.

In the assemblage of mythological subjects on the Farnese ceiling of Annibale Carracci, we have what in my opinion may be a precedent (though in no sense a source) for the loose concatenation of myths in the Torre de la Parada. As an alternative to the complex neo-platonic and christianizing program suggested by John Rupert Martin, it has been argued that neither the choice nor the situation of the various mythological narratives on the Farnese ceiling seems iconographically determined – that in short there was no detailed program, and that decorative and formal rather than iconographic considerations were operative.³²⁴ It is possible that there are parallel explanations for

³²⁴ See John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, and the review of it by Donald Posner, *The Art Bulletin*, XLVIII, 1966, pp. 109-114. It was only after the completion of this chapter that an article appeared by Charles Dempsey arguing in part that the Farnese ceiling is intended as a satiric treatment of the gods seen at the mercy of love triumphant. ('Et nos cedamus amori': *Observations on the Farnese Gallery*, *The Art Bulletin*, L, 1969, pp. 363-374.) I find Dempsey's interpretation quite persuasive. It serves to reinforce the similarity between the Torre de la Parada series and the Carracci ceiling – the emphasis being in both cases on the mythological narratives as they cast light on the lives rather than meaning of the gods. Of course important differences remain. Most significantly Carracci's satire (which I find to be more heavy-handed than Dempsey will admit) completely lacks the human reference which is as basic to Rubens's designing of the sketches as it is to his understanding of the world.

the presence of the few obviously iconographically determined figures in each series : the pairs of cupids struggling at the four corners of the Carracci ceiling and Rubens's four single figures of the *Satyr*, *Reason* (?), *Mercury*, and *Fortune*. In each case these few figures announce a general theme – that of the power of love on the Carracci ceiling and that of the conflict between reason and the passions in Rubens's Torre series – which can be said to be a major theme in almost any mythological narrative and thus stands by way of general commentary on, rather than as an organizing device for, the assembled myths. However, while the basic organization, or lack of it, of the two mythological series is comparable, their tone (not to speak of their physical organization – for we are comparing a frescoed ceiling with a series of oil paintings) is very different. While Annibale Carracci was celebrating the world of antiquity both in style and in subject matter, attempting to restate for his time the good Renaissance style in narrative art, Rubens, with a much greater sense of ease, was using the style to render in surprisingly new ways the lives and loves of the gods.

We have stressed the unique character of the Torre series and of the works that make it up. In important respects – in the format of the scenes with their limited number of figures, in their relationship to the illustrated Ovids and in their closeness in tone to the handling of the gods in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* – the series is unique among Rubens's works. However, in many other ways, from the use of classical sources to the handling of the sketches, the works continue the interests and techniques central to Rubens's career. Rather than discuss specific relationships between the Torre works and the rest of Rubens's œuvre, I want to consider here two major and related issues in Rubens's art which seem to me to be illuminated by the Torre series : the nature of his depiction of the gods and his rendering of human passions.

Let us take his representation of the gods first. We found that there is in the Torre works what we might term a constant duality of emphasis on the heroic nature of the gods and on the fact that they act as human beings do. This dual emphasis is a common feature of Rubens's works no matter what the subject is. It has to do with the basic commitment of a classical conception of art (a commitment most self-consciously pursued by artists in the seventeenth century) to the belief that the truth of a work of art lies in its persuasive relation to the real, observed world as well as to an ideal view of man. Unlike Ovid, Rubens commanded a heroic style which he could inform with a sense of

real life without puncturing its ideality. In this particular sense his style could justly be called Homeric. We think of Mars and Venus in *The Horrors of War* – she every bit the deserted mistress and also the goddess – or almost any of Rubens's *Judgments of Paris* – the one in London, for example, where, following Lucian, Rubens emphasizes not so much the erotic possibilities of the display of three of the most beautiful nudes, as the humor of the three goddesses being reduced to competing in this kind of beauty contest. Now it must be admitted that in just these terms the range of Rubens's handling of the gods is great. At one extreme, in the Medici series, for example, Apollo, the ideal figure fighting the battle of good government against the forces of evil, seems to exist as the narrowest kind of allegory – a quotation after the Apollo Belvedere, simply standing for, but not acting out, an idea. While we might take the Apollo as he appears in several scenes in the Torre series as being at the other end of the spectrum, as he is revealed, through being shown up, to have the faults and passions common to all men.

One can say, however, that a common factor in Rubens's handling of the gods is that in spite of their realistic actions they always remain in a significant sense gods and goddesses. Now just what we mean by this, and why it should be so, is of the greatest importance to our understanding of Rubens. Here, as we shall see, is the great difference between him and Ovid. It is obvious that Rubens did not believe, as a matter of faith, in the pagan gods. (Poussin, by contrast, among seventeenth-century painters, did attempt to make his image of the gods answerable to his notions of ethical and religious truth.) Neither did Ovid, of course. Although living in antiquity, and being himself the author of the most famous compendium of myths, Ovid awarded less positive values to the gods and goddesses of myth than did Rubens. In the *Metamorphoses*, in his handling of Virgilian poetic convention and, incidentally, in his handling of the Virgilian conception of the gods, Ovid was taking issue not only with a poetic style but with a view of the world which supported and produced that poetic style: "Simplicitas rudis ante fuit: nunc aurea Roma est ... hæc aetas moribus apta meis" (*Ars Amatoria*, III, 113, 122). Ovid cut his teeth on the satiric *Amores*, which took great delight in seeing through the pretensions and conventions of love poetry and thus through the conventions of the Augustan society which produced that poetry. Rubens's works completely lack this critical attitude toward his age and society and the traditional style in art which served it. His life and art, as has often been observed, were in the service

of the church and state. He accepted, and painted propaganda for, the establishment, which Ovid, although fascinated by the golden Rome, continually saw through. Rubens perhaps comes closest to Ovid's view in a work like *The Garden of Love*, in which he exchanges a picture of contemporary society for the traditional garden of Venus (the closest parallel in Rubens's own works being his *Worship of Venus* in Vienna). Rubens's painted society lacks, however, the bitter-sweet quality of artifice and impermanence of the eighteenth-century parks by Watteau, to which it is so often compared. Here, and in his pastoral scenes of aristocrats romping on lawns before country houses, Rubens simply substitutes a new ideal – in terms of a more real, more contemporary image – for the world of the gods.

Rubens finally seems more convinced of the validity of these ideal figures of gods and goddesses than was Ovid. This can be understood not in terms of Rubens's embracing of the christianizing moralizations of the tradition of the *Ovide moralisé* (of which one finds precious little in his mythological works) but rather in the more general terms provided by his uncritical and accepting attitude toward the society in which he lived and toward the kind of images it chose to state its values. Now the result of Rubens's commitment to such heroic images of the gods is not what one might expect – for far from feeling constrained to continually reassure himself and his viewers about the status of the gods, his art exudes confidence that he and his audience simply accept it as a matter of common culture. Although this attitude was already being threatened on many sides in the seventeenth century – the strains show on the one hand in Poussin's dogmatic classicism and on the other in Rembrandt's struggle to give the gods what he considered a more relevant kind of validity – Rubens was not an embattled classicist, but a literate one. And it was in a traditional area of concern for a classically oriented artist, the representation of the passions through the actions of the body, that Rubens introduced unexpected innovations, innovations that in retrospect seem to fulfill one's sense of the possibilities of narration in a classical style.

While raising the question of the nature and force with which Rubens depicts the gods, our study of the *Torre de la Parada* also serves as a salutary reminder of the full, clear, and sympathetic manner in which all of his finest works render the essential human passions. We tend to describe Rubens's greatness in terms of the sheer technical skill with which he composed a myriad of figures and orchestrated his brilliant colors, his encyclopedic knowledge and

agile use of past art, and the wit with which he combined historical, mythological and Christian meanings in allegorical paintings. But we must also remember that Rubens makes us feel the terror, love and grief of the mothers of the slaughtered children in *The Massacre of the Innocents*, or the first recognition of love between Atalanta and Meleager, or the varieties of faith manifested in the saints worshipping the Madonna and Child in the great altarpiece he chose to surmount his grave – the splendid martial address of St. George, the repentant pose of the still sensual Magdalene, and the grand gesture of the august Jerome.

What means does Rubens employ to depict the passions ? To return to his mythological works, far from making caricatures of the gods (it is Ovid, not Rubens, who would have been amused by Daumier's lithograph *Venus and Mars in Vulcan's Net*), Rubens tried continually to give a concrete reality to their presence, and this is usually achieved less through the actual description of a face or a body – these characteristically conform to what is in Rubens's own terms a standard ideal – than through the kinds of actions the figures are engaged in and the way Rubens depicts those actions. This explains, incidentally, why Rubens's portraits, at least to my mind, do not equal his history paintings. His idiosyncratic handling of classical figure types and poses – notorious even in his own day – can, I think, be best understood in terms of the pressure he felt to make his depiction of the passions real and convincing in a new way through his depiction of actions. In contrast to the unified movement, almost unbroken by any particular expression, of the figures in Raphael's classical middle period, or the frozen poses of Giulio Romano's figures – to take two leading and much admired predecessors working in the classicizing style – Rubens's figures have a new spark of life. We think, for example, of Ariadne turning to look at Bacchus, or Apollo jerking his head around to see Cupid in the *Apollo and the Python*. In itself this is not a new observation, it has been said of Rubens many times before,³²⁵ but little attempt has been made to account for this new aspect of Rubens's figures.

³²⁵ For example, E.H. Gombrich, *The Style All'Antica : Imitation and Assimilation, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art*, II, Princeton, 1963, p. 41, where he speaks of Rubens "liberating the spark of life dormant in this style". (This paper has been reprinted in *Norm and Form : Studies in the art of the Renaissance*, London, 1966.)

It has much to do with the momentary quality so often commented on in the works of Rubens and other baroque artists. For, as in the cases of the Ariadne or Apollo just mentioned, Rubens seems to entertain a notion of what constitutes an action that is different from that in earlier art. This is not so much a notion of a fleeting moment in the abstract that is usually conveyed by the term "momentary," but rather the discovery that one part or aspect of what had previously been treated as a single larger gesture or passion can be isolated and depicted alone in the interests of persuasiveness. Rubens's Ariadne and Apollo belong to the same world as Bernini's *Habakkuk*, torn between his mission to the workers in the field and his duty to Daniel. In order to depict such actions, and, by implication, such passions, it is necessary for Rubens to give up certain ideas of figural decorum which were sacred to Raphael, Giulio Romano and others of their artistic persuasion. The spark of life we feel in Rubens's figures is dependent on a new and freer treatment of the human figure. His figures are capable of kinds of action that earlier figures were not capable of. This also explains, I think, why the kind of balance and the unity of form and expression assumed in the figures of earlier classicizing painters are so frequently and so blatantly sacrificed by seventeenth-century classicizing artists.

It has long been recognized that Rubens's relationship to and use of classical sources, of which the Torre de la Parada works give us a prime example, changed in his later works, but this has not been interpreted in the way that we are now prepared to do. In contrast to the theatrical and rhetorical works of the twenties, Rubens's works of the thirties have been said to represent a return to nature and atmosphere. It has been argued that this feeling for nature, presented in such a subtle, painterly manner, is naturally connected to antique sculpture, to quote Emil Kieser's basic study, in a most "sublimated" way,³²⁶ since in fact the direct use of foreign elements would contradict the natural basis of such a style. Yet it is precisely at this time, concludes Kieser, when Rubens forswears the direct use of antique prototypes, that he comes closest to the true nature of antique art.

It can be objected that this so-called sublimated use of classical motifs is rather another reworking of the same vocabulary of classical figures that we

³²⁶ Emil Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, X, 1933, p. 131.

can trace right through Rubens's works. And far from coming close to the true nature of antique art, late works such as the Torre de la Parada sketches find Rubens introducing blatantly non-classical elements into his classical vocabulary. The lightening of his palette and the loosening of his brush are accompanied by more pointed and more controlled, rather than more general, expressive effects. The gestures, glances and facial expressions interpolated into Rubens's classical vocabulary in the works of the 1630s are, we might say, anti-classical simply because they are given an emphasis separate from that of the figure considered as a single unit. Expressiveness in antique sculpture is achieved through the figure as a whole – through the coordination of the body, including torso, limbs, and head in a single pose. This is true even of the very exaggerated poses in such late antique works as the *Laocoön*, where the priest's face continues the contortion of his body. By giving special emphasis to the gestures, glances and facial expression of his figures, Rubens, in his late works, upsets this classical unity and in this way goes beyond classical art in particularizing human passions. Much of the unique character of his late style (in the figures of the Torre works, for example) is the direct result of his desire to use the classical figures, which were designed as general expressive formulas, for a new kind of particularizing expressiveness.

In speaking this way about the rendering of the passions and its relationship to a classical figure style, we are to a certain extent simply defining the aims of seventeenth-century art – Bernini does the same thing as Rubens when he puts a tense, straining face onto the pose of the *Borghese Warrior* in order to capture David in the act of releasing the sling shot. But what I want to stress in conclusion are the peculiar assumptions about the nature of the passions which lie behind this art. In depicting human feelings and passions through dramatic action, Rubens was, of course, accepting and practicing the notion of art set forth by classical theorists : the depiction of significant human actions is the highest aim of art, and the passions of the soul can only be presented through the actions of the body. (I do not mean to imply that Rubens was painting according to a theory. In fact he was not to the taste of those theorists and critics who held most strictly to this notion of art.) Opposed to this view of art is the anti-classical view articulated by Rembrandt particularly in his late works, where he rejected this manner of depicting the passions in favor of trying to present them directly, as it were, not seen through external actions. In Rembrandt's greatest and most persuasive portrayals of the human

soul, such as the Louvre *Bathsheba*, or *David and Saul* in The Hague, it is through the appearance of persons presented in moments of contemplation rather than through actions that we are told about the human passions. This manner of handling the passions is consistent with the fact that Rembrandt, unlike Rubens, was a great painter of portraits, and it explains why it is sometimes hard to distinguish between his portraits and his historical works.

This difference in the manner of depicting the human passions involves a very important difference in the notion of the very nature of the passions. Simply put, Rubens's approach, which is that of the classically oriented artist, assumes that human feelings, no matter how complex, can be acted out and made public. Rembrandt's art, as in his depiction of Saul's sorrow, or Bathsheba's sense of being desired, suggests, in a way much closer to our view today, that human feelings do not necessarily issue forth or find their correspondence in external action but may remain internalized (and as such perhaps they are harder for a painter to paint, at least one working in a representational tradition, than for a poet to set forth in words).

It has long been felt that Rubens's Torre de la Parada sketches are unique in both painting technique and quality of narration. Edward Dillon wrote in 1907 that in certain of Rubens's late works, including the Torre decorations, there was a "new emotional element, some approach to the romantic spirit, a suggestion, that is to say, of something beyond what is obviously represented."³²⁷ But it is important to recognize that this "new" element is not modern or forward-looking in the sense that is often implied, but quite old-fashioned. Rubens confidently asserted something that is very far from our experience of life and our experience of art – namely, that everything about human feelings can be set down publicly. It was in fact just because of their steadfast commitment to the established traditions of art in the face of the artistic revolutions of the nineteenth century that Delacroix and Jacob Burckhardt were separately moved to pay Rubens an exceptionally fine tribute, one that is particularly appropriate to Rubens's art as we see it in the Torre de la Parada series. Both men, painter and historian, called Rubens the Homer of painters, and thus bore witness to the grandeur, frankness, and generosity of his depiction of human dramas – an aspect of his art that our century has tended to lose sight of.

³²⁷ Dillon, p. 179.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

I have arranged the *Catalogue raisonné* in alphabetical order of titles with the exception of the *Democritus* and the *Heracitus*, which I have placed at the end. Works which I do not accept as having been part of the Torre decorations are discussed in the *Addenda*.

One major problem and two explanatory notes about the cataloguing of these works should be brought up here. First, it has proved very difficult to trace the history of the mythological paintings for the Torre through the royal inventories after they left the hunting lodge. The major difficulty is the confusion that has resulted from the fact that the inventories fail to distinguish between the Rubens school-pieces which once hung in the Torre and the contemporary copies after them which hung elsewhere in the royal collections. A minor difficulty is the frequent uncertainty about the identity of a particular subject as listed in the inventories. These difficulties are amply revealed in Ponz's account of the paintings in the Royal Palace in which he often lists two paintings of the same subject by Rubens or the Flemish school in two different rooms. Because of this confusion in Ponz, I have decided not to include his references to the Torre works in the *Catalogue raisonné* – the probability of error is very high and, at best, he merely repeats information we have from the royal inventories. I have, on the other hand, included Smith's listings under *Literature* in the relevant catalogue entries, even though many of the Torre subjects he records in the Escorial in the early nineteenth century were possibly copies. Unlike Ponz, Smith gives us enough information about each work to allow a reasoned judgment on our part. The only certain way to ascertain the provenance of these paintings in the royal inventories is when the inventory number painted on the painting itself corresponds to the number given to a painting of the same subject in the inventories.

Finally, in recording the provenance of the sketches I have interpreted the listing of a sketch in the so-called Pastrana inventory published by Sentenach y Cabañas as evidence that the sketch was in the Infantado collection in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries until 1841. As was pointed out in Chapter I, this inventory represents the post-1841 Pastrana and Osuna collections combined into one as they had only existed when they were all part of the Infantado collection prior to 1841. Unless otherwise noted, all references to works in the Prado are to the *Catálogo de las Pinturas*, Madrid, 1963.

1. APOLLO AND DAPHNE (Fig. 50)

Oil on canvas; 193 : 207 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in white, 63.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1714 (as *Jan Eyck*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [143]; Inv. 1747, No. 106; Inv. 1794, No. [87], as *Equillin*); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado, 5 April 1827.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, pp. 9, 10, No. 501 (as *Jan van Eyck*); W. Stechow, *Apollo und Daphne, Studien der Bibliothek Warburg*, XXIII, 1932, pp. 40, 41, fig. 51; Jaffé, 1964, p. 316, fig. 11.

The painting represents the final moments of Apollo's vain pursuit of Daphne, who had denied Apollo's love and fled. Just as the god was about to reach her, she was changed into a laurel tree (Ovid, *Met.*, I, 452-552).

In copying Rubens's sketch, the painter has extended the landscape to the right and has added Apollo's sandals. An important change, common to many of the Torre paintings, is the idealizing of the face of Apollo, who no longer shows the strain of the pursuit as he does in the sketch.

The painting was certainly not executed by Rubens himself. Rooses (*loc. cit.*) has suggested an attribution to Jan van Eyck, probably based on comparison with *The Fall of Phaethon* that bears his name (No. 50; Fig. 164). This painting, however, seems to be by a different hand. The attribution to Cornelis de Vos, suggested by G. Glück (note in L. Burchard's documentation) is not entirely convincing either.

1a. APOLLO AND DAPHNE : SKETCH (Fig. 51)

Oil on panel; 28.5 : 27.5 cm. Below in the center, inscribed *Daphnis et Apollo*. Below, beneath Daphne's foot, a horizontal black line.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

EXHIBITED : *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 28 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, pp. 314, 316, 318, figs. 2, 10.

This sketch, one of those that were recently discovered at Bayonne, and therefore unknown to L. Burchard, is the original one by Rubens for the corresponding canvas in the Prado. The name of the subject has been inscribed on the panel.

The sketch is related to the tradition of illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (b 1, b 1^r; Figs. 52, 53) presents the narrative in two scenes : in the first we see the pursuit, in the second Daphne is transformed just before Apollo reaches her. Cupid is in the sky in both scenes. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 59) repeats these scenes. *Tempesta* does not present this narrative at all. Rubens follows the *Lyons*, 1557 model, but combines both scenes into one : the race is still on and Daphne is being transformed.

The figure of Daphne is related to that of a woman that appears in a drawing by Rubens, *Diana and Her Nymphs Surprised at the Bath*, in the Louvre (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, nr. 189 recto). The attitude of the woman above on the left of the drawing is strikingly similar.

A sketch showing *Apollo and Daphne*, in the W. Lehmbruck Museum, Duisburg (panel, 32.8 : 31.8 cm.; from the collections of G. Sjörberg, Stockholm, and J.W. Welker), has been mistakenly connected with the Torre commission by A.L. Mayer (*Eine unbekannte Rubensskizze*, *Pantheon*, v, 1930, pp. 118, 119) and Van Puyvelde, *Sketches* (p. 43). Neither its size, technique nor composition are comparable to any of the Torre sketches. I do not think this sketch is by Rubens's hand.

2. APOLLO AND THE PYTHON (Fig. 54)

Oil on canvas; 188 : 265 cm. A small strip has been added above. Below on the left, signed *Cornelis de vos. F* and inscribed in orange, 1360, in white, 70.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 1861 (as *Cornelis de Vos*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (unidentifiable in Inv. 1700; Inv. 1747, No. 43; Inv. 1794, No. [33], as *Cornelio de Box*); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado, 5 April 1827.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 10, No. 503.

The painting combines Ovid's story of Apollo killing the Python (*Met.*, I, 441-444) with that of the ensuing contest with Cupid (*Met.*, I, 452-573). After having killed the Python, Apollo challenges Cupid about the suitability of his bearing the arms of a man. Cupid's reply is to shoot an arrow at Apollo which enflames him with his vain love for Daphne.

A *pentimento* is visible where the position of Apollo's right foot was changed. The added grace given to the body and to the profile of Apollo in the painting has the unfortunate effect of destroying the subtle fun poked at the god in Rubens's sketch.

2a. APOLLO AND THE PYTHON : SKETCH (Fig. 55)

Oil on panel; 27 : 42 cm. Damaged, with a break running vertically through Apollo's head and his right foot. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, T. 957.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2040.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 83); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1937, No. 102.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 11, under No. 503, p. 240; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 83; *Dillon*, p. 219; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

The sketch is indebted to the tradition of illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (a8v; Fig. 57) places Apollo to the right, after he has shot the Python dead with a single arrow. The main change in the *Leipzig*, 1582 scene (p. 57; Fig. 56) is that Apollo is seen sideways in the act of shooting the Python. *Tempesta* (No. 9; Fig. 58) follows *Leipzig*, 1582, with the addition of Apollo's chariot in the rear. Rubens draws on the dramatic versions of *Leipzig*, 1582 and *Tempesta*. The Python from this tradition can be identified by its curlicue tail. Rubens appears to be following the text (Ovid, *Met.*, I, 443) in depicting the numerous arrows with which Apollo killed the Python. He further adds the figure of Cupid challenging Apollo and makes their competition the subject of his work. The only similar representation of the scene is *Lyons*, 1556 (p. 55; Fig. 59), which adds the figure of Cupid twice – once standing beside the victorious Apollo and again in the rear, shooting at Apollo and

Daphne – as the next part of the narrative begins. The pose of Rubens's Apollo is based on the *Apollo Belvedere*.

3. ARACHNE AND MINERVA

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [40], as *Escuela de Rubens*; Inv. 1747, No. 89; Inv. 1794, No. [81], as *Copia de Rubens*).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost; copied by Velázquez on the rear wall, to the right, in *Las Meninas*, which depicts the Pieza Principal of the Royal Palace, Madrid; recorded in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (Bottineau, No. 889).

The painting illustrates the climactic moment of Ovid's account of the weaving competition between Minerva and Arachne when the goddess strikes the girl with the shuttle (*Met.*, vi, 129-132).

3a. ARACHNE AND MINERVA : SKETCH (Fig. 60)

Oil on panel; 27 : 38 cm.

Richmond, Virginia, The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. No. 58.18.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82, as *Penelope y Telemaco matando à Circe*); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); M. van Gelder, Uccle; acquired in 1958 through the Williams Fund.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1910, No. 372; *London*, 1912 (not in catalogue); *Amsterdam*, 1933 (not in catalogue); *Art Flamand du xv^e au xx^e siècle*, Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, 1934, No. 38; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 103; *Richmond*, The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1961 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 233 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 11, No. 504; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82; *K.d.K.*, p. 385; L. Dumont-Wilden, *La Collection Michel van Gelder au château Zeecrabbe à Uccle*, Brussels, 1911, p. 36; M.F. Hennus, *Rubens Tentoonstelling*, *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*, X, 1933, p. 282, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde*,

Sketches, p. 42; C. de Tolnay, *Las Hilanderas and las Meninas*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XXXV, 1949, p. 36; D. Angulo Iñiguez, *Las Hilanderas*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXV, 1952, pp. 75, 79; *Time*, Sept. 8, 1958, pp. 32, 33, repr.; *Accessions of American and Canadian Museums January-March, 1958*, *The Art Quarterly*, XX, 1958, p. 220; C. de Tolnay, *Las Pinturas Mitológicas de Velázquez*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, XXXIV, 1961, p. 44, pl. vi.

In certain details, the sketch is indebted to the tradition of illustrated Ovids. This scene is not depicted in *Lyons*, 1557, but was added in the Italian translation *Lyons*, 1559 (p. 88; Fig. 61). There Arachne is shown standing within the loom, while Minerva strikes at her with the shuttle. The metamorphosis has begun to take place: Arachne's hands look like spider legs and are embedded in a web. *Tempesta* (No. 54; Fig. 62) repeats the loom with Arachne inside it, although here Minerva only gestures in her direction to cause the metamorphosis. This loom is also present in Rubens's sketch. A tapestry of Europa and the Bull, woven by Arachne, has been added. Two girls are working within the loom. One of them looks on as Minerva strikes Arachne to the ground. The absence of the metamorphosis itself, which is usually shown, and the addition of the tapestry place the emphasis of the work on Arachne's point (Ovid, *Met.*, vi, 103-128) about mortals suffering at the hand of deceitful gods.

4. ATALANTA AND HIPPOMENES (Fig. 64)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 220 cm. On the right, on the socle of the obelisk, inscribed *I.P. GOWI F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 989.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1538 (as *J.P. Gowy*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [43], as *Goui*; Inv. 1747, No. 85); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Princesa (Inv. 1772, No. 989), Quarto del Príncipe, cámara (Inv. 1794, No. 989).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 11, under No. 505; M.H. Bernath, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XVIII, 1911, p. 236.

The painting presents the end of the race between Hippomenes and Atalanta, as the victorious youth reaches the finish post thus winning Atalanta as his bride (Ovid, *Met.*, x, 560-680).

The painter has closely followed Rubens's sketch. Only minor differences can be observed, such as the position of the obelisk, which touches the lower edge here. The sphere on top of it is entirely visible in the large canvas, though not in the sketch. The attribution to Gowi of this painting and *The Fall of Icarus* (No. 33) rests only on the presence of his name, though differently spelled, on both canvases. No other history pictures by this artist are known. The two Torre paintings are doubtless by the same hand. It is not important to know which, if either, of the two "signatures" is authentic. Even if both names were inscribed only after the paintings had arrived in Spain, they must be based on a trustworthy written source (see also Nos. 28 and 50).

4a. ATALANTA AND HIPPOMENES : SKETCH (Fig. 65)

Oil on canvas (transferred from panel); 28 : 31.5 cm.

Paris, Collection of Mrs. Henri Heugel.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Osuna, sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 133, bought by Colnaghi, London.

COPY : Painting, Worms, Kunsthaus, Stiftung Heylshof; panel, 25 : 34 cm.; the drapery on Hippomenes's back which had been added in the original sketch and has been removed since then, is not present in this copy. It is interesting to note that to appear authentic, this copy even adds one of the lines (guide lines) commonly found in the Torre sketches.

EXHIBITED : *Tentoonstelling van Oud-Vlaamsche Kunst*, World Exhibition, Antwerp, 1930, No. 247; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 102 (repr.); *Bordeaux*, 1954, No. 83 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 11, No. 505; *Osuna, Catalogue*, 1896, No. 133; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81; *Dillon*, p. 219; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42, pl. 88.

The sketch is closely related to the traditional representations of the race in illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (i 3; Fig. 68) shows the figures racing parallel to the picture plane, with the wooden barrier marking the course beyond them. Behind it, a crowd of onlookers stand, holding their spears erect. Hippomenes races on to the right, while Atalanta turns back to look at the first apple on the ground. In the distance, Venus is seen handing the apples to Hippomenes.

Leipzig, 1582 (p. 419; Fig. 67) follows this model but places the barrier diagonally to the front plane. Atalanta, holding up her skirt with her left hand, reaches back for an apple and Hippomenes, racing forward with another apple held in his right hand, looks back to watch her. *Tempesta* (No. 97; Fig. 66) omits the barrier and the figure of Venus in the background, and shows only a few spectators, in order to concentrate on the main figures. It is only the beginning of the race and Atalanta stoops low for her first apple while Hippomenes strides forth with one more in each hand.

Rubens's sketch combines a number of features from these various engravings. The barrier parallel to the picture plane and the crowd are similar to *Lyons, 1557*, the position of the main figures is closest to *Leipzig, 1582*, and, like *Tempesta*, the sketch leaves out Venus and her chariot and emphasizes the two principal figures. Rubens, however, depicts the end of the race. The crowd is cheering wildly, with raised hands and waving arms. Atalanta holds in her dress the apples she has already picked up, and stoops to take the third. Meanwhile, Hippomenes has reached the finish, which is indicated by an obelisk. This does not appear in the illustrated Ovids. Rubens could have borrowed it from the rendering of the subject by Giulio Romano, in one of the medallions in the Sala dei Venti of the Palazzo del Te, Mantua (*Hartt, Giulio Romano*, II, fig. 198).

5. ATLAS

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [23], as *copia de Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 20; Inv. 1794, No. [29], as *copia de Rubens*).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, inventoried in the Pieza Principal of the Royal Palace, Madrid, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 903).

This figure carrying a globe, which is known only through the sketch in the Seilern Collection (No. 52; Fig. 69) and a copy after it in the Prado (Fig. 70) could be either Atlas or Hercules. In favour of the identification as Atlas, it has been pointed out (*Seilern*, I, p. 68) that, when the figure is represented

alone, it is usually *Atlas*. Furthermore, in the context of the series for the Torre the arguments for its being Hercules are weakened, since it appears that there was not a substantial number of works devoted to Hercules. The appearance of a very similar figure in a drawing in the Louvre, Paris (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 189, *verso*), which doubtless represents *Hercules Tearing Off the Shirt of Nessus*, could support the identification of this figure as Hercules. Among the engravings from drawings by Rubens, illustrating Pierre Aveline's *Théorie de la Figure humaine* (Paris, Ch. A. Jombert, 1773), there is one (Pl. xxiv) showing the moment when Hercules takes over the firmament from Atlas, in a pose which is similar to the one known through the Seilern sketch, the only difference being that there Hercules braces himself with his free hand on his thigh instead of on a rock. The title for the lost Torre painting proposed by L. Burchard is "Hercules Bearing the Celestial Globe" or "Hercules Supporting the Firmament".

5a. ATLAS : SKETCH (Fig. 69)

Oil on panel, 25 : 16.5 cm.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Henry Oppenheimer (London, 1859-1932), sale, London, 24 July 1936, lot 16; Fr. Rozendaal, London.

COPY : Painting (Fig. 70), Madrid, Prado, No. 2039; panel, 25 : 17 cm; given by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889; attributed to Rubens by *Rooses*, III, p. 12, No. 506; exh. : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 106 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED : *London*, 1927, No. 332a; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 105.

LITERATURE : *Pantheon*, XX, 1937, p. 328, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *Seilern*, p. 68, No. 39, pl. LXXXVI.

The figure appears in an almost identical pose as *Hercules Tearing Off the Shirt of Nessus* on the left of a drawing in the Louvre, as was observed by *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963 (I, pp. 294, 295, No. 189 *verso*), where attention is also drawn to the relationship of the figure with the *Laocoön*. A drawing in the British Museum shows, among other studies for several labors of Her-

cules, three sketches for *Hercules Supporting the Celestial Globe* (Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 295, 298, No. 190 *recto*). Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963 suggest that one of these is also closely related to the Seilern sketch and to the Louvre drawing (*ibidem*, I, p. 298).

For this subject, be it Atlas or Hercules, Rubens could not rely upon a tradition in the illustrated Ovids. When Atlas is depicted, it is always in the context of the Perseus myth, at the moment when he is transformed into a mountain (e.g., Lyons, 1557, d6^v). The labors of Hercules are never represented in the Ovids.

6. AURORA AND CEPHALUS

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [170] ?, as *Indimien y Diana*, by Villebors; Inv. 1747, No. 40, as *Endimion y Diana* or No. 92, as *Endimion y la Luna*; Inv. 1794, No. [80] ?, as *Endimion y Diana, copia de Rubens*).

The subject of this work, known today only through the sketch (No. 6a), seems to have been a problem throughout its history. Until the discovery of the sketch in Bayonne, which indubitably represents *Diana and Endymion* (No. 19a; Fig. 99), the sketch in the National Gallery had gone under that title in modern times.

In the 1747 inventory of the Torre, we find the impossible situation of two works with essentially this title : No. 40, "Endimion y Diana", and No. 92, "Endimion y la Luna" – one presumably being the painting under discussion, the other the canvas painted after the sketch in Bayonne (No. 19).

In the naming of the sketches too, there seems to be much confusion. Is the sketch in the National Gallery the same, as *Sentenach y Cabañas* suggested (p. 82), as the sketch identified as "Yo registrando a Narciso"? This seems unlikely, since the dimensions of that sketch are much too small. Furthermore, there are two other sketches titled *Diana and Endymion* (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, pp. 80, 82). In fact, the National Gallery sketch does seem to match in size and action the work listed in *Osuna, Catalogue 1896*, No. 135, as "Venus

encontrando à Adonis dormido" (31 : 47 cm.), although this cannot be the correct subject either, since the youth is wide awake.

In his publication of the recently rediscovered Torre sketches in Bayonne, Michael Jaffé has suggested that the subject of the National Gallery sketch was really *Aurora and Cephalus* (Jaffé, 1964, p. 319). This title apparently has been accepted by the National Gallery. The chariot drawn by two horses is consistent with the identification of Aurora, and the Cephalus is a figure similar in type in the other Torre works depicting him (Nos. 10, 10a; Figs. 80, 81). However, Cephalus was an unwilling lover to Aurora (Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 700-713) – witness his rejection of her advances in the well-known painting on the Farnese ceiling (J.R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, pl. 59) – and it seems unlikely to me that this welcoming youth is Cephalus. It is thus with significant doubts, and only for lack of a persuasive alternative, that I list the painting here as *Aurora and Cephalus*.

6a. AURORA AND CEPHALUS : SKETCH (Fig. 71)

Oil on panel; 30.5 : 47.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. No. 2598.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82, as *Yo registrando a Narciso* or *Diana y Endimeon*); Duke of Osuna, sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 135, bought by Colnaghi, London; George Salting (London, 1835-1909); bequeathed by him to the National Gallery (1910).

COPY : Painting, Paris, private collection; panel, 31.5 : 47.5 cm.; exh. : Brussels, 1965, No. 234 (as *Rubens*).

EXHIBITED : *The Collection of Pictures and Drawings of the late Mr. George Salting*, Agnew & Sons, London, 1910, No. 141.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 15, No. 516 (as *Diana and Endymion*); Osuna, *Catalogue*, 1896, No. 135 (as *Venus encontrando à Adonis dormido*); *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82 (as *Yo registrando a Narciso* or *Diana y Endimeon*); Dillon, p. 219 (as *Venus and Adonis*); K.d.K., p. 395 (as *Diana and Endymion*); Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, pp. 40, 92, 93, pl. 98; Van Puyvelde, *Sketches*, pp. 42, 94, pl. 98; Jaffé, 1964, p. 319, fig. 12 (as *Aurora and Cephalus*).

This sketch is, with the exception of *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* (No. 20a), the largest of all the Torre sketches. It is executed in deeper tones and with fuller delineation of the figures than any of the others. However, doubts about its connection with the Torre commission, with which it was associated by Rooses (*loc. cit.*), seem unwarranted, since the history of the sketch is similar to that of other Torre paintings. Although the subject was wrongly identified in the various Torre inventories as *Diana and Endymion*, a painting of this scene would appear to have been in the hunting lodge.

7. THE TRIUMPH OF BACCHUS (Fig. 72)

Oil on canvas; 180 : 295 cm. Below on the left, signed *Cornelis de vos.F* and inscribed in white, 244, in orange, 1222.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 1860 (as *Cornelis de Vos*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [29], as *Cornelio de Vos*; Inv. 1747, No. 98); Buen Retiro (Inv. 1772, No. 998).

COPY : Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 171.5 : 236.5 cm.; provenance : Duke of Buccleuch, sale, London, 1 November 1946, lot 159, as *C. de Vos*.

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 137, No. 490; *Rooses*, III, p. 12, No. 507; *Evers*, 1943, p. 241.

L. Burchard has suggested that the subject of this picture is the triumphal return from India of Bacchus (*Burchard*, 1950, p. 19), described by several Latin authors (Ovid, *Fasti*, III, 465 et seqq.; Catullus, *Carmina*, LXIV, 257-265) and represented on numerous Roman sarcophagi (see E. Wind, *A Note on Bacchus and Ariadne*, *The Burlington Magazine*, XCII, 1950, pp. 82-85). In the illustrated Ovids (e.g. *Lyons*, 1557, c8^r) Bacchus is presented in the narrative scene as the Bacchanalian train is met and challenged by the hostile King Pentheus (*Met.*, III, 528 et seqq.). My guess is that Rubens was thinking of the illustrated Ovids when he designed this scene, but that, being more interested in the Bacchanalian train than in the drama, he reworked it without King Pentheus. I am not convinced that he was specifically thinking of Bacchus's Indian Triumph.

7a. THE TRIUMPH OF BACCHUS : SKETCH (Fig. 73)

Oil on panel; 26 : 41 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. St. 31.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); private collection in Southern France; bought in 1927 by F. Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); presented in 1940 by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum Boymans Foundation.

COPY : Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, measurements unknown; provenance : London, Thomas Lumley Ltd., in 1937; according to L. Burchard, perhaps French 18th century.

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 26 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No. 25 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 107; *London*, 1950, No. 17 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 103 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *Burchard*, 1950, pp. 19, 20, No. 17, repr.; L. Van Puyvelde, *La peinture flamande à Rome*, Brussels, 1950, p. 55; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 110, 111, No. 40, fig. 21.

There are only a few minor differences between the sketch and the finished painting : the composition has been expanded a little bit at the left and some plants have been added in the foreground. The head of the satyr who supports Bacchus is not partly covered by the god's shoulder as in the sketch; it, as well as the heads of the other figures, has been idealized by De Vos.

The identification of the figural source of the bacchante with the cymbal in a fresco by Frans van de Casteele, formerly in the Palazzo Mattei, Rome, which L. Van Puyvelde proposed (in *Cat. Exh. Esquisses de Rubens*, Brussels, 1937, under No. 107; *La peinture flamande à Rome*, Brussels, 1950, p. 55), is not convincing.

Haverkamp Begemann, 1953, p. 107, No. 103, suggested that the motive of the Bacchus borne by satyrs was borrowed by Frans van Bossuit (1635-1692) for a *Triumph of Bacchus* (*Cabinet de l'art des sculptures, par le fameux sculpteur Francis Van Bossuit*, Amsterdam, 1727, p. xxix).

8. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE (Fig. 74)

Oil on canvas; 180 : 85 cm. Below on the left, signed *E. Quellin.F.* and inscribed in orange, 1630 and in white, 66.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1629 (as *Erasmus Quelllyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [25], as *copia de Rubenes*; unidentifiable in Inv. 1747; Inv. 1794, No. [79], as *Equilin*); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado 5 April 1827.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 12, No. 508.

Although the meeting of Bacchus and Ariadne on the shores of Naxos (actually they met twice: once after Ariadne had been abandoned by Theseus, and again later, when she had been abandoned by Bacchus himself) is referred to briefly by Ovid (*Met.*, VIII, 174-182) and by Philostratus (*Imagines*, I, 15); the main accounts are those of Catullus (*Carmina*, LXIX, 48-266) and of Ovid in the *Fasti* (III, 459-516) and the *Ars Amatoria* (I, 525-556). While Titian's painting in London is based on the *Ars Amatoria* for the meeting of the couple (the first), and on Catullus and Philostratus for the procession, Rubens's sketch is based entirely on the *Fasti* (the second meeting). Rubens follows Ovid's text (*Fasti*, III, 507-510) depicting Bacchus coming up behind Ariadne and taking her by surprise.

8a. BACCHUS AND ARIADNE : SKETCH (Fig. 75)

Oil on panel; 27 : 16 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. St. 29.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado ? (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); private collection in Southern France; bought in 1927 by F. Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); presented in 1940 by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum Boymans Foundation.

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 25 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No. 24 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 104; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 101 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens in Rotterdam*, *Apollo*, July 1967, p. 40, fig. 3; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 114, No. 53, fig. 54.

The scene is not illustrated in *Lyons*, 1557 or the subsequent editions. I have found only two representations in illustrated Ovids. *Venice*, 1584 (viii, p. 268) has it in the foreground of one of the composite scenes and closely follows Tintoretto's painting in the Ducal Palace, Venice, and there is also a very small representation in Sandys's *Ovid* (viii, facing p. 265). Unlike Rubens, these both follow the text of the *Ars Amatoria*.

Erasmus Quellinus has closely followed Rubens's sketch, with one exception: the head of Ariadne, which was shown in profile, has been turned slightly to show her in three-quarter view.

9. CADMUS AND MINERVA (Fig. 76)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 300 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1338; below on the right, inscribed in red, 999.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1713 (as School of Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [166], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 116); Royal Palace, Madrid, Cuarto del Infante Don Xavier (Inv. 1772, No. 999), Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1794, No. 999).

COPY : Lithograph by J. Jorro (*Rooses*, III, pl. 171).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 13, No. 509; Hans Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens' Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 262-265, fig. 44 (as *Jacob Jordaens*).

Following Ovid's text (*Met.*, III, 95-114) Cadmus has obeyed Minerva's instructions to plant the teeth of the serpent he has just killed. As the goddess foretold, fighting soldiers spring up from the teeth.

The attribution to Jacob Jordaens, proposed by Hans Vlieghe (*loc. cit.*), is certainly correct. The problem remains why Jordaens has signed certain works for the Torre, *The Judgment of Midas* (No. 41), *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (No. 48) and *Vertumnus and Pomona* (No. 59), and omitted to do so for *Cadmus and Minerva* and for *The Fall of the Giants* (No. 25). There is no indication that this should imply a different share in the execution, as they all appear to be entirely by the painter's own hand.

The painting reproduces the first state of the sketch before the panel was enlarged at the left side.

9a. CADMUS AND MINERVA : SKETCH (Fig. 77)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 47.5 cm.

Raveningham Hall, Norfolk, Collection Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.

PROVENANCE : Jacques de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 61, purchased by Van Genneken; Van Schorel, sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 8; offered for sale to Thomas Harvey of Catton by Pilaer and Beeckmans, Antwerp, 23 June 1789 ?; Ph. Panné, sale, London, 26-28 March 1819, 2nd day, lot 72; Sir Thomas Baring, sale, London, 3 June 1848, lot 87; Rutley; bought from him in 1856 by Mr. Staniforth Becket; passed by inheritance to Sir Hickman Bacon, Bart. (died 1939).

COPY : Painting, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; paper on panel, 27.5 : 43 cm.; from the collections of F. Koenigs (*Amsterdam 1933*, No. 30) and I. de Brujn, Muri, Bern (J.L. Cleveringa, in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, IX, 1961, p. 66, No. 15). Smaller at the left than the original sketch, it corresponds in this respect to the painting. According to L. Burchard, a second copy, mentioned by Van Puyvelde as having been in London, Sackville Gallery, 1930 (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 92, under No. 94; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 93, under No. 94) is identical with the one in Amsterdam.

EXHIBITED : British Institution, London, 1840, No. 12; *Masterpieces from the collections of Yorkshire and Durham*, City Art Gallery, Leeds, 1936, No. 8; *Seventeenth Century Art in Europe*, Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1938, No. 57; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 104 (repr.); *L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques et la Galerie Nationale de Victoria*, Museum, Bruges, 1956, No. 76; King's Lynn, 1960, No. 24; London, 1961, No. 32 (repr.); *Fine Paintings from East Anglia*, Norwich Castle Museum, Norwich, 1964, No. 57.

LITERATURE : Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 190, No. 673; Rooses, III, p. 13, under No. 509; C. Hofstede de Groot, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 275; No. 14; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 40, 91, 92, pl. 94; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 42, 93, pl. 94.

There is a vertical break in the sketch, just to the left of the dragon, indicating that a piece of panel was added. Both the finished painting in the Prado and the copy after the sketch in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, do not show this enlargement, which therefore would seem to be a later addition by another hand. Nevertheless, as Ludwig Burchard pointed out, the painting to the left of the break appears to be by the same hand as the rest of the sketch and consequently to be the result of an expansion of the sketch, conceived and executed by Rubens himself, after Jordaens had finished the Prado canvas.

Jordaens has followed Rubens's composition, but has turned the head of Cadmus more towards Minerva.

Rubens's composition is generally in the tradition of the illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (c6), shows Minerva in a cloud above Cadmus, who falls back in shock, while in the background the fighting soldiers grow out of the ground. This is taken over by both *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 122; Fig. 78) and *Tempesfa* (No. 24). Rubens changes Minerva's position, so that she is poised right over Cadmus's shoulder and places the dead and significantly toothless dragon at his feet. *Oxford*, 1632 (Bk. III, facing p. 81; Fig. 79) seems to be the only illustrated Ovid which includes the serpent.

10. CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS (Fig. 80)

Oil on canvas; 174 : 204 cm. Below, to the right of the center, signed *Peeter Symons*; below on the left, inscribed in orange, 2358; below on the right, inscribed in white, 258.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1971 (as *Peter Symons*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [157], as *Pedro Simon*); ? Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1772, No. 936); Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1794, No. [32]); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?).

COPY : One of the mythological scenes, painted on a South-Netherlandish cabinet (Antwerp ? 1st half 17th century) in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (*Catalogus van Meubelen en Betimmeringen*, 1952, p. 179, No. 136, afb. 61).

LITERATURE : E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Peeter Symons, colaborador de Rubens*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, pp. 251-258, repr. between pp. 256 and 257.

The painting depicts the moment before Cephalus accidentally kills Procris (Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 835-841). Cephalus lifts his left arm, calling to Aura, and at the same time turns his head, with his right hand on the fateful spear, as he hears the rustle in the thicket where his wife, Procris, is hidden. The painter misunderstood the spear which Cephalus holds in his hand and replaced it by an arrow.

The execution of this picture was left to the otherwise practically unknown Antwerp painter Peter Symons, who signed the work. Instead of the almost square format of the sketch, the canvas is oblong.

Rubens and his workshop were concerned with this subject on other occasions. *Rooses*, III, p. 66, under No. 581, mentions a picture on canvas, painted before 1626 and left by Rubens to his son Nicolas, and a sketch on panel, sold in the Van Schorel sale, Antwerp, 7 June 1774, lot 22 (panel, ca. 45.5 : 60 cm.), which depicted the traditional scene of *The Death of Procris*, with her head fallen on the knees of her husband.

The Torre de la Parada composition has no relationship to a drawing of *Cephalus Lamenting over the Death of Procris* in the Art Museum, Princeton University, attributed to Rubens by L. Burchard (see *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 57, 58, No. 51; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, pp. 138-141, No. 84). This drawing has also been attributed to Willem Panneels (J.S. Held, *The Authorship of the "Holy Family" in the Walker Art Center, Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XXIII, 1943, pp. 119-122) and to Van Dyck (M. Jaffé, *Rubens' drawings at Antwerp, The Burlington Magazine*, XCIII, 1956, p. 321).

10a. CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS : SKETCH (Fig. 81)

Oil on panel; 29 : 32 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in blue, T. 864.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2459 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); Duke of Pastrana; presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 29 May 1889.

COPY : Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 19 : 24 cm.; provenance : sale, London, 23 July 1954, lot 116, as *H. Van Balen*.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1937, No. 108.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 14, No. 511; E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Peeter Symons, colaborador de Rubens*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, VI, 1930, pp. 251-258, repr. between pp. 256 and 257; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 40, 92, pl. 95; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 42, 93, pl. 95; J. S. Held, *Rubens*, Amsterdam-London, 1954-55, pl. 27.

Rubens here departs radically from the tradition of the illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (f7v; Fig. 82) depicts Cephalus on the ground drawing the spear out of the body of the dying Procris. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 304) shows us the dead Procris actually behind the thicket described by Ovid, with Cephalus at a distance suddenly realizing what he has done. *Tempesta* (No. 71) follows

Leipzig, 1582 in emphasizing Cephalus' reaction rather than the act of drawing out the spear. Rubens places Procris in the immediate foreground, separated by the thicket from Cephalus, who is in the background. (For the use of this compositional format in illustrated Ovids see above p. 163). The only other representation of this scene I have found in which Procris is so placed in the foreground is a woodcut of 1549 by George Pencz (see Hans Wolfgang, *Die Kleinmeister*, Leipzig, 1908, fig. 57), but here she and the figure of Cephalus aiming an arrow in the background are not dramatically related. The woodcut is in fact titled merely *Procris*.

The figure of Procris is very similar to the mourning woman below on the right in a sketch representing *The Death of Constantine*, Paris, private collection (David Dubon, *Tapestries from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The History of Constantine the Great designed by Peter Paul Rubens and Pietro da Cortona*, London, 1964, pl. 63).

11. CLYTIE

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, probably one of Nos. [128]-[136]).

This painting belongs to a group of rather small canvases, all about 98 : 98 cm. (*Narcissus*, No. 43, *Nereid and Triton*, No. 44, etc.), which probably hung in the room referred to in the 1700 inventory of the Torre de la Parada as the *cubierto*.

The painting has disappeared, and is known only through the sketch (No. 11a). The composition, formerly known as *The Repentant Magdalen* (see e.g. *Cat. Exh. L'Art belge au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1910) was recognized as a part of the Torre decorations by Ludwig Burchard and identified as *Ariadne Abandoned* (letter to A. Neuerburg, Hamburg, 1930). This title is also given to the sketch by Jaffé, 1964, p. 320.

However, this identification neglects to take into account the young woman's upward gaze and the prominent rôle of the sun, which blazes in yellow brush strokes in the upper left corner. The young woman is perhaps Clytie, who loved the sun and gazed at it until she finally turned into a heliotrope, which forever turns towards the sun (Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 256-270).

11a. CLYTIE : SKETCH (Fig. 84)

Oil on panel; 14.8 : 14 cm.

New York, Collection William Suhr.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado ?; Duke of Pastrana ?; Michel van Gelder, Uccle; sold in 1930 to A. Neuerburg, Hamburg; Knoedler, New York (1952).

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 373 (as *Repentant Magdalene*); London, 1912 (not in catalogue).

LITERATURE : Larsen, p. 219, No. 94; Jaffé, 1964, p. 320 (as *Ariadne*).

In the catalogue of the exhibition at Brussels in 1910, the measurements of the sketch are given as 31 : 31 cm. When L. Burchard in 1930 examined the panel, then in the collection of A. Neuerburg, he noticed that a strip of new wood, covered with black paint, had been added all around the original sketch. Apparently, the additional pieces of wood have been removed since then. The dark borders on the sketch today were perhaps added at some date to cover up those dark lines which so often appear near the edges of Torre sketches.

This composition is not connected with the tradition of illustrated Ovids. Although *Lyons*, 1557 entitles a woodcut "Phoebus despucelant Clytie" (d3^v), the scene depicted is the rape of Leucothoe by Apollo in her bedroom, and Clytie is but one of two tiny figures seen outside the door in the background with the sun's rays blazing down on her. This is repeated in *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 164). The only edition to give importance to this scene is *Venice*, 1553 (p. 87; Fig. 85), which combines it with the burial of Leucothoe by her father. Clytie is shown lying naked, on her back, exposing herself to the sun. Rubens's sketch of Clytie, hands folded on her lap, sitting and gazing up at the sun (a yellow patch of sky at the upper left of the sketch), is closest to the figure in Sandys's Ovid (Bk. IV) who sits in a distant part of the landscape in a similar pose. Unlike Rubens, however, *Oxford*, 1632 also depicts the flower into which Clytie is metamorphosed.

I wish to thank J. S. Held for directing me several years ago to this sketch in the Suhr collection.

12. CUPID ON A DOLPHIN (Fig. 86)

Oil on canvas; 98 : 98 cm. Signed on the quiver *E. Quellin. F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1800; below on the right, inscribed in red, 1030.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1632 (as *Erasmus Quellyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (not identified in Inv. 1700; Inv. 1747, No. 87); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso de tribuna y trascuartos (Inv. 1772, No. 1030).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 14, under No. 512.

The signature confirms the attribution to Quellinus, found in the old Prado catalogues (e.g. *Catálogo de los Cuadros del Real Museo de Pintura y Escultura de S.M.* by Pedro de Madrazo, 2nd ed., Madrid, 1845, p. 411, No. 1800) and in *Rooses* (*loc. cit.*). The format has been slightly altered, in comparison with the sketch, by expanding the composition to the left.

While the depiction of the god of love in a series of works which is often concerned with love is understandable, the choice of this particular motif remains unclear. L. Burchard notes that a *Winged Putto on a Dolphin* also occurs in one of the niches on the ceiling of the Sala delle Aquile in the Palazzo del Te (*Hartt, Giulio Romano*, I, pp. 123-126, not repr.) Other examples of *Cupid riding a Dolphin* are listed by Guy de Tervarent (*Attributs et symboles dans l'art profane 1450-1600*, I, Geneva, 1958, col. 143), who also points out that the subject symbolizes the impatience of love.

12a. CUPID ON A DOLPHIN : SKETCH (Fig. 87)

Oil on panel; 14.5 : 13.5 cm.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 822.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana; sold, probably in 1888, to Count Valencia de Don Juan; bequeathed to the Museum by Countess Valencia de Don Juan in 1919.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 41; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 109 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 241 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 14, No. 512; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 5, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 40, 92, pl. 96; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 42, 93, pl. 96; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 115, No. 55, fig. 56.

The horizontal line just under the head of the Dolphin and Cupid's foot obviously has not served to guide the painter either about where to cut off the painting or about how to align the Dolphin's head with Cupid's foot.

13. CUPID AND PSYCHE (Fig. 88)

Oil on canvas; 81 : 98 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1695. Fragment; cut off above, on the left and below. Parts of Psyche's arms, on the left, are overpainted. Original measurements approximately 176 : 161 cm.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1718 (as *School of Rubens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [55], as *Erasmo de Clivio*; Inv. 1747, No. 81 (?); Inv. 1794, No. [82], as *Equillin*).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, pp. 316, 317, fig. 7.

Psyche, seeking her unknown husband, who visits her only at night, comes upon Cupid and admires him by the light of her lamp (Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, v, 22).

This fragment, which follows the sketch exactly, is a remaining piece of the original canvas, painted for the Torre de la Parada by an anonymous Flemish artist from Rubens's sketch. The possibility that it could be a fragment of a copy by Juan Bautista del Mazo must be ruled out. Considering the frank and full depiction of the nude, it is very possible that this was one of the paintings stored away in the Academia de San Fernando and cut up at some later time.

Ludwig Burchard, who did not know the sketch in Bayonne, which was only discovered after his death, had not made the connection with the Torre de la Parada. The fragment under discussion is of rather poor quality and the hand of none of the better known among Rubens's collaborators can be recognized in it.

According to a letter by Balthasar Gerbier, dated 30 January 1638, Rubens had painted Cupid and Psyche on a virginal, made for the Infanta Isabella

(W. Noel Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers, illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, London, 1859, pp. 208, 209; reprinted in *Rooses-Ruelens*, vi, pp. 192, 193).

13a. CUPID AND PSYCHE : SKETCH (Fig. 89)

Oil on panel; 26.6 : 24 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 82); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

EXHIBITED : *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 26 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, pp. 314, 315, 318, fig. 6.

The drapery which covers Psyche's right leg was probably added to the sketch by a later hand.

The pose of Psyche is strongly reminiscent of Rubens's early painting of this subject, datable c. 1612-15, in the collection of Prof. Dr. Rolf Stödter, Hamburg (*Apollo*, June 1959, repr. on cover); a drawing for this figure is in Windsor Castle (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 65).

The composition and nighttime setting reveal Rubens's interest in Giulio Romano's famous version of the subject on the ceiling of the Sala di Psiche in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua (*Hartt, Giulio Romano*, II, fig. 236).

14. DAEDALUS AND THE LABYRINTH

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [44], as *Voxs*).

Daedalus, hired by Minos to build the labyrinth in which to hide the Minotaur, the monster born of Pasiphae's union with a bull, shows the Minotaur his new home (Ovid, *Met.*, VIII, 152-168).

It is possible that this work, which seems not to appear in any inventories after 1700, was destroyed in the sack of 1710.

14a. DAEDALUS AND THE LABYRINTH : SKETCH (Fig. 90)

Oil on panel; 27 : 17 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in white, 285.

La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes. No. 285.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); Duke of Pastrana.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 14, No. 513; J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia y guía de los museos de España*, Madrid, 1955, p. 238; Jaffé, 1964, p. 320.

The sketch is generally based on Ovid's account of the building of the labyrinth (*Met.*, VIII, 152-168). With the exception of *Paris*, 1539 (II, 46) which shows Daedalus and Ariadne before the labyrinth, the other illustrated Ovids all represent Theseus and Ariadne (e.g. *Leipzig*, 1582, p. 315; Fig. 91). Rubens's labyrinth is similar to the structures in the illustrated Ovids. But he, instead, depicts Daedalus as the architect with his instruments, showing the labyrinth to the Minotaur.

15. DANAË AND THE GOLDEN RAIN

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [160], as *Cornelio de Vos*; Inv. 1747, No. 97; Inv. 1794, No. [75], as *Vos*).

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 24, under No. 537; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 206.

Danaë, incarcerated by her father who has been told that her first-born will kill him, receives her lover Jupiter in the form of a shower of gold (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, LXIII).

Rooses (*loc. cit.*) remarks that Ponz described a *Jupiter and Danae* by Rubens in the Royal Palace, Madrid. I have been unable to find this picture listed in the *Viaje*. But as the canvas for the Torre was still present at its original place in 1794, it seems unlikely that the picture mentioned by Rooses could have been made for the Torre.

A *Danae and the Golden Rain* in the John and Mable Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida, is certainly much earlier. In my opinion, it is a Rubens school-piece dating from c. 1616-18. *Goris-Held* (p. 54, No. A 82) mention a *Danae* by Rubens in the inventory of the succession of Jeremias Wildens, 30 December 1653 : "Eenen gulden regen van mijn Heer Rubbens, no. 70." (*Denucé, Konsikamers*, p. 156).

15a. DANAË AND THE GOLDEN RAIN : SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown.

A sketch of this subject was recorded in the collection of Quincy A. Shaw, Boston, in 1895 (W. Bode, *Alte Kunstuwerke in den Sammlungen der vereinigten Staaten, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., VI, 1895, p. 71; *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 206).

16. DEJANIRA AND NESSUS

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [164]; Inv. 1747, No. 96; Inv. 1794, No. [76], as *Equillin*).

The painting depicts the centaur Nessus's attempted rape of Dejanira, the wife of Hercules (Ovid, *Met.*, IX, 111-126).

16a. DEJANIRA AND NESSUS : SKETCH (Fig. 93)

Oil on panel; 20 : 15.5 cm. On the left, below, and on the right, small strips of panel have been added. Original measurements : approximately 15 : 13 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE : ? Giorgio Augusto Wallis (London-Florence, 1770-1847), sale, Berlin, 24 May 1895, lot 86 (repr.).

COPY : Painting (Fig. 94), Madrid, Prado, No. 2460; panel, 18 : 13 cm.; presented 28 May 1889 by the Duchess of Pastrana; Lit. : *Rooses*, III, p. 15, No. 514, as *Copy after Rubens*.

LITERATURE : M.J. Friedländer, *Versteigerung der Gemälde-Sammlung von Giorgio Augusto Wallis, etc.*, *Repertorium für Kunsthistorische Wissenschaft*, XVIII, 1895, p. 241; Jaffé, 1964, p. 321.

The sketch was probably acquired in Spain by Giorgio Augusto Wallis in the years 1807-1813. During that period he served as agent for W. Buchanan (W. Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, II, London, 1824, pp. 202-250). The existence of a fairly late copy in the Pastrana collection along with the set of authentic sketches suggests that at some moment the original *Dejanira and Nessus*, as well as the *Atlas* (see above, under No. 5a), was replaced by a copy. A sketch in the collection of Dr. H. Arnold, New York, has erroneously been connected with the Torre series (exh. : *Peter Paul Rubens*, Schaeffer and Brandt Inc., New York, 1942, No. 27; lit. : *Valentiner*, p. 167, No. 119; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42). It is not related to the Wallis sketch.

Lyons, 1557 (g8v), followed by *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 357) places Dejanira and Nessus in the distance, with Hercules in the foreground shooting after them. *Tempesta* (No. 83; Fig. 92) revises this arrangement and focuses our attention on Nessus's declaration of love by placing the couple in the foreground and Hercules in the background. Rubens adopts a similar arrangement, but leaves Hercules out completely, thus turning the scene into a study of the conflicting emotions of Nessus and Dejanira.

According to L. Burchard, the figures of Nessus and Dejanira were taken over with some alterations from a painting (panel, 71 : 133 cm.; sale, London, 29 July 1949, lot 39) representing the group in an extensive landscape with Cupid pulling Nessus by his hair, Hercules on the left shooting the poisoned

arrow, and, on the right, the river god Evenus and his Nymph. The landscape and the central figures were attributed by L. Burchard to Rubens, the other figures having been reinforced by another hand, apparently by Jordaens. On the basis of a photograph, I am not convinced of the presence of Rubens's hand in this painting. A second version of this painting is in the Hanover Museum (No. 339; panel, 70.5 : 110 cm.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 367). Its old attribution to Rubens had already been rejected by *Rooses* (III, p. 71, under No. 585).

17. DEUCALION AND PYRRHA

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [159], as *Cosiers*; not identifiable in Inv. 1747; Inv. 1794, No. [85], as *Copia de Rubens*).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 95), Ayuntamiento, Barcelona, on loan from the Prado; canvas, 91 : 169 cm.; mentioned in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 895).

Ovid's text relating the survival of the flood by Deucalion and Pyrrha and the repopulation of the earth (*Met.*, I, 313-415), has been followed exactly by Rubens. On the right, he shows the little boat, stranded on Mount Parnassus, on the left, the temple where they received the oracle of Themis, which ordered them to loosen their clothing, to cover their heads and to throw stones over their shoulders. Behind Deucalion and Pyrrha, the stones begin to turn into people.

17a. DEUCALION AND PYRRHA : SKETCH (Fig. 96)

Oil on panel; 26 : 41 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in blue, *T. 962.*

Madrid, Prado, No. 2041.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 112.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 15, under No. 515; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

Rubens has followed the tradition of illustrated Ovids with certain changes. *Lyons*, 1557 (a8) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 54) both depict Deucalion and Pyrrha walking toward the left, throwing over their shoulders the stones, some of which turn into people. In the background is the temple of Themis, with the earlier scene of Deucalion and Pyrrha praying for guidance. *Leipzig*, 1582 adds the detail of their carrying the stones in their clothes and, in keeping with Ovid's text, shows the temple as ruined. *Tempesta* (No. 8) follows this model completely.

Rubens reduces the importance of the temple by putting it almost out of sight at the left though, curiously enough, he restores it. He does not use it as the setting for the earlier scene. Rubens chooses to emphasize, instead, two large figures of a man and a woman who are emerging from stones. In scale and gestures, these newly made figures are similar to those represented in *Venice*, 1553 (p. 13). However, it is also likely that Rubens had in mind Peruzzi's fresco of this subject in the Sala delle Prospettive of the Villa Farnesina in Rome (see S.J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, fig. 483).

18. DIANA AND ACTÆON

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [150], as Jordens).

Since the painting of *Diana and Actæon* attributed to Jordaens, which was inventoried in the Torre in 1700, has not been heard of since, it is possible that it was one of the few works destroyed in the sack of 1710. According to the inventory, it was one of the larger Torre works, measuring 5 varas in width and thus comparing in size with *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* (No. 20; Fig. 97) or *Orpheus Playing the Lyre* (No. 45; Fig. 154). No sketch by Rubens

of this subject survives that can be connected with the Torre de la Parada, and there is no painting by Jordaens known, which might correspond to the lost canvas. The *Diana and Actæon* in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (R.-A. d'Hulst, *Enkele onbekende Schilderijen van Jakob Jordaens*, *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis en de Oudheidkunde*, xix, 1961-66, p. 93, fig. 10) has no relation to the lost Torre work.

18a. DIANA AND ACTÆON : SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown.

19. DIANA AND ENDYMION

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [170] ?, as *Villebors*; Inv. 1747, No. 40, as *Endimion y Diana*, or 92, as *Endimion y la Luna*; Inv. 1794, No. [80] ?, as *copia de Rubens*).

This scene, a popular one in the Renaissance, is not based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The story of the moon-goddess's love for Endymion, whom she visited on Mount Latmus during his sleep, was related by several authors, among others by Sappho and Lucian (see Judith Colton, *The Endymion Myth and Poussin's Detroit Painting*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxx, 1967, pp. 426-431).

Since the subject of Diana and Endymion is mentioned twice among the paintings inventoried in the Torre in 1747, under Nos. 40 and 92, it appears that there has been a confusion between this subject and the so-called *Aurora and Cephalus*, a canvas for which the sketch is preserved in the National Gallery, London (No. 6a).

19a. DIANA AND ENDYMION : SKETCH (Fig. 99)

Oil on panel; 26.6 : 28.6 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

EXHIBITED : *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 27 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, p. 316, fig. 5.

Although the corresponding canvas is apparently no longer in existence, the subject matter and the format of the sketch as well as its provenance convincingly argue that it was one of Rubens's designs for the decoration of the Torre. The sketch was only discovered after the death of L. Burchard.

20. DIANA AND NYMPHS HUNTING (Fig. 97)

Oil on canvas; 183 : 386 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [18], as *Pedro de Vox and Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 23); Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844); sold in 1838 to Alexander Baring, Lord Ashburton; sold in 1907 to Wertheimer, London; sold before 1912 to Benjamin Thaw, Pittsburgh; Mrs Benjamin Thaw (New York-Paris), sale, Paris, 15 May 1922, lot 38 (probably withdrawn), sale, London, 24 June 1932, lot 127, bought by Sir H.F. Owen Smith; Mrs. E. Hugh Smith, London (ca. 1955 ?; information from the Witt Library, London).

LITERATURE : Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p. 338, No. 352 (as *Rubens, Snijders and Wildens*); F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, II, London, 1854, p. 102 (as *Rubens, Snijders and Wildens*); Cruzada Villaamil, p. 321, No. 24 (as *Rubens and Paul de Vos, lost*); Rooses, III, p. 73, No. 588 (as *Rubens, Snijders and Wildens*); III, p. 76, No. 592 (as *lost*); IV, p. 349, No. 1163 (as *Rubens and Paul de Vos, lost*); W.R. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XLVII, 1911-12, pp. 268, 271 (as *Rubens and Studio*); Idem, *Aus der Niederländischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1914, p. 166.

This painting has been discussed in the literature before, but not in connection with the Torre decorations. Smith (*loc. cit.*) mentions it in the Ashburton collection and indicates its provenance from Joseph Bonaparte. Oddly enough, he describes the action as proceeding from left to right, rather than from right to left as in the actual painting. Rooses simply quotes Smith's entry in translation; thus repeating the error, and adds that a corresponding sketch had come to the Osuna collection from that of the Duke of Infantado (*Rooses*, III, pp. 73, 74, Nos. 588, 588¹). Neither Smith nor Rooses had noted the connection with the Torre decorations. Moreover, Rooses lists the painting of *Diana Hunting* recorded in the 1700 Torre inventory, which he thought had perished in the sack of 1710, on two occasions separately from the other Torre works. Once he considers it to have been one of the eighteen supplementary pictures that were supposed to have been painted by Rubens and Snyders to complete the decoration of the hunting lodge (*Rooses*, III, p. 76, No. 592) and elsewhere he incorrectly identifies it with the *Deer Hunt* purchased from Rubens's estate by Philip IV (*Rooses*, IV, p. 349, No. 1163).

The dimensions of this painting, 183 : 386 cm., correspond to the size of the painting with the same subject, entered in the 1747 Torre inventory, 2-1/2 : 4-1/2 varas, or about 209 : 376 cm. Since the picture is known to have been taken from Spain by Joseph Bonaparte, it seems a reliable hypothesis to assume that it originally was part of the Torre decorations. Moreover, the sketch (No. 20a) displays the colour scheme and technique of the other Torre sketches and shows, down the right side and the bottom of the panel, the black lines also found on other sketches of the series.

An engraving by Joseph Goupy (London, died before 1782) with the same subject (V.S., p. 229, No. 34), mentioned by Smith (*loc. cit.*) and described by Rooses (III, p. 74, under No. 589), was not made from the Ashburton painting. It was copied from a Rubens school-piece, then in the collection of Robert Walpole, which later belonged to the Earl of Lincoln and was sold in London, Christie's, 10 July 1953, lot 152. It shows additional nymphs approaching from the left to join a group of figures similar to those we find in the Torre composition. This composition is known through several other copies. One of these, in the collection Lazaro, Madrid, cut down at both left and right sides (thus making it compositionally quite close to the Torre work), has incorrectly been related to the Torre commission (*La Colección Lazaro de Madrid*, II, Madrid, 1927, p. 447, No. 975, as *Rubens and Paul de Vos*). It

should be noted that there are a number of closely related works, all perhaps from Rubens's studio, which share elements of the Torre composition with the addition or alteration of certain figures (see for example, above, p. 111n.). Since, with the exception of the Lazaro painting, they have never been connected with the Torre commission, they will not be discussed here.

The 1700 inventory attributes the painting to Rubens and Pedro de Vos. It is doubtless in error about Paul de Vos. The attribution to Rubens, Snyders and Wildens, proposed by J. Smith (*loc. cit.*), seems unlikely in the context of the Torre series. Unfortunately, the photograph of the canvas is not a reliable basis for a discussion of the painter or painters of the picture.

20a. DIANA AND NYMPHS HUNTING : SKETCH (Fig. 98)

Oil on panel; 26 : 57 cm.

Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, Collection of Major General Sir Harold Wernher, Bart.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 83, repr. on p. 76); Duke of Osuna (died 1896), sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 137, bought by Colnaghi, London; Sir Julius Wernher, Bart.; Lady Ludlow (his widow).

EXHIBITED : Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1904; *London*, 1927, No. 278; Wildenstein, London, 1946; Guildhall Art Gallery, London, 1953; *Exhibition of Royal Gifts*, Christie's, London, 1961-62, No. 156 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 74, No. 588¹; *Osuna, Catalogue 1896*, No. 137; *Dillon*, p. 219; R.E.A., in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCV, 1953, p. 406.

The provenance, technique and style of this sketch are sufficient evidence to prove that it was intended as a part of the Torre commission, although it has not been published as such before. The connection was also pointed out by L. Burchard. The width of the sketch, which is greater than that of any other Torre sketch, does not seem to be an objection to its inclusion in the series, since the painting for which it was designed is wider by half a vara than most other works in the Torre. Further, the red, yellow and grey of the huntresses' tunics and the brilliant yellow of the sunlight seen through the trees at the left are colours characteristic of the entire series of Torre sketches.

There is a prominent *pentimento* where Rubens decided to change the position of Diana's right arm. In a first stage she raised it above her head and

thrust the javelin at the deer attacked by the dogs. Later, her arm was extended before her and the javelin of the nymph behind Diana added to the left of her head.

21. THE RAPE OF EUROPA (Fig. 101)

Oil on canvas; 126 : 87 cm. Signed, on the right, on the hem of Europa's dress, *E. Quellinius F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1669 and in white, 76.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1628 (as *Erasmus Quellyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [163]; Inv. 1747, No. 93; Inv. 1794, No. [83], as *Equillin*); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado in 1827.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 17, under No. 513.

The scene is based on Ovid's account (*Met.*, II, 868-875) of how Jupiter, disguised as a bull, carried off Europa. Rubens follows the text of the climactic moment in such details as Europa's glance back at the receding shore, her hand resting on the bull's horn and her fluttering garments.

The painting closely follows the sketch. To the right, a small strip seems to have been omitted or cut away.

21a. THE RAPE OF EUROPA : SKETCH (Fig. 102)

Oil on panel; 18 : 14 cm. Inscribed below on the right in blue, *T.896*.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2457.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 113.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 17, No. 519; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

As in several other sketches, the presence of the dark line, cutting across the lower part of the panel just below Europa's feet, is puzzling. Obviously it was not intended as a guideline to instruct the painter to cut off the work at that point, nor does it seem to indicate the alignment of depicted objects.

The tradition of Ovid illustrations of this subject bears some relation to that of Dejanira and Nessus. *Lyons*, 1557 (c4^v) places Europa in the distance with her girl friends in the foreground calling after her as she is carried away. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 118) reverses this arrangement as does *Tempesta* (No. 21) : Europa and the bull are in the foreground and the girls in the background. Rubens concentrates, as in the *Dejanira and Nessus* (Nos. 16, 16a), on the main figures rather than on the whole narrative situation. *Lyons*, 1557 is the only illustration to show Europa, as described in Ovid's text, with one hand on the bull's back and her garments fluttering in the wind.

The connection with Titian's *Rape of Europa* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, suggested in *Cat. Exhib. Esquisses de Rubens*, Brussels, 1937, p. 108, under No. 113, is not evident.

22. THE DEATH OF EURYDICE (Fig. 103)

Oil on canvas; 179 : 195 cm. Enlarged on both sides (original measurements 179 : 140 cm.). Signed, below on the left of the original canvas, *E. Quellin F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1577.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1630 (as *Erasmus Quellyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [31]; Inv. 1747, No. 37); Zarzuela (in 1794).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 17, No. 520.

Eurydice, fatally bitten by a snake shortly after her marriage to Orpheus, dies in her husband's arms (Ovid, *Met.*, X, 1-17).

The strips, added to the canvas both to the left and to the right, were probably needed to adjust the painting to the space where it was to hang. This enlargement must have taken place after the picture was completed, since the signature is well within the borders of the work. Curiously, the original dimensions do not correspond to any other Torre work, while the additions

made it close to the measurements of many other paintings in the series. The reason for this apparent anomaly remains unknown.

Otherwise the painting follows the sketch, with the single exception that Eurydice's glance is altered from one of distress to one of a vague kind of uplift. Such changes occur frequently in the paintings for the Torre.

22a. THE DEATH OF EURYDICE : SKETCH (Fig. 104)

Oil on panel; 26 : 15.5 cm. Cut down at the right side.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. St. 30.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82, as *Galatea y Apolo moribunda en sus brazos?*); private collection in Southern France; bought in 1927 by F. Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); presented in 1940 by D.G. van Beuningen to the Boymans Museum Foundation.

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 27 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No. 26 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 105 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *Held*, I, p. 99, under No. 13; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 114, 115, No. 54, fig. 55.

The panel was probably cut down by several centimeters at the right. This is made clear by the fact that Quellinus's painting after the sketch included the fluttering garment of Orpheus and the lyre on the ground even before it was enlarged.

Both *Lyons*, 1557 (h5) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 389) follow Ovid's text (*Met.*, x, 8-10) in depicting Eurydice bitten by the snake, in the foreground, accompanied by her friends in the background. Orpheus is not present. *Tempesta* does not illustrate this scene. Rubens invents a completely new scene in which Eurydice, just bitten by the snake, dies in the arms of Orpheus.

As J. S. Held has observed (*loc. cit.*), the figure of Eurydice is based on a pose found in a modello for a painting by Giulio Romano, *The Death of Procris* (*Hartt, Giulio Romano*, II, fig. 473) which Rubens had also used on earlier occasions.

23. FORTUNE (Fig. 105)

Oil on canvas; 179 : 95 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1720; below in the centre, inscribed in white, 68.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1674 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [168], as *Escuela de Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 19, as *Original Escuela de Rubenes*; Inv. 1794, No. [30], as *copia de Rubens*); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado in 1827.

COPY : Lithograph by P.J. Faillet (*Rooses*, III, p. 18, pl. 172).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 18, No. 522; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 413, right; A. Doren, *Fortuna im Mittelalter und in der Renaissance, Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, I, 1922-23, p. 144, fig. 20; E. Panofsky, "Good Government" or Fortune ?, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, LXVIII, 1966, pp. 309, 322.

The three most common attributes of Fortune in the Renaissance were the rudder and the sail (both making reference to Fortune as mistress of the unpredictable seas, and thus to her power over the forces of nature) and the globe or sphere, referring to her instability (see Panofsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309). Rubens leaves out the rudder and, following an image such as we find in Alciati (A. Alciati, *Emblemata*, Lyons, 1600, p. 344, emb. xcvi; E. Panofsky, *op. cit.*, fig. 9), places his figure on a sphere in the sea, her arms raised to hold up the billowing veil into which the sail was frequently transformed. As in the emblem just cited, Fortune was commonly coupled with Mercury in the Renaissance. As suggested above, p. 141, this probably explains the presence of the two figures in the Torre decorations.

The painting completely changes the pose of the figure by reversing the position of the arms and legs, and directing the gaze toward the viewer. These changes cannot be explained by an alteration in the meaning of the subject, since the traditional attributes, which enable us to recognize the figure as Fortuna, have been preserved.

As could be expected in the case of a painting which departs so radically from the preparatory sketch, the execution of the painting is entirely by Rubens's hand.

23a. FORTUNE : SKETCH (Fig. 106)

Oil on panel; 34 : 23 cm. At the left and the right, strips of panel have been added. Original measurements approximately 34 : 11 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. No. 798c.

PROVENANCE : Jabach, Cologne; B. Suermondt (Aachen, 1818-1887); sold to the Museum in 1874.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 114.

LITERATURE : Paul Mantz, *La Galerie de M. Suermondt*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 2nd series, IX, 1874, p. 378, repr. on p. 371; Julius Meyer and Wilhelm Bode, *Verzeichniss der ausgestellten Gemälde und Handzeichnungen aus den im Jahre 1874 erworbenen Sammlungen des Herrn Barthold Suermondt*, 2nd ed., Berlin 1875, p. 116, Nr. 133; Rooses, III, p. 18, Nr. 5221; K.d.K., p. 390, left; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; K.A. Laux, *Shakespeare und die Bildende Kunst*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Waetzoldt "Deutschland-Italien"*, Berlin 1941, p. 217; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; E. Panofsky, "Good Government" or Fortune ?, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, LXVIII, 1966, pp. 309, 322.

The original sketch has been greatly and crudely altered by being enlarged to the left and to the right. Its relationship with the Torre commission was noted by M. Rooses (*loc. cit.*). Although the pose of the figure, which here is related to that of Mercury in *Mercury and Argus* (Nos. 40, 40a, Figs. 141, 142), has been changed radically in the finished painting, the similarity in subject and format between them and the close connection in style with the other Torre sketches are sufficient evidence for the correctness of Rooses's assumption.

24. GANYMEDE (Fig. 100)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 87 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 1507, in orange, 1587.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1679 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [74], as *Rubenes*); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Princesa (Inv. 1772, No. 1007), Cuarto de la Reina Nuestra Señora, Antecámara (Inv. 1794, No. 1007).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, mentioned in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1680 (Bottineau, No. 902).

LITERATURE : Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 134, No. 467; *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 362, 363, No. 23; Rooses, III, p. 19, No. 523; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 413, left; K.d.K., p. 392, left; S. Alpers, *Manner and Meaning in some Rubens Mythologies*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXX, 1967, p. 274, pl. 32f.

The painting in the Prado, for which no sketch is known today, belongs to that group of works for the Torre which appear to have been painted entirely by Rubens.

Although the rape of Ganymede is briefly narrated by Ovid (*Met.*, X, 155 et seqq.) and illustrated in editions of Ovid, the struggle being put up by Ganymede against his captor suggests that Rubens was thinking of Virgil's account (*Aeneid*, V, 252 et seqq.), in which Jupiter's eagle carries off Ganymede, rather than the Ovidian account in which Jupiter himself, disguised as an eagle, does so. *Lyons*, 1557 (h7), *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 398) and *Tempesta* (No. 94) all depict Ganymede as a small boy rather enjoying a ride on the back of a bird high over a landscape. Rubens ignores the rendering of the scene in the illustrated Ovids and turns to the other important illustrative tradition (see, for example, A. Bocchi, *Symbolicae Quaestiones*, Bologna, 1574, p. 166, symb. 78), in which Ganymede struggles with the bird. This entire tradition is related to Michelangelo's Cavalieri drawing (note particularly the way in which the eagle seizes Ganymede) but Rubens departs from the tradition by leaving out the earthly setting and concentrating on the figure of Ganymede.

The figure of Ganymede seems related to the youngest son of Laocoön (M. Bieber, *Laocoön*, New York, 1942, pl. 18).

24a. GANYMEDE : SKETCH

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Count Charles de Proli; sale, Antwerp, 23 (?) July 1785 et seqq., lot 6 (companion piece of lot 5, *Saturn*), both bought by De Loose, Brussels (according to Rooses, III, pp. 19, 32, 33); François Pauwels, sale, Brussels, 22 August 1803, lot 67 (companion piece of lot 66, *Saturn*), not sold; Richard Cosway, sale, London, 17 May 1821, lot 65.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 19, under No. 523; pp. 32, 33, under No. 550.

L. Burchard has suggested a connection between the pair of sketches in the Proli sale and the Torre paintings of *Ganymede* (No. 24) and *Saturn* (No. 55). Both panels have the same provenances and dimensions (12 : 8 3/4 pouces in the catalogue of the Proli sale, 12 : 9 pouces in the catalogue of the Pauwels sale). Their measurements also coincide with those of the sketch of *Fortune* in Berlin (No. 23a), designed for another Torre painting, which is comparable in size to the *Ganymede* and *Saturn* canvases. There is no absolute certainty, of course, that the two sketches, the present whereabouts of which are unknown, were indeed the originals by Rubens's hand.

25. THE FALL OF THE GIANTS (Fig. 107)

Oil on canvas; 177 : 285 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1325; below on the right, inscribed in yellow, 232.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 1539 (as *Jacob Peter Gowij*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [39], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 88); Buen Retiro (Inv. 1772, No. 996); entered the Prado in 1829.

COPIES : (1) Painting (canvas, smaller than the original) offered for sale to the Berlin Museum in 1925-26, according to a note of L. Burchard; (2) Engraving (ca. 1650) in the same direction, pasted in an album with engravings showing scenes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, mostly not related to Rubens's compositions; sale, London, 21 April 1950, lot 64 (note L. Burchard).

EXHIBITED : *Jacob Jordaens*, The National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1968-69, No. 55 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 136, No. 484; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 320, No. 23; *Rooses*, III, p. 19, under No. 524 (as *Gowij*); M. Jaffé, *Jordaens Drawings at Antwerp and Rotterdam*; *Burlington Magazine*, CVIII, 1966, p. 630 (as *Jordaens*); Hans Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens's activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 262, fig. 42 (as *Jordaens*); M. Diaz Padron, *Un Lienzo de Jordaens atribuido a Gowij en el Museo del Prado : La Caída de los Gigantes*, *Arte Español*, XXV, 1963-67, pp. 104-107, fig. 1 (as *Jordaens*).

The painting depicts the scene, briefly narrated by Ovid (*Met.*, I, 151-155) of the defeat of the Giants who, still bearing the rocks by which they had hoped to climb up to heaven, are struck down by the unseen gods.

Although the painting is not signed, its attribution to Jordaens is absolutely convincing. A similar case of an unsigned picture executed by Jordaens is *Cadmus and Minerva* (No. 9). The only change between the sketch and the finished painting is that in the latter the foot between the legs of the giant in the center foreground was left out.

25a. THE FALL OF THE GIANTS : SKETCH (Fig. 108)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 42.5 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 396.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); Léon Gauchez, Paris; sold to the Brussels Museum in 1883.

COPY : Painting, Sevilla, collection of the Marqueses de Almunia; panel, 26.5 : 42.5 cm.; exh. : *Bruges*, 1958, No. 100, repr.; it is probably identical with a copy, mentioned by *Rooses*, III, p. 20, under No. 524, in the Osuna collection (*Osuna, Catalogue 1896*, No. 281).

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 36; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 132 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No. 41 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 19, No. 524; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, p. 301; *K.d.K.*, p. 384, above; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 41, 94, pl. 103; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 43, 95, pl. 103; F. Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du Nord... Ecole flamande*, II, Paris, 1949, pp. 26, 27, under No. 1070; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua*, *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, pp. 326, 327, fig. 6; M. Diaz Padron, *Un Lienzo de Rubens atribuido a Gowen en el Museo del Prado : La Caída de los Gigantes*, *Arte Español*, XXV, 1963-67, pp. 106, 107, fig. 3.

The main figures are based, as F. Lugt observed (*loc. cit.*), on a composition ascribed to Giulio Romano and known through two drawings (Louvre, Paris and collection V. Koch, London) and an engraving in reverse (E. Gombrich, *Zum Werke Giulio Romanos (II)*, *Wiener Jahrbuch*, 1935, p. 135, fig. 103).

The sheet in the Louvre is considered a Rubens copy after Giulio Romano by F. Lugt (*loc. cit.*) and *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956 (p. 41, No. 23). M. Jaffé describes it as an Italian drawing, reworked by Rubens, itself a copy after a design by Giulio Romano or in his style (M. Jaffé, *Rubens' Drawings at Antwerp*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1956, p. 318; *idem*, *Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua*, *The Art Bulletin*, xl, 1958, p. 326).

Rubens has rearranged the figures and limited their number so that the torment of the giants seems much more immediate. In stressing this kind of immediacy, Rubens also had in mind the Sala dei Giganti in the Palazzo del Te, designed by Giulio Romano, from which he derived the grimacing face at the lower right-hand corner of his composition. Rubens does not follow the overall format of the *Lyons*, 1557 Ovid (a5v) which also includes the gods, but he does give great prominence to the stone-bearing giants, a feature of the illustrated Ovids which is not found in the design ascribed to Giulio Romano.

26. GLAUCUS AND SCYLLA

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [158]?, as *Pedro Simon*; Inv. 1747, No. 115; Inv. 1794, No. [84], as *Equillin*).

The sea-god Glaucus watches in horror as Scylla, the nymph whom he had loved and wooed in vain, is surrounded from the waist down by (and according to Ovid actually transformed into) a pack of fierce dogs (*Met.*, XIV, 1-74).

26a. GLAUCUS AND SCYLLA : SKETCH (Fig. 109)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 32.7 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81, as *Galatea*); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

EXHIBITED : *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 30 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, pp. 314, 316, fig. 4.

The scene follows very closely on the tradition of the illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (l4; Fig. 110) shows Scylla to the left, before her transformation, her hands raised, with the pack of dogs in the water around her legs and Glaucus despairing in the right background. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 541) places Scylla at the right, as does Rubens, but turns her back to us. Rubens follows this format even down to details such as Glaucus's beard and the shape of his tail, the mountains behind Scylla, and the birds in the sky, but he heightens the drama by showing all of the nymph's legs in the water and by depicting the dogs actually leaping up around her.

No mention of the sketch is found in the documentation of L. Burchard, as it was only discovered after his death.

27. THE HARPIES DRIVEN AWAY BY ZETES AND CALAIS (Fig. 111)

Oil on canvas; 99 : 98 cm.

Madrid, Prado, No. 1633 (as *Erasmus Quellyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (not identifiable in Inv. 1700; Inv. 1747, No. 100, as *Original de Rubenes*); Castillo de Viñuelas; entered the Prado before 1843.

The Harpies, who had been sent by the gods to torment the blind King Phineus, are depicted as they are driven away by Zetes and Calais, the winged sons of Boreas (briefly referred to by Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 3-4; see also Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 2, 178 et seqq.).

The attribution of the painting to Erasmus Quellinus, proposed by the Prado catalogues, is probably only based on its similarity in size to the *Cupid on a Dolphin* (No. 12), which bears his signature. However, a comparison between this and other signed paintings for the Torre by Quellinus, shows that the picture under discussion was painted by another hand, which has been impossible to identify.

27a. THE HARPIES DRIVEN AWAY BY ZETES AND CALAIS : SKETCH (Fig. 112)

Oil on panel; 14 : 14 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, *T. 901.*

Madrid, Prado. No. 2458.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 18 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 115.

Esquisses. LITERATURE : *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81, repr.; *Van Puyvelde*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

The subject, which I have not found illustrated in an edition of Ovid, commonly appeared as an emblem in Alciati with the motto "Bonis a divitibus nihil timendum" (A. Alciati, *Emblematum*, Antwerp, 1577, emb. xxxii). Rubens might have known this illustration, since like the Alciati emblem, his work gives much more prominence to the figures of Zetes and Calais than to the Harpies.

Dark lines seem to indicate the borders and the vertical axis of the composition.

28. THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERCULES (Fig. 115)

Oil on canvas; 189 : 212 cm. Inscribed on the wheel of the chariot, *BORKENS F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1204, in red, 988.

Madrid, Prado, No. 1368 (as *Jean Baptiste Borrekens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [147], as *Borques*; Inv. 1747, No. 114); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso del Cuarto del Señor Infante don Luis (Inv. 1772, No. 988), Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1794, No. 988).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 113), Madrid, Prado, No. 1369, as *Borrekens*; panel, 98 : 98 cm.; in 1686 in the Royal Palace, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 898).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 135, No. 469; *Rooses*, III, pp. 20, 21, under Nos. 525-532.

Ovid (*Met.*, IX, 268-272) tells of Hercules's transformation into a god as his human skin is burned off and he is taken up to heaven in Jupiter's chariot.

Like the VAN AUYCK F. in the *Fall of Phaethon* (No. 50), the inscription BORKENS F. cannot be the signature of the artist. Both are written on the wheel of the chariot and make use of similar capital letters. As explained under No. 50, these paintings can only have been inscribed with the names of their authors after their arrival in Spain. The painters could only have been known on the basis of a written source, very probably the *memoria original*, containing the names of the painters of each subject (see above, p. 34).

This implies that, although not original, the inscription can be treated as if it were a signature. It must refer to Jan-Baptist Borrekens (1611-1675), who had become a master in the Antwerp St. Luke's guild in 1629-30. We have evidence that he was well acquainted with Rubens during this period (F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpse Schilderschool*, II, Antwerp, 1883, pp. 430-432). No other paintings by Borrekens are known. The so-called sketch in the Prado for *The Apotheosis of Hercules* mentioned by some authors (F.J. Van den Branden, *op. cit.*, p. 431; H. Hymans in *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, IV, Leipzig, 1910, p. 374) is in reality the Mazo copy after the Torre canvas (Fig. 113). Borrekens has followed Rubens's sketch closely.

28a. THE APOTHEOSIS OF HERCULES : SKETCH (Fig. 116)

Oil on panel; 28 : 32.5 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 812.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (Sentenach y Cabañas, p. 81, as *Hercules en el carro Plutón*, or p. 80, *Quando se remontó en el carro de Apolo Faetonte*); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); sold to Mme Errera, Brussels, who bequeathed it to the Brussels museum in 1917.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 306; Antwerp, 1927, No. 37; Brussels, 1937, No. 117; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 106 (repr.); Brussels, 1965, No. 235 (repr.); Brussels, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 21, under Nos. 525-532; Rooses, *Vie*, p. 356, repr.; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 301; Bautier, 1920, p. 4, repr. on p. 5;

K.d.K., p. 384, below on the right; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 112, 113, No. 47, fig. 48.

The sketch shows a *pentimento*, where Rubens had first put Hercules's right leg farther back.

Lyons, 1557 (hr^v; Fig. 114) shows Hercules standing in a chariot drawn by four horses. His right hand is resting on his club and the chariot rises and moves on clouds diagonally across the woodcut toward Jupiter, who receives him into heaven and points to his place on the zodiac. The pyre on which he died can be seen in the landscape beneath the chariot. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 364) reduces the number of horses to two and Hercules is seated in the chariot. *Tempesta* (No. 85) follows the second of these versions. Rubens follows *Lyons*, 1557 very closely, but he emphasizes the triumphant nature of the scene by placing Hercules's left hand on his hip, by substituting two cupids – one crowning Hercules, the other driving the chariot – for the figure of Jupiter, and by eliminating the funeral pyre and the landscape beneath.

29. HERCULES AND CERBERUS

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (? Inv. 1700, No. [148], as *Lanquean*; Inv. 1747, No. 112); ? Buen Retiro (Inv. 1772, No. 1013).

Hercules's twelfth labor was to battle Cerberus, the three-headed dog who guarded the entrance to the underworld, in order to bear him away (Ovid, *Met.*, VII, 409-419).

This incident is introduced in the *Metamorphoses* not as one of the labors of Hercules, but in the midst of the story of Jason and Medea, in order to explain that the poison with which Medea attempts to kill Theseus had its source in the jaws of Cerberus.

If the painting described in the Torre inventory of 1700, No. [148], as "Historia de Hercules" by Lanquean is identical with "el Cansebero" listed in the 1747 inventory, No. 112, the oldest attribution of the now lost painting would be to Jan Boeckhorst, nicknamed Lange Jan. This is the only place where Boeckhorst's name is mentioned in connection with the Torre paintings.

29a. HERCULES AND CERBERUS : SKETCH (Fig. 117)

Oil on panel; 29 : 32 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, T. 863.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2043.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1937, No. 118.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 20, under Nos. 525-532; *Dillon*, p. 220; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

The scene is represented in a somewhat different way in several illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (f4^r) depicts two figures, one of which is Hercules, battling with Cerberus before a stone arch representing the entrance to Hades. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 284) leaves out the second person. *Tempesta* renders the scene as a tableau : Hercules stands beside Cerberus and no struggle is depicted.

Rubens seems to retain the architecture of the *Lyons*, 1557 woodcut, but he intensifies the action by introducing two furies who join in the struggle with the hero. Following Ovid's text (*Met.*, VII, 412, 413), Rubens depicts Hercules seizing Cerberus by a metal chain.

30. HERCULES AND THE HYDRA

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown, presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (not identifiable in the 1700, 1747 or 1794 inventories).

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 118), Madrid, Prado, No. 1710; canvas, 117 : 49 cm. (a strip of canvas has been added above). This copy was recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 925), in the Pieza larga de las bóvedas in the Palace in 1700 (*Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 331, under No. 49), and in the Pieza de paso al dormitorio de la señora Infanta in 1794 (*Cruzada Villaamil*, *ibidem*). It is possible that the work referred to in the 1700 inventory is, instead, Mazo's copy after Rubens's *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides* (Madrid,

Prado, No. 1711; see below
II, p. 136, No. 480 to a p.
(2) Drawing (Fig. 119), L.
Seilern, *Addenda*, pp. 60, 6

276). The reference in *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*,
in the Escorial probably also refers to Mazo's copy;
1, collection Count A. Seilern; 45.2 : 22.4 cm.; lit. :
o. 325, pl. XL, as *Rubens*.

Unlike the sketch, the two
Hercules's right shoulder.
lost Torre painting. This c
who also points out that t
to one of *Hercules and a Bull*.
pies mentioned show the lion's skin draped over
his difference must have already appeared in the
elevation was made by Count A. Seilern (*loc. cit.*),
the drawing is similar in style and graphic technique
" also in his collection. He considers both to be
original Rubens drawings, possibly intended as models for a woodcut or
engraving. I am not convinced by these attributions. The *Hercules and a Bull*
was not part of the Torre decorations (see, below, p. 278).

30a. HERCULES AND THE HYDRA : SKETCH (Fig. 120)

Oil on panel; 22.5 : 10.5 cm. Above on the right, inscribed No. -9.

London, Collection of Count Antoine Seilern.

PROVENANCE : Mrs. Lorna Mary de Satgé (London, died 1948); sale, London, 23 June
1933, lot 99, bought by Buttery.

LITERATURE : Seilern, p. 69, No. 40, pl. LXXXVII; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1956, p. 50,
under No. 38; Held, I, p. 104, under No. 26; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, p. 117, under
No. 70.

I have been unable to identify the reference or reason for the number inscribed
in the upper right corner of the sketch. It does not correspond to the numbers
used to mark the entrance of the Pastrana works into the Prado.

The scene, mentioned in the catalogue of Hercules's deeds by Ovid (*Met.*,
IX, 69-74), was apparently never illustrated in any edition. On the other hand,
Rubens left out of the Torre series the scenes of Hercules and Achelous and
Hercules Burning, which were normally included in illustrated editions of the
Metamorphoses.

Burchard-d'Hulst, 1956 (*loc. cit.*) points out the connection between Her-
cules's pose in the Prado painting and that of David killing Goliath in an
earlier Rubens drawing in the Musée Atger, Montpellier (see also Held, *loc.
cit.*, and Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, *loc. cit.*).

31. HERCULES'S DOG DISCOVERS TYRIAN PURPLE (Fig. 121)

Oil on canvas; 189 : 212 cm.; signed below on the left *T.V. Thulden*. Below on the left, inscribed in black, 990, in orange, 1805.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1845 (as *Theodore van Tulden*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [149], as *Tuldel*); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso del cuarto del Infante Don Luis (Inv. 1772, No. 990), Antecámara del Rey, 1794.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 20, under Nos. 525-532; *Jaffé*, 1964, p. 316, fig. 9.

The literary source for this subject is J. Pollux's *Onomasticon* (I, 47) (also cited by M. Jaffé, *loc. cit.*), a kind of thesaurus and rhetorical handbook, in which the story is introduced as a light diversion. Pollux tells how Hercules's dog, following his master along the beach of Tyre, bit into a shell and his purple lips revealed that he had discovered the famous and valuable purple dye. The nymph who accompanies Hercules in the text is not depicted by Rubens.

There is apparently no reason to doubt the authenticity of Van Thulden's signature. In copying Rubens's composition he has rendered in even greater detail the unusually detailed description of the shells and Tyre that we find in the sketch.

31a. HERCULES'S DOG DISCOVERS TYRIAN PURPLE : SKETCH (Fig. 122)

Oil on panel; 28.1 : 32.7 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1921.

EXHIBITED : *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 31 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, p. 316, fig. 8.

The reason for the inclusion of this very unusual scene in the Torre series is not clear. The discovery of purple is not related in the *Metamorphoses*, nor is it one of the deeds of Hercules. A possible, although not very convincing explanation, might be found in the reference to the source of the rare dye whose colour was to become synonymous with the power and luxury of royalty. Although the presence of the dog might seem appropriate for a hunting lodge, we have seen that this does not appear to have been the basis upon which subjects were chosen for the Torre.

L. Burchard did not know this sketch, which was only discovered after his death.

32. THE DEATH OF HYACINTH

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (not identifiable in Inv. 1700; Inv. 1747, No. 99); Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza de paso del Palacio de la Sra Infanta (Inv. 1794, No. 116, as *J. Cossiers*).

The 1794 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, lists the painting as being by Jan Cossiers, an attribution which might have been based on the presence of a signature on the canvas.

32a. THE DEATH OF HYACINTH : SKETCH (Fig. 123)

Oil on panel; 14 : 14 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, T. 897.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2461.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (? *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1937, No. 120.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 22, No. 533; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81, repr. on p. 80; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43.

Apollo leans over the body of his beloved, Hyacinth, who has been accidentally killed by a blow from Apollo's discus (Ovid, *Met.*, x, 162-219).

Rubens departs from the established manner of representing this scene in illustrated Ovids. Both *Lyons*, 1557 (h7^v) and *Leipzig*, 1581 (p. 400) represent Apollo standing and supporting the body of the seated Hyacinth, whose neck has fallen forward in death. Some dogs are attendant in the surrounding landscape and a flower springs up next to Hyacinth. *Tempesta* (No. 95) inexplicably has Apollo withdrawing what would seem to be an arrow from Hyacinth's body. Rubens's sketch is entirely filled by the two figures, leaving almost no room for the landscape. Hyacinth is stretched out, with the fatal discus lying prominently by his head, and Apollo kneels beside him, caressing his cheek. The hyacinth flower is not depicted here. Rubens's *Hyacinth* is based on Michelangelo's drawing of *Tityus* in the Royal Library at Windsor (A.E. Popham and J. Wilde, *Italian Drawings at Windsor Castle*, London, 1949, No. 429, pl. 21), a source which he also used on other occasions (see R. Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich-Berlin, pp. 76-79 and *Seilern*, I, pp. 32, 33). By placing the body so that the torso is almost parallel to the picture plane and by subtly altering the position of the legs, Rubens is able to persuade us that the body is broken and twisted from the fatal blow rather than from struggling, as in the source figure. The formula provided by the source is contradicted (as is so common in the Torre sketches) by such naturalistic interpolations as the awkward appearance of the left arm, the particular angle of the legs, and the expression of shock on Hyacinth's face. The emphasis given to the twist of Hyacinth's neck corresponds to Ovid's text (*Met.*, x, 194, 195). Sandys's Ovid (Bk. x; Fig. 126) is the only illustration to achieve a similarly intense study of Apollo's grief. There also, Hyacinth is stretched out on the ground with Apollo over him, although the actual position of the bodies is different from that in Rubens's composition.

A dark line seems to indicate the vertical axis of the sketch, and on four sides the composition is demarcated by similar lines.

33. THE FALL OF ICARUS (Fig. 128)

Oil on canvas; 195 : 180 cm. Below on the left, on the rock, inscribed *goui f.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1390.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1540 (as *Jacob Peter Gowij*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [141], Inv. 1747, No. 108); Buen Retiro, 1772; Castillo de Viñuelas, 1794.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 22, No. 534.

Dædalus watches helplessly as the wings that he had fashioned to rescue himself and Icarus from Crete melt off his son's back and he falls to his death in the sea below (*Ovid, Met.*, VIII, 183-235).

This painting is by the same hand as the *Atalanta and Hippomenes* (No. 4), on which Gowys name also appears. Both can be attributed with certainty to this little known artist. Aside from the adjustment in the position of the right leg of Icarus, Gowys painting differs from the sketch in the detail with which it renders the scene on earth – note the city in the background and the added figures on the beach, who are probably Dædalus and Icarus before their flight. This kind of background scene, which serves to fill in our understanding of the main action, is generally characteristic of the illustrated Ovids and is not found in Rubens's Torre sketches.

33a. THE FALL OF ICARUS : SKETCH (Fig. 129)

Oil on panel; 27 : 27 cm.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 825.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); sold, probably in 1888, to Count Valencia de Don Juan; bequeathed to the Museum by Countess Valencia de Don Juan in 1919.

COPY : Painting, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection, No. 665, panel, 31.8 : 38.1 cm.; lit. : *Valentiner*, p. 167, No. 120; *Goris-Held*, p. 54, No. A 81. According to L. Burchard, it came from the P.A.J. Knyff collection, sale, Antwerp, 18 July 1785, No. 42.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 44; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 121 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 107 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 236 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 22, under No. 534; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 5; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 41, 92, pl. 97; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 43, 94, pl. 97; C. Norris, *Rubens's Sketches at Rotterdam*, *The Connoisseur*, CXXXII, suppl., 1954, p. 29; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 111, No. 42, fig. 23.

As usual, Rubens represents the climactic moment of Ovid's narrative. *Lyons*, 1557 (g2; Fig. 125) places Dædalus and Icarus before, and on either side of the tower from which they have escaped. Dædalus looks down at Icarus, who is falling, head down. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 317; Fig. 124) generally follows this model, but makes the tower much smaller and places it far below the figures. The position of the two figures is the same, but Icarus's face is here turned toward us. *Tempesta* (No. 75; Fig. 127) returns to the *Lyons*, 1557 woodcut – the tower is placed between the figures in the background, and Icarus is seen from the back. We seem to see the scene from Dædalus's point of view since he is pushed into the foreground and Icarus is farther away. Rubens follows the model of *Leipzig*, 1582. The placing and gestures of the figures and the use of light is similar. By putting Icarus in full light and Dædalus in shadow, Rubens emphasizes not only the closeness of Icarus to the viewer, but also the vulnerability of his flesh and thus gives the work a direct and powerful appeal.

Rubens based this composition on the *Leipzig*, 1582 Ovid rather than on Goltzius, as Christopher Norris (*loc. cit.*) suggested.

34. JASON AND THE GOLDEN FLEECE (Fig. 130)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 195 cm. Signed, on the pedestal of the statue, *E. Quellins-F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1437.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1631 (as *Erasmus Quellyn*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [42], as *Equelinio*); Pardo (Inv. 1747, fourth *presupuesto*, No. [35]); Zarzuela, 1794.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 22, No. 535.

Jason has just taken away the Golden Fleece from the temple of Mars and marches past the statue of the god, carrying his booty over his left arm (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, III). The painting by Quellinus follows the sketch exactly (although it adds such details as the outlines of the tiles of the floor and the veins of the marble columns) and it even catches the character of Rubens's Jason.

34a. JASON AND THE GOLDEN FLEECE : SKETCH (Fig. 131)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 28.2 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 813.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); Mme J. Errera, Brussels (before 1902), who presented the work to the Museum in 1917.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 305; Antwerp, 1927, No. 38; Brussels, 1937, No. 122; Rotterdam, 1953-54, No. 108 (repr.); Brussels, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 22, under No. 535; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 301; Bautier, 1920, p. 4; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; H.D. Rodee, *Rubens' Treatment of Antique Armor*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, p. 228; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 113, No. 49, fig. 50.

Rubens does not represent the myth as it is told by Ovid, where Jason puts the dragon to sleep near the tree with the Golden Fleece (*Met.*, VII, 149-158). He follows the version of Hyginus, according to which the fleece hung in the temple of Mars. The only other representation of this rarely depicted scene that I have found is an engraving by Léonard Thiry after René Boyvin, one of twenty-six engravings illustrating the *Livre de la Conquête de la Toison d'Or par le Prince Jason de Tessalie, fait par figures avec exposition*, Paris, 1563, by Jacques Gohory. Although the engraving is not a source for Rubens's composition, the inscription below it aptly describes the figure cut by Rubens's Jason, "plein de ioye & de gloire". Here, as in several other Torre sketches, Rubens has turned to the *Apollo Belvedere*, fashioning the elegant pose of the god into Jason's jaunty stride. For the statue of Mars in his sanctuary, he has used the colossal statue of the war-god, now in the Museo Capitolino, Rome, which from the 16th century onwards could be seen in the Palazzo Massimo (see H. D. Rodee, *loc. cit.*; H. Stuart Jones, *The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, pp. 39, 40, No. 40, pl. 7; E. Simon, in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 4th. ed., Tübingen, 1966, pp. 46-48, No. 1198).

35. JUPITER AND LYCAON (Fig. 132)

Oil on canvas; 126 : 115 cm. Signed, below on the right, — *Cossiers* —. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 403; below on the right, inscribed 1029, crossed out.

Madrid, Prado, No. 1463 (as *Jan Cossiers*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [162] ?; Inv. 1747, No. 177); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso de tribuna y trascuartos (Inv. 1772, No. 1029).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 24, No. 538.

Jupiter, whose identity Lycaon had tested by feeding him human flesh, punishes the King by transforming him into a wolf (Ovid, *Met.*, I, 207-243).

The finished painting by *Jan Cossiers* does not differ markedly from its model.

35a. JUPITER AND LYCAON : SKETCH (Fig. 133)

Oil on panel; 20.7 : 15.7 cm.

Rochefort-sur-Mer, Musée municipal. No. 74.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); Mme J. Errera, Brussels (before 1902).

EXHIBITED : *Paris*, 1936, No. 86; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 124; *Bordeaux*, 1954, No. 84.

LITERATURE : C. Hofstede de Groot, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, p. 273; No. 1; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, v, 1910, pp. 273, 301; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43.

Lyons, 1557 (a6^v), followed by *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 46), shows Jupiter still at the table in a small structure located at one side of the scene, and the wolf-headed Lycaon, having risen from the table, departing toward his burning city. *Tempesta* does not illustrate this scene. Rubens seems to get the idea of using an interior architectural setting from *Lyons*, 1557, but he changes the whole composition radically by leaving out the village beyond and concentrates on the drama taking place between Jupiter and Lycaon at the moment of the metamorphosis, with no reference to the destruction of the world represented

by the burning of the village. Jupiter's eagle gripping a thunderbolt in his mouth corresponds to the flame ("vindice flamma", Ovid, *Met.*, I, 230) with which Ovid says Jupiter struck Lycaon. Sandys (Bk. I; Fig. 134) once again comes closest to the sense of Rubens's invention. Although the engraving shows the burning town in the background, it concentrates on Jupiter's gesture, which transforms Lycaon.

36. JUPITER AND SEMELE

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [62], as *Jordems*; Inv. 1747, No. 74).

Semele, encouraged by the jealous Juno to demand to see her lover, Jupiter, in all his glory, is destroyed as she is exposed to his thunder and lightning (Ovid, *Met.*, III, 259-309).

The painting was listed under its correct title in the 1700 Torre inventory. It is thus wrong to interpret the puzzling "Juno y Jupiter" (Torre Inv. 1700, No. [53]) as referring to this painting, as *Cruzada Villaamil* (p. 332, No. 26) and *Cat. Exh. Esquisses de Rubens*, Brussels, 1937 (p. 116, under No. 125) have done. It is most likely that this "Juno and Jupiter" is none other than *The Discovery of the Milky Way* (No. 42).

In the 1700 inventory, the picture is attributed to Jordaens.

36a. JUPITER AND SEMELE : SKETCH (Fig. 135)

Oil on panel; 27 : 39.5 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 823.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82, as *Jupiter y Juno* ?); Duke of Pastrana; sold, probably in 1888, to Count Valencia de Don Juan; bequeathed to the Museum by Countess Valencia de Don Juan in 1919.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 42; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 125; *Brussels*, 1965, No. 237 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, pp. 23, 24, under No. 537; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 5; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 112, No. 45, fig. 46.

Lyons, 1557 (c7^r) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 133) show the results of Jupiter's appearance to Semele (Ovid, *Met.*, III, 308-315). The scene is set in the sky, with Semele already destroyed and Jupiter holding Bacchus to his thigh. Rubens does not follow this model. He depicts the moment of the meeting, when Jupiter enters Semele's bedroom and causes her destruction (*Met.*, III, 292-309). The figure of the god is an adaptation of the *Apollo Belvedere*, which is here called upon in all its grace. The pose of Semele is based on the figure of Proserpina on the well-known Altemps-Mazzarini-Rospigliosi sarcophagus in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III, Paris, 1912, p. 318), which Rubens also used in his sketch for *The Rape of Proserpina* (No. 53a; Fig. 171).

37. THE BATTLE OF THE LAPITHS AND THE CENTAURS (Fig. 136)

Oil on canvas; 182 : 290 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1214, in red, 994.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 1658.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [72], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 46); Royal Palace, Madrid, Cuarto del Infante Don Xavier (Inv. 1772, No. 994), Pieza encarnada à la derecha (Inv. 1794, No. 994).

COPIES : (1) Painting, Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 553; panel, 68 : 98 cm.; provenance : Jacques de Roore, sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747, lot 51; Marie Beuckelaar, sale, The Hague, 19 April 1752, lot 160; Bruhl collection; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; paper on panel, 36 : 54 cm.; provenance : P.A.J. Knyff, sale, Antwerp, 18 July 1785, lot 25, bought by Lombaerts; C. Marcille, sale, Paris, 6-7 March 1876, lot 60; A. Saucède, sale, Paris, 14 February 1879, lot 69; E. Kums, sale, Antwerp, 17-18 May 1898, lot 84; Warneck, sale, Paris, 27-28 May 1926, lot 73 (repr.); (3) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; 260 : 214 mm.; formerly in the collection of M. Delacre; exh. : *Exposition d'art ancien*, Ghent, 1913, No. 97; (4) Engraving by P. de Bailliu (*V.S.*, p. 130, No. 105); (5) Lithograph by J. Jorro (*Rooses*, III, pl. 174).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 138, No. 493; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 351, No. 9; *Rooses*, III, pp. 24, 25, No. 539.

Eurytus, one of the centaurs invited to attend the wedding of Pirithoüs and Hippodamia, lustfully seizes the bride, who is rescued by Theseus, after which a terrible battle ensues leading to the rout of the centaurs (Ovid, *Met.*, XII, 210-335).

The only change from sketch to painting is in the position of the arms of the centaur and woman at the extreme right. This kind of significant change of gesture is characteristic of changes made by Rubens in the paintings he executed himself (e.g. *The Rape of Proserpina*, No. 53).

37a. STUDIES FOR THE BATTLE OF THE LAPITHS AND THE CENTAURS AND HERCULES STRUGGLING WITH A BULL : DRAWING (Fig. 137)

Red chalk; 310 : 464 mm. Inscribed above in the center, *Pp.53*, in pen; near the left edge, *Lot 1660*, in pen in modern hand.

Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE : P.H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); J. Richardson sen. (London, 1665-1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779); Ayerst H. Buttery, London (as *The Rape of the Sabine Women*); L. Burchard (London, 1886-1959).

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 99 (repr.); *Tekeningen van P.P. Rubens*, Rubenshuis, Antwerp, 1956, No. 139.

LITERATURE : C. Norris, *The Rubens Exhibition at Amsterdam*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXIII, 1933, p. 230, No. 14; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 112-113, No. 139; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, pp. 301-304, No. 191.

Of the five separate groups of figures assembled in the drawing, four feature the Centaur Eurytus carrying off Hippodamia. At the lower left the figures appear alone, while at the upper left, in the center, and above at the right, various figures are depicted trying to prevent the rape. At the lower right Hercules is depicted struggling with a bull.

None of the studies corresponds exactly to the figures in the sketch. The central group combines a figure rushing in from the left in the sketch with the group of Hippodamia and the Centaur at the right. However the figure of Theseus that is at the center of the sketch is missing and the position of Hippodamia's body has not yet been resolved. At this point her body is quite

similar, in reverse, to that of Hippodamia in Tempesta's engraving (Fig. 139). *Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963* (*loc. cit.*) point out that the male figure rushing in, club in hand, is similar to the figure urging on Christ on the verso of the same sheet. They also relate this figure (who ends up at the left of the sketch and the painting with a knife in his hand) to one of the drivers in the *Bull Hunt* (*Glück-Haberitzl*, p. 53, No. 175). This relationship is probably a most casual one. It should be pointed out that this pose is a conventional one in art. It appears, for example, prominently in Rubens's copy after Polidoro da Caravaggio (*Glück-Haberitzl*, p. 31, No. 23). The group at the upper left of the drawing is quite close to the group at the right in Rubens's *Rape of the Sabines* in London, National Gallery (*K.d.K.* No. 379). The *Hercules and the Bull* does not seem related to any known composition for the Torre (see below, pp. 274-279 for a discussion of a possible series of the labors of Hercules for the Torre).

Although this is one of only two known sheets of drawings that can be connected with the Torre series, there is no doubt about its relationship to *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs*. The number of figures in the final work, the complexity of the action (unusual among the Torre works, though certainly common enough among Rubens's other works) and the lack of an established formula for presenting this scene must have encouraged Rubens to experiment in a drawing before producing his oil sketch. There is no relationship between this sheet and an early drawing of *The Abduction of Hippodamia* (*Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963*, pp. 89, 90, No. 52).

37b. THE BATTLE OF THE LAPITHS AND THE CENTAURS : SKETCH (Fig. 138)

Oil on panel; 26 : 40 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 395.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Pastrana; sold to Léon Gauchez, Paris, who sold the work to the Museum in 1883.

COPY : Painting, whereabouts unknown; 25 : 40 cm.; formerly in the collection of the Duke of Osuna (*Osuna, Catalogue*, 1896, No. 282).

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 35; *Paris*, 1936, No. 84; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 119.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 25, No. 539¹; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p. 301; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 3, repr.; *K.d.K.*, p. 385, above; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 113, under No. 139; *Held*, I, p. 124, under No. 66; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, p. 303, No. 191; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 110, No. 39, fig. 20.

Both *Lyons*, 1557 (k5) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 478) have a great deal of trouble with scenes containing action of this kind and this is one of the cases in which we can demonstrate Rubens's interest in Tempesta's engraving. *Tempesta* (No. 116; Fig. 139) concentrates on a single centaur, probably Eurytus, who carries off Hippodamia in the center of the engraving, while a second centaur is visible just beyond. Theseus is in pursuit and more figures are struggling behind the dining table, which is placed behind the three main figures. Rubens reverses the action. He reworks the figures of the two centaurs to form the main group to the right in his composition. Not only does he unify the battle by having all the other warriors follow after Theseus, but, by pushing Eurytus out of the center of the action, he pointedly makes his work a representation of the moment when Theseus retrieves the bride (Ovid, *Met.*, XII, 230-231). To add to the struggle he transforms Tempesta's figure of a dead soldier, lying under Eurytus's hoofs, into the figure of a desperate woman attempting to hold onto Hippodamia. Rubens follows Ovid (*Met.*, XII, 242-244) and amplifies Tempesta's description of the debris of the overturned dinner on the floor.

L. Burchard noted a relationship between the Theseus and a figure in Michelangelo's puzzling drawing of *The Archers* (A.E. Brinckmann, *Michelangelo Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1925, No. 52). The figure which is closest to Rubens's Theseus has his arm drawn back in the act of shooting a bow and arrow. One wonders however whether the pose is not simply an obvious solution to a problem in gesture and action rather than being based on Michelangelo. *Held*, I, p. 124 under No. 66, pointed out a similarity between Hippodamia and the woman dragged along by Mars in Rubens's gouache study of *Hercules and Minerva Fighting Mars*.

38. LEDA

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [24], as *copia de Rubenes*).

Leda, the wife of the Spartan King Tyndareus, is seduced by Jupiter disguised as a swan. The event is but briefly mentioned by Ovid (*Met.*, vi, 109) as one of the scenes woven by Arachne in her competition with Minerva.

Our only knowledge of this painting is from the Torre de la Parada inventory of 1700, in which a "leda con el cisne" is listed. In this case the marginal notation "lost" seems indeed to be correct.

Rubens also represented this subject on other occasions. In his letter of April 28, 1618 to Sir Dudley Carleton he mentions "Vna Leda col Cigno et un Cupidine. Originale de mio mano" (*Rooses-Ruelens*, II, p. 137). The inventory of the estate of the painter Jan van de Capelle, Amsterdam 1680, also contains "een Leda, van Pieter Paulo Rubens" (*Oud-Holland*, x, 1892, p. 32, No. 18). Only two extant paintings of this subject have been attributed to Rubens : the copy in Dresden after Michelangelo (R. Oldenbourg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich-Berlin, 1922, p. 42, fig. 21) and the smaller version of it in a private collection, London, recently published by M. Jaffé (*Rubens in Italy. II : Some rediscovered works of the first phase*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 180, 183, fig. 15).

38a. LEDA : SKETCH

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

By analogy with the other Torre works, it can be assumed that Rubens had made a preliminary sketch for this painting. It, however, has not survived.

39. MERCURY (Fig. 143)

Oil on canvas; 180 : 69 cm.; a small strip (ca. 2 cm.) has been added to the right. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 1006, and in orange, 1507.

Madrid, Prado, No. 1677 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [161], *as de mano no conocida*; Inv. 1747, No. 94); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Infante Don Luis (Inv. 1772, No. 1006), Quarta de la reina Nostra Señora, Antecámara (Inv. 1794, No. 1006).

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 144), Prado, Madrid, No. 1708; canvas, 108 : 49 cm.; in 1686 in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 926); ? in 1794 still in the same palace, Pieza de paso al dormitorio de la señora Infanta (*Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 331, 332, under No. 49); (2) A second copy, now lost, was recorded in the Royal Palace in 1686 along with a copy of the *Saturn* (see below, under No. 55; *Bottineau*, No. 164).

LITERATURE : *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 362, 363, No. 23; *Rooses*, III, p. 26, No. 540; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 411, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 393, left; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., x, 1933, pp. 133, 134, fig. 21.

Burchard has noted that the figure of Mercury is similar to an earlier design by Rubens, dating from before 1628, for a statuette, probably an ivory, which is no longer extant, but is known from two drawings, one in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Inv. No. 1932.335; Fig. 145; A. Mongan and P.J. Sachs, *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art*, Cambridge, Mass., 1946, I, p. 252, No. 486, as *Rubens*; *Goris-Held*, pp. 55, 56, No. A. 96, as *School of Rubens*), and a second in the Copenhagen Print Room (*Rubens Cantoor*, VII, 7). Burchard first believed the Cambridge sheet to be the original sketch by Rubens (quoted by Mongan and P.J. Sachs, *loc. cit.*), but later he changed his mind and considered both drawings as copies. He assumed that the Prado painting in a first state was more closely related to the earlier design and that it was subsequently changed by Rubens through overpainting. I am not convinced by this explanation, which could be checked by an examination of the Prado painting.

E. Kieser has observed that the pose of Mercury in the Prado painting is based on an antique statue, which he identified as the Vatican *Meleager* (E. Kieser, *op. cit.*, fig. 22). L. Burchard, however, connects Rubens's earlier design, from which the *Mercury* for the Torre was derived, with the *Belvedere Hermes* in the Vatican (W. Amelung, *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums*, II, Berlin, 1908, p. 132, No. 53, Pl. 12). Rubens copied this statue from the same point of view, as is proved by the existence of a studio copy after his drawing, also preserved in Copenhagen (*Rubens Cantoor*, III, 26; H. Miesel,

Rubens' Study Drawings after Ancient Sculpture, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 6th series, LXI, 1963, p. 323, fig. 16).

Although the basic pose of these antique figures is very similar, such elements as the position of Mercury's left arm in Rubens's painting, the turn of his head toward the left, and the fastening of the drapery around his neck in my opinion all bear more resemblance to the *Meleager* than to the Vatican *Hermes*.

40. MERCURY AND ARGUS (Fig. 141)

Oil on canvas; 179 : 297 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 99- (last digit unclear), and in orange, 1320.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1673 (as *Rubens and Lukas van Uden*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [41], as *original de Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 91); Royal Palace, Madrid, Cuarto del Infante Don Xavier (Inv. 1772, No. 995), Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1794, No. 25).

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 893); perhaps identical with a painting, deposited by the Prado in the University of Granada on 12 November 1881 – although this painting is much larger (270 : 325 cm.) than the average Mazo copies, which are smaller rather than larger than the original canvases; (2) Lithograph by Gaspar Sensi (*Rooses*, III, pl. 175).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 132, No. 450; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 361, No. 21; *Rooses*, III, p. 26, No. 541; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 600, repr.; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p. 414; *K.d.K.*, p. 391.

Mercury, following Jupiter's orders, kills the sleeping, many-eyed monster Argus, in order to free Io, the girl disguised as a cow, who is Jupiter's latest love (Ovid, *Met.*, I, 668-721).

The painting was executed entirely by Rubens and there can be no question of any collaboration in the landscape by Lucas van Uden or any other artist. There is furthermore no evidence that Van Uden took part in the work for the Torre de la Parada commission.

40a. MERCURY AND ARGUS : SKETCH (Fig. 142)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 44.5 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 394.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 83); Duke of Pastrana; sold to Léon Gauchez, Paris, who sold the work to the Museum in 1883.

COPY : Painting, Sevilla, collection Marqueses de Almunia; panel, 26.5 : 44.5 cm.; exh. : *Bruges*, 1958, No. 101 (repr.); probably identical with the sketch, formerly in the collection of the Duke of Osuna (*Osuna, Catalogue*, 1896, No. 283; *Rooses*, III, p. 27, under No. 541¹).

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 34; *Paris*, 1936, No. 83; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 126; *Brussels*, 1953, No. 40; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 109 (repr.).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 27, No. 541¹; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 3; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 41, 93, pl. 99; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 43, 94, pl. 99; *Held*, I, p. 124, under No. 66; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 111, 112, No. 43, fig. 44.

The story of Mercury and Argus is represented in two scenes both by *Lyons*, 1557 (b3, b4) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (pp. 69, 72). In Salomon's woodcuts, Mercury puts Argus to sleep and then triumphantly holds the head of the slain giant aloft, while in *Leipzig*, 1582, the second scene actually shows Mercury cutting off the head. In both editions, Juno, in the background, is already putting the eyes of Argus onto the tail of her peacock. *Tempesia* (No. 10; Fig. 140) is the first to combine these into a single scene and to show the moment when Mercury strikes off the head of Argus, with pipe in one hand, sword in the other. Io and Juno remain in the background. Rubens also combines the scenes into one dramatic action, but he represents the moment before the head is cut off. He furthermore excludes the figure of Juno and brings Io to the foreground as the third main character in the drama.

J. S. Held has related the Mercury to the Hercules in *Hercules and Minerva Fighting Mars* in the Louvre, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins (*Held*, I, p. 124, No. 66; II, pl. 74). According to L. Burchard, this figure is a derivation in reverse from the Borghese Warrior in the Louvre (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, figs. 688, 689).

40b. STUDY FOR A RIGHT AND A LEFT LEG : DRAWING (Fig. 158)

Black chalk; 301 : 212 mm.

Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Albo 158. H. 8, mounted as p. 179, No. 128394, verso.

PROVENANCE : Tommaso Corsini (Rome, 1767-1856); presented to the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, in 1883; incorporated in the Gabinetto Reale delle Stampe since 1895.

LITERATURE : M. Jaffé, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers, Proporzioni*, IV, Florence, 1963, pp. 232, 240, No. 101, fig. 31 (also published separately, Florence, 1959).

L. Burchard suggested that the drawing, published by M. Jaffé (*loc. cit.*) as related to the Fermo *Nativity*, contains in reality studies from life for two paintings in the Torre series. The *recto* shows a study for the figure of Pluto in *Orpheus Leading Eurydice from Hades* (see No. 46b, Fig. 157). On the *verso* are two studies for a left and a right leg, drawn independently from each other, and used, so L. Burchard suggests, for the figure of Mercury in the *Mercury and Argus*. It should be noted that these particular views of legs are not unusual in Rubens's works. They are used, for example, in the Torre series for the Apollo in *The Judgment of Midas* (No. 41) and for Minerva in *The Rape of Proserpina* (No. 53).

41. THE JUDGMENT OF MIDAS (Fig. 147)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 267 cm. Signed on the right, on a rock, *J. JOR. fec.*; below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1597, and in red, 992.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1551 (as *Jacob Jordaens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [139], as *Jordani*; Inv. 1747, No. 77); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Princesa (Inv. 1772, No. 992), Cuarto del Príncipe, Camara (Inv. 1794, No. 992).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, Madrid, Prado, No. 1712 (Fig. 146); canvas, 181 : 223 cm.; recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1686 (Bottineau, No. 890); appears on the rear wall of Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las Meninas y sus Personajes*, Barcelona, 1943, p. 14).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 135, No. 475; *Rooses*, III, p. 10, No. 502; M. *Rooses, Jordaens' Leven en Werken*, Amsterdam-Antwerp, 1906, pp. 115, 116; F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Las Meniñas y sus Personajes*, Barcelona, 1943, p. 14; C. de Tolnay, *Velázquez' Las Hilanderas and Las Meniñas*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th series, XXXV, 1949, p. 36; H. Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens' Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 262, fig. 38.

The painting shows the moment when Apollo gives ass's ears to King Midas, who questions the judgment of King Tmolus in the contest between Apollo's lyre and Pan's pipe (Ovid, *Met.*, XI, 146-169). The subject should not be confused (as it has been previously) with the competition between Apollo and Marsyas.

The canvas was painted by Jacob Jordaens.

41a. THE JUDGMENT OF MIDAS : SKETCH (Fig. 148)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 38 cm.

Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. No. 826.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Pastrana; sold, probably in 1888, to Count Valencia de Don Juan; bequeathed to the Museum by Countess Valencia de Don Juan in 1919.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 45; *Paris*, 1936, No. 85; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 101; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 100 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 10, under No. 502; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 5, repr. on p. 2; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 112, No. 46, fig. 47.

Lyons, 1557 (16) places Tmolus in the center, with Pan, Midas and Satyrs to the left and Apollo and some Muses to the right. Pan and Apollo are playing their instruments while Tmolus points to the winner. *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 436) follows this model although Tmolus here has his back to the viewer and Midas gestures his choice. *Tempesta* (No. 102) leaves out the satyrs and nymphs to concentrate on the four principals, who, however, are not dramatically depicted. Rubens's conception is similar to Tempesta's in limiting the cast of characters; he interprets the scene much more dramatically than Bernard

Salomon. The composition is intentionally unsymmetrical, with Apollo given the left third of the picture space to himself as he is crowned by Tmolus and, in turn, gestures to curse Midas. Apollo is modelled on the *Apollo Belvedere*, although as Rubens presents him here, he has lost his poise at the moment of his accusation against Midas.

42. THE CREATION OF THE MILKY WAY (Fig. 149)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 244 cm. Below on the left inscribed in orange, 1696, and in red, 991.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1668 (as *Rubens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [53], as *original de Rubens*; Inv. 1747, No. 83); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso de Tribuna y trascuartos (Inv. 1772, No. 991), Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1794, No. 991).

COPY : Lithograph by Gaspar Sensi (*Rooses*, III, pl. 173).

LITERATURE : *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 322, No. 26; *Rooses*, III, p. 23, Nos. 536, 537; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 417; *K.d.K.*, p. 338; C. Gould, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Sixteenth Century Venetian Schools*, London 1959, p. 90, under No. 1313.

The Milky Way is referred to only once in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the road along which the gods proceed to the Olympic council called by Jupiter (I, 168-171). Hyginus (*Poeticon Astronomicon*, II, cap. 43) relates three versions of the story explaining the creation of the Milky Way, in which Juno plays the principal part. A fourth version, in which Ops and Saturn appear, is clearly not relevant.

In two versions, Jupiter places the infant Hercules at Juno's breast during her sleep, in order to secure him immortality, since he was Jupiter's son by a mortal, the nymph Alcmene. Either Juno discovers the artifice when she awakes, thrusts the child away and thus spills her milk, or the greedy Hercules drinks so much that he cannot keep the milk in his mouth.

In the last version, for which Hyginus refers to Eratosthenes, the baby is Mercury, who is fed by Juno without her knowing his identity. When she recognizes him as the son of Maja, she pushes the child aside. None of these stories completely covers the scene in Rubens's painting, since Juno hardly

seems unwilling or unconscious of what she is doing. I agree with Cecil Gould (*loc. cit.*) who suggests that the child in Rubens's painting might be Mercury. (It is interesting, in view of this possibility, that in the 1772 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, No. 991, which must be this painting, is described as "Venus danda de mamar a Mercurio" — although the goddess is misnamed, the baby might not be !) Rubens's interest here appears to be less in the nursing scene than in the creation of the Milky Way.

The painting differs significantly from the sketch : Juno's posture is changed from a suggestion of awkwardness to conventional grace. To the left, the composition is extended and Jupiter is added. In effect, the classicizing of Juno's pose is compensated for by the addition of Jupiter, whose presence preserves the intimate, family tone of the sketch. Both the quality of the painting and the importance of these changes suggest Rubens's hand.

42a. THE CREATION OF THE MILKY WAY : SKETCH (Fig. 150)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 34 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 814.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); Mme J. Errera, Brussels (before 1902), who presented the work to the Museum in 1917.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 39; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 123; *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 23, No. 536¹; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 4; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 113, No. 48, fig. 49.

The creation of the Milky Way is not represented in illustrated Ovids. Rubens has not taken inspiration from the most famous depiction of this rare subject, Tintoretto's painting in the National Gallery, London, which shows Juno and Hercules (E. Mandowsky, *The Origin of the Milky Way in the National Gallery, The Burlington Magazine*, LXXII, 1938, pp. 88-93).

43. NARCISSUS (Fig. 151)

Oil on canvas; 97 : 93 cm. Signed, below on the right, *Cossiers*. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1589 and below on the right, in red, 115.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1465 (as *Jan Cossiers*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, probably one of Nos. [128]-[136]; Inv. 1747, No. 18, as *Original flamenco*); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Princesa (Inv. 1772, No. 115), Pieza de paso al Dormitorio de la Sra Infanta (Inv. 1794, No. 115).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 136, No. 478; *Rooses*, III, p. 27, No. 542.

Narcissus, proud and scornful of the attention of human society in general, and of Echo in particular, is condemned to die of self-love as he gazes on himself, reflected in a clear pool (Ovid, *Met.*, III, 370-510).

The painting is signed by Cossiers in exactly the same way as the *Jupiter and Lycaon* (No. 35). Here too, he has followed Rubens's sketch closely.

43a. NARCISSUS : SKETCH (Fig. 152)

Oil on panel; 14.5 : 14 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. 2518.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); private collection in Southern France; bought in 1927 by F. Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); D.G. van Beuningen (Vierhouten, 1955); bequeathed by him to the Museum Boymans Foundation in 1958.

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 28 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No. 27 (repr.); *Meesterwerken uit de verzameling D.G. van Beuningen*, Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, 1949, No. 63; *Chefs-d'œuvre de la collection D.G. van Beuningen*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1952, No. 139 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 110.

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; D. Hannema, *Meesterwerken uit de Verzameling D.G. van Beuningen*, Rotterdam 1949, p. 20, pl. 110; D. Hannema, *Catalogue of the D.G. van Beuningen Collection*, Rotterdam, 1949, p. 71, No. 63, fig. 110; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 114, No. 52, fig. 53.

Lyons, 1557 (c8) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 137) depict Narcissus with his quiver at his side, standing at the edge of a rock pool gazing at his image. In the Leipzig woodcut he raises his hand, either in admiration of his own beauty or in address to the trees. Rubens does not really follow this tradition. As in

the other pictures of this small size in the Torre series (*The Rape of Europa*, No. 21a; *Clytie*, No. 11a; *The Death of Hyacinth*, No. 32a) Rubens enlarges the figure in relation to the dimensions of the whole work. Narcissus kneels beside a pool of water and the gesture of his hand is clearly one of self-admiration.

44. NEREID AND TRITON

Oil on panel.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, probably one of Nos. [128]-[136]; Inv. 1747, No. 21).

Nereids and Tritons were minor sea deities commonly used in the Renaissance to populate mythological scenes taking place in the sea. The Nereid's position on the Triton's back, and the fact that he is blowing his conch shell, are conventional actions of the figures in art and have no particular narrative significance.

44a. NEREID AND TRITON : SKETCH (Fig. 153)

Oil on panel; 14.5 : 14 cm.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. St. 32.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81, as *El Robo de Andromeda?*); private collection in Southern France; bought in 1927 by F. Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); presented in 1940 by D.G. van Beuningen to the Museum Boymans Foundation.

EXHIBITED : *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 29 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No. 28 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1937, No. 127; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 111.

LITERATURE : *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 41, 93, pl. 100; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 43, 94, pl. 100; *d'Hulst*, 1968, pp. 113, 114, No. 51, fig. 52.

The motif of the Triton carrying a Nereid seems to be borrowed from the Antique. It appears, as L. Burchard has remarked, on a fragment of a sarcophagus lid, in the Badia of Grottaferrata, which was copied in several Renaissance sketch-books (see A.M. Friend Jr., *Dürer and the Hercules Borghese-Piccolomini*, *The Art Bulletin*, xxv, 1943, pp. 40-49).

The figure of the Triton also occurs on the grisaille sketch by Rubens, *The Birth of Venus*, in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 187). The legs of the Nereid are similar here, but the posture of the body is different.

45. ORPHEUS PLAYING THE LYRE (Fig. 154)

Oil on canvas; 195 : 432 cm. Below on the left, inscribed twice in red, 986, and in orange, 1198.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1844 (as *Theodore van Tulden and Franz Snyders*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [138], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 38); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Infante Don Gabriel (Inv. 1772, No. 986), Antecámara de las Señoras Infantas (Inv. 1794, No. 986).

COPY : Painting, recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Bóveda llaman del tigre, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 1493).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 135, No. 470; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 333, No. 53 (as *lost*); *Rooses*, III, p. 29, No. 544.

After the death of his wife Eurydice, Orpheus shuns society and retires to a grove, where he sings of tragic and unnatural loves to an audience of wild animals (Ovid, *Met.*, x, 143 et seqq.). *Lyons*, 1557 (h6) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 394) both place Orpheus right in the middle of the charmed animals as he plays his lute. *Tempesta* (No. 92), by placing Orpheus slightly to the left of center and turning him to face directly a few of the reduced number of animals, concentrates more on the act of playing itself. Although in the painting Orpheus sits in a position similar to that of *Tempesta*'s figure, he is pushed to one side. The picture concentrates on the great variety of the animals, which look as if they are assembled in a "paradise" landscape by Savery with no assistance from the power of Orpheus's music.

The landscape and the animals are surely not by Frans Snyders, but by Paul de Vos, as L. Burchard noted. It is very possible that Orpheus was painted by Van Thulden. There are several points of similarity with the figure of Hercules in *Hercules's Dog discovers Tyrian Purple* (No. 31), signed by that artist. In view of the character of this work, the prominence of the numerous animals and the minor part played by the human figure, it is doubtful (L. Burchard has also made this observation) that Rubens ever prepared a sketch for it.

The painting warrants inclusion in this *Corpus* since it was obviously part of the Torre series, all the works of which were produced under Rubens's general direction.

46. ORPHEUS LEADS EURYDICE FROM HADES (Fig. 155)

Oil on canvas; 194 : 245 cm. Small strips of canvas added on the left and on the right. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1689, in white, 59, in red, 1001.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1667 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [152], as *de mano no conocida*; Inv. 1747, No. 109); Buen Retiro (Inv. 1772, No. 1001); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de las Señoras Infantas (Inv. 1794, No. 1001); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796); entered the Prado in 1827.

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 897); (2) Drawing after upper half of Eurydice, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. V.2; (3) lithograph by F. de Craene (*Rooses*, III, pl. 176).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, p. 136, No. 483; *Rooses*, III, p. 28, No. 543; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 419; *K.d.K.*, p. 389; J.C. Müller Hofstede, *Opmerkingen bij enige tekeningen van Rubens in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, pp. 112-114, *afb. 22*.

Won over by Orpheus's pleas, Pluto and Proserpina returned the dead Eurydice to him on the condition that he not look at her until they reach the upper world (*Ovid, Met.*, X, 1-39).

By the time of the 1700 inventory, the name of the painter of this canvas was already unknown. The Prado catalogue attributes it to Rubens and in fact

it contains magnificent passages by Rubens's hand. Other characteristics which point to Rubens himself as the author are the existence of a drawing from life for the figure of Pluto (No. 46b) and the numerous changes in the composition in comparison with the sketch.

The architectural setting, as well as the poses of the figures, have been altered. Orpheus and Eurydice have been brought closer together, his right foot appearing now between Eurydice's legs: Pluto's left elbow is raised and the position of Proserpina's head and arms has been changed. However, the dramatic interplay and contrast between the white, naked Eurydice and the dark, clothed Proserpina remain the same as in the sketch.

A drawing in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, containing two female figures, has been called a study in chalk by Rubens himself for the Eurydice here and for the Venus in *The Rape of Proserpina* (No. 53; J.C. Müller Hofstede, *op. cit.*, fig. 20). In L. Burchard's opinion, shared by *Haverkamp Begegnung*, 1953 (p. 111, No. 112), it is only a copy after the painting in the Prado.

46a. ORPHEUS LEADS EURYDICE FROM HADES: SKETCH (Fig. 156)

Oil on panel; 27.6 : 32.3 cm.

Zürich, Kunstmuseum (Ruzicka-Stiftung).

PROVENANCE: Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Osuna, sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 136, bought by Colnaghi, London; Baron Herzog, Budapest (1912); Stefan von Auspitz, Vienna; Bachstitz, The Hague (1937); Sir Felix Cassel, Luton, Bedfordshire (died 1949).

EXHIBITED: *Winter Exhibition*, New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No. 131; *Brussels, 1937*, No. 136; *A Loan Exhibition of Pictures by Flemish Old Masters*, Milton Galleries, London, 1944, No. 17; *Gemälde der Ruzicka-Stiftung*, Zürich, 1949-50, No. 27 (repr.); *Rotterdam, 1953-54*, No. 112 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, III, p. 28, No. 5431; *Dillon*, p. 219; G. Biermann, *Die Gemälde-sammlung des Baron Herzog zu Budapest*, *Der Cicerone*, June 1912, pp. 424, 425, repr. on p. 429; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43.

Lyons, 1557 (h5^v) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 391) both use this scene as an opportunity to depict a panorama of Hades and of the famous figures being

punished there. In the foreground Orpheus is charming Pluto and Proserpina with his playing and his declaration of love. Eurydice is not present. *Tempesta* (No. 91) depicts, instead, the moment when, having been given Eurydice back, Orpheus turns and loses her to the waiting demons. Rubens rejects both these solutions and concentrates on the two couples – Orpheus and Eurydice and Pluto and Proserpina – at the moment when Orpheus and Eurydice depart from Hades. The only other illustration to concentrate on these four figures is *Paris*, 1539 (II, p. 82^v; Fig. 159).

Eurydice's pose is based on the so-called *Venus pudica* type, known in the Renaissance through such examples as the *Medici Venus* and the *Capitoline Venus* (M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age*, New York, 1955, pl. 30, 34). Rubens employed versions of this figure in a number of works: the princess in the early *St. George* (K.d.K., p. 22); Saint Domitilla in the first altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova (K.d.K., p. 23); Venus in *The Worship of Venus* (K.d.K., p. 324); Helene Fourment in the portrait known as *Het Pelsken* (K.d.K., p. 424), the Magdalene in the *Madonna and Saints* which hangs over Rubens's tomb (K.d.K., p. 426). (J.S. Held, *Rubens' "Het Pelsken"*, *Essays in the History of Art Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, London, 1967, p. 191 has pointed to this derivation in the case of *Het Pelsken*.) There was moreover precedent for using this pose for this subject in an engraving of Orpheus and Eurydice by Marcantonio Raimondi (B., XIV, p. 223, No. 295). Rubens departs in a characteristic way from Marcantonio's *Orpheus* by making his figure realistically grasp Eurydice's tunic as he leads her away.

L. Burchard observed a similarity between the group of Pluto and Proserpina in the sketch and these same figures, though interchanged, on the small side of the Proserpina sarcophagus in Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III, Paris, 1912, p. 318).

46b. MAN HOLDING A STAFF: DRAWING (Fig. 157)

Black chalk; 301 : 212 mm. Inscribed below in brown ink, *Rubens* and 91.

Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, Albo 158. H. 8; mounted as p. 178, No. 128394, *recto*.

PROVENANCE: Tommaso Corsini (Rome, 1767-1856); presented to the Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, in 1883; incorporated in the Gabinetto Reale delle Stampe since 1895.

LITERATURE : M. Jaffé, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers, Proporzioni*, IV, Florence, 1963, pp. 232, 240, No. 101, fig. 31 (also published separately, Florence, 1959).

The drawing has been identified as Rubens by M. Jaffé (*loc. cit.*), who related it to the *Nativity* in San Filippo, Fermo. L. Burchard identified it as a study for the upper half of the figure of Pluto in *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades*. The pose of the man in the drawing corresponds to that in the sketch (Fig. 156). In the painting (Fig. 155), however, Rubens has changed the position of the left arm. Below on the right of the sheet is a study of an arm, whose use in a painting has not been identified.

47. PAN AND SYRINX

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [144]; Inv. 1747, No. 107; Inv. 1794, No. [86], as *Equillin*).

Pan, the half-man, half-goat god of the woods and shepherds, woos the nymph Syrinx in vain, for even as he grasps her she turns into the reeds from which he then fashions his pipes (Ovid, *Met.*, I, 689-712).

There are several paintings of *Pan and Syrinx* which have been attributed to Rubens; none of them is connected with the lost painting for the Torre de la Parada. The picture, formerly in the collection of J. Schmidt, Paris (canvas, 88 : 123 cm.) which, if by Rubens at all, might be the result of collaboration with Wildens, was incorrectly associated with the Torre commission by L. Van Puyvelde (*Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43).

The Torre inventory of 1794 attributes the lost painting to Quellinus.

47a. PAN AND SYRINX : SKETCH (Fig. 160)

Oil on panel; 27.8 : 27.8 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of 'do (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80); General Victor-Bernard Derrecagaix (Bayonne, 1833-1915); gift of Mme Derrecagaix to the municipality of Bayonne, January 1.

EXHIBITED : Bayonne, 1915 No. 29 (repr.).

LITERATURE : Jaffé, 1916, 316, fig. 3.

Following Ovid, *Lyons*, 1557 (b3^r) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 71) both show Pan grasping the reeds, from out of the top of which we see the remaining part of Syrinx's upper body and head with one arm extended in fright. The effect is of Syrinx's disappearance, not her transformation. Rubens departs from this by showing all of Syrinx's nude human form at the moment when Pan lunges at her garment — her fingers only are beginning to be transformed. He de-emphasizes the transformation into reeds in order to emphasize the human drama. Sandys's Ovid comes closest to Rubens's formulation.

The sketch was not known to L. Burchard, who died before it was discovered.

48. THE WEDDING OF PELEUS AND THETIS (Fig. 162)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 288 cm. A strip of canvas added above, a strip taken off at the right. Signed and dated below on the right, on the chair, *I. IR. (interlaced) fecit Aº 16.. (the last two figures cut off)*. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 993, and in orange, 1277.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1634 (as Jan Reyn).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [94], as *Irrisi*; Inv. 1747, No. 29); Royal Palace, Madrid, Paso de Tribuna y trascuartos (Inv. 1772, No. 993), Antecámara del Rey (Inv. 1794, No. 993).

COPIES : (1) Engraving by Fr. van den Wyngaerd (V.S., p. 30, No. 98; *Rooses*, III, pl. 210); (2) Painting, copied after the engraving in 1927, in an English private collection (photograph in documentation of L. Burchard); (3) Tapestry by Geraert van der Strecken, Turin, Palazzo Carignano; lit. : M. Viale Ferrero, *Tapisseries rubénianes et jordaenesques à Turin*, *Artes Textiles*, III, 1956, p. 68, fig. 18.

LITERATURE : H. Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens's Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 265, fig. 43; M. Jaffé, in *Cat. Exhib. Jacob Jordaens 1593-1678*, Ottawa, 1968, pp. 184, 185, under No. 192.

The celebration of the wedding of Peleus to the sea-nymph Thetis is interrupted by the uninvited goddess Eris, or Discord, who tosses her golden apple into the midst of the gods (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 92).

The puzzling monogram on the painting, which was already misinterpreted in the earliest Torre inventory as *Irrisi* (Inv. 1700, No. [94]), is in reality one of the numerous contractions made of his name by Jacob Jordaens. The picture has convincingly been attributed to him by Hans Vlieghe (*loc. cit.*). The attribution of the painting to Jan van Reyn, which apparently was proposed by Pedro de Madrazo and which has been repeated throughout the different editions of the Prado catalogues, has no foundation.

Apart from the usual adding of detail, Jordaens has altered the sketch slightly on the left, where Minerva's head is placed above that of Venus and more is shown of the head of Diana, who is visible beyond Minerva.

Michael Jaffé (*op. cit.*, p. 184 and pl. 192) has attributed to Jordaens a drawing which is an amplified version of this composition. He suggests that it was made in preparation for an extra design which Jordaens supplied for a set of Rubens's tapestry series of *The Life of Achilles*.

48a. THE WEDDING OF PELEUS AND THETIS : SKETCH (Fig. 163)

Oil on panel; 28 : 43 cm.

Chicago, Art Institute. No. 47-108.

PROVENANCE : Jacques de Roore (1686-1747), sale, The Hague, 4 September 1747 et seqq., lot 62; Johan van der Marck, sale, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773, lot 279; Samuel Harding, sale, London, 2-3 June 1790, lot 51; anonymous sale, London, 18 February 1792, lot 32, bought by Nicholson; Mrs. Harritz, sale, London, 16 June 1810, lot 85; "A Man of Taste", sale, London, 1 February 1811 et seqq., lot 90; Benjamin West (London, 1738-1820), sale, London, 23-24 June 1820, lot 59; Rev. Edward Balme, sale, London, 1 March 1823, lot 72; Sir Thomas Lawrence (London, 1769-1830); Samuel Woodburn (London, 1786-1853), sale, London, 15 May 1854, lot 62; C.J. Nieuwenhuys, sale, London, 17 July 1886, lot 90; J.P. Heseltine (London, 1843-1929), sale, London, 27 May 1935, lot 83, bought by P. Cassirer, Amsterdam; Charles H. and Mary F.S. Worcester, Chicago; presented to the Art Institute in 1947.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 408; London, 1912, No. 2; *Sixty Paintings and Some Drawings by Peter Paul Rubens*, Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, 1936, No. 58.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 167, No. 682; v, pp. 341, 342, No. 682; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 601, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 409; *Ten little Pictures in the Collection of J.P. Heseltine*, London 1908, No. 8, repr.; *Dillon*, p. 233, pl. CCCXCIX; *K.d.K.*, p. 394; D. Catton Rich, *Catalogue of the Charles H. and Mary F.S. Worcester Collection of Pictures, Sculpture and Drawings*, Chicago 1938, No. 46, pl. XXXII; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Valentiner*, p. 167, No. 121; K. Kuh, in *Bulletin of the Chicago Art Institute*, XLI, 1947, pp. 58, 59, repr.; *Goris-Held*, p. 38, No. 76; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; *Larsen*, p. 219, No. 93; H. Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens's Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, p. 265; M. Jaffé, in *Cat. Exhib. Jacob Jordaens 1593-1678*, Ottawa, 1968, p. 184, under No. 192, fig. XXXIV.

The courtship of Peleus and Thetis is illustrated in editions of the *Metamorphoses*, but the wedding, although a favorite subject of artists wishing to depict a feast of the assembled gods, is neither narrated nor illustrated. It is more appropriate to understand this painting in the context of the tradition of representing the "Feast of the Gods", a tradition which Rubens brings to dramatic life by showing the tossing out of Discord's golden apple and the excitement of the three goddesses, which is only to be quelled when Paris makes his judgment. As Rubens presents the gods we are, dramatically speaking, halfway between the feast of the gods and the Judgment of Paris.

The composition is generally reminiscent of Raphael's *Wedding of Amor and Psyche* in the Villa Farnesina (*K.d.K.*, *Raphael*, p. 164). The nude Venus in the foreground of Rubens's composition and the figure of Discord seem in fact to correspond quite closely to the nude goddess in front of the table and the figure of one of the *charites* with flowers in Raphael's composition.

49. PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [64], as *Corneli*; Inv. 1747, No. 76; Inv. 1794, No. [77], as *Vox*).

Perseus, who finds Andromeda bound to a rock, and threatened by a sea-monster, as punishment for her mother's bragging about her beauty, kills the monster and takes her as his wife (Ovid, *Met.*, IV, 663-705).

The names under which the painting is listed in the Torre inventories (*Corneli* in the 1700 and *Vox* in the 1794 inventories) suggest that it was a (signed ?) work by Cornelis de Vos. It should not be confused with a canvas in the Prado (No. 1663, as *Rubens*), which does not represent *Perseus and Andromeda* but *Angelica and Ruggiero* (observed by Evers, 1943, p. 273, fig. 300), nor with the *Perseus and Andromeda* in Berlin (K.d.K., p. 430). Neither has any relation to the Torre commission.

49a. PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA : SKETCH (Fig. 161)

Oil on panel; 25 : 19 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 83); Duke of Osuna, sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 138, bought by Colnaghi, London; Dr. Alfred Pauli, Amsterdam; Franz Koenigs (Haarlem, 1881-1941); presented to Dr. Fritz Mannheimer, Amsterdam.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 30, No. 545; *Osuna, Catalogue*, 1896, No. 138; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 416; Dillon, p. 219, pl. CCCCXXIX; K.d.K., p. 390, right; Jacob Burckhardt, *Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, Vienna, 1938, p. 133, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; Evers, 1943, p. 274, fig. 285; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43; Held, I, p. 122, under No. 61.

Lyons, 1557 (d7) and *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 187) depict Andromeda bound to the rock unaware of the fact that Perseus is rescuing her by killing the sea monster. *Leipzig*, 1582 emphasizes the rescue by making Perseus larger. *Tempesta* (No. 40) rejects this idea, and by increasing the size of the dragon, and showing Andromeda turning around to watch her rescue, emphasizes her feelings rather than the heroism of Perseus. Rubens adopts the position of the figures found in *Lyons*, 1557, but his Andromeda turns to see the monster killed. The putto releasing her which appears in the later composition by Rubens in Berlin (K.d.K., p. 430) is absent. Rubens thus puts almost as much emphasis on the heroic deed itself as on Andromeda's plight. In the Berlin painting, the role of the hero is minimized and the encounter of Perseus and Andromeda is presented completely in terms of Andromeda's complex mixture of love and fear.

The rendering of the scene by Rubens in the sketch for the Torre seems to be derived from a Venetian tradition, as we find it in Titian's *Perseus and Andromeda* in the Wallace Collection, London (K.d.K., *Titian*, p. 155). Rubens could have seen this painting in the collection of the King of Spain. Another Venetian work which comes very close to Rubens's design is Veronese's painting in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes, which has been interpreted as a derivation from Titian's composition (C. Gould, *The Perseus and Andromeda and Titian's Poesie*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CV, 1963, p. 114, fig. 23). This particular pictorial tradition had already become part of the northern tradition by this time and Rubens probably knew it through Goltzius's engraving of 1583 (B., III, p. 47, No. 156).

The Andromeda is related, as has been observed by Julius Held (*loc. cit.*), to a figure on the right of a drawing in the Louvre, Paris (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 189 *recto*); a similar figure occurs twice on the *verso* of the same sheet (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 295, under No. 189; II, No. 189 *verso*). See also No. 5a.

50. THE FALL OF PHAETHON (Fig. 164)

Oil on canvas; 195 : 180 cm. Inscribed on the wheel of the chariot, *VAN AEYCK F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1619.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1345 (as Jan Eyck).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [142]; Inv. 1747, No. 105); ? Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del difunto Infante Don Antonio (Inv. 1772, No. 934); Castillo de Viñuelas, 1794.

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, listed in the 1686 inventory as *Phaeton* (Bottineau, No. 898) probably represented, instead, *The Apotheosis of Hercules* (see above, No. 28a).

LITERATURE : Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 137, No. 477; Rooses, III, p. 30, No. 546; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy : Rediscovered Works*, *The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p. 416.

Phaethon, granted any desire by his father, Apollo, drives the sun chariot, but, as he is unable to control its course, he is struck down by Jupiter (Ovid, *Met.*, II, 31-328).

The inscription VAN AYECK F. does not correspond with the usual Dutch spelling *Van Eyck* and cannot be original. Since the name is written in the same way in a Spanish text of 1659 (see M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, p. 444), it seems logical to assume that, like the *Atalanta and Hippomenes* by Gowy (No. 4) and *The Apotheosis of Hercules* by Borrekens (No. 28), the painting was only inscribed with the name of its author after it arrived in Spain. In this case, the inscription even seems to have been written twice, since under the actual letters some others, belonging to a first draught (AE....F.), remain visible.

The painting does not show the composition extended as far to the right as the sketch. This could be due either to the painter or to a subsequent cutting of the canvas.

50a. THE FALL OF PHAETHON : SKETCH (Fig. 165)

Oil on panel; 28 : 27.5 cm.

Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 822.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 80); Duke of Pastrana; sold, probably in 1888, to Count Valencia de Don Juan; bequeathed to the Museum by Countess Valencia de Don Juan in 1919.

EXHIBITED : *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 43; *Brussels*, 1937, No. 128; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 113 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No. 238 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 30, under No. 546; *Bautier*, 1920, p. 5, repr. on p. 1; A.E. Brinckmann, *Michelangelo Zeichnungen*, Munich, 1925, p. 46, pl. 55; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, pp. 41, 93, pl. 101; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, pp. 43, 94, 95, pl. 101; C. Norris, *Rubens's Sketches at Rotterdam*, *The Connoisseur*, CXXXIII, 1954, suppl., p. 29; M. Jaffé, *Rubens in Italy : Rediscovered Works*, *The Burlington Magazine*, C, 1958, p. 416; *d'Hulst*, 1968, p. 113, No. 50, fig. 51.

The scene is represented in several illustrated Ovids. *Lyons*, 1557 (b5^v) and *Leipzig*, 1582 show Jupiter above to one side and Phaethon in the midst of his horses, falling head down. *Tempesta* (No. 12; Fig. 166) leaves out the landscape, which covers the lower edge of the earlier compositions. He decreases the size of Jupiter and concentrates on the dying Phaethon by separating him

from his horses. The pose of Rubens's Phaethon and the fanning out of the horses are based on Tempesta's engraving, but the youth is placed in the center of the composition and the horses, instead of appearing to support him, add to the confusion of the scene. It is characteristic of Rubens's handling of his sources in the illustrated Ovids that he removes the figure of Jupiter found in *Tempesta* and replaces this explanation of Phaethon's fall with a clear description of the diagonal motion of his plunge to earth.

Brinckmann's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that Rubens's design was based on Michelangelo's drawing in the British Museum, was corrected by *Haverkamp Begemann*, 1953, p. 111, 112, No. 113, who suggests that both Michelangelo and Rubens had seen a relief on an antique sarcophagus showing *The Fall of Phaethon*, now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (G.A. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi. Le Sculture*, I, Florence, 1958, pp. 232, 233, No. 251, fig. 251a). Neither suggestion is convincing to me in view of the close relationship to Tempesta.

The composition of the sketch is not related to Rubens's crowded and turbulent early rendering of this scene in a painting in a London private collection (see M. Jaffé, *loc. cit.*, p. 416, fig. 8).

51. POLYPHEMUS

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [57], as *Cossiers*; Inv. 1747, No. 25; Inv. 1794, No. [78], as *Equillin*).

In Ovid (*Met.*, XIV, 181-186), Achæmenides, one of Ulysses's companions, relates how the one-eyed giant, Polyphemus, had thrown huge boulders in an attempt to destroy the departing Greek ship.

The painting appears in the 1700 inventory as by Cossiers, in the 1794 inventory as by Quellinus. Not much attention should be paid to this attribution since this inventory commonly attributes works of doubtful authorship to Quellinus.

51a. POLYPHEMUS : SKETCH

Oil on panel; approximately 27 : 15 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : ? Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81).

COPY : Painting (Fig. 167), Madrid, Prado, No. 2038, as Rubens; panel, 27 : 15 cm; from the Pastrana collection.

In spite of the unquestioning acceptance it has received so far in art literature (*Rooses*, III, p. 30, No. 547; *Dillon*, p. 220; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43) and in the Prado catalogues, the Prado work is only a copy after a lost original. It is by the same weak hand as the copy after Count Seilern's *Atlas* (No. 5a), also in the Prado (No. 2039; Fig. 70). Both come from the Pastrana collection and had, at an unknown date, replaced the original sketches.

Lyons, 1557, *Leipzig*, 1582, and *Tempesta* depict Polyphemus either hurling a rock at Acis and Galatea (*Lyons*, 1557, L3; *Tempesta*, No. 129), or devouring the bodies of the Greek sailors (*Lyons*, 1557, L4^v; *Tempesta*, No. 134; *Leipzig*, 1582, p. 550). Sandys's Ovid (Bk. XIV, opposite p. 455) precedes Rubens in depicting Polyphemus hurling a boulder at the departing Greek ship.

The motif of the giant seen from the front, holding the stone in both hands and looking over his shoulder also occurs similarly in Annibale Carracci's fresco of *Polyphemus and Acis* (J.R. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery*, Princeton, 1965, pl. 64). The details of the pose are different enough so that one could not claim that Rubens's work is based on Carracci.

52. PROMETHEUS (Fig. 168)

Oil on canvas; 182 : 113 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1329; below on the right, inscribed in white, 71.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1464 (as *Jan Cossiers*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [26], as *copia de Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 22); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796 ?); entered the Prado in 1827.

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, recorded in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal, in 1686 (*Bottineau*, No. 904).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 31, under No. 548.

After Zeus, in a fit of anger, denied fire to man, Prometheus entered heaven by the back door, lit his torch at the chariot of the sun and brought fire to earth (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 562 et seqq.).

The attribution to Cossiers in the Prado catalogue is not reliable. The painting is too weak in quality to have been painted by Rubens himself and does not show enough characteristics to permit its attribution to any of the better known of his collaborators.

52a. PROMETHEUS : SKETCH (Fig. 169)

Oil on panel; 25 : 15 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, *T. 848*.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 2042.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May 1889.

EXHIBITED : *Brussels*, 1937, No. 130.

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 31, No. 548; *Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 81, repr. on p. 85; *Dillon*, p. 220; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43.

L. Burchard, who accepted this sketch as authentic when he saw it at the exhibition *Brussels*, 1937, later wondered, when he visited the Prado in 1952, whether it was not a copy after a lost original. Although the work is far from being one of the most brilliant Torre sketches and shows obvious weaknesses, it seems acceptable to me as by Rubens.

53. THE RAPE OF PROSERPINA (Fig. 170)

Oil on canvas; 180 : 270 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1929; below on the right, inscribed in red, 997.

Madrid, *Prado*. No. 1659 (as *Rubens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [54], as *original de Rubens*; Inv. 1747, No. 84); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Serenísima Infanta, Inv. 1772, No. 997), Cuarto del Señor Infante Don Pedro (Inv. 1794, No. 13); Real Academia de San Fernando, Madrid (in 1796?); entered the Prado in 1827.

COPIES : (1) Painting, Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, No. 992; panel, 50 : 64.5 cm.; (2) Painting, Brussels, collection of R. Vandendriessche, 1959; panel, 53 : 74 cm; (3) Painting, New York, collection of Emile E. Wolf; panel, 60 : 159 cm.; lit. : *Larsen*, pp. 181, 183, No. 95, pl. 141; (4) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 172), on loan from the Prado to the University of Barcelona since 1881; canvas, 181 : 205 cm.; listed in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 892); (5) Drawing, showing a copy of Venus and Diana, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No. V.2; (6) Lithograph by C. Rodriguez (*Rooses*, III, pl. 177).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 132, No. 451; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 351, No. 10; *Rooses*, III, pp. 31, 32, No. 549; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 476, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 410; *K.d.K.*, p. 386; E. Kieser, *Antikes im Werke des Rubens*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, N.F., x, 1933, p. 133; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, p. 37, under No. 16; J. Müller Hofstede, *Opmerkingen bij enige tekeningen van Rubens in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, p. 112, fig. 21.

Venus, who has been instructed by Jupiter to let Proserpina be carried off by Pluto, is accompanied, at her request, by Diana and Minerva, both of whom are horrified and try to prevent the rape (*Claudian, Raptus Proserpinae*).

This work was undoubtedly painted entirely by Rubens himself. The quality of the painting reveals his hand and, moreover, it differs in several significant ways from the sketch. Diana's head and Minerva's right hand have been changed, the basket of flowers described by Ovid has been added in the foreground, and the position of Proserpina's arms has been altered. While in the sketch her arms are extended as on the antique sarcophagus which is Rubens's source (see below, under No. 53a), in the painting a different gesture is introduced. In fact, a clearly visible *pentimento* to the right of the flying putto in the painting reveals that Proserpina's right arm was originally painted as in the sketch. The copies listed above under Nos. (1), (2) and (3) offer definite proof of this change, since they reproduce Rubens's painting in its first state, with Proserpina's arms still in the position they had in the sketch, though they already show the other alterations.

53a. THE RAPE OF PROSERPINA : SKETCH (Fig. 171)

Oil on panel; 26 : 37 cm.

Bayonne, Musée Bonnat.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Osuna, sale, Madrid, 11 May 1896 et seqq., lot 134, bought by Colnaghi, London; Léon Bonnat (Paris, 1833-1922), who bequeathed the work to the Museum.

COPY : ? Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 25 : 36 cm.; provenance : collection of Sir Robert Bird, sale, Paris, 1 April 1965, lot 17.

EXHIBITED : Bayonne, 1965, No. 24 (repr.).

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, pp. 31, 32, No. 549¹; Dillon, p. 219; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 41 (as copy after Rubens); Van Puyvelde, *Sketches*, p. 43 (as copy after Rubens); E. Haverkamp Begemann, *Rubens Schetsen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans*, V, 1954, pp. 11-14, fig. 11; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1956, p. 37, under No. 16.

Lyons, 1557 (e2^v), *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 212; Fig. 174) and *Tempesta* (No. 47) all follow the Ovidian text (*Met.*, v, 385 et seqq.) and represent Pluto as he rides off with Proserpina and passes the nymph Cyane (*Met.*, v, 412-416), who vainly attempts to stop the abductor. Rubens, as in his earlier painting recorded in the Petit Palais sketch (Fig. 173), takes as his pictorial source the Altemps-Mazzarini-Rospigliosi sarcophagus in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, Rome (S. Reinach, *Répertoire de reliefs grecs et romains*, III, Paris, 1912, p. 318), which follows the myth as told by Claudian (*Raptus Proserpinae*). He includes the three female goddesses – Diana, Minerva and Venus – but leaves out the incident with Cyane to concentrate on the central drama of the rape itself.

Rubens certainly knew this sarcophagus, since he copied it in its entirety. L. Burchard has attributed the drawing in the Rubens House, Antwerp (Inv. No. S 106), to Rubens himself (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1956, pp. 36, 37, No. 16). Since then, E. Haverkamp Begemann has suggested (*op. cit.*, pp. 11-14, fig. 9) that it might be only a copy after a lost original. R.-A. d'Hulst now also considers the drawing to be a copy after Rubens, an opinion which I share.

54. REASON (?)

Oil on canvas.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (? Inv. 1747, No. 102).

The previous identifications of this figure as *Canens* or *Aurora* do not seem satisfactory. *Canens* searching for her husband is usually represented carrying two torches instead of a single lamp. See e.g. *Tempesta* (No. 157; Fig. 175). *Aurora* is usually shown with flowers. I have been unable to discover another mythological personage who fits this representation. The identification of the woman as *Reason* is offered here with some reservations. See above, pp. 136-142, for a discussion of the group to which the painting belongs.

54a. REASON (?) : SKETCH (Fig. 176)

Oil on panel; 26 : 17 cm. Below on the right, inscribed in white, 284. Along the left side, an unreadable old inscription.

La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes. No. 284.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado; Duke of Pastrana.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 13, No. 510; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 40; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; J.A. Gaya Nuño, *Historia y guia de los museos de España*, Madrid, 1955, p. 238; Jaffé, 1964, p. 320.

The painting came to the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, La Coruña, together with a sketch for *Daedalus and the Labyrinth* (No. 14a). Both came from the Infantado collection and are correctly attributed to Rubens and related to the Torre commission.

55. SATURN (Fig. 177)

Oil on canvas; 180 : 87 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 1004, and in orange, 1213.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1678 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [75], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 44 or 80); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara de la Princesa (Inv. 1772, No. 1004); Quarto de la reina, Antecámara (Inv. 1794, No. 1004).

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, recorded in 1686 in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 927); (2) Painting, recorded in 1686 in the Royal Palace, Pieza ochavada (*Bottineau*, No. 165), together with a copy of the *Mercury* (see above, No. 39); wrongly identified by *Cruzada Villaamil* (pp. 362, 363, under No. 25) with the paintings by Rubens, mentioned in the 1700 Torre inventory; (3) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; black chalk, heightened with white, 310 : 180 mm.; provenance : collection of Marquis Charles de Valori (1820-1883), sale, Paris, 25-26 November 1907, lot 214, as *Rubens* (photograph in documentation of L. Burchard, received in 1934 from P. Dubant, Paris).

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 135, No. 475; *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 362, 363, No. 24; *Rooses*, III, pp. 32, 33, No. 550; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p. 415, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 392, right.

When Saturn was King of the gods, it was prophesied that his son would take his throne and therefore, in fear, Saturn devoured his children (*Ovid, Fasti*, IV, 197-200).

In the painting for the Torre, Rubens changed to a great extent the design as it was worked out in the sketch, which has been attributed to him by L. Burchard (but see below under No. 55a for my own doubts about the attribution of this sketch). The head, the arms and the legs of the child are altered and the motif of Saturn biting it is rendered with an even more aggressive realism. The scythe which the god holds in his right hand has been turned to the left and three brilliant stars have been added in the sky.

Goya's *Saturn* (Madrid, Prado, No. 763) reveals the impact made on him by Rubens's Torre painting.

55a. SATURN : SKETCH (Fig. 178)

Oil on panel; 35.5 : 26.5 cm. A large piece of panel added to the right.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE : Count Charles de Proli, sale, Antwerp, 23 (?) July 1785 et seqq., lot 5 (together with lot 6, *Ganymede*; see above, No. 24a), bought by De Loose, Brussels; François Pauwels, sale, Brussels, 22 August 1803, lot 66 (together with lot 67, *Ganymede*;

see above, No. 24a); Duke d'Alberg, sale, London, 13 June 1817, lot 29; Galerie St. Lukas, Vienna (1933-38).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, pp. 19 (under No. 523), 32, 33, under No. 550.

Two sketches related to the Torre paintings of *Ganymede* and *Saturn* were kept together as late as 1803, when they appeared in the Pauwels sale, Brussels (see also No. 24a). Ludwig Burchard identified the latter with the sketch of *Saturn* in the Duke d'Alberg sale, London, 1817, and with a panel which in November 1933 was with the Galerie St. Lukas, Vienna.

In my opinion, judging from a poor photograph, the quality of execution of this sketch is too weak to permit the attribution to Rubens, though the amount of overpainting in the drapery and the shadows makes it hard to pass judgment. Furthermore, the weakness of the design, its distance from the format of the final painting, and the complete lack of realism in the central motif of *Saturn* biting into the child, lead me to doubt whether this is even a copy after the lost sketch by Rubens.

56. SATYR (Fig. 179)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 64 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 1003, in orange, 1465.

Madrid, *Prado*, No. 1681 (as *Rubens*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [56], as *Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 80 or 44); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Señor Infante Don Luis (Inv. 1772, No. 1003).

COPY : Drawing, whereabouts unknown; black chalk, 305 : 150 mm.; provenance : sale, Utrecht, A.J. van Huffel's antiquariaat, 20-21 May 1952, No. 124, as "Démocrite riant. Etude pour le tableau de Rubens au Musée Prado à Madrid. Voir : A. Rosenberg, P.P. Rubens, Des Meisters Gemälde – Stuttg. 1905. pl. 16".

LITERATURE : *Smith*, Catalogue Raisonné, II, p. 131, No. 447; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 321, No. 25 (as lost; *Rooses*, III, p. 33, No. 551; IV, p. 13, No. 798; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Roosenberg*, p. 16, right; *K.d.K.*, p. 12, left; W. Weisbach, *Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit*, Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, XLIX, 1928, pp. 142, 143.

This work has been variously entitled *Satyr* by Smith (*loc. cit.*), Cruzada Villaamil (*loc. cit.*) and Rooses (*op. cit.*, III, p. 33, No. 551); *Democritus* by Rooses (*op. cit.*, IV, p. 13, No. 798) and Rosenberg (*loc. cit.*); *Marsyas* by Oldenbourg (*loc. cit.*); *Diogenes* by W. Weisbach (*loc. cit.*). L. Burchard accepted this identification of the man as Diogenes the Cynic. In my opinion, however, the figure does not appear to fit Diogenes in any particular respect. This is not the dirty, scowling, abusive figure set forth in Lucian's *Philosophers for Sale*, nor the commonly represented *Diogenes Searching for an Honest Man*. The identification of the figure as a Satyr has the advantage of taking into account his smiling face, his pointed ears and the mask resting on the support beside him. For a discussion of the possible reason for the presence of a *Satyr* among the Torre works and the related explanation of the particular gesture of his right hand, see above pp. 137-141.

It seems unlikely to me that Rubens would have made a sketch for this figure.

57. THE BANQUET OF TEREUS (Fig. 182)

Oil on canvas; 195 : 267 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1300; below on the right, inscribed in red, 1002.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1660 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [151], *as de mano no conocida*; Inv. 1747, No. 110); Royal Palace, Madrid, Cuarto del Infante Don Xavier (Inv. 1772, No. 1002), Pieza encarnada à la derecha, 1794.

COPIES : (1) Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 180); on loan from the Prado, No. 2226, *as Escuela de Rubens*, to the Museum of Valladolid since 1882; canvas, 90 : 170 cm.; this copy was in 1686 in the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 896) and in 1794 in the Pieza de Retrete, No. 180 (confused with the original by *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 352, under No. 11); (2) Engraving by C. Galle (*V.S.*, p. 129, No. 94; *Rooses*, III, pl. 178); (3) Painting, panel, approximately 50 : 43.5 cm., recorded in the 1659 inventory of the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, No. 406 (M. Rooses in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p. 211, under No. 553).

LITERATURE : Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 132, No. 465; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p. 352, No. 11; *Rooses*, III, p. 33, No. 553; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 412; *K.d.K.*, p. 387.

Having raped his sister-in-law, Philomela, and cut out her tongue, King Tereus is most horribly punished by being served the flesh of his own son, whose head Philomela and his wife, Procne, deliver to him as evidence of their deed (Ovid, *Met.*, vi, 647-674).

Among the works for the Torre de la Parada which Rubens painted himself, *The Banquet of Tereus* is one of the most impressive. The figures as well as the setting reveal his own hand. Several small differences between sketch and painting can be observed (but see below, under No. 57a, for my doubts about whether the original sketch by Rubens's hand has been found). The personages are placed closer to each other. In the painting, Philomela thrusts the head of Itys forward with both hands extended, supporting it from beneath, while in the sketch her right hand is held behind the head. Also, Procne rests her hand on Philomela's back in the painting, while in the sketch she holds it above her sister's back. The architecture in the background has been rendered with greater detail.

57a. THE BANQUET OF TEREUS : SKETCH (Fig. 183)

Oil on panel; 27.7 : 36.4 cm. Strips of panel of 2.8 and 0.5 cm., that had been added to the left and to the right, have recently been removed.

London, Collection of Edward Speelman.

PROVENANCE : Private collection, Great Britain; bought 17 May 1956 by Peter Kronthal, London.

COPIES : (1) Painting (Fig. 184), Bayonne, Musée Bonnat, No. 956; oil on panel, 33 : 41 cm.; provenance : J. Clarke, sale, London, 17 June 1905, lot 88, bought by Dowdeswell; Léon Bonnat (Paris, 1833-1922), who bequeathed it to the Museum; exh. : Brussels, 1910, No. 394; Bayonne, 1965, No. 23 (repr.); (2) Painting (Fig. 185), Urbana, Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois; oil on panel, 28.3 : 40.3 cm.; provenance : Johan de Croes, Brussels; private collection, France; New York art market; (3) Drawing, Bayonne, Musée Bonnat; black chalk, heightened with white.

Burchard identified the original sketch by Rubens with a panel which he saw in 1956 in the collection of Peter Kronthal, London. It now belongs to Edward Speelman, London. I am not convinced from the photograph that it is indeed by Rubens's hand. It does not appear to me to be superior to the sketches in

Bayonne and Urbana which I judge to be copies. However, since each of these three sketches differs from the final painting in exactly the same respects, we can be certain that we have at least a record of Rubens's original sketch. It should be noted that this was apparently one of the most frequently copied of the Torre sketches.

Lyons, 1557 (e8), *Leipzig, 1582* (p. 256; Fig. 181) and *Tempesta* (No. 60) form a single tradition: an interior, Tereus at his table to one side in the foreground with his sword drawn, as he sees the head of his son, whose flesh he has just eaten, brought in by Procne and Philomela. In the background we see the earlier scene of the killing of Itys and, in *Leipzig, 1582* and *Tempesta*, the birds into which the women will be transformed. In *Leipzig, 1582* and *Tempesta*, the arched window of the *Lyons, 1557* woodcut has become an arch through which we see the killing. Rubens takes the setting and organization from this tradition. He leaves out the earlier scene visible through the arch in the illustrated Ovids and introduces instead the horrified servant at the door just beyond Tereus, presumably one of those who, in Ovid's text (*Met.*, vi, 649), were removed at Procne's order. He clarifies and changes the action by depicting Tereus's initial reaction as he rises and turns over the table (*Met.*, vi, 661) rather than what follows when he grabs the sword to pursue the women (*Met.*, vi, 666). Sandys's Ovid is the only one to have represented this action before Rubens.

58. THE BIRTH OF VENUS (Fig. 186)

Oil on canvas; 184 : 208 cm. Signed below on the right, *Cornelis de vos F.* Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1675.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1862 (as *Cornelis de Vos*).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [30], as *Cornelio de Vos*; Inv. 1747, No. 95; Inv. 1794, No. [74], as *Cornelio de Vox*).

LITERATURE : *Rooses*, III, p. 34, No. 554.

Venus was born out of the foam of the sea at the time of the wounding of Uranus, and she first stepped ashore on the island of Cythera (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 188 et seqq.).

The painting was executed from Rubens's sketch by Cornelis de Vos. As is common in the Torre de la Parada series, the picture compromises the realism of the sketch by changing the character of the description of Venus and her action of wringing out her hair, as is analysed above, pp. 146, 147.

58a. THE BIRTH OF VENUS : SKETCH (Fig. 188)

Oil on panel; 26.5 : 28.3 cm.

Brussels, *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. No. 815.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (*Sentenach y Cabañas*, p. 82); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); Mme J. Errera, Brussels (before 1902), who presented the work to the Museum in 1917.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1910, No. 308; Antwerp, 1927, No. 40; Brussels, 1937, No. 133; Brussels, 1965, No. 239 (repr.); Brussels, 1967-68.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 34, under No. 554, Rooses, *Vie*, p. 597, repr.; Bautier, 1920, p. 4, repr.; K.d.K., p. 384, left, below; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, pp. 41, 93, 94, pl. 102; Van Puyvelde, *Sketches*, pp. 43, 95, pl. 102; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Giulio Romano at Mantua*, *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 1958, p. 326, fig. 5; d'Hulst, 1968, p. 111, No. 41, fig. 22.

Rubens handled this and similar themes several times. See for example the grisaille sketch in the National Gallery, London (Fig. 187) in which Venus is surrounded by sea nymphs as she approaches the shore. The Venus in the Torre work is based on the familiar Venus Anadyomene type. For a discussion of Jaffé's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that the figural source for the Venus is to be found in a work of Giulio Romano, see above, p. 147 n.

59. VERTUMNUS AND POMONA (Fig. 189)

Oil on canvas; 196 : 266 cm. A strip of canvas has been added above. Signed and dated below on the left, *J. Jordaeus* and 1638. Below on the left, inscribed, 4.

Caramulo, *Museu*. No. 334.

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (not identifiable in Inv. 1700; Inv. 1747, No. 113); ? Buen Retiro (Inv. 1772, No. 1000); private collection, Portugal.

LITERATURE : R.-A. d'Hulst, *De Tekeningen van Jakob Jordaens*, Brussels, 1956, p. 145, fig. 86; H. Vlieghe, *Jacob Jordaens's Activity for the Torre de la Parada*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CX, 1968, pp. 262, 265, fig. 39.

Having presented himself to Pomona, a wood-nymph, in many disguises, Vertumnus, the god of the changing seasons, argues his case in the guise of an old woman who tells a tragic tale of unrequited love. When he finally reveals his true form, he wins her love (Ovid, *Met.*, XIV, 622-771).

In transferring Rubens's composition from the sketch to the canvas, Jordaens has placed the figures in the center of the painting. We see more landscape to the left and less to the right than in the sketch. The figure of Vertumnus has been turned slightly toward the viewer and both figures have become true Jordaens types. The bared left leg of Pomona is not visible in the painting, either because it was painted over later or because it was left out by Jordaens.

59a. VERTUMNUS AND POMONA : SKETCH (Fig. 190)

Oil on panel; 27 : 38 cm. Probably a strip was cut off at the left. Below on the right, inscribed in blue, T 867.

Madrid, Prado. No. 2044.

PROVENANCE : Duke of Infantado (not identifiable in *Sentenach y Cabañas*); Duke of Pastrana (died 1888); presented to the Prado by the Duchess of Pastrana, 28 May, 1889.

COPY : Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 94 : 89.5 cm.; seen by L. Burchard at Appleby's, London, in 1949.

EXHIBITED : Brussels, 1937, No. 134.

LITERATURE : Rooses, III, p. 35, No. 555; Van Puyvelde, *Esquisses*, p. 41; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 43.

It is possible that the panel has been cut at the left. Pomona's foot and the shovel are cut by the edge of the sketch in a rather unusual way. Since in the copy mentioned above, Pomona's left foot and the shovel are represented in entirety, and a watering can is added, which also appears in Jordaens's painting, it is very likely that these details were also depicted in the original sketch.

Lyons, 1557 (17^v; Fig. 191), *Leipzig*, 1582 (p. 572), and *Tempesta* (No. 142) all depict the most commonly represented incident from the myth: Vertumnus disguised as an old woman sitting in Pomona's garden advising her to marry Vertumnus. A drawing in Berlin by Rubens (*Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, No. 76) illustrates this scene. *Lyons*, 1557, following Ovid (*Met.*, XIV, 659-661) sets the old woman with her staff on the ground to talk to Pomona. The arbor in the *Lyons*, 1557 woodcut is repeated in *Leipzig*, 1582, although the position of the figures is altered somewhat. *Tempesta* concentrates on the two large figures and leaves out the garden setting. Rubens preserves the arbor, which represents the garden in both *Lyons*, 1557 and *Leipzig*, 1582, but he completely changes the narrative situation. He shows us the final scene, in which Vertumnus, having returned to his true appearance as a beautiful young man, successfully pleads his love for Pomona. Rubens is careful to introduce certain details from Ovid's text: the pruning-hook which Pomona used to carry (*Met.*, XIV, 628) and, to the left, the elm tree covered with clinging grapevines (*Met.*, XIV, 661-665) - a traditional image for the union of true love - to which Vertumnus had pointed when pleading his case.

This rarely represented scene appears in a sixteenth-century tapestry series on the subject of Vertumnus and Pomona, the cartoons of which have been attributed to Jan Vermeyen (M. Crick-Kuntziger, *L'Auteur des cartons de "Vertumne et Pomone"*, *Oud-Holland*, XLIV, 1927, pp. 159-173, Fig. 1). Rubens's sketch has no relation to the design of this tapestry.

60. VULCAN (Fig. 193)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 97 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in red, 1005 and in orange, 1578.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1676 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [169], as *Escuela de Rubenes*; Inv. 1747, No. 79); Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Infante Don Gabriel (Inv. 1772, No. 1005), Cuarto del Infante Don Antonio, Antecámara (Inv. 1794, No. 1005).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo (Fig. 192), on loan from the Prado, No. 1707, to the Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes, Saragossa, listed in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 901); lit. : *Rooses*, III, p. 35, under No. 556.

LITERATURE : *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 132, No. 455; *Rooses*, III, p. 35, No. 556; *K.d.K.*, p. 393, right; *Jaffé*, 1964, p. 321; E.W. Palm, *Diego Velasquez : Aesop und Menipp*, in *Lebende Antike*, ed. by H. Meller and H. Zimmermann, Berlin, 1967, pp. 213, 214, fig. 7.

Vulcan, accompanied by his assistant, is standing by his anvil, forging lightning for Jupiter. Rubens does not represent the scene, briefly described by Ovid (*Met.*, XIII, 188-291), in which Thetis goes to Vulcan to get armor for her son Achilles. He concentrates on the figure of Vulcan, which like *Atlas* (No. 5) he depicts out of a narrative context. Perhaps a contrast is intended between Prometheus, who brings fire to earth, and Vulcan, who makes Jupiter's rays. I find no persuasive reason, however, for interpreting the *Vulcan* in the *Torre* as representing the element Fire (see *Jaffé*, 1964, *loc. cit.*).

Here again, as in several other paintings executed by Rubens's own hand, some changes have been introduced with regard to the sketch. The chimney over Vulcan's anvil is left out and his assistant added. Vulcan's right arm is covered with a garment. What in the sketch seems to be entrance to the cave, is not represented in the painting.

60a. VULCAN : SKETCH (Fig. 194)

Oil on panel; 22.5 : 17.5 cm. Below, a strip of panel has been cut away.

Great Britain, Collection of Mrs. Nicholas Mosley.

PROVENANCE : ? Elwin, sale by private contract, London, [1787], No. 63 (*Rubens, Vulcan at his Forge*); Earl Cowper, Panshanger; Lady Aline Fane; Lady Desborough (died 1952); Lady Salmond.

EXHIBITED : *London*, 1950, No. 18; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 114, repr.; *King's Lynn*, 1960, No. 33; *Oil Sketches and Smaller Pictures by Sir Peter Paul Rubens*, Thos. Agnew and Sons, Ltd., London, 1961, No. 33.

LITERATURE : *Jaffé*, 1964, p. 321.

The sketch was probably cut off below, since the painting shows Vulcan as a full-length figure instead of three-quarter-length.

61. DEMOCRITUS (Fig. 195)

Oil on canvas; 179 : 66 cm. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1556.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1682 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [67], as *Rubenes*); Pardo (Inv. 1747, fourth *presupuesto*, No. [14]); ? Royal Palace, Madrid, Antecámara del Señor Infante Don Luis (Inv. 1772, No. 1021).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, Madrid, Prado, No. 1706; canvas, 119 : 47 cm.; listed in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (Bottineau, No. 924).

LITERATURE : *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 363, 364, No. 27; *Rooses*, IV, p. 14, No. 799; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p. 411, left; *K.d.K.*, p. 4, left; W. Weisbach, *Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit*, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 141, 143, fig. 2; E. W[ind], *The Christian Democritus*, *The Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, p. 181, pl. 24e; D. Fitz Darby, *Ribera and the Wise Men*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, p. 288; Jaffé, 1964, p. 321 and No. 29; M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 3-8, fig. 2; E.W. Palm, *Diego Velasquez : Aesop und Menipp*, in *Lebende Antike*, ed. by H. Meller and H. Zimmerman, Berlin, 1967, pp. 208, 213, 214, fig. 8; A. Blankert, *Heraclitus en Democritus*, in *het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 43, 46, 50, 92, 93, fig. 11.

Democritus and Heraclitus were a pair of pre-Socratic philosophers who were conventionally linked as representing contrasting views towards the world (Seneca, *De Tranquillitate animi*, xv, 2; Juvenal, *Satirae*, X, 28-30, 34; for other antique references see Blankert, *op. cit.*, pp. 79, 80). One ancient text mentioned paintings representing the pair and even noted their laughing and weeping (A. Blankert, *op. cit.*, pp. 35, 39). Democritus is depicted here as an old man who holds a globe of the earth in his right hand, which he points to with his left hand, as he smiles out at the viewer. This figure has in the past sometimes been mistakenly identified as Archimedes (*Rooses*, *loc. cit.*; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, *loc. cit.*).

The facial type is based on an antique bust which was thought at the time to represent the ancient philosopher. Rubens also made a drawing after this bust which was engraved by L. Vorsterman in a series of twelve Greek and

Roman philosophers, generals and emperors published in 1638 (see *Rooses*, v, p. 12, No. 1210 and repr. of the Vorsterman engraving in A. Blankert, *op. cit.*, p. 121, fig. 49). According to Blankert this engraving was the first image after the antique portrait of Democritus to be published. The antique sculpture is no longer accepted as the portrait of Democritus (G. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, I, London, 1965, pp. 80, 120). The gesture of pointing at the globe, signifying derision, or scorn, is frequently found in depictions of Democritus. While Rubens's portrayal of Democritus, like that of Heraclitus, is traditional, it appears that the full-length format is based on sixteenth-century prints. A half-length format was the rule among seventeenth-century representations of the two philosophers in the north.

E. Wind (*loc. cit.*) argued that Rubens interpreted the philosophers in a Christian context and favored the mocker of the world, Democritus, to whom he gave the philosopher's globe, over the weeping Heraclitus. Since, as Blankert points out, both philosophers were traditionally depicted with a globe it is not clear why either the Christian interpretation, or this preference, is indicated by the paintings. Rubens seems rather to follow the tradition of favoring neither philosopher, and seeing both as a reflection of *vanitas mundi*.

The *Democritus* and *Heraclitus* (No. 63) have previously been confused by all writers, except for Jaffé (*loc. cit.*), with an early work that Rubens painted for the Duke of Lerma on the occasion of the artist's first visit to Spain in 1603. This early work depicted the two philosophers together (see *Rooses-Ruelens*, I, p. 170, for a contemporary reference to this work). A. Blankert (*op. cit.*, pp. 92, 93) mistakenly assumes that the two Prado paintings were originally joined together as one work and he bases his rejection of E. Wind's Christian interpretation partly on this assumption. L. Burchard and M. Jaffé independently noted the mistaken identification of the Torre works with this early work, and both tentatively identified the early work with a painting which was recently on the London art market. We can thus acknowledge the obvious fact that the pair of paintings which hung in the Torre are painted in Rubens's later manner and were executed at the same time as the rest of the series.

It is most unlikely that preparatory sketches were made for either of these works.

62. HERACLITUS (Fig. 196)

Oil on canvas; 181 : 63 cm. A small strip of canvas added to the left. Below on the left, inscribed in orange, 1461, and in white, 503.

Madrid, Prado. No. 1680 (as Rubens).

PROVENANCE : Torre de la Parada (Inv. 1700, No. [66], as *Rubenes*); Pardo (Inv. 1747, fourth *presupuesto*, No. [13]).

COPY : Painting by Juan Bautista del Mazo, now lost, recorded in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid, Pieza Principal (*Bottineau*, No. 923).

LITERATURE : *Cruzada Villaamil*, pp. 363, 364, No. 26; *Rooses*, IV, p. 12, No. 797; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p. 16, left; K.d.K., p. 4, right; W. Weisbach, *Der sogenannte Geograph von Velasquez und die Darstellungen des Demokrit und Heraklit*, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 1928, pp. 141, 143, fig. 3; E. W[ind], *The Christian Democritus*, *The Journal of the Warburg Institute*, I, 1937-38, p. 181, pl. 24c; D. Fitz Darby, *Ribera and the Wise Men*, *The Art Bulletin*, XLIV, 1962, p. 288; Jaffé, 1964, p. 321 and No. 29; M. Warnke, *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, pp. 3-8, fig. 1; E.W. Palm, *Diego Velasquez : Aesop und Menipp*, in *Lebende Antike*, ed. by H. Meller and H. Zimmerman, Berlin, 1967, pp. 208, 213, 214, fig. 6; A. Blankert, *Heraclitus en Democritus*, in *het bijzonder in de Nederlandse kunst van de 17de eeuw*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVIII, 1967, pp. 43, 46, 50, 92, 93, fig. 11.

Heraclitus sits weeping, and leans with his right elbow on a stone ledge while resting his cheek on his right hand. A. Blankert (*op. cit.*, pp. 52, 53) points out that the gesture of resting the cheek on the hand is one of the three ways of expressing sorrow most commonly found in depictions of Heraclitus. For a discussion of the pair of philosophers see above under No. 61.

ADDENDA

1. *Works rejected as not belonging to the Torre de la Parada Series*

In the *Catalogue raisonné*, as in the discussion of the history of the Torre commission, my assumption has been that the 1700 inventory of the Torre represents the total number of works by Rubens and his assistants that were commissioned for the hunting lodge, and we have been able to identify all but one of the mythological subjects. Previous writers have associated other Rubens works with the Torre, either because of their mythological, or in some few cases allegorical, subject matter, or because such works were inventoried elsewhere in the Spanish collections in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. While Van Puyvelde's list³²⁸ swamps us with irrelevant works and variant titles for single subjects masquerading as additional works, which I shall not dispute individually here, Rooses does introduce several problems that warrant consideration. We have already dealt with *The Death of Dido* (Rooses, III, No. 518) in the discussion of the dispersal of the Pastrana collection (p. 75); and in Chapter III, when we discussed the overall program of the Torre decoration, we briefly dealt with Rooses's suggestion that it contained a group of works representing the elements and a *Flora* (above, p. 113). There are, however, several problems which are significant enough, and where the evidence is persuasive enough, to necessitate separate discussion.

Among the paintings for the Torre, M. Rooses lists a *Dido and Aeneas Escaping from the Storm* (Rooses, III, No. 517), because such a work was inventoried in the *pieza oscura* of the Royal Palace in 1666, 1686 and 1700 (Bottineau, No. 312). There is no reason to believe that this painting was ever in the Torre. Rooses knew the composition only from a fragmentary copy by Mazo, which was in the Prado in the 19th century³²⁹ and is at present rusticated in the University of Granada³³⁰.

A sketch for this composition appeared on the London art market in 1911,³³¹ but its present location is unknown. It was erroneously included among the

³²⁸ Van Puyvelde, *Sketches*, pp. 41-43.

³²⁹ Catalogue, 1873, No. 1639.

³³⁰ My thanks to Professor José Manuel Pita Andrade for helping me to see this painting and for having it photographed for me.

³³¹ Sale, London, 16 Dec. 1911, lot 95 (as *Rubens*); afterwards with T. Agnew, London.

Torre sketches by L. Van Puyvelde.³³² Not only is the sketch much larger than any Torre sketch, but the careful, precise brushstrokes are unlike the quick, abbreviated style of the other works. The rediscovery, after the second World War, of the large painting *Dido and Aeneas Escaping from the Storm*, attributed to Rubens and now in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt,³³³ has disproved the supposition of Rooses and Van Puyvelde, since the painting clearly belongs to an earlier period.³³⁴

There is also the problem of the one mythological subject for the Torre which has not been identified (see above, p. 63). Since several titles, given to the paintings in the various Torre inventories, remain undecipherable, it would seem that, failing new evidence from documents, this last mythological subject could only be identified by means of an extant sketch or painting, which has not previously been connected with the series. In the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, there is a sketch by Rubens depicting a youth embracing a stag, identified there as *Adonis or Actæon Transformed into a Deer*, published as a sketch for the Torre de la Parada (Fig. 197).³³⁵ To my knowledge this sketch has not been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the Torre series. However, Ludwig Burchard included it among his tentative list of Torre sketches, and I agree, having already been puzzled by it myself, that it deserves consideration. I had reached the same conclusion as L. Burchard, that the sketch does not represent Adonis or Actæon but Cyparissus embracing his beloved stag, whom he had killed by mistake (*Met.*, x, 106 et seqq.). A sketch of this subject (perhaps identical with the Bayonne work) was in the P.A.J. Knyff sale, Antwerp, 18 July 1785 et seqq., No. 275.³³⁶ The major arguments for the inclusion of the Bayonne *Cyparissus* in the Torre series are that it is generally similar in character to the other works, and that the subject is most suitable for a hunting lodge. But there are also arguments against it: first of all, its

³³² *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42.

³³³ Oil on canvas, 214 : 294 cm.; Catalogue, 1966, p. 105, Inv. No. 2097.

³³⁴ *Neuerwerbungen der Frankfurter Museen, Städel-Jahrbuch*, N. F., I, 1967, pp. 196-198.

³³⁵ *Bayonne*, 1965, No. 25 and fig. 10 (10.5 : 21 cm.).

³³⁶ *Rooses*, III, p. 54, under No. 570, lists a painting *Apollo and Cyparissus* (oil on panel, 68 : 93 cm.) by Brueghel and Rubens which was sold with the Lord Ashburnham collection, 20 July 1851. Because of its size, the use of panel, and the participation of Brueghel, this painting itself could not be for the Torre.

size and shape correspond to none of the other Torre sketches, which, with rare exceptions, fall into just a few size groupings. Secondly, its quality seems to me not to be equal to the other Torre works, particularly in the delineation of the facial expression which is one of the most distinctive aspects of the Torre sketches. Finally, its subject matter cannot be a strong argument for it since, as we have seen, the Torre de la Parada series, surprisingly, did not emphasize scenes related to the hunt or to animals. On balance I reject this sketch as part of the Torre commission.

2. *The Problem of a Hercules Series*

One of the most vexing problems about the decoration of the Torre, a problem which seems not to be solved by the inventories and the extant works belonging to the Torre, is posed by the common, but largely unsubstantiated, assumption that the hunting lodge contained a series of works illustrating the life or labors of Hercules.³³⁷ Ludwig Burchard accepted this and attempted to identify the works. Rubens was much concerned with the deeds of Hercules in the last decade of his life – there is, for example, the pair of works depicting *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides* and *Dejanira* (Rooses, III, Nos. 617, 618), formerly in the Palazzo Durazzo in Genoa – and several of his works, existing in many different copies and versions, have been connected with the Torre commission. Because the subject suits the mythological scheme of the hunting lodge – although Hercules's deeds do not play an important part in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* nor in the conventional illustrations to this text – there has been a tendency to connect almost any otherwise unattached Hercules composition by or near Rubens with the Torre on no further evidence than that of the subject itself.³³⁸

The only Hercules subjects that we can connect with the Torre de la Parada with absolute certainty are the three that were inventoried hanging next to each

³³⁷ See Rooses, III, Nos. 525-532.

³³⁸ *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42, for example, includes the sketch of *Hercules and the Lion*, Charles S. Kuhn collection, now St. Louis, Missouri (Fig. 198), which probably dates from the early thirties, and *Hercules Leaning on his Club*, which has been identified as an allegorical depiction of *Hercules and Discord* and has no connection with the Torre series.

other in the 1700 inventory; *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, Inv. 1700, No. [147] for which we have both sketch and painting (No. 28, 28a); *Hercules and Cerberus*, No. [148] for which we have only a sketch (No. 29a); and *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*, No. [149] for which we have both sketch and painting (No. 31, 31a). We can add to these the *Hercules and the Hydra*, for which a sketch survives in the Seilern collection (No. 30a) and of which two copies, one by Mazo, another an anonymous drawing, are known (see under No. 30). In addition, it is possible that we could consider *The Creation of the Milky Way* (if indeed Juno suckles the infant Hercules and not Mercury, as seems more likely) as an incident from the life of Hercules. There is, finally, a possibility that the *Atlas* (No. 5) is in reality Hercules.

Besides those works that we know to have been in the Torre, there are a number of paintings by Rubens or copies by Mazo depicting Hercules listed in the 1686 inventory of the Royal Palace, Madrid :

Salón de los Espejos

Otra Pintura de tres varas de alto y vara y media de ancho de la fabula de Ercules quando mato al hijo de la Tierra original de Rubenes (*Bottineau*, No. 71).

Pieza Ochavada

Ocho Pinturas de á vna vara de largo y media vara de ancho iguales de mano de Rubens de las fuerças de Ercules y fabulas (*Bottineau*, Nos. 170-177);

Otra de dos varas (de largo y vna) y media de alto de Ercules luchando con vn leon, de mano de Rubenes (*Bottineau*, No. 181).

Pieza Principal

Otras dos Pinturas yguales de á vara en quadro la vna ... y la otra de faeton con vn carro de quattro Caualllos blancos y vnos cupidillos, marcos negros copias de Rubenes de mano de Juan Bap^{tta} del mazo (*Bottineau*, Nos. 897-898);

Seis quadritos de á media vara de ancho y dos tercias de alto en las entrebentanas de las fuerzas de Ercules de la misma mano [Juan Bauptista del mazo] (*Bottineau*, Nos. 917-922);

Otros seis quadros de á vara y media de alto y dos tercias de ancho tambien en las entrebentanas marcos negros, Los dos ... vno de Ercules matando la Ydra de siete Cauezas y los tres restantes ... copias de Rubenes de mano del dho Juan Bauptista del mazo (*Bottineau*, Nos. 923-928).

There is no evidence that any of these works ever served to complete a series of paintings in the Torre de la Parada depicting Hercules. As I have suggested above (pp. 49, 50), the problem remains to know when these pictures would have been removed from the Torre and why they should have been scattered through the Palace.

Rooses, referring to the eight small paintings by Rubens in the *pieza ochavada* (Bottineau, Nos. 170-177), assumed that there was a series of probably eight Hercules subjects in the Torre program, and catalogued them as Rooses, III, Nos. 525-532. However, these eight little works are too small to have hung in the Torre themselves (they suggest large sketches rather than paintings) and their proportions do not coincide at all with those Hercules works which we know were in the Torre. In his discussion of the presumed series of eight pieces, Rooses assembled seven titles of Hercules works, gathered from a variety of sketches and paintings by Rubens in Spain and from the Mazo copies: *Hercules and the Hydra*, *Hercules and Cerberus*, *Hercules's Dog discovers Tyrian Purple*, *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides*, *Hercules and Antaeus*, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*.

These subjects were listed, however, without asserting that the paintings inventoried in the Royal Palace under these titles did really come from the Torre de la Parada. We have seen that only the first four can definitely be connected with the Torre. Our problem is with the last three subjects.

First, we can remove the *Hercules and Antaeus* which hung in the Salon de los Espejos. This has been recognized by L. Burchard³³⁹ as one of the last four mythological paintings made by Rubens for the Spanish king and finished by Jordaens after Rubens's death. The painting appeared at the Knowsley Hall sale, London, Christie's, 8 October 1954, lot 117.

As to the *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides*, we have no evidence, aside from the painting formerly in the Palazzo Durazzo in Genoa (Rooses, III, No. 617), of Rubens devoting himself to this subject. The proportions of the Mazo copy³⁴⁰ (64 : 103 cm.; Fig. 199) are different from those of the Hercules works by Rubens made for the Torre, and there is no evidence that

³³⁹ Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp. 296, 297.

³⁴⁰ Madrid, Prado; Catalogue, 1963, No. 1711.

the original painting was indeed intended for the hunting lodge. I here disagree with Ludwig Burchard, who thought it was related to the Torre.

A complicated problem is posed by the *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*. The painting mentioned in the royal inventory is not known today. An oil sketch by Rubens showing Hercules stepping forward, grabbing the lion and looking at the viewer, in the collection of Dr Charles S. Kuhn, St. Louis, Missouri (Fig. 198), is probably to be dated in the early 1630s.³⁴¹ This panel does not look like the other Torre sketches. It lacks the unique golden brown ground and the highlights of red, blue-grey and yellow on the surface. Moreover, the relationship of the figures to the space is different from that in the Torre sketches, in which either one or two figures fill the whole space – e.g. *Prometheus* (Fig. 169), *Polyphemus* (Fig. 167) or *The Death of Eurydice* (Fig. 104) – or, failing that, the setting is much more fully described – e.g. *The Fall of Icarus* (Fig. 129).

A sketch of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*, attributed to Rubens, in the Los Angeles County Museum³⁴² has been related to the Torre by W.R. Valentiner.³⁴³ The fact that it is on canvas rules it out for the Torre, and because of its size, proportions and composition, it seems most unlikely to me that it is even a copy after a lost sketch for a Torre painting.

It should also be noted that there is further a small group of works dealing with this subject, which are not by Rubens's hand and are not connected to the Torre commission, although they have frequently been attributed to Rubens.³⁴⁴

There is no question that in the 1630s Rubens had been working on the representation of the labors and various other deeds of Hercules. But was this done with the Torre de la Parada in mind? A drawing in the British Museum³⁴⁵ contains a series of studies of *Hercules and the Nemean Lion* which

³⁴¹ Oil on panel, 27.3 : 42.5 cm.; Cambridge-New York, 1956, No. 29; *Van Puyvelde, Sketches*, p. 42; *Goris-Held*, No. 72, pl. 83; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 299.

³⁴² Oil on canvas, 31.5 : 37.5 cm.; Catalogue, 1954, p. 19, No. 14.

³⁴³ *Valentiner*, p. 167, No. 122; repeated in the Catalogue of the Los Angeles County Museum, 1954, *loc. cit.*

³⁴⁴ See *Delen*, No. 192, for a discussion of these works, which are in the National Museum, Stockholm, in Sanssouci, and in the Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris. The whole group is probably connected with an earlier work by Rubens, presently lost.

³⁴⁵ *Held*, I, No. 61, pp. 121, 122; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 190.

seem connected with the Kuhn sketch, a series of studies of *Hercules and Antaeus*, and a single study of *Hercules with the Globe*. But this drawing, which is dated 1630-35 by both *Held* and *Burchard-d'Hulst*,³⁴⁶ has consistently not been connected with the Torre commission. The fact that the depiction of Hercules kneeling with the Globe does not correspond to the Seilern sketch of *Atlas* (or *Hercules*) with the Globe (No. 5a) would seem to support the view that the Hercules deeds being worked out in this sheet in the British Museum were not for the Torre commission.

To complete our discussion of possible Hercules subjects in the Torre series we must turn to the drawing in the collection of W. Burchard, Farnham (No. 37a; Fig. 137) which appears to be connected to the Torre commission. This sheet combines various studies for the *Lapiths and Centaurs* with a single study of Hercules struggling with a bull. While the very existence of this drawing for the Torre series is puzzling, further problems are raised by the study in the lower right corner of Hercules struggling with a bull – which could either represent the seventh labor, Hercules and the Cretan Bull, or Hercules's struggle with Achelous in the form of a bull (which, incidentally, was not one of the canonical twelve labors). Burchard assumed that this scene was intended for a series of Hercules's labors for the Torre, but, as we have seen, we must be rather less than confident about the existence of a large series of Hercules deeds for the hunting lodge and, furthermore, those Hercules scenes that we have certainly do not make part of a series of the twelve labors.

The only other rendering of Hercules and a bull by Rubens or his studio that I have found is a drawing now in the collection of Count Seilern³⁴⁷ (Fig. 200), which is related to the group in the *Lapiths and Centaurs* drawing although Hercules's position (note the turn of the head and the position of the left leg) has been changed. Count Seilern suggests that this very finished-looking drawing – executed in black chalk, with brown and black body-color, heightened with white, with the suggestion of a background sketched in – might have been done by Rubens after a lost work as a model for an engraving or woodcut.³⁴⁸ However, I am not convinced by this attribution and I do

³⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*

³⁴⁷ Seilern, *Addenda*, p. 62, No. 326, pl. XLI.

³⁴⁸ *Loc. cit.*

not believe that the composition itself belonged to the Torre series. Neither its rounded upper corners (possibly a later addition) nor its format correspond to any of the Torre works featuring Hercules. It is in fact closest in format to the Mazo copy after Rubens of *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides*, discussed above (pp. 276, 277; Fig. 199), with which it might, therefore, have some series connections.

Admittedly, we have only dealt here with the Palace inventory of 1686. If we look into inventories of other royal buildings, or into later inventories, we do indeed find more Hercules works attributed to Rubens or anonymous Flemish painters. To take but one example, in the 1772 inventory of the Palace, No. 938 is a painting described as "Hercules en la Pira" which seems to have represented the death of Hercules. Was this a Torre work originally? It seems to me that at this point, without evidence pointing to a large series of Hercules subjects having been painted for the Torre, that to try to investigate all the Flemish Hercules paintings in the royal inventories through the ages is rather like looking for a needle in a haystack – only, unlike the proverbial hopeless search, one does not even know if indeed it is a needle that one has found, because there is no basis on which to connect any such works with the Torre even when they are named in the royal inventories.

APPENDIX I

The Record of Payment, or the Torre de la Parada Works Preserved in the Archives départementales du Nord, Lille, and the Receipts Signed by Rubens Preserved in the Archives générales du Royaume in Brussels

J. Finot published those documents that he found to be connected to Rubens in 1887.³⁴⁹ In 1890, Rooses quoted the documents of payment relating to the Torre series and discussed their proper interpretation.³⁵⁰ I wish to thank Mr. Carl Van de Velde of the "Nationale Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten in de 16de en 17de Eeuw" for making these transcripts for me. While documents Nos. 1, 2, and 3 are unquestionably concerned with the Torre de la Parada commission, there is some question about the twelve works referred to in No. 4, and it is my conclusion that the eighteen works referred to in the four final documents have no relationship to the Torre. I am, however, printing them all for the reader's information, since they have been repeatedly connected with the Torre in the past.

The receipts of payment for the Torre works, signed by Rubens, have been preserved in Brussels. The transcripts are presented here immediately following the documents of payment to which they refer. My thanks to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst and to Mr. Frans Baudouin who told me of their discovery of copies of these documents in the archives of the Rubens House and who tracked down the documents themselves in Brussels.

Appendix I, N° 1.

A Messire Pierre Paul Rubens, chevalier, Secrétaire du conseil privé du Roy, la somme de deux mille cinq cens livres dudit pris en une lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du septiesme de Janvier seize cens trente sept, levee sur Philippe le Roy, Receveur des licentes en anvers, dont est faict recepte cy devant folio ii^e-v verso – entantmoings de dix mille pareilles livres que Son Altesse par son ordonnance du noeufiesme de decembre dernier at ordonne

³⁴⁹ J. Finot, *Documents relatifs à Rubens, conservés aux Archives du Nord, Rubens-Bulletijn*, III, pp. 122-124.

³⁵⁰ Rooses, III, pp. 6-8.

luy estre furniz a bon compte de ce que cousteront les peintures que sadite Altesse luy at faict faire par ordre expres de sa Majesté et pour ornement de certaine maison de plaisirance d'icelle au pardo, et ce en quatre termes scavoir vng quart promptement, et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois apres ledit premier payement, et ce des deniers desdits licentes; Se faisant ce present payement pour le quart a payer promptement.

Par ordonnance de Son Altesse et quic̄tance y servante, veue en l'estat de Janvier folio lxi verso cy-rendue ladite somme de ii^mv^c £.

(*In margin* : Soit deduictē la parpaye, fit cyapres f^o vi^rlv Par ladite ordon-
nance et quic̄tance conforme au texte cy rendu.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3002, f^o 646^r - 647^r.

Appendix I, N^o 1a. ³⁵¹

Je Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, confesse avoir (receu de Mess^{re}) Ambroise Van Oncle, chevalier, conseiller et receveur (general des domaines) et finances du Roy la somme de deux mille cincq (cens livres du) pris de quarante gros monnoye de flandres la livre (qu'a) l'ordonnance de son altesse il m'at baille et delivre en une (lettre de) descharge de pareille somme datee du jourd'huyl levee sur (Philippe) le Roy Receveur du droict des licentes en la ville d'anvers entantmoings de dix mille livres que son altesse par son ordonnance du noeufiesme de decembre dernier at ordonne moy estre furniz a bon compte de ce que cousteront les peintures que son altesse m'at faict faire par ordre expres de sa Majesté et pour ornement de certaine maison de plaisirance d'icelle a Pardo, et ce a quatre termes - scavoir un quart promptement, et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois apres le premier payement, et ce des deniers des licentes d'anvers. (Se fais)ant ce present payement - pour le quart a payer promptement de laquelle somme de ii^mv.^c £ du dict prix je suis content et bien paye tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis, le septiesme de Janvier seize cens trentesept.

S. -IJ.^mv.^c £

Pietro Paolo Rubens.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits, N^o 1225.

³⁵¹ The parentheses here indicate the words which probably appeared before the paper was damaged.

Appendix I, N° 2.

Au devandit Messire Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, la somme de sept mille cincq cens livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du vingt deuixiesme de febvrier seize cens trente sept, levee sur ledit Philippe le Roy, dont est faict receipte cy devant, folio iii^eviii verso, pour la parpaye de dixmille pareilles livres que Son Altesse par son ordonnance du noeufiesme de decembre seize cens trente six, at ordonne de luy furnir a bon compte de ce que cousteroyent les peintures qu'icelle at faict faire par ordre expres de sa Majesté et pour ornement de certaine maison de plaisance a pardo, a payer lesdits dix mille livres en quatre termes, ascavoir vng quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois après ledit premier payement, et ce des deniers desdits licentes; Se faisant ce present payement pour lesdits trois derniers payement ayant receu le precedent payement de deux mille cincq cens livres au mois de Janvier dernier, porté cy devant folio vi^exlvii – Par ladite ordonnance de Son Altesse exhibee audit premier payement et quictance pour ceste partie y servante veue en l'estat dudit mois folio eodem ci rendue ladite somme de vii^mv^e £.

(*In margin* : Par ordonnance alleguee et rendue cy-devant folio vi^exlvii et quictance conforme au texte cy rendu.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3002, f° 654^r - 655^r.

Appendix I, N° 2a.

Je Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, secretaire du conseil prive du Roy, confesse avoir receu de Mess^{re} Ambroise Van Oncle, chevalier, conseiller et recepveur general des domaines et finances de sa Majesté la somme de sept mille cincq cens livres du pris de quarante gros monnoye de flandres la livre que a l'ordonnance de son altesse m'at baille et delivre en une lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee de jourdhuy levee sur Philippe le Roy receveur des licentes en Anvers pour la parpaye de dix mille pareilles livres que son altesse par son ordonnance du noeufiesme de decembre seize cens trente six at ordonne de me furnir a bon compte de ce que cousteront les peintures qu'icelle a faict faire par ordre expres de sa Majesté pour ornement de certaine maison de plaisance a Pardo, a payer lesdits dix mille livres en quatre termes, assca-

voir un quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois, apres ledit premier payement et ce des deniers desdites licentes. Se faisant ce present payement de deux mille cinq cens livres au mois de Janvier dernier, laquelle somme de *vij. mv. £* du dict prix je suis content et bien paye tenu mon seing manuel cij mis, le vingt deuiesme de fevrier seize cens trentesep.

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits, N° 1225.

Appendix I, N° 3.

A messire Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, la somme de trois mille livres dudit pris, en vne lettre de descharge levee sur Philippe le Roy, receveur des licentes en anvers, entantmoings de douze mille pareilles livres que son Alteze par son ordonnance du vingtseptiesme de novembre seize cens trentsept, a ordonne lui estre furniz, et que lui restent deuz pour les peintures par lui faites par ordre de sadite Alteze pour l'ornement de sa maison de plaisir a Pardo, a en estre paye desdites douze mille livres, asscavoir un quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois, desdites licentes d'anvers. Se faisant ce present payement pour ledit quart a payer promptement, ayant encor receu au mesme effect la somme de dix mille pareilles livres, par ladite ordonnance de *xii^m £.* quittance y servante, ladite somme de *iii^m £.*

(*In margin* : Par ordonnance de la somme de *xii^m £.* en date du 27^e de novembre 1637 et la quittance de *troys mils £.*)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3008, f° 44.

Appendix I, N° 3a.

Je Pierre Paul Rubens, chevalier, confesse avoir receu de Mess^{re} Ambroise Van Oncle, chevalier, conseiller et recepveur general des domaines et finances de sa Majeste la somme de trois mille livres du prix de quarante gros monnoye de flandres la livre qu'a l'ordonnance de son altesse il m'at baille et delivre en une lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du jourd'huy levee sur Philippe le Roy S^r de Ravels Recepveur des licentes en anvers entantmoings

de douze mille pareilles livres que son altesse par son ordonnance du vingt-septiesme de novembre seize cens trentesept at ordonne m'estre furniz et que me restent deux pour les peintures par moy faiçtes par ordre de ladite Majesté, pour l'ornement de sa maison de plaisance a Pardo a en estre paye desdites douze mille livres asscavoir un quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois desdites licentes d'anvers. Se faisant ce present payement pour le premier quart desdits trois ayant receu le precedent payement au mois de janvier dernier ou l'ordonnance originelle est exhibee de laquelle somme de $11J^m$ £ du prix je suis content et bien paye tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis, le vingtquatriesme d'apvril seize cens trentehuit.

S. - $iiij^m$ £.

Pietro Paolo Rubens.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits, N° 1225.

Appendix I, N° 3b.

Je Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, confesse avoir receu de Mess^{re} Ambroise Van Oncle, chevalier, conseiller et recepveur general des domaines et finances de sa Majesté la somme de trois mille livres du prix de quarante gros monnoye de flandres la livre qu'a l'ordonnance de son altesse il m'at baille et delivre en une lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du jourdhuy levee sur Philippe le Roy Sr de Ravel Recepveur des licentes en Anvers entantmoings de douze milles pareilles livres que son altesse par son ordonnance du vingt-septieme de novembre seize cens trentesept at ordonne m'estre furniz et que me restent deux pour les peintures par moy faiçtes par ordre de ladite Majesté pour sa maison de plaisance a Pardo a en estre paye desdites douze mille livres asscavoir un quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois desdites licentes d'anvers. Se faisant ce present payement pour le deuxiesme quart de ces trois ayant receu le precedent payement au mois apvril dernier de laquelle somme de $iiij^m$ £ du dict prix je suis content et bien paye tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis, le neufviesme de septembre seize cens trentehuit.

Pietro Paolo Rubens.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits, N° 1225.

Appendix I, N° 3c.

Je Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, confesse avoir receu du Mess^{re} Ambroise Van Oncle, chevalier, conseiller et recepveur general des domaines et finances de sa Majesté la somme de trois mille livres du prix de quarante gros monnoye de flandres la livre qu'a l'ordonnance de son altesse il m'at baille et delivre en une lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du jourdhuy levee sur Philippe le Roy S^r de Ravels Recepveur des licentes en anvers pour la parpaye de douze mille livres que son altesse par son ordonnable du vingtseptiesme de novembre seize cens trentesepat ordonne m'estre furniz et que me restent deux pour les peintures par moy faictes par ordre de sa Majesté pour l'ornement de sa maison de plaisir a Pardo a en estre paye desdites douze mille livres asscavoir un quart promptement et les restans trois quarts de trois en trois mois desdites licentes d'anvers. En se faisant ce present payement pour le troisieme et dernier quart servant de parpaye pour lesdites douze mille livres ayant receu le precedent payement au mois de septembre dernier de laquelle somme de iij^m £ du prix je suis content et bien paye tesmoing mon seing manuel cy mis, le quatriesme de decembre seize cent trentehuit.

Pietro Pauolo Rubens.

Brussels, Archives générales du Royaume, Manuscrits, N° 1225.

Appendix I, N° 4. ³⁵²

Au Marquis de mirabel mayor domo mayor de Son Alteze la somme de quatre mille huit cens livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme datee du quatriesme de febvrier seize cens trente noeuf, levee sur Philippe le Roy, Receveur des licentes en anvers, dont es faict recepte cy devant folio ii^exxxiiii verso, Pour semblable somme a quoy monte le pris de

³⁵² This hitherto undiscussed record of payment might well be for works destined for the Torre de la Parada. While from the evidence we have it seems impossible to ascertain this – the document fails to record the names of the artists involved – it is indeed possible that this payment refers to works by both Esneyre and Rubens which were sent out in two shipments, 11 December 1638, and 27 February 1639. These shipments probably contained the final, supplementary works to be sent to decorate the Torre de la Parada. (See above, pp. 37-41, for a discussion of the problem posed by the supplementary works.)

douze peintures que sa Majesté a fait faire en la ville d'anvers, pour estre envoyées en Espagne; Par ordonnance de Son Alteze certification de la livraison desdites peintures et quittance y servant veues en l'estat de fevrier folio xlviii cy rendu ladite somme de $iiiimviii$ £.

(*In margin*: Par ladite ordonnance endossee de quittance conforme au texte cy rendu, avecq ladite certification signée Juan de Bevero, adjudant de la garde joyaux de Son Alteze Royale.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3014, f° 597.

Appendix I, N° 5. ³⁵³

A François Rojas, garde de Joyes de Son Alteze Royale, la somme de cinq mille livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme, datée du septiesme de fevrier seize cens quarante, levee sur Philippe le Roy, Seigneur de Ravels, Recepveur des licentes en anvers, dont est fait receipte cy devant folio ii^elxiii verso, Sur et a bon compte de dix mille pareilles livres, a payer en quatre termes, ascavoir mille Philippes a cincquante solz piece comptant, et les aultres trois mille Philippes de trois en trois mois ensuivans, pour estre lesdits deniers par luy employez au payement de dix huit peintures que par ordre de sa Majesté se font en la ville d'anvers, par les peintres Rubbens et Sneyders. Se faisant ce present payement pour les mille Philippes a payer comptant, et les mille Philippes a payer au bout des premiers trois mois, escheus le quatriesme de fevrier seize cens quarante, Par ordonnance de Son Alteze et quittance y servant, veue en l'estat de fevrier folio xlvi verso cy rendue ladite somme de v^m £.

(*In margin*: Par lesdites ordonnances et quittances conformes au texte cy rendu, servant ladite ordonnance encoires pour les cinq mille florins restants.

Les trois mois suivans sont passez cy-apres fol. vi^exix verso.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3020, f° 581 - 581^r.

³⁵³ The eighteen pictures referred to in these remaining four documents are apparently identical with the works for the "Bóveda de Palacio" reported on by the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand in his correspondence with the King (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, p. 232, letter of 22 June 1639). In Chapter I, above, it was argued that they were destined for the Royal Palace in Madrid rather than for the Torre as has been hitherto assumed.

Appendix I, N° 6.

A francisco Rocas, garde Joyaux de Son Alteze, la somme de deux mille cinq cens livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme, datee du quatorziesme de May seize cens quarante, levee sur l'avantdit Philippe le Roy, dont est faict receipte cy devant folio ii^elxvii – a bon compte de dix mille pareilles livres, a payer en quatre termes, ascavoit mille Philippes comptant et les aultres trois mille Philippes de trois en trois mois suivans, pour estre lesdits deniers employez au payment de dix huit peinctures, que par ordre de sa Majesté se font en la ville d'anvers, par les peinctres Rubbens et Snyders. Se faisant ce present payment pour les mille philippes a payer au bout des seconds trois mois, escheuz le quatriesme de May seize cens quarante, ayant receu le precedent payment au mois de fevrier dernier, porte cy devant folio v^eiiii^{xxi} verso.

Par quicq̄tance pour ceste partie y servante, veue en l'estat de May folio xlivi verso cy rendue la dite somme de ii^mv^e £.

(*In margin* : Veu le payment precedent cy devant fol. comme au texte. Il suit bien.

Le payment ensuivant est porté cy apres fol. vi^eliii. Par ordonnance rendue et alleguée cy devant fol. v^eiiii^{xxi} verso, et quicq̄tance conforme au texte cy rendu.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3020, f° 619^v.

Appendix I, N° 7.

A don francisco de contreras y Rojas, Garde Joyaux de Son Alteze la somme de quatre mille deux cens livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme, datee du huictiesme de Novembre seize cens quarante, levee sur l'avantdit Philippe le Roy, dont est faict receipte cy devant folio ii^elxxi verso, pour de ce payer les heritiers de feu Messire Pierre Paul Rubbens, chevalier, pour quatre peinctures entreprins de faire par leurdit feu pere pour le service de sa Majesté. Par ordonnance de Son Alteze et quicq̄tance y servante, veue en l'estat de novembre folio xlvi verso, cy rendu ladite somme de iii^mii^e £.

(*In margin* : Par lesdites ordonnances et quic̄tances conformes au texte cy rendu.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3020, f° 653 - 653v.

Appendix I, N° 8.

A luy [i.e., Don Francisco de Contreras y Rojas] la somme de deux mille cinc̄ cens livres dudit pris, En vne lettre de descharge de pareille somme, datée du dixiesme de Novembre seize cens quarante, levee sur ledit Philippe le Roy, dont est faict receipte cy devant folio ii^elxxii, Pour la parpaye de dix mille pareilles livres, a payer en quatre termes, ascavoir mille Philippes a cinc̄quante solz piece comptant, et les aultres trois mille philippes de trois en trois mois suivans, pour estre lesdits deniers employez au payement de dix huict peinctures, que par ordre de sa Majesté sont este faictz en ladite ville d'anvers, par les peinctres Rubbens et Snyders; Se faisant ce present payement pour les mille Philippes a payer au bout du troiziesme terme et dernier payement, escheue le quatriesme d'aougst seize cens quarante, ayant receu le precedent payement au mois de may dernier, porté cy devant folio vi^exix verso, Par quic̄tance pour ceste partie y servante, veue en l'estat de Novembre folio xlix cy rendu ladite somme de ii^mv^c £.

(*In margin* : Veu le payement precedent cy devant folio comme au texte. Il suit bien.

Par sa quic̄tance conforme au texte cy rendu.)

Lille, Archives départementales du Nord, B. 3020, f° 653v - 654.

APPENDIX II

The Inventories of the Torre de la Parada of 1700, 1747 and 1794, and the Fourth Presupuesto of the 1747 Inventory of the Pardo Palace, as Preserved in the Archivo General de Palacio, Madrid

These inventories have not been previously published. There are incomplete typescript copies of them in the Prado, Madrid. Cruzada Villaamil consulted the original Torre de la Parada inventories for his study *Rubens Diplomático Español* (1874) but they do not appear to have been used as the basis of a study of the Torre commission since then. I have decided not to publish the separate inventory made of the contents of the Torre de la Parada on 31 March 1638 (Archivo General de Palacio, Legajo nº 16 del Pardo) just prior to the arrival of the paintings as it, unfortunately, contributes nothing significant to our knowledge of the building or its decoration.

Parentheses in the 1700 and 1747 inventories indicate marginal notations in the original inventories. *Brackets* in the 1700 and 1794 Torre inventories and in the fourth *presupuesto* of the 1747 inventory of the Pardo indicate numbers that I have given to the individual works which were unnumbered in these inventories.

Torre de la Parada 1700

Testamento del Señor Don Carlos II.

En el Real Palacio y Sitio de la Torre de la Parada a siete dias del mes de Abril año de mill setecientos y uno el Sr. Don Thomas Gimenes Pantoja Cavallero de la Orden de Santiago Conde de la Estrella de los Consejos de Castilla Guerra y hacienda de Su Magd. y asesor de su Real Bureo y casa con asistencia de Don Gregorio Grijalba conserje de dicho Real Palacio y de los Tasadores nombrados por Ante mi el Escrivano del Real Bureo en continuacion del Imbentario y Tasacion que esta mandado hacer de los bienes que dejo la Magestad del Señor Rey Don Carlos Segundo (que esta en gloria) Se hizo de los que incluye dicho Real Palacio en la forma siguiente.

Entrada y Escalera del Palacio

[1-17] (Existen en esta Escalera con los numeros desde el 1º hasta el 17)

Primeramente diez y siete pinturas de diferentes tamaños que se componen de Sítios Reales : Casa de Campo – Balsayn – la Casilla del Bacia Madrid – el Pardo – Casa de Araso – el Castillo de Azeca – Campillo – Zarzuela – Torre de la Parada – Aranjuez – Escorial – Herjinio – Monasterio de San Lorenzo del Escorial – Torrecilla de San Antonio de los Portugueses – otra Casilla de Retiro – el Sitio del Retiro y Palacio de Madrid, con sus marcos dorados lisos tasadas todas en 200 Doblones.

Pieza primera

[18] (Existe en la pieza 1ª con el numero 23)

Una Pintura de quatro varas de ancho de la Monteria de Diana con marco dorado los Animales de Pedro de Vox y las figuras de Rubenes tasada en 150 Doblones.

[19, 20, 21, 22] (Se hallan sentados en el Pardo)

Iten Quatro retratos de diferentes Sugetos y Enanos originales de Velazquez tasados a cincuenta Doblones cada uno hacen 200.

[23, 24, 25, 26] (Perdidas en el saqueo militar del año de 1710 las tres dellas; y la de Prometeo existe en dicha pieza al numero 22)

Iten Quattro Pinturas iguales la una de un Atlante la otra de leda con el cisne otra de Benus y vaco y la otra de prometeo copias de Rubenes con Marcos dorados tasados en cien doblones a veinte y cinco cada uno 100.

[27, 28] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Dos Sobreentanas yguales con marcos dorados la una con unos cisnes y la otra con una Zorilla y herizos tasados en veinte doblones. 20.

Pieza segunda

[29] (Existe en la pieza 8ª de Reyna al numero 98)

Una Pintura de cerca de quattro varas de ancho de el Triumpho de Vaco de mano de Cornelio de Vos con marco dorado tasado en 100 Doblones.

[30] (Perdida en el Saqueo Militar de dicho año de 1710)

Otra del mismo Autor de dos varas y media de ancho del Dios Neptuno y Galatea tasada en 50 Doblones.

[31] (Existe en la pieza 3^a al numero 37)

Iten otra Pintura de dos varas y tercia de alto de Erudice y Orfeo tasada en 60 Doblones.

[32, 33, 34] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten tres sobrepuertas, con un perro en cada una, de mano de Pedro de Vos, tasadas todas en quarenta y cinco doblones.

[35] (Idem)

Iten una Pintura de Abes y Animales de la misma mano de dos varas y media de alto y una de ancho tasada en 30 Doblones.

[36, 37] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten Dos Sobreentanas de la misma mano de diferentes animales tasados en 20 Doblones.

[38] (Perdida en el citado Saqueo)

Iten un Pais largo que hace rincon tasado en 6 Doblones.

Tercera Pieza

[39] (Existe en la pieza 7^a al numero 88)

Una Pintura de quattro varas de ancho de la Conquista de los Gigantes de mano de Rubenes tasada en 200 Doblones.

[40] (Existe en dicha pieza al numero 89)

Iten otra Pintura de tres varas de ancho de Aragne y palas de la Escuela de Rubenes tasada en 100 Doblones.

[41] (Existe en la pieza 7^a al numero 91)

Iten otra Pintura de quattro varas de Mercurio cortando la Caveza a Argos original de Rubenes tasada en 500 Doblones.

[42] (Conducida al Pardo)

Iten otro Pintura de Jason de mano de Equelinio de dos varas y media quadrada tasada en 100 Doblones.

[43] (Existe en la pieza 7^a al numero 85)

Otra Pintura de Ipogres y Atlante de mano de Goui doblu tasada en 60 doblones.

[44] (Perdida en el Saqueo de 1710)

Otra del Laverinto de minottauro de dos varas y media de alto de mano de Voxs tasada en 40 Doblones.

[45, 46, 47, 48] (Existen, la del Jabali y un Galgo en las piezas 2^a y 6^a a los numeros 30 y 82; y las dos restantes conducidas al Pardo)

Iten Quatro Pinturas iguales Sobrepuertas las tres de tres perros y la otra de un Jabali de mano de Vox tasadas todas Quatro en 80 Doblones.

[49, 50] (Conducidas al Pardo, la una, y la otra al Palacio de Madrid)

Iten Dos Sobreventanas de diferentes Animales tasados en 40 Doblones ambas a 20 cada una.

[51] (Perdida en dicho Saqueo de 1710)

Iten una Pintura angosta la caza de Pajaros con Mochuelo tasada en 2 Doblones.

[52] (Existe en la pieza 5^a numero 75)

Otra pintura sobrepuesta con una aguila tasada en veinte doblones.

Quarta Pieza

[53] (Perdida en el Saqueo de 1710)

Una Pintura de Juno y Jupiter de quatro varas de ancho original de Rubenes con marco dorado tasado en 300 Doblones.

[54] (Existe en la pieza 6^a al numero 84)

Iten otra del mismo tamaño y mano el Robo de Proserpina tasada en 400 Doblones.

[55] (Idem al numero 81)

Iten otra de dos varas y media de alto de mano de Erasmo de Clinio historia de Siquis y Cupido tasada en 160 Doblones.

[56] (Item en la pieza 8^a al numero 96)

Iten otra Pintura de dos varas y media de alto y una de ancho de un Satiro de mano de Rubenes tasada en 50 Doblones.

[57] (Idem en la pieza 1^a numero 20)

Iten otra del mismo tamaño de Polifemo de mano de Cosiers tasada en 25 Doblones.

[58, 59] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten Dos Sobrepuertas la una de una Gamilla y la otra de un Venado y unos perros tasadas ambas en 30 Doblones.

[60, 61] (Iden Conducidas al Palacio de Madrid)

Iten Dos Sobreventanas de diferentes Abes tasadas ambas en 40 Doblones.

Pieza Quinta

[62, 63] (Existe la de Jupiter y Semele en la pieza 5^a al numero 74; y la de Orpheo perdida en dicho Saqueo; digo existe en el Pardo)

Dos Pinturas iguales de a quatro varas de alto la de Jupiter y Semele de mano de Jordems tasada en 100 Doblones y la otra de Orfeo de mano de feg tasada en 120 Doblones que hacen todo 220.

[64] (Idem Existe en dicha pieza al numero 76)

Iten otra Pintura quadrada de Andromeda y perses de mano de Cornelius tasada en 60 Doblones.

[65] (Existe en la pieza 7^a al numero 86)

Iten otra de dos varas y media de alto de una Ninfa de mano de Tulde tasada en 50 Doblones.

[66, 67] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten dos Pinturas iguales Angostas la una del Lacritto y la otra de Mocrito de mano de Rubenes tasadas en 150 Doblones ambas.

[68, 69, 70] (Perdidas en dicho Saqueo Militar)

Iten Tres Sobrepuertas la una de un Elefante otra de un Lion y la otra de un nebli tasadas todas tres en cincuenta Doblones.

Pieza sexta

[71] (Conducida al Pardo)

Iten una Sobreventana de un Gallo y Gallinas tasada en 15 Doblones.

[72] (Idem.)

Una Pintura de tres varas y media de ancho de las bodas de los lapittas y Centauros de mano de Rubenes tasada en 200 Doblones.

[73] (Perdida en el Saqueo Militar)

Iten otra Pintura de los vayles de dos varas y media de ancho de mano de David Theniers tasada en 300 Doblones.

[74, 75] (Existen la de Ganimedes en la pieza 3^a numero 43 con nombre de Apolo; y la de Saturno en la 4^a al numero 44)

Iten otras dos iguales de mano de Rubenes la una de un Ganimedes y la otra de Saturno tasadas ambas en 150 Doblones.

[76] (Idem en la pieza 5^a al numero 78)

Iten otra Pintura sobrepuerta de un Jabali de mano de Pedro de Voz tasada en 25 Doblones.

[77, 78] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten otras dos Sobreventanas la una de unos Conejos y la otra de una Gallina con pollos tasadas en 40 Doblones ambas.

Septima pieza

[79] (Conducida al Pardo)

Iten una Pintura de tres varas y media de ancho de el Señor Don Phelipe quarto y Infantes corriendo Jabalies de mano de Arniens tasada en 80 Doblones.

[80] (Idem.)

Otra Pintura del mismo tamaño y autor de una batida de lobos con redes tasada en 130 Doblones.

[81] (Idem.)

Iten otra Pintura de el mismo tamaño de la Tela Real de mano de Velez tasada en 300 Doblones.

[82] (Perdida en dicho Saqueo)

Iten otra Pintura de el mismo tamaño de la casa de Butron de mano de Arniens tasada en 200 Doblones.

[83, 84] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten dos Pinturas iguales la una de el Señor Don Phelipe quarto abullando un Jabali y la otra tirando a los Gamos en lazo de mano de Arniens tasadas en 200 Doblones.

[85, 86, 87] (Existen en la misma pieza 3^a a los numeros 31 - 32 y 35)

Iten Tres Retratos de personas Reales la una del Señor Phelipe quarto el Infante Cardenal y el Principe Balthasar no se tasan.

[88, 89, 90] (Conducidas al Pardo las dos de ella, y la otra al Palacio de Madrid)

Iten tres Sobreentanas de diferentes Animales tasadas todas tres en 60 Doblones.

[91, 92] (Idem.)

Iten Dos Sobrepuertas de Perros y Animales de mano de Pedro de Vox tasadas en 50 Doblones ambas.

[93] (Idem.)

Iten otra Pintura sobre la puerta de Alcoba de diferentes Abes tasada en 25 Doblones.

Pieza oitava

[94] (Perdida en el Saqueo Militar ya citado)

Iten una Pintura de quatro varas de ancho de las Bodas de Tettis y peleo de mano de Irrisi tasada en 150 Doblones.

[95, 96, 97] (Existe, la de Marte en el quarto bajo pieza 3^a numero 118.
Y las otras dos conducidas al Pardo)

Iten tres pinturas yguales, de mano de Velazquez la una de Marte, la otra de Isopo, y la otra de Menipus, tasadas a cincuenta doblones cada una.

[98, 99] (Existe, La de la zorra en la pieza tercera al numero 31, y la otra conducida al Pardo)

Iten dos Sobrepuertas iguales de mano de Vos la una de una Zorra y la otra de un Conejo tasadas ambas en 40 doblones.

[100, 101] (Conducidas, la del Perro al Pardo y perdida la de la Obeja en dicho Saqueo)

Iten dos Sobrepuertas iguales la una de una Obeja y la otra de un Perro tasadas en 40 Doblones.

Oratorio del Quarto de S. Magd.

[102-107] (Existen en el oratorio a los numeros desde el 47 hasta el 52)

Iten Seis Pinturas de a vara y quarta de alto de la Vida de Nuestra Señora con Marcos tallados y dorados tasadas todas en 500 Doblones de mano de Visencio Carducho.

[108, 109] (Iden a los numeros 53 y 54)

Iten otras dos Pinturas que corresponden al mismo tamaño y marcos la una de Adan y la otra de Eba tasadas en 100 Doblones ambas.

[110, 111] (Iden a los numeros 55 y 56)

Iten otras dos pinturas angostas del mismo tamaño y marcos que sirven de adorno al Retable la una de Raquel y la otra de Dejael de la misma mano tasadas ambas en 60 Doblones.

[112] (Iden. numero 57)

Iten otra pintura de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion que esta en el Retablo del dicho oratorio de dos varas de alto de la misma mano tasada con el mismo Retablo en 200 Doblones.

[113-122] (Iden a los numeros desde el 58 hasta el 67)

Iten Dies Pinturas que hacen adorno en el oratorio con marcos blancos y dorados de Anjeles con los atributos de Nuestra Señora de la misma mano tasadas en 150 doblones.

[123-127] (Iden a los numeros desde el 68 hasta el 72)

Iten cinco Pinturas de la vida que estan embutidas en el Techo de el Ora-

torio con marcos blancos y dorados y quatro obalos a las esquinas tasado todo en 350 Doblones.

Pieza del Cubierto

[128-136] (Existen en las piezas 2^a, 4^a, y 6^a del quarto principal; y en las 2^a y 3^a del vaja; a los numeros 27 - 29 - 46 - 80 - 83 - 110 - 112 - 115 y 117)

Iten nuebe Pinturas iguales de diferentes fabulas y animales con marcos dorados tasadas todas en 150 Doblones.

[137] (Existen en la pieza 4^a al numero 45)

Iten otra Pintura de dos varas y media de ancho de diferentes Pajaros con marco tasada en 20 Doblones.

Quarto Vajo. Pieza 1^a

[138] (Existe en la pieza 3^a numero 38)

Iten una Pintura de cinco varas de largo de Orfeo con variedad de Animales con su marco dorado de mano de Rubenes tasada en 400 Doblones.

[139, 140] (Existen en las piezas 5^a del quarto Principal, y 2^a del Vajo a los numeros 77 y 111)

Iten dos pinturas iguales de cerca de quattro varas de ancho con marcos dorados de Fabulas de mano de Jordani y Cornelio de Vos tasadas ambas en 200 Doblones.

[141, 142, 143, 144] (Existen en la pieza 1^a del quarto vajo a los numeros 105 - 106 - 107 y 108)

Iten Quattro Pinturas iguales la una de Icaro otra de Faetton otra de Apolo y Damphe y la otra de Siringa y Pan tasadas todas en 250 Doblones.

[145, 146] (Conducidas al Pardo)

Iten dos Sobrepuertas la una un osso y la otra de unos Espines tasadas ambas en 30 doblones.

Pieza segunda

[147, 148, 149] (Perdidas en el Saqueo del año de 1710)

Iten tres Pinturas iguales de la Historia de Hercules de tres varas de ancho cada una la una de mano de Borques la otra de Lanquean y la otra de Tuldell todas tres en 180 Doblones.

[150] (Idem.)

Iten otra Pintura de cinco varas de ancho de Anteon y Diana de mano de Jordens tasada en 120 Doblones.

[151] (Existe en el quarto vajo pieza 2^a al numero 113)

Iten otra Pintura de Progne y Filomena de quattro varas de ancho de mano no conocida tasada en 150 Doblones.

[152] (Existe en dicha pieza al numero 109)

Iten otra Pintura del mismo tamaño de Orfeo Sacando de Erudice del Infierno de mano no conocida tasada en 80 Doblones.

[153, 154] (Conducida la del Gallinero al Palacio de Madrid; Y la otra al del Pardo)

Iten dos Sobrepuertas la una de un Gallinero y la otra de un Jabali y unos Perros tasadas ambas en 60 Doblones.

[155] (Existe en la pieza 2^a al numero 26)

Iten una Sobreventana de un Paisillo tasada en 6 Doblones.

Pieza tercera

[156] (Conducida al Pardo)

Iten una Pintura de siete varas de largo de la Monteria de el fosso de mano de Cornelio de Vos tasada en 180 Doblones.

[157, 158] (Perdidas en el dicho Saqueo Militar de 1710)

Iten Dos Pinturas iguales de tres varas y media de ancho la una de pocris y Zolairo y la otra de Neptuno y una Ninfa de mano de Pedro Simon tasadas ambas en 120 Doblones.

[159] (Idem.)

Otra pintura del mismo tamaño de Leucarrion y Tirria de mano de Cosiers tasada en 100 Doblones.

[160] (Existe en la pieza 8^a al numero 97)

Iten otra Pintura de dos varas y media de alto de dana de con la Lluvia de oro de mano de Cornelio de Vos tasada en 60 Doblones.

[161] (Idem. al numero 94)

Iten otra Pintura de Mercurio Angosta de mano no conocida tasada en 40 Doblones.

[162, 163, 164] (Existen la de Jupiter y Momo en la pieza 2^a del quarto vajo al numero 114; La de Europa en la 7^a pieza de Reyna al 93; y la del Centauro perdida en el citado Saqueo).

Iten tres Sobrepuertas iguales la una de Jupiter y Momo la otra de Europa y la otra del Zentauro tasadas todas tres en 130 Doblones.

[165] (Existe en la pieza 3^a al numero 42)

Iten una Sobreventana de un Pais tasado en 10 Doblones.

Pieza quarta

[166] (Existe en la pieza 3^a del quarto vajo el numeros 116)

Iten una Pintura de cinco varas de ancho de Cadmo de Rubenes tasada en 150 Doblones.

[167] (Conducida al Pardo)

Iten otra Pintura del mismo tamano de Cazas de Francia de mano no conocida tasada en 150 Doblones.

[168, 169] (Existe en las piezas 8^a y 6^a a los numeros 79 y 95)

Iten dos Pinturas iguales de dos varas y media de alto la una de Venus y la otra de Bulcan Escuela de Rubenes tasadas ambas en 80 Doblones.

[170] (Idem en la pieza 3^a numero 40)

Iten otra Pintura de Indimien y Diana de dos varas y media de ancho de mano de Villebors tasada en 100 Doblones.

[171] (Existe en la pieza 5^a al numero 73)

Iten una Sobrepuerta de un Toro y Perros de mano de Pedro de Vos tasada en 30 Doblones.

[172] (Existe en la pieza 5^a al numero 73)

Iten una Sobreventana de un Jabali y perros de la misma mano tasada en 30 Doblones.

[173] (Existe en la pieza escusada al numero 104)

Iten una Pintura de San Juan Evangelista de dos varas escasas de alto y una de ancho tasada en 8 Doblones.

(Perdidas en el Saqueo Militar del año 1710)

Iten Veinte y siete cortinas de Paño Encarnado usadas sin zenefas guarne-
cidas con franjoncillo de oro y seda tasadas todas en novecientos reales de
Vellon que estan puestas en las puertas y ventanas del Palacio.

(Idem.)

Iten una colgadura de Grana guarnecida con galon de oro y plata de a
quattro varas y media en quadro y quattro de caida tasada por Manuel Gutier-
rez camero en 2500 Reales.

Oratorio del Quarto del Rey

Iten una casulla de damasco carmesi con la cenefa bordada guarnecida con un franjoncillo de oro tasada por el dicho camero en 650 Reales.

Iten otra casulla de Damasco blanco con las cenefas de brocatel guarnecida con su flueco de seda tasada por el dicho en 150 Reales.

Iten una casulla y frontal los cuerpos de damasco verde y las cenefas de brocatel guarnecidos con su flueco de seda tasada por el dicho en 400 Reales.

Iten otra casulla de damasco dorado con las cenefas de brocatel guarnecidas con dos fluecos de seda tasada por el dicho en 200 Reales.

Oratorio comun del quarto vajo

Iten una casulla y frontal de damasco carmesi con las cenefas de brocatel y dorado guarnecidos con su flueco de seda tasados por el dicho en 400 Reales.

Iten otra casulla de damasco blanco y frontal en las cenefas de brocatel guarnecidos con su flueco de seda tasada por el dicho en 430 Reales.

Iten otro frontal de Damasco blanco guarnecidos con sus fluecos de seda anchos y angostos tasado en 200 Reales.

Iten otra casulla de damasco blanco las cenefas de brocatel guarnecidas con sus fluecos de seda tasadas en 200 Reales.

Iten otra casulla de damasco verde con cenefas de brocatel guarnecida con sus fluecos de seda tasada por el dicho en 200 Reales.

Iten Dos cortinas de Paño verde guarnecidas con sus fluequecillos de oro y seda y una Sobremesa de terciopelo verde guarnecidas con su franjoncillo de oro y alomares en las esquinas tasado todo en 80 Reales.

(Existen aunque maltratados sin las broncas)

Iten dies Bufetes de piedra Marmol de cinco quartas de largo y dos tercias de ancho cada uno con sus pies de caoba y borlas de bronze tasados a dos mil reales cada uno hacen 20000 Reales.

Iten un Bufete de Nogal de seis quartas de largo y tres de ancho tasado por el Ebanista en 3 Doblones.

(Existente aunque maltratado y sin llabe)

Iten un Sitial de tres pies y medio de alto y dos y medio de ancho de Ebanista de Portugal y Palo Santo tasado por el dicho Ebanista en 300 ducados.

Iten una Mesa de Altar con su cajoneria de Nogal las delanteras y gualderas de pino que se compone de seis cajones y seis tableros aboquillados y

moldados y a los lados quatro cajones chicos de el mismo genero tasadas por el dicho Evanista en 400 ducados. Existen en el oratorio principal.

(Perdido en el Saqueo)

Iten un taburete de Damasco viejo tasado en 12 Reales.

Iten una silla de paño encarnado guarnecida con franja de plata tasada en 30 Reales.

Iten Dos Espejos de evano con molduras ondeadas de tres quartas de alto y dos tercias de ancho escasas tasado en 18 doblones que hacen 1080 Reales.

Iten Seis Bufetes de cinco quartas de largo y tres de ancho cubiertos de damasco verde tasados a seis pesos cada uno hacen 540 Reales.

Iten Tres Taburetes de damasco tasados a treinta reales cada uno hacen 90 Reales.

Iten Tres Sillas de damasco verde tasadas a quarenta reales cada una hacen 120.

Iten una Mesa de Altar de pino con un cajon grande de Sacristia que se compone de dos cajones grandes y dos puertas de Nogal con su reaje tasado todo por el dicho Evanista en 500 Reales. Existentes en el oratorio y Sacristia de la casa de oficios.

Iten ciento quarenta y nuebe vidrios Cristalinos que estan puestos en las ventanas de Palacio tasados a 7 reales y medio de vellon cada uno hacen 1117 reales y medio de vellon y Setecientos y cinquenta y un vidrios ordinarios tasados a dos reales cada uno hacen 1502 Reales y todo 2619 reales y medio. Existen los 130 vidrios cristalinos, y 396 de los ordinarios.

(Existe en la Galeria del Rey y es dorado)

Iten un Marco sin quadro tasado en 24 Reales.

(Perdido en el Saqueo de 1710)

Iten un caliz y Patena de Plata dorado copa y Patena tasado por Matias Vallejo platero en 36 pesos que hacen 540 Reales.

Iten un Relox de lux con pie quadrado con una figura que tiene encima dorado de molido tasado con la Muestra por el dicho platero en diez y seis doblones que hacen 960 Reales.

Iten Dos Braseros de Laton con pie y asas y dos vadiles tasados por el dicho platero en 200 Reales.

Iten un caliz y Patena de plata dorada pesado por el dicho Mathias Vallejo platero de Plata en 36 pesos que valen 540 Reales.

(Idem. aunque parece partida puesta por duplicada.)

Iten un Relox de Luz con pie quadrado con una figura que le tiene encima de bronce dorado demolido tasado por el dicho platero con la Muestra en 16 doblones que valen 960 Reales de Vellon.

Iten Dos Braseros de laton echura de copas con pie y asas tasados ambos en 200 Reales de Vellon.

Todos los Vienes y Alajas referidas que ban Imbentariadas quedaron en las piezas referidas y a cargo del dicho Don Gregorio de Grijalba como tal conserje y declaro no parar en su poder otras que si pareciere tener noticia de algunas las manifestara y constituyo deposito de ellas y se obligo atenerlas por tal y no entregarlas a personas alguna sin orden del Rey N. Sr. (que Dios guarde) y del Excelentissimo Señor Marques de el Carpio Alcayde de dicho Real Palacio pena de incurrir en las impuestas a los depositarios que no cumplen con los depositos que se les entrega y a ello obliga su persona y Vienes Muebles y Raises en forma quarenta jia y con los requisitos necesarios y lo firmo a quien soy fee conosco y lo rubrico Su Señoria - Don Gregorio de Grijalba y Gusman - Ante mi Francisco Maioral.

Concuerda este traslado con su original que queda en mi poder y oficio a que me remito; Y lo signe para poner en el oficio de contralor del Rey N. Sr. en Madrid a 26 dias del mes de Septiembre año de mil setecientos y tres.

En testimonio de verdad. - Francisco Maioral. - Rubricado.

Nota.

Por certificacion de Don Juan Morante Vehedor y Contador de obras Reales su fecha de 10 de Marzo de 1711 consta que haciendo servido S. Magd. (Dios le guarde) por su Real cedula de quince de Marzo de 1701, Jubilar a Don Antonio Saez de Inquinigo que servia el empleo de conserje del Real Sitio del Pardo por cuya razon se le han de vajar del cargo antesedente todas las Alajas que en el se refiere. Y hasersele de todas ellas a Don Miguel Agustin Mayers a quien S. M. en dicha Real Cedula se sirvio hacer merced del mencionado Empleo por cuya razon se hizo entrega de todas las expresas Alajas y menaje contenidas en este asiento muy a su satisfaccion sin faltar alaja alguna como se menciona en dicha certificacion.

(No sirve esta nota y corresponde al Sitio del Pardo)

*Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Sección Imbentarios, Tomo No. 2
(Carlos 2º); Archivo 124.*

Torre de la Parada 1700

Will of His Majesty Charles II.

On April 7, 1701 at the Royal Palace and Site of the Torre de la Parada, Don Thomas Gimenes Pantoja, Knight of the Order of Saint James, Count of the Estrella of the Councils of Castilla Guerra and of His Majesty's property, adviser to the Royal Court for trial of persons of the Royal Household, with the assistance of Don Gregorio Grijalba, keeper of the aforesaid Royal Palace, and of the appraisers appointed before me by the clerk of the Royal Court. The following inventory was made of the property at the aforesaid Palace as part of the inventory and appraisal that must be done of the property left by His Majesty King Charles II (who is in heaven).

Entrance and Staircase of the Palace

[1-17] (They are numbers 1 to 17 in the staircase)

First, seventeen paintings of different sizes of Royal Sites : a country house, Valsayn – the Casilla del Vaciamadrid – the Pardo – Casa de Araso – the Castillo de Azeca – Campillo – Zarzuela – Torre de la Parada – Aranjuez – Escorial – Herjinio – Monastery of San Lorenzo del Escorial – Torrecilla de San Antonio de los Portugueses – another Casilla de Retiro – the Site of the Retiro and the Palace of Madrid. They have plain gilded frames and were valued at 200 doubloons.

First room

[18] (It is number 23 in room 1)

A painting 4 *varas* wide of Diana hunting with gilded frame. The animals are by Peter [*sic*] de Vos and the figures by Rubens. Valued at 150 doubloons.

[19, 20, 21, 22] (They are in the Pardo)

Item. Four portraits of different persons and dwarfs by Velázquez, valued at 50 doubloons each, makes 200.

[23, 24, 25, 26] (Three of them were lost in the military plunder of 1710; the one of Prometheus is number 22 in the aforesaid room)

Item. Four paintings of the same size : of an Atlas, of Leda and the swan, of Venus and Bacchus and of Prometheus. Copies after Rubens with gilded frames, valued at 25 douloons each, 100.

[27, 28] (Taken to the Pardo)

Two window-pieces of the same size with gilded frames, one of some swans and the other of a small vixen and hedgehogs, both valued at 20 douloons, 20.

Second room

[29] (It is number 98 in room 8 of the Queen)

A painting almost 4 *varas* wide of the Triumph of Bacchus by the hand of Cornelis de Vos with gilded frame, valued at 100 douloons.

[30] (Lost in the military plunder of 1710)

Another by the same artist 2 1/2 *varas* wide of the god Neptune and Galatea valued at 50 douloons.

[31] (It is number 37 in room 3)

Item. Another painting 2 1/3 *varas* high of Eurydice and Orpheus valued at 60 douloons.

[32, 33, 34] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Three door-pieces with a dog in each by the hand of Peter [sic] de Vos, all of them valued at 45 douloons.

[35] (Idem.)

Item. A painting of birds and animals by the same hand 2 1/2 *varas* high by 1 *vara* wide, valued at 30 douloons.

[36, 37] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two window-pieces by the same hand of different animals, valued at 20 douloons.

[38] (Lost in the above-mentioned plunder)

Item. A large landscape for a corner, valued at 6 douloons.

Third room

[39] (It is number 88 in room 7)

Painting 4 *varas* wide of the Victory of the Giants by the hand of Rubens, valued at 200 douloons.

[40] (It is number 89 in the aforesaid room)

Item. Another painting 3 *varas* wide of Arachne and Pallas from the school of Rubens, valued at 100 doubloons.

[41] (It is number 91 in room 7)

Item. Another painting 4 *varas* of Mercury cutting Argus's head original by Rubens, valued at 500 doubloons.

[42] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Another painting 2 1/2 *varas* square of Jason by the hand of Quellinus, valued at 100 doubloons.

[43] (It is number 85 in room 7)

Another painting of Hippomenes and Atalanta by the hand of Gowi, valued at 60 doubloons.

[44] (Lost in the plunder of 1710)

Another 2 1/2 *varas* high of the Labyrinth of the Minotaur by the hand of De Vos, valued at 40 doubloons.

[45, 46, 47, 48] (The ones of the wild boar and of a greyhound are numbers 30 and 82 in rooms 2 and 6; the 2 others were taken to the Pardo)

Four door-pieces of the same size, three of three dogs and the other of a wild boar by the hand of De Vos, all of them valued at 80 doubloons.

[49, 50] (One was taken to the Pardo and the other to the Palace of Madrid)

Item. Two window-pieces of different animals, both valued at 40 doubloons, 20 each.

[51] (Lost in the aforesaid military plunder of 1710)

Item. A narrow painting of the hunt of birds with a horned owl, valued at 2 doubloons.

[52] (It is number 75 in room 5)

Another door-piece of an eagle valued at 20 doubloons.

Fourth room

[53] (Lost in the plunder of 1710)

A painting 4 *varas* wide of Juno and Jupiter by Rubens, with gilded frame, valued at 300 doubloons.

[54] (It is number 84 in room 6)

Item. Another of the same size and by the same hand of the Rape of Proserpina, valued at 400 doubloons.

[55] (Idem to number 81)

Item. Another $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by the hand of Erasmus Quellinus of the story of Psyche and Cupid, valued at 160 doubloons.

[56] (Idem to number 96 in room 8)

Item. Another painting $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by 1 *vara* wide of a Satyr by the hand of Rubens, valued at 50 doubloons.

[57] (Idem to number 20 in room 1)

Item. Another of the same size of Polyphemus by the hand of Cossiers, valued at 25 doubloons.

[58, 59] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two door-pieces one of a small doe and the other of a deer and some dogs both valued at 30 doubloons.

[60, 61] (Idem. Taken to the Palace of Madrid)

Item. Two window-pieces of different birds, both valued at 40 doubloons.

Fifth room

[62, 63] (The one of Jupiter and Semele is number 74 in room 5; the one of Orpheus was lost in the aforesaid plunder; it is in the Pardo)

Two paintings 4 *varas* high of Jupiter and Semele by Jordaens valued at 100 doubloons and of Orpheus by feg [sic], valued at 120 doubloons which make 220.

[64] (Idem. It is number 76 in the aforesaid room)

Item. A square painting of Andromeda and Perseus by the hand of Cornelis de Vos, valued at 60 doubloons.

[65] (It is number 86 in room 7)

Item. Another $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high of a Nymph by the hand of Van Thulden, valued at 50 doubloons.

[66, 67] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two narrow paintings one of Heraclitus and the other of Democritus by the hand of Rubens, both valued at 150 doubloons.

[68, 69, 70] (Lost in the aforesaid military plunder)

Item. Three door-pieces, one of an elephant, the other of a lion and the other of a falcon, all three valued at 50 doubloons.

Sixth room

[71] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. A window-piece of a cock and hens, valued at 15 doubloons.

[72] (Idem.)

A painting $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide of the Marriage of the Lapiths and Centaurs [*sic*] by the hand of Rubens, valued at 200 doubloons.

[73] (Lost in the military plunder)

Item. A painting $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide of the dances by the hand of David Teniers, valued at 300 doubloons.

[74, 75] (The one of Ganymede is number 43 in room 3 under the name of Apollo; that of Saturn is number 44 in room 4)

Item. Two paintings of the same size one of Ganymede and the other of Saturn by the hand of Rubens, both valued at 150 doubloons.

[76] (Idem to number 78 in room 5)

Another door-piece of a wild boar by the hand of Peter [*sic*] de Vos, valued at 25 doubloons.

[77, 78] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two other window-pieces one of rabbits and the other of a hen with chickens, both valued at 40 doubloons.

Seventh room

[79] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. A painting $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide of His Majesty Philip IV and the Princes chasing wild boars by the hand of Snayers, valued at 80 doubloons.

[80] (Idem.)

Item. Another of the same size and by the same artist of a hunt of wolves with nets, valued at 130 doubloons.

[81] (Idem.)

Item. Another painting of the same size of the *Tela Real* by the hand of Velázquez, valued at 300 doubloons.

[82] (Lost in the aforesaid plunder)

Item. Another painting of the same size of the bird hunt with nets by the hand of Snayers, valued at 200 doubloons.

[83, 84] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two paintings of the same size of His Majesty King Philip IV striking a wild boar and of the hunt of bucks with a snare by the hand of Snayers, both valued at 200 doubloons.

[85, 86, 87] (They are numbers 31, 32 and 35 in room 3)

Item. Three Royal portraits of His Majesty Philip IV, of the Cardinal Infante and of Prince Balthasar, not valued.

[88, 89, 90] (Two of them were taken to the Pardo and the other to the Palace of Madrid)

Item. Three window-pieces of different animals, all of them valued at 60 doubloons.

[91, 92] (Idem.)

Item. Two door-pieces of dogs and animals by Peter [*sic*] de Vos, both valued at 50 doubloons.

[93] (Idem.)

Item. Another painting over the bedroom door of different birds, valued at 25 doubloons.

Eighth room

[94] (Lost in the above-mentioned military plunder)

Item. A painting 4 *varas* wide of the Marriage of Thetis and Peleus by the hand of Jordaeus [?], valued at 150 doubloons.

[95, 96, 97] (Mars is number 118 in the lower quarter, room 3; and the two others were taken to the Pardo)

Item. Three paintings of the same size by the hand of Velázquez : Mars, Aesop, and Menippus, each valued at 50 doubloons.

[98, 99] (The one of the fox is number 31 in room 3; and the other was taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two door-pieces of the same size by the hand of De Vos, one of a fox and the other of a rabbit, both valued at 40 doubloons.

[100, 101] (The one of the dog was taken to the Pardo and that of the sheep was lost in the aforesaid plunder)

Item. Two window-pieces of the same size one of a sheep and the other of a dog, valued at 40 doubloons.

Oratory of His Majesty's quarter

[102-107] (They are numbers 47 to 52 in the Oratory)

Item. Six paintings 1 1/4 *vara* high of the life of Our Lady with carved and gilded frames by the hand of Vincenzo Carducho, all of them valued at 500 doubloons.

[108, 109] (Idem numbers 53 and 54)

Item. Two paintings of the same size and with similar frames, one of Adam and the other of Eve, both valued at 100 doubloons.

[110, 111] (Idem numbers 55 and 56)

Item. Two narrow paintings of the same size and with similar frames adorning the altarpiece, one of Rachel and the other of Jael [?], both valued at 60 douloons.

[112] (Idem number 57)

Item. Another painting 2 *varas* high, part of the altarpiece of the Oratory, of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, by the same hand, valued together with the altarpiece at 200 douloons.

[113-122] (Idem numbers 58 to 67)

Item. Ten paintings with white and gilded frames decorating the Oratory of angels with the attributes of Our Lady by the same artist, valued at 150 douloons.

[123-127] (Idem numbers 68 to 72)

Item. Five paintings of the life [?], inlaid in the ceiling of the Oratory with white and gilded frames and four ovals in the corners, all valued at 350 douloons.

Dining room

[128-136] (They are numbers 27, 29, 46, 80, 83, 110, 112, 115 and 117 in rooms 2, 4 and 6 of the main quarter and 2 and 3 of the lower quarter)

Item. Nine paintings of the same size of different fables and animals with gilded frames, all valued at 150 douloons.

[137] (It is number 45 in room 4)

Item. Another painting 2 1/2 *varas* wide of different birds, with gilded frame, valued at 20 douloons.

Lower quarter. First room

[138] (It is number 38 in room 3)

Item. A painting 5 *varas* long of Orpheus with several animals, with gilded frame, by the hand of Rubens, valued at 400 douloons.

[139, 140] (They are numbers 77 and 111 in room 5 of the main quarter and in room 2 of the lower quarter)

Item. Two paintings of the same size of almost 4 *varas* wide with gilded frames of fables by the hand of Jordaens and Cornelis de Vos, both valued at 200 douloons.

[141, 142, 143, 144] (They are numbers 105, 106, 107 and 108 in room 1 of the lower quarter)

Item. Four paintings of the same size of Icarus, of Phaethon, of Apollo and Daphne and of Syrinx and Pan, all of them valued at 250 doubloons.

[145, 146] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Two door-pieces, one of a bear and the other of some porcupines, both valued at 30 doubloons.

Second room

[147, 148, 149] (Lost in the plunder of 1710)

Item. Three paintings, 3 *varas* wide of the Story of Hercules, by the hand of Borrekens, by Lange Jan and by Van Thulden, all of them valued at 180 doubloons.

[150] (Idem.)

Item. Another painting 5 *varas* wide of Actæon [?] and Diana by the hand of Jordaens, valued at 120 doubloons.

[151] (It is number 113 in room 2 of the lower quarter)

Item. Another painting 4 *varas* wide of Procne and Philomela by an unknown hand, valued at 6 doubloons.

[152] (It is number 109 in the aforesaid room)

Item. Another painting, the same size, of Orpheus leading Eurydice out of hell, by an unknown hand, valued at 80 doubloons.

[153, 154] (The one of the henhouse was taken to the Palace of Madrid; the other to the Pardo)

Item. Two door-pieces, one of a henhouse the other of a wild boar and some dogs, both valued at 60 doubloons.

[155] (It is number 26 in room 2)

Item. A window-piece of a small landscape, valued at 6 doubloons.

Third room

[156] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. A painting 7 *varas* long of the hunt of the pit, by the hand of Cornelis de Vos, valued at 180 doubloons.

[157, 158] (Lost in the aforesaid military plunder of 1710)

Item. Two paintings of the same size, 3 1/2 *varas* wide, of Procris and Cephalus [?] and of Neptune and a Nymph by the hand of Peter Symons, both valued at 120 doubloons.

[159] (Idem)

Another painting of the same size of Deucalion and Pyrrha by the hand of Cossiers, valued at 100 doubloons.

[160] (It is number 97 in room 8)

Item. Another painting $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high of Danaë with the rain of gold by the hand of Cornelis de Vos, valued at 60 doubloons.

[161] (Idem number 94)

Item. Another narrow painting of Mercury by an unknown hand, valued at 40 doubloons.

[162, 163, 164] (The one of Jupiter and Momo [?] is number 114 in room 2 of the lower quarter, that of Europa is number 93 in room 7 of the Queen; that of the Centaur was lost in the above-mentioned plunder)

Item. Three door-pieces of the same size of Jupiter and Momo [?], of Europa, and of the Centaur, the three of them valued at 130 doubloons.

[165] (It is number 42 in room 3)

Item. A window-piece of a landscape valued at 10 doubloons.

Fourth room

[166] (It is number 116 in room 3 of the lower quarter)

Item. A painting 5 *varas* wide of Cadmus by Rubens valued at 150 doubloons.

[167] (Taken to the Pardo)

Item. Another painting of the same size of French hunts by an unknown hand, valued at 150 doubloons.

[168, 169] (They are numbers 79 and 95 in rooms 8 and 6)

Item. Two paintings of the same size, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high, of Venus and of Vulcan from the school of Rubens, both valued at 80 doubloons.

[170] (Idem number 40 in room 3)

Item. Another painting $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide of Endymion and Diana by the hand of Willeboirts, valued at 100 doubloons.

[171] (It is number 73 in room 5)

Item. A door-piece of a bull and dogs by the hand of Peter [*sic*] de Vos, valued at 30 doubloons.

[172] (It is number 73 in room 5)

Item. A window-piece of a wild boar and dogs by the same hand, valued at 30 doubloons.

[173] (It is number 104 in the water-closet)

Item. A painting almost 2 *varas* wide of Saint John the Evangelist, valued at 8 doubloons.

(Lost in the military plunder of 1710)

Item. Twenty-seven red cloth curtains without borders, trimmed with small gold and silk fringes, all of them valued at 900 *reales de vellón*. They hang from the doors and windows of the Palace.

(Idem.)

Item. A scarlet hanging trimmed with gold and silver braid, 4 1/2 *varas* square and 4 *varas* drop, valued by the bedmaker, Manuel Gutiérrez, at 2500 *reales*.

Oratory of the King's quarter

Item. A crimson damask chasuble with embroidered border trimmed with gold fringes, valued by the aforesaid bedmaker at 650 *reales*.

Item. Another white damask chasuble with brocatel borders trimmed with silk fringe, valued by the aforesaid at 150 *reales*.

Item. A green damask chasuble and frontal with brocatel borders trimmed with silk fringe, valued by the aforesaid at 400 *reales*.

Item. Another golden damask chasuble with brocatel borders trimmed with two silk fringes, valued by the aforesaid at 200 *reales*.

Common Oratory of the lower quarter

Item. A crimson damask chasuble and frontal with brocatel and gilded borders, trimmed with silk fringes, valued by the aforesaid at 400 *reales*.

Item. Another white damask chasuble and frontal with brocatel borders, trimmed with silk fringes, valued by the aforesaid at 430 *reales*.

Item. Another white damask frontal, trimmed with wide and narrow silk fringes, valued at 200 *reales*.

Item. Another white damask chasuble with brocatel border, trimmed with silk fringes, valued at 200 *reales*.

Item. Another green damask chasuble with brocatel borders, trimmed with fringes, valued by the aforesaid at 200 *reales*.

Item. Two green cloth curtains, trimmed with small gold and silk fringes; a green velvet table cover trimmed with small gold fringes and reinforcements at the corners, all valued at 80 *reales*.

(They are damaged and without the bronze [?])

Item. Ten marble buffets, $5/4$ long by $2/3$ wide, with mahogany legs and bronze tassels [?], valued at 2000 *reales* each, which make 20000 *reales*.

Item. A walnut buffet, $6/4$ long by 3 wide, valued by the cabinet-maker at 3 doublons.

(It is damaged and without key)

Item. A chair [?], $3 \frac{1}{2}$ feet high by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ wide, made of Portuguese ebony and lignum vitae, valued by the aforesaid cabinet-maker at 300 ducats.

Item. An altar table with a walnut chest of drawers and pine bridgeboards and frontals. It has six drawers, six beveled and moulded boards and four small drawers, made of the same wood, on the sides. Valued by the aforesaid cabinet-maker at 400 ducats. They are in the main oratory.

(Lost in the plunder)

Item. An old damask stool valued at 12 *reales*.

Item. A red cloth chair trimmed with a silver fringe, valued at 30 *reales*.

Item. Two ebony mirrors with scalloped mouldings, $3/4$ high and almost $2/3$ wide, valued at 18 doublons which make 1080 *reales*.

Item. Six buffets, $5/4$ long by 3 wide, covered with green damask, valued at 6 *pesos* each make 540 *reales*.

Item. Three damask stools valued at 30 *reales* each, make 90 *reales*.

Item. Three green damask chairs valued at 40 *reales* each, make 120.

Item. A pine altar table with a large sacristy chest which has two large drawers and two walnut doors with its iron fittings, all valued by the aforesaid cabinet-maker at 500 *reales*. They are in the oratory and sacristy of the servants' quarters.

Item. One hundred forty-nine crystal glass windowpanes valued at $7 \frac{1}{2}$ *reales de vellón* each, make 1117 $\frac{1}{2}$ *reales de vellón*; seven hundred fifty-one of ordinary glass valued at 2 *reales* each, make 1502 *reales*, and altogether 2619 $\frac{1}{2}$ *reales*. There are one hundred thirty crystal glasses and three hundred ninety-six ordinary glasses.

(It is in the King's gallery and it is gilded)

Item. A pictureless frame valued at 24 *reales*.

(Lost in the plunder of 1710)

Item. A gilded silver chalice and paten both valued by the silversmith Mathias Vallejo at 36 *pesos*, which make 540 *reales*.

Item. A sundial with square base and a gilded beaten bronze figure on top [?]. Valued together with the dial by the aforesaid silversmith at 16 doubloons, which make 960 *reales*.

Item. Two brass braziers with base and handles and two fire shovels valued by the aforesaid silversmith at 200 *reales*.

Item. A gilded silver chalice and paten valued by the aforesaid silversmith Mathias Vallejo at 36 *pesos*, which make 540 *reales*.

(Idem. It appears as a duplicate entry)

Item. A sundial with square base and a gilded beaten bronze figure on top. Valued, with the dial, at 16 doubloons which make 960 *reales de vellón*.

Item. Two cup shaped brass braziers with base and handles, both valued at 200 *reales de vellón*.

The above-mentioned property and valuables remained in their respective rooms in charge of the keeper, Don Gregorio Grijalba. He declared there was nothing else to take account of, that he would report if anything else appeared and that he will take care of them and will not give them to anyone without an express order from Our Majesty the King (may God watch over him) or from His Excellency the Marquis of the Carpio, governor warden of the aforesaid Royal Palace. Otherwise he would incur the penalty of the depositaries who do not comply with the obligations entrusted to them. They must respond with their personal property and real estate in due form and with the necessary requirements. This was signed and sealed before me by his lordship Don Gregorio Grijalba y Gusman, whom I attest to know. Francisco Maioral.

This transcript agrees with the original which remains in my charge. I signed it and placed it in the Royal comptroller's office, Madrid, September 26, 1703.

In testimony of truth. — Francisco Maioral. — Certified.

Note.

As certified by Don Juan Morante, Royal overseer and auditor, on March 10, 1711, it is on record that by Royal decree of His Majesty (may God watch over him) of March 15, 1701, Don Antonio Saez de Inquinigo, keeper of the Royal Site of the Pardo, shall retire. Thus he shall be relieved of the charge of all valuables herein specified. Don Miguel Agustín Mayers, as stipulated by the same Royal decree, replaced him and was given, to his

satisfaction, all the above-mentioned valuables. Nothing is missing as stated by the aforesaid certification.

(This note is of no avail as it belongs to the Site of the Pardo)

Torre de la Parada 1747

Tasaciones de todas classes de muebles y pinturas, Año 1747, Fernando VI.

La referencia de los muebles que actualmente existen en este Palacio de la Torre de la Parada, no admite tan dilatada expresion y numero de presupuestos como la que viene sentada en el anterior Inventario del Sitio del Pardo por la gran diferencia que ay de uno a otro; I por que en aquel se toca algo que conduce y pertenece a este en los presupuestos de los numeros segundo y quarto : Pero sin embargo para mayor conocimiento y puntual noticia de lo respectivo a este Palacio y el presente derruido estado de la matherial Fabrica de el, se hace preciso ablar en su asumpto, y forma siguiente.

Presupuesto primero

Es constante, que por parte de el Exmo. Sr. Actual Alcayde, y por la de su antecesor el Señor Duque de el Arco, se represento en varias ocasiones, solicitando fondos, y proponiendo medios, para redificar este Palacio y sus cassas de oficios, previendo la ruina que amenazava toda su fabrica, por la falta de reparacion, pues que durante el feliz Reynado de nuestro Difunto Monarca no se hizo otra en dicho Sitio que las del año del mil setecientos y quince, cuio costo excedio de nueve mil Ducados, por el aumento que se executo entonces, de Cocheras y de Cavallerizas, que no havia en el : I tambien es notorio, que por no haverse librado caudal alguno, para tan importante fin, que parece que no lo permitieron las pasadas graves urgencias de la Monarquia, ha venido el referido Sitio y su Palacio, al derruido estado en que se halla oy, en quanto a lo matherial de su fabrica que es el motivo de tanto daño : Pero recayendo este, como ha recayido, sobre el que se causo contra los muebles que havia de preciosidad, y gusto por adorno de dicho Palacio, en las Imbasiones de Tropas enemigas de los años pasados; de mil setecientos seis, y mil setecientos dies, en que le entraron a saco militar, y con tal desorden, que no reservando nada de quanto havia en la citada Real cassa, destrozaron las Pinturas, quitandolas sus marcos, de que se hallaron y recogieron

arrolladas muchas en su campamento, y llevandose todas las Alhajas, y Ropa que hubo manejables : como Individualmente lo expone Dn. Joseph Cayentano de Grijalba que aun vive en Fuencarral, y assintio en aquella ocasion a Dn. Gregorio de Grijalba su Padre que hera Conserje entonces del citado Real Sitio de la Torre de la Parada.

I diciendo este tan bien, que lo que ay actualmente en dicho Real Palacio, es lo mismo y unico que se hallo y reservo en aquel tiempo; Que se accredita en los modernos Imbentarios, de que ay rason en los oficios de Veeduria y Contaduria de las Reales Alcaydias desde el año de mil setecientos y catorce en adelante, no consta en estos si despues de la referida Imbasion se hizo nuevo Imbentario de dicha existencia de muebles, o rebaja de los perdidos entonzez, aun que asegura el mismo Don Joseph Cayetano, que se le pidio a su Padre esta noticia, por el Señor Duque de Medina Sidonia, aquien se le remitio; muy justificativamente, que es todo lo que ha podido aberiguar en este asumpto, y se expone aqui por unica rason.

Presupuesto segundo

Que segun se dexa sentado en el quarto presupuesto de los del Imbentario del Pardo, deven estimarse por minoracion de cargo del actual conserje de este sitio que lo es Don Diego Antonio Colmenero y Salazar las Quarenta y dos Pinturas de Sobre Ventanas y puertas cargadas por aumento de cargo al Conserje del Pardo, acuyo Palacio se llevaron de este, en el año passado de mil setecientos y catorce de orden del Rey (Difunto) nuestro Señor en la forma referida en el citado quarto presupuesto, porque se omite aqui su repeticion.

Presupuesto tercero

Que siendo mi naracion de cargo del Conserje de este Sitio, devera servir de aumento a los oficios respectivos del Palacio de Madrid por las cinco pinturas siguientes.

En papel de nueve de Abril del año pasado de mil setecientos y diez y nueve, se comunico orden del Sr. Alcayde de Duque del Arco por Don Francisco Gomez de Trexo, al Conserje Don Gregorio de Grijalba, para que se franqueasen al Maestro mayor de obras Reales Don Theodoro de Ardemans las pinturas que eligiese de las de este Palacio, pues mandava S. M. se entregase de ellas, para traerlas y colocarlas en el nuevo Salon de su Palacio de

Madrid; I haviendose evidenciado esta diligencia, consta por Recibo de el dicho Ardemans (que se exive con el citado papel de Trexo) que saco de este Palacio y condujo al de Madrid, quatro Sobreventanas, y una sobrepuerta, aunque sin individualizar sus tamaños y representaciones, pues solo dice que fueron, sin marcos, y Pintadas en ellas Pahises, pajaros y Animales.

Tambien se exive un papel de Don Juan Morante Veedor de Sitios Reales su fecha trese de Marzo de mill setecientos y doze por el qual parece que por resolucion de Su Magestad que le comunico el Señor Duque de Medinasidonia, en ocho del mismo mes, y año se mandava dar al Convento de Capuchinos del Pardo para servidumbre de su comunidad, una de las campanas, que existian en la Casa de la Municion, de este Sitio de la Torre de la Parada, en lugar de la que se les havia roto en su convento, de que con efecto se entregó al Padre Guardian Fray Miguel de Valladolid, segun consta de Carta y Recivo suyo (que se exiven) con fecha de veinte y seis y treinta del citado mes, y año.

Este antecedente da motivo a expresar aqui que la referida campana era una de dos que tenia el Relox de Torreoncillo, que havia en dicho Sitio, pues aunque en el Imventario antiguo del año de mill setecientos y uno, no se haceencion alguna del citado Relox, es cierto que le hubo, por constar asi en los Imventarios modernos en que se halla el Cargo de una Campana pequeña de veinte libras de peso (que seria la de los quartos) y estavas colgada en el Torreoncillo de la Casa de oficios de dicho Sitio, con la cara o cuerpo principal y algunas Ruedas, Carrillos, y varas de fierro y nuestra de piedra, como remanente muy mal tratado de dicho Relox que demostrava haver tenido en algun tiempo.

Esta pequeña Campana y Remanente de piezas del zitado Relox, existen oy en el Comvento de Padres Dominicos de Nuestra Señora de Valverde a cuya Comunidad mandaron darla Sus Magestades de limosna, con otra campana grande de Flandes, que havia ygnorada, y oculta en un Capitel serrado, de una de las Torres del Sitio de la Zarzuela, por su orden verval que comunicaron a su Alcayde el Exmo. Sr. Marques de San Juan, el año pasado de mil setecientos y quarenta y cinco, que en la misma forma se participo a los oficios de Veeduria y Contaduria de las Reales Alcaydias, para la correspondiente salida de ambas Campanas y minoracion de cargo, de sus respectivos Conserges; en cuyos Imventarios no se hara mas referencia particular de ellas que la que se expone aqui pues basta para que conste siempre.

Presupuesto quarto

Que se reduce a expresar que por no haverse hecho Remplaso alguno de Cortinages ni de otro genero de Ropa, o muebles para adorno de este Real Palacio, desde el subcedido (ya expuesto) estrago, de la Imbasion y saqueo de mill setecientos diez, no ay, ni se hallara nada, de estas especies en dicha Real Casa; y que no haviendo numeracion alguna, en las actuales Pinturas de ella, es defecto que impide mucho, para la Revision y cotexo, que se haya de hacer, del antiguo Imventario, del año pasado de mill setecientos uno, con el del presente año. Ay precissa a seguir la nueva numeracion, que para lo subscesivo, se ha sentado en el siguiente.

Inventario General

Para entrar a este Palacio ay un zaguán con usso para coches y tiene dos puertas grandes de dos ojas muy maltratadas pero con sus herrajes y zerraduras correspondientes y en cada una un Portigo con su llave.

En este Zaguán ay quatro Ventanas de a dos ojas con sus herrajes y dos montadores de piedra.

I para entrar a la escalera ay una puerta enrrasada con su llave y Zerradura maestra.

Escalera

En esta escalera que tiene su varandilla de Ierro ay las dies y siete Pinturas siguientes con marcos dorados todos.

Pinturas.

Numero 1. Primeramente a la Izquierda como se empieza a subir dicha escalera ay un quadro de quattro varas de largo y dos de ancho con el Sitio del Pardo.

2. Otro que sigue a este de dos varas de largo, y una media de ancho con una Cassa de Campo.

3. Otro enfrente de dos varas y media de largo y dos de ancho con el Palacio de Valsayn.

4. Otro de dos varas de largo y dos de ancho como se buelve para subir la escalera en que la casa del Campo de Madrid.

5. Otro encima de la puerta de la escalera de dos varas y media de alto y una de ancho, en que está la Cassa del Monasterio.

6. Otro que hase fachada como se baja la escalera de dos varas de alto y una de ancho, en que está la Cassa de Campillo.
7. Otro encima de la Puerta que baja al quarto vajo de dos varas de largo y una y media de ancho en que está Zarzuela.
8. Otro a la derecha como se sube de quatro varas y media de ancho y dos y media de alto en que está el Palacio del Retiro.
9. Otro mas adelante sobre puerta de mas de vara y media de alto y una de ancho en que está un Palacio con su Torre.
10. Otro enfrente de la escalera de dos varas de ancho y una de alto sobre-puerta con una Cassa de Campo.
11. Otro de tres varas de ancho y dos de alto en que está el Escorial.
12. Otro al pie de este de una vara de ancho igual alto, con otra Cassa de Campo.
13. Otra de quattro varas de alto por tres de ancho en que está el Palacio de Madrid.
14. Otra encima de la subida de la misma escalera de mas de tres varas de alto y dos de ancho en que está la Torre de la Parada.
15. Otro de mas de vara de ancho y tres quartas de alto con una Cassa de Campo.
16. Otra de vara y media de ancho y tres quartas de alto con una Cassa de Campo.
17. Otro de igual tamaño que representa el Palacio de Aranjuez. 12000

Cuyas dies y siete Pinturas parese están valuedas en el Imbentario del año de mill setecientos y uno en Doze mill Reales que se sacan al margen de esta, como se hara con las demás que sean aberiguables sus precios.

Pieza primera

18. Un Quadro Sobrepuerta de una vara en quadro, con Narciso mirandose a la Fuente. Original flamenco tasado en 500. (*In margin.* Este quadro Sobrepuerta que es original flamenco, se reconocio y tasso por Don Juan de Mur^{da} y Don Andres Calleja en 500 Reales vellon que se sacan.)
19. Otro de tres varas de alto y una y media de ancho, en que está una Ninfa con el pie sobre una Vola, y marco dorado. Original Escuela de Rubenes. 1200. (*In margin.* Es original Escuela de Rubenes, se taso en 1200 Reales.)
20. Otro de dos varas y media de alto y una y media de ancho, un Gigante con el mundo a cuestas, y marco dorado. 1500.

21. Otro de vara en quadro sobrepuerta con un Satiro y una Ninfá con marco dorado. Original flamenco. tasado 360. (*In margin.* Es original flamenco se taso en 360 Reales.)
22. Otro de dos varas y media de alto y una de ancho y marco dorado con Prometheo. 1500.
23. Otro de dos varas y media de alto y quatro y media de ancho, Diana cazando con sus Ninfás y marco dorado. 9000.
24. Otro de mas de vara de alto y tres quartas de ancho con su marco dorado, de un perro herido con la boca avierta, y ésta sobre la puerta de la Mazena que ay en esta Pieza. Original de Pedro de Vox. (*In margin.* Es original de Pedro de Vox, se taso en 360 Reales.)

La puerta de dicha Alasena tiene su llave maestra de dos entradas y dentro de ella ay treinta y nueve postigos de vidrieras de distintos tamaños, con ciento y treinta vidrios Cristalinos, enteros; Tres cientos y noventa y tres vidrios ordinarios tambien enteros y seis medios, valuados segun tasa antigua en ...

Esta pieza para su entrada tiene una puerta con su Zerradura y llave.

Tambien tiene dos Ventanas con sus herrages.

Pieza segunda

Que consta de las seis Pinturas siguientes.

25. Un Quadro de dos varas y media de alto y vara y quarta de ancho con un hombre que es Polipemo amagando con una Peña a un Barco, y marco dorado. 1500. (*In margin.* Es Pintura de Polifemo : Se taso en 1500 Reales.)
26. Otro de dos varas de ancho y media de alto Sobreventana con una Selva su marco dorado. 360.
27. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto por vara y quarta de ancho, con Marte y marco dorado. 1000.
28. Otro de vara y quarta de alto y quasi lo mismo de ancho Sobrepuerta, con un oso despedasando perros y marco dorado. 900.
29. Otro de tres varas y tercia de ancho, y dos y quarta de alto, el Convite de las tres Diosas, y la Diosa de la discordia con la Manzana en la mano y su marco dorado. 1000.
30. Otro de poco mas de vara de alto y vara y media de ancho Sobrepuerta con un Javali acosado de perros con su marco dorado. 1200.

Tiene esta pieza dos ventanas y dos puertas con sus herrages.

Pieza tercera Galeria del Rey.

Que consta de las trese Pinturas siguientes.

31. Primeramento una Pintura sobre puerta de vara y media de alto y una de ancho con una Zorra y marco dorado. 1200.
32. Otra de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y media de ancho con su marco dorado que Representa el Infante Cardenal de Casador. (*In margin.* No se taso por no estarlo en el Imbentario anterior los de Persas Reales.)
33. Otra de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y media de ancho con marco dorado, que Representa Phelipe quarto con Arcabuz y perro. (*In margin.* Idem.)
34. Otro quadro de mas de dos varas de ancho y media de alto. Sobre ventana con una Selva su marco dorado. (*In margin.* Se taso en 100 Reales vellon.)
35. Otro de dos varas de alto y una de ancho con el Principe Balthasar de Casador y su marco dorado. (*In margin.* No se taso por sor de Persona Real.)
36. Otro de vara y quarta de alto y tres de ancho con un Gamesno y su marco dorado. Original de Pedro de Vox. (*In margin.* Es original de Pedro de Vox, se taso en 360 Reales de vellon.)
37. Otro de quasi tres varas de ancho por dos y quarta de alto con su marco dorado de Erudice y Orfeo. 3060.
38. Otro de mas de cinco varas de ancho por dos y media de alto con Orpheo atrayendo diferentes aves y animales con su musica y marco dorado. 24000.
39. Otro de cinco quartas de ancho y tres de alto sobre puerta con diferentes aves en unas Ramas su marco dorado. 600.
40. Otro de mas de quattro varas de ancho y dos y media de alto con su marco dorado de Endimion y Diana. 6000.
41. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto por una y quarta de ancho con Animales su marco dorado. (*In margin.* Falta esta Pintura y existe solo el marco. Se reconocio nuebamente y existe esta Pintura sin tasa.)
42. Un Lienzo Sobre ventana de dos varas y media de largo por media de ancho sin marco ni bastidor con Zigüeñas y Anades. 600.
43. Otro de tres varas y quarta de ancho, y dos y media de alto de Apolo Asaeteando la Sierpe, su marco dorado. 4500.

Quattro Mesas de Jaspe encarnado de cinco quartas de largo y dos tercias de ancho, con sus pies de caoba, torneados lisos, sin los Bronzes que se zitan

en el Imbentario antiguo y valuados segun la Tasa de el en Dos mil Reales cada uno. 8000.

Dos chimeneas del mismo Jaspe encarnado con suelo y respaldo de piedra Verroqueña.

Una puerta con su herrage y Zerradura, Maestra.

Tres Ventanas Viejas con sus herrages.

Pieza quarta

Que consta de las tres Pinturas siguientes.

44. Un Quadro de dos varas y quarta de alto y una quarta de ancho con Saturno y marco dorado. 4500.

45. Otro de dos varas y quarta de ancho, y vara y quarta de alto sobrepuerta un Pays con diferentes aves y su marco dorado. 1200.

46. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho y dos y quarta de alto el Robo de Elena con su marco dorado. 1000.

Una Mesa de Jaspe con sus pies de Caoba igual a las antecedentes, pero quebrada, que segun tasa antigua se valuo en 2000.

Una puerta con su cerradura y llave.

Dos ventanas con sus herrages.

Oratorio

Este oratorio contiene las mismas veinte y seis Pinturas de varios tamaños que se citan en el antiguo Imbentario del año pasado de mill setecientos y uno : Son todas de mano de Vizencio Carducho y segun el citado antiguo Imbentario se tasaron entonces en un mill trescientos y sesenta doblones en la forma siguiente.

Numeros 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, y 52. Primeramente seis Pinturas de vara y quarta de alto de la Vida de Nuestra Señora con marcos tallados y dorados tasadas en 500 Doblones. 30000.

53, 54. Otras dos Pinturas que corresponden al mismo tamaño y marcos; la una de Adan y la otra de Eva, tasadas en 100 Doblones. 6000.

55, 56. Otras dos Pinturas angostas del mismo tamaño y marcos que sirven de adorno al Retablo; la una de Raquel y la otra de Jadeil de la misma mano tasadas ambas en 60 Doblones. 3600.

57. Otra Pintura de Nuestra Señora de la Concepcion que esta en el Retablo de dicho oratorio de dos varas de alto y de la misma mano tasada con el Retablo en 200 Doblones. 12000.

58 hasta 67. Diez Pinturas que hacen adorno en el oratorio con marcos blancos y dorados, de Angeles con los Atributos de Nuestra Señora de la misma mano tasadas todas en 150 Doblones. 9000.

68 hasta 72. Cinco Pinturas de la Vida de Nuestra Señora, que están embutidas en el techo de dicho oratorio con marcos blancos y dorados y quattro ovalos a las esquinas tasado todo en trescientos cincuenta Doblones. 21000.

Consta el Retablo (que es de madera) de Zocalo, cornisa y Remates, tallado y dorado, y descansa sobre quattro columnas, y estas sobre una grada que está sobre la Mesa de Altar la que tiene quattro caxones de nogal dos grandes y dos chicos con sus quattro aldabones de fierro dorados y a los costados de dicha mesa de nogal ay dos Alazenillas de dicha madera sin herrages valuado segun tasa antigua en quattrocientos ducados. 4400.

Un Atril de nogal con pies torneados.

Dos candeleros de madera muy usados dados de verde perfil dorado.

Una cruz con su Penna de madera.

Un Misal antiguo grande.

Una Ara de piedra Agata con su cerco de Nogal.

Otra mas pequeña de marmol blanco con su cerco de madera.

Unas palabras de la Consagracion su marco de madera perfilado de oro azul.

Un Reclinatorio o Sitial de evano, con sus Aldabas de fierro dorado y su Tablero por tarina, y en el cuerpo de dicho dos ojas que abren como Alazena sin llave, valuado segun tasa antigua en trescientos ducados. 3300.

El Pisso de este Oratorio es de ladrillos y Azulejos recortados y sus paredes de hasta cinco pies de alto, de azulejos de azul y blanco.

Tiene dos puertas, una de dos ojas y quattro postigos en ellas con su herringe y la otra de una oja con su zerradura y llave.

En frente de la puerta de dos ojas de dicho oratorio ay un passillo con una puerta, y una Ventana con sus herrages.

Pieza quinta

Que contiene las seis Pinturas siguientes.

73. Un quadro Sobrepuerta de siete quartas de alto y cinco de ancho, con un Toro acosado de perros y marco dorado. 1800.

74. Otro de tres varas y quarta de ancho y dos y quarta de alto, Jupiter y Semele con marco dorado. 7200.

75. Otro de cinco quartas de ancho y de igual alto sobre puerta con su marco dorado, con un Alcon en una Rama. 1200.

76. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto por dos de ancho Andromeda y Perseo y su marco dorado. 3600.

77. Otro de tres varas y quarta de ancho y dos y quarta de alto con marco dorado, la fabula de Midas. 6000.

78. Otra Sobrepuerta de vara y media de ancho igual de alto, un Jabali aculado defendiendose de perros, con marco dorado. 1500.

Dos Mesas de Jaspe encarnado de igual tamano que las antecedentes con sus pies torneados de caoba, valuados en lo antiguo en 4000.

Dos Puertas y una Ventana con sus herrages.

Pieza Sexta

Que contiene las seis Pinturas siguientes.

79. Un Quadro de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y quarta de ancho su marco dorado con Bulcano en la Fragua. 2400.

80. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto y una y quarta de ancho, con Saturno y marco dorado. 1000.

81. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto y dos de ancho, Adonis dormido velandole el Amor y marco dorado. 9600.

82. Una Sobre puerta de vara y quarta de alto igual de ancho con un Galgo y marco dorado. 1200.

83. Un quadro de tres varas de ancho y quasi dos de alto con Bialactea y marco dorado. 1000.

84. Otro de tres varas y quarta de ancho por dos y quarta de alto, su marco dorado con Pluton Robando a Proserpina. 24000.

Dos mesas de Jaspe encarnado, con sus pies de caoba torneados igual a las antecedentes valuadas por la tasa antigua en 4000.

Tiene esta pieza dos puertas con sus herrages y Zerraduras.

Tambien ay en ella dos Ventanas con sus herrages.

Pieza septima. Quarto de la Reyna

Que contiene las nuebe Pinturas siguientes.

85. Un quadro de dos varas y tres quartas de ancho y dos y quarta de alto, Ipomenes, y Athalantha, con marco dorado. 3600.

86. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto, por vara y media de ancho con marco dorado y en el una Ninfa. 3000.

87. Otro Sobrepuerta de vara y quarta de alto y de igual ancho con un Niño sobre un Delfín y marco dorado. Original de la Escuela de Rubenes. 500. (*In margin.* Original de la Escuela de Rubenes se taso en 500 Reales.)

88. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho y dos y quarta de alto de unos Gigantes que cargan con unos montes y marco dorado. 12000.

89. Otro de tres varas de ancho por dos y quarto de alto su marco dorado, con la facula de Tragne. 6000.

90. Otro Sobrepuerta vara y media de ancho y una vara de alto con una Aguila que lleva en sus uñas un Gasapo *[sic]* y marco dorado. 360. (*In margin.* Se taso en 360 reales de vellon.)

91. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho y dos y quarta de alto con la fabula de Argos su marco dorado. 3000.

92. Otro de dos varas y media de alto por una de ancho su marco dorado Endimion y la Luna. Original de Rubenes. (*In margin.* Es original Escuela de Rubenes, se taso en 2000 Reales.)

93. Otro Sobrepuerta de siete quartas de alto y una vara de ancho con Europa sobre el Toro su marco dorado. 2600.

Una Chimenea guarnecida de Jaspe encarnado con su piso y testero de piedra Verroqueña.

Dos Ventanas con sus herrages.

Tres Puertas con sus cerraduras y llaves.

Una Alazena con su puerta cerradura y llave.

Pieza octava de la Reyna

Que contiene las seis Pinturas siguientes.

94. Un quadro de dos varas y quarta de alto por una de ancho con Mercurio y marco dorado. 2400.

95. Otro de tres varas menos quarta de alto y dos y quarta de ancho con Venus que sale de la Aguas y marco dorado. 2400.

96. Otro Sobrepuerta de cinco quartas de alto y vara de ancho con un Satiro y una Ninfa su marco dorado. 3000.

97. Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto, por vara y media de ancho, con marco dorado Danae en la Torre. 3600.

98. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho y dos y quarta de alto con marco dorado el Triumpho de Vaco. 6000.

99. Otro Sobrepuerta de cinco quartas de alto y de igual ancho con marco dorado una Ninfa herida en la cabeza. Se taso en 600 reales.

Dos Puertas con sus cerraduras.

Dos Ventanas con sus herrajes.

Pieza escusada detras de la Alcoba

Que contiene las cinco Pinturas siguientes.

100. Un Quadro de vara y quarta de alto igual de ancho con las Arpias su marco dorado. Original de Rubenes. (*In margin.* Es original escuela de Rubenes, se taso en 500 Reales.)

101. Otro de dos varas de alto y una de ancho con una Ninfa passando un Rio su marco dorado. Escuela de Rubenes. (*In margin.* Es original escuela de Rubenes, se taso en 1500 reales.)

102. Otro de vara y quarta de alto y lo mismo de ancho con una Ninfa elevada y marco dorado. Escuela dicha. (*In margin.* Es original escuela de Rubenes; se taso en 500 reales.)

103. Otro de vara y media de alto y cinco quartas de ancho, Un Enano Riyendo sin marco. (*In margin.* Se taso en 1000 reales.)

104. Otro de San Juan Evangelista de igual medida que el antecedente con marco negro y dorado, y es el que estaba en el oratorio de la Cassa de oficio. 480.

Una Mesa de Jaspe encarnado con sus pies torneados de caoba igual a las antecedentes, y otros pies de la misma madera sin mesa valuada en lo antiguo en 2000.

Dos puertas con sus Zerraduras.

Otras dos mas pequeñas, una para subir a la avitacion alta, y otra que cierra el gueco de la escalera, con sus cerraduras y llaves.

En la Alcoba, no ay Pintura alguna si solo una mesa de nogal, de vara y media de largo y tres quartos de ancho con sus pies de lo mismo y su herringe correspondiente valuada segun tasa antigua en 180.

El passillo que da a dicha Alcoba tiene dos puertas con sus zerraduras y llaves, y en ay dos Valauſtres de fierro sueltos.

Quarto vago Pieza primera

Que contiene las quatro Pinturas siguientes.

105. Un quadro de dos varas y media de alto por dos y quarta de ancho con Faetonte su marco dorado. 3750.

106. Otra de tres varas de ancho y dos y media de alto Apolo y Dafne, marco dorado. 3750.

107. Otro de dos varas y media de alto y lo mismo de ancho Pan y Siringe con marco dorado. 3750.

108. Otra de dos varas y media de alto y dos y quarta de ancho con Icaro y marco dorado. 3750.

Para entrar a esta pieza ay una puerta con su zerradura y llave.

Una Ventana en dicha pieza con su herrage.

Pieza Segunda

Que contiene las seis Pinturas siguientes.

109. Un Quadro de tres varas de ancho y dos y media de alto, Orpheo sacando a Proserpina del Avismo su marco dorado. 4800.

110. Otro de tres varas y quarta de ancho y dos y media de alto, con dos Ninfas que llevan la Caveza de un Niño, a un Personage y marco dorado. 1000.

111. Otro de dos varas y media de alto y lo mismo de ancho con la Historia de Muriel y marco dorado. 6000.

112. Otro de tres varas de ancho y dos y media de alto su marco dorado con el Cansebero en 1000.

113. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho, y dos y media de alto, con un Personage en ademan de asegurar a una Ninfas su buen proceder su marco dorado. 9000.

114. Otro de dos varas y media en quadro con Jupiter en su Carro de quattro caballos y con su marco dorado. 2600.

En esta pieza ay una Puerta con su Zerradura y llave.

I una Bentana con su herrage.

Pieza tercera

Que contiene las quattro Pinturas siguientes.

115. Un quadro de tres varas de ancho, y dos y quarta de alto Sale un Satiro y Perros de las Aguas a una Ninfas con marco dorado. 1000.

116. Otro de tres varas y media de ancho, por dos y media de alto con la fabula de Cadmo, y marco dorado. 9000.

117. Otro de siete quartas en quadro, esta comiendo en messa un Personage admirado de ver otro, que se le pone delante con caveza de lobo y marco dorado. 1000.

118. Otro quadro de tres varas y tres quartas de ancho y dos quarta de alto con Marte y marco dorado. 3000.

En esta pieza ay dos Puertas y la una solo tiene llave.

Para salir del Zaguan desde el quarto bajo ay dos puertas de dos ojas cada una con sus Zerraduras.

El oratorio de la casa de oficios, consta solo de una messa, y pie de Altar, sin mas adorno : pues la Pintura que havia en el es de San Juan Evangelista mal thratado el Rostro desde el año de mill setecientos y diez, se quito de aqui, y viene considerada en la Pieza escusada detras de la Alcova del quarto principal del Palacio unido su valor al de la siguiente partida.

Tambien ay un caxon de madera de mediano usso en una pieza que ay detras de este oratorio que servia de Sacristerio, el qual tiene su caxoneria corriente valiado segun tassa antigua en 500.

Concluido en la forma expresada el Imbentario de la actual existencia de este Palacio de la Torre de la Parada, ocurre precision de exponer aqui antes de resumir su total, la siguiente.

Nota

Haviendose confrontado los muebles que actualmente se hallan en este Palacio, que son los mismos que bienen sentados; con los que incluye y refiere el antigue Inventario de el año pasado de mil setecientos y uno; se encuentra tan notable minoracion, en el presente, que precisa hacer aqui individual Lista de su total para que asi se puedan testar en dicho antiguo Inventario las partidas que contenidas en el devan considerarse, como perdidas en el Saqueo Militar del año de mil setecientos diez, pues es la unica respuesta, noticia, y salida que se da de ellas, mediante que quanta Ropa y generos hubo en dicho año en este Palacio de manejable conduccion fue incluido en el Saqueo y señaladamente todo lo que se contiene en la siguiente Lista donde va puesto su pormenor, con sus valores segun las antiguas Tassas, para que pueda venirse en conocimiento del daño que ocasiono el citado Saqueo en esta especie y sola parte.

Lista de los muebles y Alaxas perdidas en dicho Saqueo, con referencia de sus valuos.

Primeramente Dos calices y Patenas de plata : doradas Copas y Patenas, tasados en 1080 Reales de vellon.

Los ocho ornamentos con quatro frontales en 2830.

Dos Reloges de luz, con pie quadrado y una figura de bronce dorado demolido encima de cada uno en 1920.

Quatro Braseros de laton con pies y asas tassados a 100 reales cada uno. 400.

Una colgadura de grana guarnecida con galon de oro y plata en 2500.

Veinte y siete cortinas de paño encarnado guarnecidas con franjoncillo de oro en 900.

Dos Corthinas de paño verde guarnecidas con fuequecillo de oro y seda y una sobre mesa de terciopelo verde en 80.

Quatro Sillas y quattro Taburetes de Paño y Damasco encarnado en 171.

Dos espejos de ebano con molduras ondeadas en 1080.

Seis Bufetes cubiertos de Damasco verde tasados en 540.

Diez y nuebe Vidrios Christales a siete Reales y medio en 142 1/2.

Trescientos y cinquenta y cinco Vidrios ordinarios tasados a des Reales cada uno 710. Total. 12353 Reales y 1/2.

Tambien se dice que en quanto a Pinturas de este Palacio, se ha hecho igual confrontacion : I hallandose que el numero de las que havia antes en el segun referencia del dicho antiguo Inventario : de ciento y setenta y tres Pinturas de varios tamaños, Representaciones y valuos : I que las que actualmente existen son ciento y diez y ocho, como consta de este anterior moderno Inventario y su nueva numeracion pues no la tenian antes : Resulta la diferencia o falta de cinquenta y cinco Pinturas : Pero que haviendo como ay lexitima salida con que minorar y cubrir la mayor parte de esta falta, se hace señaladamente con las quarenta y dos Pinturas, que se sacaron de orden de Su Mag^d de esta Real cassa en el año de mil setecientos y quince para el Palacio del Pardo, donde ya bienen sentadas por aumento de cargo de su conserje : I otras cinco que se trageron al Palacio de Madrid para su nuevo Salon en el año de mil setecientos y diez y nuebe : Segun consta de sus respectivos Recibos (que se exhiben) y se deja hecha expresion por via de descargo del Conserje de este Sitio de la Torre de la Parada en el Terzero Presupuesto deste Inventario y en el quarto de el de Palacio.

En cuya forma biene a reducirse la minoracion de las dichas cincuenta y cinco Pinturas a solo ocho de ellas que son las mismas que se cuentan y devendrse por perdidas en el referido Saqueo :

Pero con la particular prevencion de que no conformando la Señas, que se dan en el antiguo inventario de muchas de dichas Pinturas, con las del moderno, que son las de actual existencia de este Palacio, pues difieren en sus Representaciones tanto, que no a podido darse fixo paradero de ellas en dicho antiguo inventario ni otro destino en las margenes de el, que el de *Perdidas y Saqueadas*; vajo del concepto, de que sentadas assi, por no haver arvitrio, para otro medio, se seguiria el de dar equivalencia a la tal perdida para minorarla, y reducir dicha falta, al numero de ocho Pinturas que ya bienen contextadas de fixo descubierto, contra la Real Hacienda : Influye a este concepto, la consideracion, de que si faltasen en este Palacio las veinte y tres Pinturas, que se ponen con la nota de *Perdidas*, en los margenes del dicho inventario antiguo, havian de salir de menos estas mismas en el moderno : Pues que no ay motivo, para creer, ni noticia por donde conste, que se hiciese, ni se haya hecho remplazo alguno de ellas, despues del estrago de dicha Invasion : En cuyo supuesto, y en el de creerse, que provenga esta duda, por equivocacion tenida, al tiempo que se dio significado a las referidas Pinturas, en lo antiguo o haverlas puesto con diferentes señas, que causen la disonancia, que se nota con las del moderno; persuade a creerlo assi, el ver que se hallan en este, quinze Pinturas (que son las que ban en el, con millar en blanco, y sin valor) no citadas, ni contenidas en el antiguo : de las quales, y de las veinte y tres supuestas perdidas, se hara aqui lista separada, a fin de que confrontadas las unas, con las otras, teniendo presente ambos inventarios, se vea su disparidad, y que de evidenciado, el no haver mas daño que el de ocho Pinturas, por unica falta, para cumplimiento de las ciento y setenta y tres del antiguo inventario, consideradas en este Real Palacio de la Torre de la Parada.

Lista de las veinte y tres Pinturas de el antiguo inventario, que por diferir sus Señas y Representaciones con las del moderno se notaron en aquel como perdidas, y Saqueadas.

Primeramente, Tres Pinturas iguales que Representan : la una un Atlante, la otra Aleda con el Cisne y la otra a Venus y vaco, valuada cada una a veinte y cinco Doblones hacen 4500 Reales de vellon.

Otra de Neptuno y Galathea de dos varas y media de ancho. 3000.
Un Pais largo que hace Rincon. 360.
Otra del Laberinto de Minotauro de dos varas y media de alto. 2400.
Una Pintura angosta de casa de Pajaros con mochuelo. 720.
Otra grande de quatro varas de ancho, que representa Juno y Jupiter. 18000.
Tres Sobrepuertas, la una de un Elefante, otra de un Leon, y la otra de un Nebli. 3000.
Una Pintura de los Vayles de dos varas y media de ancho. 18000.
Otra de las Bodas de Tetis y Peleo de quatro varas de ancho. 9000.
Una Sobreventana de una Obeja. 1200.
Tres Pinturas iguales de la Historia de Hercules de tres varas de ancho.
10800.
Otra de Anteon y Diana de cinco varas de ancho. 7200.
Dos Pinturas iguales de tres varas y media de ancho; la una de Depoeris y Zolayro, y la otra, de Neptuno y una Ninfa. 7200.
Otra del mismo tamaño, de Leucarrion y Tirra. 6000.
Otra de un Zentauro. 2600.
Otra de la Caza de Buytres, de tres varas y media de ancho. 12000.
Expresandose en la Lista antecedente el total de las veinte y tres pinturas del antiguo inventario, por no havverse hallado en las del moderno uniformes señas con que testarlas: Se sigue aqui otra lista de las quince Pinturas propuestas, por recuento y minoracion lexitima de dicha perdida.

Lista de las quince Pinturas, que hallandose existentes en este Palacio y creiendo sean de las antiguas de el, no se hace referencia alguna de ellas en el inventario del año de mil setecientos y uno, por la que se juzga variacion de sus significados que pudo haver entre los assientos de aquel tiempo y el presente como viene presupuestado.

Primeramente una Pintura de dos varas y media de alto de una Ninfa con el pie sobre una Vola.

Una Sobrepuerta con un Satiro y una Ninfa.

Un Quadro de dos varas y media de alto con un hombre amagando con una Peña a un Barco.

Otro de un Infante Cardenal de Cazador de dos varas y quarto de alto.

Otro de igual Medida de Phelipe 4º con Arcabuz y Perro.

Otro igual a los dos antecedentes de el Principe Balthasar de Cazador.

Una Sobre puerta con un Gamezno de vara y quarta de alto.
Un quadro de dos varas y quarta de alto con varios animales.
Una Sobrepuesta en que ay un Niño sobre un Delfin.
Otra Sobrepuesta de una AgUILA con un Galapago en las uñas.
Endimion y la luna de dos varas y media de alto.
Un Quadro que representa las Arpias de vara y quarta de alto.
Otro de una Ninfa passando un Rio de dos varas de alto.
Otro de una Ninfa elevada de vara y quarta de alto.
Un quadro de un Enano Riyendo de vara y media de alto.

En la anterior forma se minora y reduce la expuesta perdida de las Veinte y tres Pinturas, Recibiendose estas quinze por parte de recuento de ellas a solamente las ocho que bienen contextadas, y deve creerse, que perecieron en el Saqueo del año pasado de mil setecientos y diez, cuyo valor no se saca aqui tanto por no contar con certeza quales sean las Pinturas expresamente perdidas, quanto por faltar tassa de algunas de ellas en el antiguo inventario como se ve, y susede en las de las Quattro numeros : Diez y ocho – veinte y quatro – quarenta y uno – y 99, de este nuevo inventario, que no estan valuadas en el antiguo y devien tassar Justamente con las quinze anteriores Pinturas que tampoco estan tassadas : para que assi conste el importe de todas las de la actual existencia de este Palacio : En cuya forma y quedando como quedan expresadas, ya las partidas de menos cavo y perdida; Resta para mas breve inteligencia de quanto comprende el total de este inventario, sacar su extracto con mayor con valores de lo que constare y millar en blanco de la que se ignorase sus precios, para llenarlos despues de hechos sus respectivas tassas (segun se ha practicado con el del Sitio del Pardo) que podra servir en adelante para noticia del Importe de este fondo, y se pone en el siguiente general.

Ressumen

Primeramente se ponen aqui por las noventa y nueve Pinturas de las ciento y diez y ocho contenidas en la actual existencia de este Real Palacio y numeracion del presente inventario, que estan valuadas en el antiguo, los trescientos quarenta y seis mil dos cientos y quarenta Reales Vellon de su importe segun se sacan en el ... 346.240. (*In margin.* Las tres Pinturas de los numeros 18 – 24 y 99 se han tasado todas para este inventario en 1460 reales que se sacan a este resumen. I la del numero 41 existe solo el marco. Se reconocio nuebamente, y existe esta Pintura de el numero 41 sin tasa.)

Las quatro Pinturas sentadas en dicho antiguo ynventario, y no tassadas en el, que van en este sin valuo con los numeros Diez y ocho, veinte y quatro, quarenta y dos, y noventa y nueve, se saca millar en blanco para llenarle quando se hayan apreciado. 1460.

Las quince Pinturas sentadas en este Inventario y que se creen devian estar en el antiguo aunque no se hallan en el con informes señas, a las que tienen en el moderno devien tasarse, pues no tienen valuo alguno para que se saca millar en blanco. 10120. (*In margin.* Doce de estas quince pinturas, se han tasado para este Inventario en 10120 reales que se sacan al resumen. I las tres restantes no se tasaron por ser de Personas y no estarlo las de esta clase en el Inventario anterior.)

Por las Diez Mesas de Jaspe sentadas en el Inventario antiguo a dos mil reales cada una, que estan existentes se sacan los Veinte mill Reales de su Importe. 2000.

Las tres Cuarniciones para Chimenea de dicha piedra Jaspe, no valuadas en el Inventario antiguo se sacan aqui en millar en blanco por si hubieren de tasarse. (*In margin.* No se tasaron por corresponder a la fabrica material.)

Idem. Lo mismo se dice y hace contada la puerta ventaneria y sus herrages que existes en este Palacio, aunque de antigua y mal tratada obra por si hubiere de darse la valor.

Por el Retablo del oratorio de este Palacio con su graderia, Mesa de Altar y Alazenas vajas de sus lados se sacan los quatro cientos Ducados de su antiguo valuo. 4400.

Por las dos Aras de Piedra Jaspe, Misal, Dos candeleros : Atril de Nogal : Cruz : y Tabla de las palabras de consagracion que son todos los recados que tiene existentes este pobre oratorio, se saca millar en blanco, pues no estan valuados.

Por la Mesa de Altar y caxon de Sacristia que ay en el oratorio de la casa de oficios se sacan aqui los quinientos Reales de su antiguo valuo. 500.

Por el Reclinaterio o Sitial de Evano que ay en dicho oratorio principal se sacan aqui los trescientos Ducados de su antiguo valuo. 3300.

Por la Mesa de Nogal y pies de Caoba que existe en este Palacio valuada en 180.

Los Pies de otra Mesa y dos Valaustres de fierro, que ay en dicho Palacio y Pieza detras de la Alcoba, se saca millar en blanco por estar tassados aunque de despreciable valor.

Por los Ciento y treinta Vidrios Cristalinos y trescientos noventa y tres ordinarios y seis medios de estos que se hallan existentes en los treinta y nuevo Vastidores que ay reservados en dicho Palacio se sacan aqui los un mill quinientos setenta y dos Reales de su importe regulando los Cristales a seis Reales y a dos Reales los ordinarios. 1572.

Finalizado este Resumen con la Recopilacion que por mayor se hace en el : de todo quanto indudablemente consta en la actual existencia de este Real Palacio de la Torre de la Parada, y dando por inserta aqui la Referencia de la Conclusion del anterior Inventario del Sitio del Pardo; se omite duplicarla en este pues que habra de correr unido siempre con el; Certificando (como certifico) la fiel y legal zertidumbre de lo expuesto en este Imventario, que va con arreglo a lo que consta en los Libros de la Veeduria y Contaduria de las Reales Alcaydias de mi Cargo; Se concluye, y zierra este, en cumplimiento, del ya zitado Auto del dicho Señor Juez de la Real Testamentaria, y orden del Ex^{mo} Sr. Alcayde Marques de San Juan et^a Madrid a diez y ocho de Junio de mil setecientos y quarenta y siete años.

D. Vizente Manuel del Campo. Rubricado.

Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Sección Reynados, Legajo No. 17, Casa (Patrimonios).

Torre de la Parada 1747

Appraisals of all kinds of furnishings and paintings, 1747, Ferdinand VI.

The account of the furnishings in the Palace of the Torre de la Parada does not allow such an ample discussion and number of preliminary notes as appeared in the previous inventory of the site of the Pardo because of the great difference between them. Also because the previous one deals with something that leads and belongs to this in the second and fourth preliminary notes. However, for a more precise knowledge of what belongs to this Palace and of its present ruined condition we must discuss this matter as follows.

First preliminary note

It is noted that his Excellency the present Governor and his predecessor, the Duke of the Arco, several times requested funds and means to rebuild

this Palace and its servants' quarters foreseeing its impending ruin due to the lack of reconstruction. No construction work was done in the Palace during the happy reign of our late King apart from the one of 1715 which added the coach houses and stables at a cost of over 9000 ducats. It is also worth noting that as there were no funds allowed for this important purpose because of the great economic crisis of the Monarchy, the aforesaid Site and its Palace have reached their present ruinous condition. To this we should add the damage suffered by the valuable furnishings and adornments of this Palace during the plunder of the late military invasions of 1706 and 1710. Nothing was exempted from their disorderly breaking into the Palace. They destroyed the paintings, took off their frames and many were later found rolled up in their camps. They also took all the valuables and dry goods they could handle as was attested by Don Joseph Cayetano de Grijalba who still lives in Fuen-carral. At that time he helped his father, Don Gregorio de Grijalba, who was then keeper of the above-mentioned Royal Site of the Torre de la Parada.

We must also say here that what is presently found in the above-mentioned Royal Palace are the same and only things that were found and preserved from that time. They are accredited in the new inventories registered with the inspector's and auditor's offices of the Royal Governors since 1714. They do not say if after the above-mentioned invasion a new inventory was made of the remaining furnishings nor if the losses were subtracted. Yet Don Joseph Cayetano asserts that the Duke of Medinasidonia asked his father for this information which he in turn forwarded. This is all I have been able to find related to this matter, and it is therefore hereby stated.

Second preliminary note

As it is agreed to in the fourth preliminary note of the inventory of the Pardo, the amount entrusted to the present keeper of this Site, Don Diego Antonio Colmenero y Salazar, must be reduced because of 42 window-pieces and door-pieces that were taken to the Pardo in 1714 by decree of His Majesty, the late King as stated in the fourth preliminary note and it is therefore not repeated here. They should in turn be charged to the keeper of the Pardo.

Third preliminary note

My account as keeper of this Site must note that the five following paintings were added to the amount entrusted to the Palace of Madrid.

On April 9, 1719, an order of his Lordship Governor, the Duke of the Arco, was sent by Don Francisco Gomez de Trexo to the keeper, Don Gregorio de Grijalba, so that he would give to the Master of Royal Works, Don Theodoro de Ardemans, the paintings that he would choose from this Palace. It was His Majesty's decree that they should be handed to him, taken and placed in the new hall of the Palace of Madrid. This commission was accomplished, and it is attested by Ardemans receipt (shown here together with Trexo's order) that he took four window-pieces and one door-piece from this Palace and delivered them to the Palace of Madrid. There is no reference as to their size and theme, the only statement being that they were frameless and of landscapes, birds and animals.

A paper of Don Juan Morante, overseer of Royal Sites, of March 13, 1712, is also shown here. In it appears that His Majesty ordered the Duke of Medina-sidonia, March 8, 1712, to give to the Community of the Convent of the Capuchins of the Pardo one of the bells of the munition warehouse of this Site of the Torre de la Parada to replace the broken one they had. It was given to the Guardian Father Friar Miguel de Valladolid, as stated in his letter and receipt (shown here) of March 26 and 30 respectively.

This gives us a good reason for stating here that the above-mentioned bell was one of the two belonging to the tower clock that existed in the aforesaid Site. Even if the former inventory of 1701 does not refer to the above-mentioned clock, it is certain that it existed as it is thus stated in the new inventories. There appears an entry for a small, 20 pound bell (that must have tolled each quarter of an hour), which hung from the tower of the servants' quarters of that Site, with its main body, some wheels, pulleys, iron rods and stone dial as damaged remainings of the above-mentioned clock.

This small bell and its remaining parts exist today in the Convent of the Dominican Fathers of Our Lady of Valverde. Their Majesties sent it to them as alms together with a larger one from Flanders which was forgotten and hidden in a closed spire of one of the towers of the Site of the Zarzuela. They told this verbally to the Governor, his Excellency the Marquis of San Juan, last year, 1745. It was then reported in the same way to the inspectorship and auditorship offices of the Royal Governorships in order that their charge should be withdrawn from their respective keepers. There will be no further mention of them in their inventories as this is enough for it to be on record forever.

Fourth preliminary note

No curtains, dry goods or furnishings for the adornment of this Royal Palace are to be found in this Royal House as nothing was replaced after the above-mentioned havoc of the 1710 invasion and plunder. As the paintings are not numbered it is very difficult to check and compare the former 1701 inventory with the present one. In the future the new numeration herein used must be followed.

General Inventory

To enter this Palace there is a small entry-way for carriages, two large doors each with two very damaged shutters with their respective iron fittings and locks, and in each a shutter with its key.

There are in this entry-way four windows each with two shutters with their iron fittings, and two stone horse-blocks.

And to enter the Staircase there is a flush [?] door with its key and master lock.

Staircase

In this staircase, which has an iron railing, we find the following seventeen paintings all with gilded frames.

Paintings

- Number 1. There is to the left, as you start climbing the aforesaid staircase, a painting, 4 *varas* long by 2 wide with the site of the Pardo.
2. Another, next to this, 2 *varas* long by 1/2 *vara* wide with a Country House.
3. Another, in front of this, 2 1/2 *varas* long by 2 wide with the Palace of Valsayn.
4. Another, as you turn to go up the staircase, 2 *varas* long by 2 wide of the Country House of Madrid.
5. Another, on top of the door of the staircase, 2 1/2 *varas* high by 1 wide of the Casa del Monasterio.
6. Another, facing you as you go down the staircase, 2 *varas* high by 1 wide of the Casa de Campillo.
7. Another, on top of the door that leads to the lower quarter, 2 *varas* long by 1 1/2 wide of the Zarzuela.

8. Another, to the right as you go up, $4 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ high of the Palace del Retiro.
9. Another, a door-piece further on, a little over $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* high by 1 wide of a Palace with its Tower.
10. Another, a door-piece facing the staircase, 2 *varas* wide by 1 high with a Country House.
11. Another, 3 *varas* wide by 2 high of the Escorial.
12. Another, next to this one, 1 *vara* square, with another Country House.
13. Another, 4 *varas* high by 3 wide of the Palacio de Madrid.
14. Another, on top as you go up the staircase, over 3 *varas* high by 2 wide of the Torre de la Parada.
15. Another, over 1 *vara* wide by $3/4$ high, with a Country House.
16. Another, $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* wide by $3/4$ high of a Country House.
17. Another, the same size depicting the Palace of Aranjuez.

These seventeen paintings appear in the inventory of 1701 valued at 12000 *reales* which are noted on the margin of this as shall be done with the others whose value we can find out.

First room

18. A door-piece 1 *vara* square with Narcissus looking at himself in the fountain. Flemish original, valued at 500. (*In margin*: this door-piece is an original Flemish; it was examined and valued by Don Juan de Mur^{da} and Don Andres Calleja at 500 *reales vellón* which are noted.)
19. Another, 3 *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{2}$ wide, of a Nymph with her foot on a ball, with gilded frame. Original from the School of Rubens. 1200. (*In margin*: it is an original from the School of Rubens, valued at 1200 *reales*.)
20. Another, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{2}$ wide, of a Giant carrying the world, with gilded frame. 1500.
21. Another, 1 *vara* square, a door-piece with a Satyr and a Nymph, with gilded frame. Flemish original, valued at 360. (*In margin*: it is an original Flemish, valued at 360 *reales*.)
22. Another, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by 1 wide, of Prometheus, with gilded frame. 1500.
23. Another, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by $4 \frac{1}{2}$ wide, of Diana hunting with her Nymphs, with gilded frame. 9000.

24. Another, over 1 *vara* high by 3/4 wide, of a wounded dog with his mouth opened, with gilded frame. It is over the door of the closet which is in this room. Original by Peter [*sic*] de Vos. (*In margin*: it is an original by Peter [*sic*] de Vos, valued at 360 *reales*.)

The door of the aforesaid closet has its master key for two entrances. Inside it there are thirty-nine glass window-shutters of different sizes, one hundred and thirty whole crystal glasses, three hundred ninety-three whole ordinary glasses valued according to the former appraisal in ...

This room has an entrance door with its lock and key.

It also has two windows with its iron fittings.

Second room

It has the six following paintings :

25. A painting, 2 1/2 *varas* high by 1 1/4 *vara* wide, of a man who is Polyphemus threatening a ship with a rock, with gilded frame. 1500. (*In margin*: a painting of Polyphemus, valued at 1500 *reales*.)

26. Another, 2 *varas* wide by 1/2 high, a window-piece with a forest, with gilded frame. 360.

27. Another, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 1 1/4 *vara* wide, of Mars, with gilded frame. 1000.

28. Another, almost 1 1/4 *vara* square, a door-piece with a bear tearing some dogs to pieces, with gilded frame. 900.

29. Another, 3 1/3 *varas* wide by 2 1/4 high, of the banquet of the three goddesses, and the goddess of Discord with the apple in her hand, with gilded frame. 1000.

30. Another, a little over 1 *vara* high by 1 1/2 *vara* wide, a door-piece with a wild boar harassed by dogs, with gilded frame. 1200.

This room has two windows and two doors with their iron fittings.

Third room. Gallery of the King.

It has the thirteen following paintings :

31. Firstly a door-piece, 1 1/2 *vara* high by 1 wide, with a vixen, with gilded frame. 1200.

32. Another, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 1 1/2 *vara* wide, depicting the Cardinal Infante as a hunter. (*In margin*: it was not valued, since the Royal portraits were not appraised in the preceding inventory.)

33. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* wide, depicting Philip IV with a gun and a dog. (*In margin* : Idem.)

34. Another, over 2 *varas* wide by $\frac{1}{2}$ high, a window-piece with a forest, with gilded frame. (*In margin* : it was valued at 100 *reales vellón*.)

35. Another, 2 *varas* high by 1 wide, with Prince Balthasar as a hunter, with gilded frame. (*In margin* : it was not valued as it is a Royal portrait.)

36. Another, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high by 3 wide, of a small buck, with gilded frame. By Peter [*sic*] de Vos. (*In margin* : it is an original by Peter [*sic*] de Vos, valued at 360 *reales de vellón*.)

37. Another, almost 3 *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of Eurydice and Orpheus, with gilded frame. 3060.

38. Another, over 5 *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ high, with Orpheus attracting varied birds and animals through his music, with gilded frame. 24000.

39. Another, $5/4$ wide by 3 high, a door-piece with varied birds in some boughs, with gilded frame. 600.

40. Another, over 4 *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ high, of Endymion and Diana, with gilded frame. 6000.

41. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{4}$ wide, with animals, with gilded frame. (*In margin* : this painting is missing, and only the frame exists. On a second investigation this painting was found and it is not valued.)

42. A canvas window-piece, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* long by $\frac{1}{2}$ wide, of storks and ducks, without frame or stretcher. 600.

43. Another, $3 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{2}$ high, of Apollo striking the serpent with arrows, with gilded frame. 4500.

Four red jasper tables, $5/4$ long by $2/3$ wide, with plain lathed mahogany legs, without the bronzes listed in the former inventory. Valued at 2000 *reales* each according to its appraisal. 8000.

Two chimneys of the same red jasper with floor and back-piece of speckled marble.

A door with its iron fittings and master lock.

Three old windows with their iron fittings.

Fourth room

It has the three following paintings :

44. A painting, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{4}$ wide, of Saturn, with gilded frame. 4500.

45. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* wide by $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high, a door-piece of a landscape with varied birds, with gilded frame. 1200.

46. Another, $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$, of the rape of Helen, with gilded frame. 1000.

A jasper table with mahogany legs like the preceding ones but broken. According to the former appraisal it was valued at 2000.

A door with its lock and key.

Two windows with their iron fittings.

Oratory

This oratory has the same twenty-six paintings listed in the former inventory of 1701. They are all by Vincenzo Carducho, and according to that inventory they were then valued at one thousand three hundred and sixty douloons as following :

Numbers 47, 48, 49, 50, 51 and 52. Firstly, six paintings, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high, of the life of Our Lady, with carved gilded frames, valued at 500 douloons. 30000.

53, 54. Two other paintings of the same size and with similar frames, one of Adam and the other of Eve, valued at 100 douloons. 6000.

55, 56. Two other narrow paintings of the same size and with similar frames, which adorn the altarpiece, one of Rachel and the other of Jael [?], by the same hand, both valued at 60 douloons. 3600.

57. Another painting, 2 *varas* high, on the altarpiece of the aforesaid oratory, of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, by the same hand, valued with the altarpiece at 200 douloons. 12000.

58 to 67. Ten paintings, which adorn the oratory, of Angels with the attributes of Our Lady, with white and gilded frames, by the same hand, all of them valued at 150 douloons. 9000.

68 to 72. Five paintings of the life of Our Lady, inlaid on the ceiling of the aforesaid oratory, with white and gilded frames, and four ovals in the corners, all of them valued at 350 douloons. 21000.

The carved and gilded wooden altarpiece has socle, cornice and rivets. It is held by four columns which stand on a platform on the altar table. This has four mahogany drawers, two large ones and two smaller ones with their gilded iron handles. On the sides of the aforesaid mahogany table there are two

small mahogany cupboards without iron fittings. Valued according to the former inventory at 400 ducats. 4400.

A mahogany lectern with lathed legs.

Two very worn wooden candlesticks painted green [?], with gilded edges.

A cross with wooden stand.

A big old missal.

An agate altar slab with mahogany rim.

Some words from the Consecration framed in wood edged in blue gold.

An ebony prie-dieu or ceremonial chair with gilded iron handles and stand board. Its central part has two leaves without key which open as if in a cupboard. Valued according to the former inventory at 300 ducats. 3300.

This oratory has a brick and cutout glazed tile floor. Its walls are covered up to a height of five feet with blue and white glazed tiles.

It has two doors, one with two leaves and four shutters with its iron fitting, and the other with one leaf with its lock and key.

There is a corridor with a door, and a window with its iron fittings facing the two-leaved door.

Fifth room

It has the six following paintings :

73. A door-piece, $7/4$ varas high by 5 wide, of a bull threatened by dogs, with gilded frame. 1800.

74. Another, $3 \frac{1}{4}$ varas wide by $\frac{1}{4}$ high, of Jupiter and Semele, with gilded frame. 7200.

75. Another, $5/4$ square, a door-piece with a falcon on a bough, with gilded frame. 1200.

76. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ varas high by 2 wide, of Andromeda and Perseus, with gilded frame. 3600.

77. Another, $3 \frac{1}{4}$ varas wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of the story of Midas, with gilded frame. 6000.

78. Another, $1 \frac{1}{2}$ vara square, of a wild boar backed up and defending himself from some dogs, with gilded frame. 1500.

Two red jasper tables, the same size as the preceding ones, with lathed mahogany legs. Valued, as in the former, at 4000.

Two doors and a window with its iron fittings.

Sixth room

It has the six following paintings :

79. A painting, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{4}$ wide, of Vulcan at the forge, with gilded frame. 2400.
80. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{4}$ wide, of Saturn, with gilded frame. 1000.
81. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by 2 wide, of Amor watching Adonis sleep, with gilded frame. 9600.
82. A door-piece, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* square, of a greyhound, with gilded frame. 1200.
83. A painting, 3 *varas* wide by almost 2 high, with the Milky Way, with gilded frame. 1000.
84. Another, $3 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of Pluto abducting Proserpina, with gilded frame. 24000.

Two red jasper tables with lathed mahogany legs, identical to the preceding ones. Valued, as in the former inventory, at 4000.

This room has two doors with their iron fittings and locks.

There are also two windows with their iron fittings.

Seventh room. The Queen's quarter

It has the nine following paintings :

85. A painting, $2 \frac{3}{4}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of Hippomenes and Atalanta, with gilded frame. 3600.
86. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{2}$ wide, of a Nymph, with gilded frame. 3000.
87. Another, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* square, a door-piece, with a Boy on a dolphin with gilded frame. An original from the School of Rubens, 500. (*In margin* : it is an original from the School of Rubens, it was valued at 500 *reales*.)
88. Another, $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of some giants carrying some mountains, with gilded frame. 12000.
89. Another, 3 *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, with the story of Arachne [?], with gilded frame. 6000.
90. Another, $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* wide by 1 *vara* high, a door-piece of an eagle carrying a tortoise in his claws, with gilded frame. 360 (*In margin* : it was valued at 360 *reales de vellón*.)

91. Another, $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of the story of Argos, with gilded frame. 3000.
92. Another, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high by 1 wide, of Endymion and the Moon, with gilded frame. Original by Rubens. (*In margin*: it is an original from the School of Rubens, valued at 2000 *reales*.)
93. Another, $7/4$ high by 1 *vara* wide, of Europa sitting on the Bull, with gilded frame. 2600.

A chimney adorned with red jasper, its floor and front of speckled marble.

Two windows with their iron fittings.

Three doors with their locks and keys.

A cupboard with its door, lock and key.

Eighth room of the Queen

It has the six following paintings :

94. A painting, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by 1 wide, with Mercury, with gilded frame. 2400.
95. Another, almost 3 *varas* high by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ wide, with Venus coming out of the waters, with gilded frame. 2400.
96. Another, $5/4$ high by 1 *vara* wide, a door-piece with a Satyr and a Nymph, with gilded frame. 3000.
97. Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high by $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* wide, of Danaë in the tower, with gilded frame. 3600.
98. Another, $3 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by $2 \frac{1}{4}$ high, of the Triumph of Bacchus, with gilded frame. 6000.
99. Another, $5/4$ square, a door-piece of a Nymph wounded in the head, with gilded frame. It was valued at 600 *reales*.

Two doors with their locks.

Two windows with their iron fittings.

Water closet behind the bedroom

It has the five following paintings :

100. A painting, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* square, with the Harpies, with gilded frame. Original by Rubens. (*In margin*: it is an original from the School of Rubens, was valued at 500 *reales*.)

101. Another, 2 *varas* high by 1 wide, of a Nymph crossing a river. School of Rubens. (*In margin*: it is an original from the School of Rubens, was valued at 1500 *reales*.)

102. Another, 1 1/4 *vara* square, with an elevated Nymph, with gilded frame. Same School. (*In margin*: it is an original from the School of Rubens, was valued at 500 *reales*.)

103. Another, 1 1/2 *vara* high by 5/4 wide, of a smiling dwarf, without frame. (*In margin*: it was valued at 1000 *reales*.)

104. Another, same size as the preceding one, of Saint John the Evangelist, with black and gilded frame. It is the same that was in the servants' quarters. 480.

A red jasper table with lathed mahogany legs, identical to the preceding ones, and some legs without top, of the same wood, valued in the former inventory at 2000.

Two doors with their locks.

Two smaller doors, one leading to the higher room and the other closing the stairwell. With their locks and keys.

There are no paintings in the bedroom, only a walnut table, 1 1/2 *varas* long by 3/4 wide, with legs of the same wood and corresponding iron fittings. Valued, as in the former inventory, at 180.

The corridor leading into the bedroom has two doors with their locks and keys, and two iron banisters.

Lower quarter. First room

It has the four following paintings :

105. A painting, 2 1/2 *varas* high by 2 1/4 wide, of Phaethon, with gilded frame. 3750.

106. Another, 3 *varas* by 2 1/2 high, of Apollo and Daphne, with gilded frame. 3750.

107. Another, 2 1/2 *varas* square, of Pan and Syrinx, with gilded frame. 3750.

108. Another, 2 1/2 *varas* high by 2 1/4 wide, with Icarus, with gilded frame. 3750.

Leading into the room there is a door with its lock and key.

In the room there is a window with its iron fitting.

Second room

It has the six following paintings :

109. A painting, 3 *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, of Orpheus bringing Proserpina out of the abyss, with gilded frame. 4800.
110. Another, 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, with two Nymphs carrying the head of a child to someone, with gilded frame. 1000.
111. Another, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* square, with the story of Muriel, with gilded frame. 6000.
112. Another, 3 *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, with Cerberus, with gilded frame. 1000.
113. Another, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, with someone about to assure a Nymph of his good behaviour, with gilded frame, 9000.
114. Another, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* square, with Jupiter in his car drawn by four horses, with gilded frame. 2600.

In this room there is a door with its lock and key.

And a window with its iron fitting.

Third room

It has the four following paintings :

115. A painting, 3 *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ high, of a Satyr and some dogs coming out of the waters and appearing to a Nymph, with gilded frame. 1000.
116. Another, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ high, with the story of Cadmus, with gilded frame. 9000.
117. Another, 7/4 square, of someone eating at a table surprised to see someone with a wolf's head sitting in front of him, with gilded frame. 1000.
118. Another, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ *varas* wide by 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ high, of Mars, with gilded frame. 3000.

In this room there are two doors and only one has a key.

There are two two-leaved doors with their locks to leave the vestibule and come into the lower quarter.

There is only an altar table and a plain altar base in the oratory of the servants' quarters. The painting of Saint John the Evangelist, with the face damaged since 1710, was removed from here and taken to the water-closet behind the bedroom of the main quarter of the Palace. Its value attached to the following entry.

There also is, in a room behind this oratory which was used as sacristy, a wooden chest of drawers somewhat worn, with its regular drawers. Valued, according to the former inventory, at 500.

Thus the inventory of the existing things at the Palace of the Torre de la Parada is finished. The following must be hereby noted.

Note

After having compared the present furnishings of this Palace, the same that appear here, with those mentioned in the former inventory of 1701, a major reduction has been found in the present one. It is therefore necessary to make a separate list of those missing in order to be able to delete from the cited former inventory the items there included which must be considered as lost in the military plunder of 1710 as this is the only possible answer or account that can be given of them. All the dry goods that were then in the Palace were subject to the plunder and specifically all that appears in the following list. We have given their description and value according to the former appraisal so that the damage done by the plunder in this particular field might be known.

List of the furnishings and valuables lost in the aforesaid plunder, and their values.

Firstly, two silver gilded chalices and patens, valued at 1080 *reales de vellón*.

Eight ornaments and four frontals at 2830.

Two sundials with square base and with a beaten gilded bronze figure on top of each, at 1920.

Four tin braziers with base and handles, valued at 100 *reales* each, 400.

A scarlet hanging trimmed with gold and silver braid, at 2500.

Twenty-seven red cloth curtains trimmed with gold and silk fringes, at 900.

Two green cloth curtains trimmed with gold and silk fringes, and a green velvet table cover, at 80.

Four chairs and four stools of red cloth and damask, at 171.

Two ebony mirrors with scolloped mouldings, at 1080.

Six buffets covered in green damask, at 540.

Nineteen crystal glasses at 7 1/2 *reales* each, 142 1/2.

Three hundred fifty-five ordinary glasses valued at 2 *reales* each, 710.

Total 12353 1/2 *reales*.

The same comparison has been made in respect to the paintings in this Palace. It has been found that according to the former inventory there were one hundred and seventy-three paintings of different sizes, themes and values, and there are one hundred eighteen attested by the new inventory with its enumeration which formerly did not exist. Thus there are fifty-five paintings missing. Yet this difference may be in great part accounted for by the forty-two paintings that were withdrawn in 1715 by order of His Majesty and taken to the Palace of the Pardo where they were placed under the keeper's charge; and by five others that were brought in 1719 to the Palace of Madrid for its new hall. This is affirmed by their respective receipts (that are shown) and stated in the third preliminary note of this inventory and in the fourth of the Palace as taken from the charge of the keeper of this Site of the Torre de la Parada.

The difference is thus reduced from fifty-five paintings to only eight which must be regarded as lost in the aforesaid plunder.

One must take into account that the description of many paintings given in the former inventory does not agree with those in the new one where all the paintings presently in this Palace are recorded. There is such a wide difference as regards the themes depicted that it has been impossible to determine their whereabouts in the former inventory nor to assign to them any other fate than *lost and plundered*. If they are thus regarded, as there is no other possible judgment, the loss will be reduced to eight paintings as has already been openly established by the Royal Treasury. This idea is strengthened by the consideration that if the twenty-three paintings that are labeled *lost* in the margins of the cited former inventory were really missing they would also be missing in the new one since there is no reason for, or notice of, their replacement after the havoc caused by the aforesaid invasion. Therefore, and assuming that this confusion is due to an error at the time the aforesaid paintings were acknowledged in the former inventory or that they were differently described, the disagreement between both inventories can be explained. The fact that there are in the new inventory fifteen paintings without value and with a blank space beside them which do not appear in the former leads us to believe this. We shall give here a separate list of these and of the supposedly lost twenty-three paintings so that the difference might be appreciated when they are compared in the light of both inventories. This should prove that the loss was of only eight paintings out of the one hundred and

seventy-three paintings taken into account in the former inventory of this Royal Palace of the Torre de la Parada.

List of the twenty-three paintings in the former inventory whose characteristics and themes differed from those in the new one and were therefore considered lost and plundered.

Firstly, three paintings of the same size depicting : an *Atlas*, *Leda* with the swan and *Venus* and *Bacchus*. Valued at 25 ducados each make 4500 *reales de vellón*.

Another, 2 1/2 *varas* wide, of *Neptune* and *Galatea*. 3000.

A large corner landscape. 360.

Another, 2 1/2 *varas* high, of the labyrinth of the *Minotaur*. 2400.

A narrow painting of the hunt of birds with a horned owl. 720.

Another large one, 4 *varas* wide, depicting *Juno* and *Jupiter*. 18000.

Three door-pieces of an elephant, a lion and a falcon. 3000.

A painting, 2 1/2 *varas* wide, of the dances. 18000.

Another, 4 *varas* wide, of the marriage of *Thetis* and *Peleus*. 9000.

A window-piece of a sheep. 1200.

Three paintings of the same size, 3 *varas* wide, of the story of *Hercules*. 10800.

Another, 5 *varas* wide, of *Acteon* [?] and *Diana*. 7200.

Two paintings of the same size, 3 1/2 *varas* wide, of *Procris* [?] and *Cephalus* [?] and of *Neptune* and a *Nymph*. 7200.

Another of the same size of *Deucalion* and *Pyrrha*. 6000.

Another of a *Centaur*. 2600.

Another, 3 1/2 *varas* wide, of the hunt of vultures. 12000.

In the preceding list appear the twenty-three paintings of the former inventory whose description does not agree with any in the new one. Another list hereby follows of the fifteen paintings believed to account for part of the missing ones.

List of the fifteen paintings existing in this Palace and believed to be part of the former property of the Palace but which do not appear in the 1701 inventory. Probably because then they were described differently than now.

Firstly, a painting 2 1/2 *varas* high, of a *Nymph* with her foot on a ball.

A door-piece with a *Satyr* and a *Nymph*.

A painting, 2 1/2 *varas* high, a man threatening a ship with a rock.

Another, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high, of the Cardinal Infante as a hunter.

Another of the same size of Philip IV with a gun and a dog.

Another, same size as the preceding ones, of Prince Balthasar as a hunter.

A door-piece, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high, with a small buck.

A painting, $2 \frac{1}{4}$ *varas* high, with several animals.

A door-piece with a boy on a dolphin.

Another door-piece of an eagle with a tortoise in his claws.

Endymion and the Moon, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ *varas* high.

A painting, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high, depicting the Harpies.

Another, 2 *varas* high, of a Nymph crossing a river.

Another, $1 \frac{1}{4}$ *vara* high, of an elevated Nymph.

A painting, $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *vara* high, of a smiling dwarf.

The loss of the twenty-three paintings set forth is in this way reduced. These fifteen paintings are assumed to be part of them so there are only eight which it must be presumed were lost in the plunder of 1710. Their value is not given here, not so much because it is impossible to ascertain here which the lost paintings were, as the fact that some of them are not appraised in the former inventory. Numbers 18, 24, 41 and 99 in the new inventory, not valued in the former one, should be appraised together with the preceding fifteen, which are also not appraised, in order that the value of all the paintings in this Palace be on record. The only thing that remains to be done, after the losses have in this way been stated, for a closer understanding of all that this inventory comprises, is to figure on the total of the values on record and leave a blank space for those whose values are unknown, to be filled out later when their respective appraisals have been made (as has been done with that of the Site of the Pardo). This would serve in the future as a statement of the amount of this quantity and thus appear in the following general account.

Summary

For ninety-nine of the one hundred eighteen paintings which now are in this Royal Palace, numbered in this inventory and appraised in the former one 346240 *reales de vellón* are noted. (*In margin* : paintings 18, 24 and 99 have been valued for this inventory at 1460 *reales*. Of painting 41 only the frame exists. On a second investigation this painting has been found and is not appraised.)

For the four paintings which appear unappraised in the former inventory and in this one numbered 18, 24, 42 and 99, there is a space left to be filled out after they have been appraised. 1460.

The fifteen paintings which appear in this inventory and are believed to be in the former one even if they are not described there in the same way as in the new one, must be valued as they are unappraised, and thus a space is left blank. 10120. (*In margin* : twelve of these fifteen paintings have been valued for this inventory at 10120 *reales* which appear in the summary. The other three have not been valued since they are portraits and these were not valued in the former inventory.)

For the ten existing jasper tables which appear in the former inventory valued at 2000 *reales* each, the amount of 20000 *reales* is noted. 20000.

For the three jasper chimney decorations, not valued in the former inventory, a blank space is left in case they are appraised. (*In margin* : they were not valued as they were part of the whole structure.)

Item. The same is said, in case they should be valued, of the door and windows with their iron fittings, old and damaged, which are in this Palace.

For the altarpiece in the oratory with the gradine, altar table and low cupboards [?] on the sides, the 400 ducats of its former value are noted. 4400.

For the two jasper altar slabs, missal, two candlesticks, walnut lectern, cross and panel with the Consecration's words, all the outfit of this poor oratory, a blank space is left as they are not valued.

For the altar table and sacristy chest in the oratory of the servants' quarters its former value of 500 *reales* is noted.

For the ebony prie-dieu or ceremonial chair in the main oratory, its former value of 300 ducats is noted. 3300.

For the walnut table with mahogany legs which is in this Palace valued at 180.

[For] the legs of another table and two iron banisters that are in this Palace in the room behind the bedroom, a blank space is left even if they are of little value, as they are not appraised.

For one hundred and thirty crystal glasses, three hundred and ninety-three ordinary glasses and six half glasses that are in thirty-nine frameworks in this Palace, 1572 *reales* are obtained. The crystal glasses are six *reales* each, and the ordinary ones are two *reales* each. 1572.

Having thus completed this general summary of all that undoubtedly exists in this Palace of the Torre de la Parada, we insert here the report of the conclusion of the former inventory of the site of the Pardo; we do not duplicate it since they should always appear together. I certify to the exact and legal truth of everything stated in this inventory which is in accordance with what appears in the inspectorship and auditorship books of the Royal Governorships under my charge. I conclude and close this in fulfillment of the above-mentioned judicial decree of the judge of the Royal estate and of the decree of his Excellency the Governor Marquis of San Juan, Madrid, June 18, 1747.

Don Vizente Manuel del Campo. Certified.

Torre de la Parada 1794

Inventario de las Pinturas, Esculturas, alhajas y muebles que han quedado por fallecimiento de S.M. Carlos III. T. II.

Oratorio

[1] Primeramente : en medio del Altar, un Quadro de 7 quartas de alto y cinco de ancho : es obra de Matias Donoso : representa a Nuestra Señora en su inmaculada Concepcion : en 1500.

[2, 3] Dos Quadros en tabla a los lados de dicho Altar, de cinco quartas de alto y tercia de ancho : representan dos mugeres fuertes de la Escritura Rebeca y Sara : del mismo Autor a trescientos reales cada uno importan. 600.

[4, 5] Otros dos Quadros del mismo Autor en lienzo, de vara y tercia de altos y dos tercias de anchos : representan a Adan y Eva : a quinientos reales cada uno, hacen 1000.

[6] Otro del propio Autor, de vara y tercia de alto y vara y media quarta de ancho : representa la Anunciacion de nuestra Señora : en 1000.

[7] Otro del mismo, de vara y tres dedos en quadro representa la Natividad de Nuestra Señora en 600.

[8, 9] Otros dos del mismo Autor, de vara y tercia de altos y tres quartas de anchos : representan los Desposorios y la Visitacion de nuestra Señora a seiscientos reales cada uno importan 1200.

[10, 11] Otros dos del representan la Puerta aurea mil reales cada una importa

de vara y tercia de alto y vara de ancho : Presentacion de nuestra Señora al Templo, 100.

[12 - 16] Cinco Pinturas de largo y dos tercias de ancho, que muestran la Purificacion de nuestra Señora.

El techo de dicho oratorio de poco mas de vara y media, ochabada la de en medio; en ellas se de- muestran la Purificacion de nuestra Señora, la Adoracion de Egipto, el Transito, la Asuncion y Coronacion de nuestra Señora. de dicho Autor y valen 1000.

[17 - 28] Doce Quadratos de diferentes Autores de varios tamaños, de los cuales el mayor tiene vara y media : representan unos coros de Angeles con Instrumentos musicales y atributos a Nuestra Señora : los ocho mayores y los quattro menores : todos en 800.

Sala primera

[29, 30] Dos Quadros de dos varas y quarta de ancho con sus marcos muy maltratados: representan a Atlante, y a una Fortuna : Son copias de Rubens : a doscientos reales cada uno importa 400.

[31] Un Quadro con su marco muy maltratado de vara y quarta de alto y vara de ancho : parece representar a San Juan Evangelista es de muy poco merito en 60.

Sala segunda

[32] Un Quadro apaisado de quattro varas de largo, y media de alto, marco dorado : representa a Cefalo y Procris : Es obra de Equillin discípulo de Rubens su valor 1500.

[33] Otro tambien apaisado, de tres varas de largo y dos quartas de alto : representa a Apolo matando a la Serpiente Piton : es obra de Cornelio de Box tiene marco dorado mal tratado : Su valor 1000.

[34] Otro Quadro con marco dorado mal tratado, de dos varas y quarta de alto, y una y tercia de ancho, representa un cometa : de dicho Equillin, y vale 600.

[35] Otro apaisado de dos varas y tres quartas de largo y poco mas de dos varas de alto mal tratado : representa una Fabula : copia de Rubens : en 300.

Sala tercera

[36 - 71] Treinta y seis quadros de varios Autores en lienzo de vara y tercia de alto y poco menos de ancho : cada uno a sesenta reales : entre los

quales hay algunos mas regulares representan varios Retratos de Reyes, de Reynas, Infantes e Infantas de España : todos estan con marcos negros mal tratados : su valor 2160.

[72, 73] Dos Sobreentanas que representan dos Paisitos de poco merito : Su valor sesenta reales cada uno : importan 120.

Sala quarta

[74] Un Quadro con marco dorado maltratado de dos varas y tercia de largo, poco menos de alto; representa dos Nereidas y un Triton : Su Autor Cornelio de Vox : y vale 600.

[75] Otro mui mal tratado de vara y tercia de alto y poco menos de ancho : representa una Danae obra de Vox : en 300.

[76] Otro de vara y tercia de alto y poco menos de ancho : representa a Centauro y Deyanira : de Equillin tiene el marco maltratado : en 600.

Sala quinta

[77] Un Quadro de dos varas y quarta de alto, y vara y tres quartas de ancho : representa a Andromaca y Perseo : es obra de Vox, tiene marco dorado maltratado : en 600.

[78] Otro de dos varas y quarta de alto y vara y quatro dedos de ancho, marco dorado y maltratado : representa a Polifemo : de Equillin : en 300.

[79] Otro, con marco dorado, de igual tamaño : representa a Baco y Ariadna : de Equilin : en 300.

Sala sexta

[80] Un Quadro apaisado con marco dorado y maltratado : de dos varas y tercia de largo y poco mas de dos varas de alto : representa a Endimion y a Diana : Copia de Rubens en 400.

[81] Otro tambien apaisado de dos varas de alto representa a Minerva castigando a Aracne : Copia de Rubens en 600.

[82] Otro de dos varas de alto y una y tres quartas de ancho : representa a Siquis y Cupido : obra de Equillin, su valor 1500.

[83] Otro de vara y media de alto y una de ancho representa el robo de Europa : obra de Equillin en 600.

[33] Another landscape, 3 *varas* long by 2/4 high, depicts Apollo killing the Serpent Python. By Cornelis de Vos, with damaged gilded frame, valued at 1000.

[34] Another painting with damaged gilded frame, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 1 1/3 wide, depicts a Comet. By the aforesaid Quellinus, valued at 600.

[35] Another very damaged landscape, 2 3/4 *varas* long by a little over 2 *varas* high, depicts a Fable, copied after Rubens, valued at 300.

Third hall

[36 - 71] 36 paintings on canvas by different artists, almost 1 1/3 *vara* square valued at 60 *reales* each. Among the best ones there are some portraits of Spanish Kings, Queens, and Princes with damaged black frames, valued at 2160.

[72, 73] Two window-pieces which depict two small landscapes, of little merit, valued at 60 *reales* each make 120.

Fourth hall

[74] A painting with damaged gilded frame, almost 2 1/3 *varas* square, depicts two Nereids and a Triton. By Cornelis de Vos, valued at 600.

[75] Another very damaged painting, almost 1 1/3 *vara* square, depicts a Danaë. By De Vos, valued at 300.

[76] Another with damaged frame, almost 1 1/3 *vara* square, depicts the Centaur and Dejanira. By Quellinus, valued at 600.

Fifth hall

[77] A painting with damaged gilded frame, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 1 3/4 *varas* wide, depicts Andromeda and Perseus. By De Vos, valued at 600.

[78] Another with damaged gilded frame, 2 1/4 *varas* high by a little over 1 *vara* wide, depicts Polyphemus. By Quellinus, valued at 300.

[79] Another with gilded frame, of the same size, depicts Bacchus and Ariadne. By Quellinus, valued at 300.

Sixth hall

[80] A landscape with damaged gilded frame, 2 1/3 *varas* long by a little over 2 *varas* high, depicts Endymion and Diana. Copy after Rubens, valued at 400.

[81] Another landscape, 2 *varas* high, depicts Minerva punishing Arachne. Copy after Rubens, valued at 600.

[82] Another, 2 *varas* high by 1 3/4 *vara* wide, depicts Psyche and Cupid. By Quellinus, valued at 1500.

[83] Another, 1 1/2 *vara* high by 1 *vara* wide, depicts the Rape of Europa. By Quellinus, valued at 600.

First room in lower quarter

[84] A landscape, almost 3 *varas* long by 2 wide, depicts a Nereid throwing herself into the Sea. By Quellinus, valued at 1000.

[85] Another, of the same size, depicts Deucalion and Pyrrha. Copy after Rubens, valued at 1000.

[86] Another, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 2 wide, depicts the Fable of the God Pan and Syrinx. By Quellinus, valued at 800.

Second room

[87] Another painting, 2 1/2 *varas* high, depicts Apollo and Daphne. By Quellinus, valued at 800.

[88] Another, 2 1/4 *varas* high by 1 1/3 wide, depicts a Bacchanal. It is damaged, frameless and of little merit; valued at 100.

[89] Another, 2 *varas* long by 1 1/4 high, depicts the Siege of a fortress. It is very damaged, almost worthless and without frame; not valued. 000.

We certify, as painters to His Majesty, to have taken notice of all that is specified and valued here which amounts to 25340 *reales vellón*. We hereby sign it, so that it will be on record, Madrid, February 25, 1794.

Mariano Salvador - Francisco Xavier Ramos - Eugenio Gimenez de Cisneros. Certified. As decreed. By Don Vincente Gomez - Mariano Salvador Maella-Certified.

El Pardo 1747

Tasaciones de todas clases de muebles y pinturas. Fernando VI.

Señor Don Phelipe quinto, deve tenerse, y considerarse, como havido por los Señores Reyes sus antecesores; para cuya mayor claridad, y conocimiento de lo que pueda aplicarse, a la qualidad de vienes libres de nuestro recien Difunto

Monarca, se pondra en este inventario una Lista general que sirva de resumen y noticia de quanto se compro, aumento, y adquirio en el tiempo y Reynado de su Magestad.

Presupuesto 4º

Que siendo aumento de cargo para el Conserje del Pardo, deve servir por vaja para el de la Torre de la Parada.

Por Resolucion de S. M. (que goze de Dios) se mando en Julio del año pasado de mill setecientos y catorce al Sr. Conde de Montenuovo que entonces governava las Reale Alcaidias se sacasen de la Torre de la Parada, quarenta y dos Pinturas, que havian de entregarse al Marques de Valouse, para removerlas, y colocarlas al Palacio del Pardo; cuya Real orden que se exsvie aqui por no haverle en los oficios de las Reales Alcaidias creados despues, se supone exista en los de la Real Junta de obras y Bosques, o en el de donde se ha dado al Jusgado de la Thestamentaria el Antiguo inventario de dicho Palacio del Pardo, pues se inserta en el, una individual Lista, firmada de Don Joseph Cayetano de Grijalva hijo de Don Gregorio, por qui en servia la Consurgia de la Torre de la Parada, en que dice : que en los dias diez y siete y veinte y ocho del mismo mes y año, y en virtud del citado orden se entregaron las referidas quarenta y dos Pinturas al Marques de Valouse, y en su nombre a Matheo Ossorno mozo de Oficio de la Tapizeria de la casa de la Reyna : I haciendo referencia por menor de los tamaños y representaciones de ellas, se nominaran aqui, con arreglo de dicha Lista para su inteligencia y conocimiento en la forma siguiente.

Tasa de dichas 42 Pinturas en Reales Vellon

Numeros que parace tenian dichas 42 pinturas.

Pieza primera

[1] Una Sobrepuerta pintado un Benado en el agua, seguido de perros cuyo numero y tassa se pone al margen.	...1500.
[2] Un lienzo grande pintado una caza de Gamos que el Rey, y sus hermanos matavan los Gamos a cuchilladas, y la Reyna estaba sentada con sus Damas en un tablado.	...12000.
[3] Phelipe 4º Abullando un puerco cogido de perros, es una sobre chimenea.	...6000.

- [4] Una tela Real de Jabalies con horquillas es lienzo grande.18000.
- [5] Un lienzo grande en que está pintada una Batida de Lobos con Redes, como se hacian antiguamente.7800.
- [6] Otra sobre Chimenea en que está pintada la Caza del Lazo.6000.
- [7] Otro lienzo grande en que está pintado Phelipe 4º siguiendo un Javali a caballo con asistencia de sus hermanos, y otros Señores.4800.
- [8] Otra Sobrepuerta con unas Zorras seguidas de perros que han cogido la una.1500.

Pieza segunda

- [9] Una sobrepuerta en que está pintada una Puerca aculada contra un Arbol.1500.
- [10] Una Sobreventana en que está una Gallina defendiendo sus Polluelos de los Alcotañes que los quieren coger.1200.
- [11] Una sobre ventana con unos Conejos retozando y unas Ranas.1200.
- [12] Una Sobrepuerta en que están unas Bodas de unos Villanos flamencos de gran mano.18000.

Pieza tercera

- [13] Un Democrito de cuerpo entero llorando.4500.
- [14] Un Eraclito igual riendo.4500.
- [15] Un Lion en la Red y un Raton royendo la querda.3000.
- [16] Una Sobreventana con Pavos Reales.1200.
- [17] Una Sobrepuerta con un javalín nuevo.900.
- [18] Otra Sobrepuerta de un Galgo meando enseñando los dientes a una urraca que le quiere picar.1200.
- [19] Una Sobreventana la fabula de a Zorra y la Zigüeña.600.
- [20] Moenipus Philosopho cuerpo entero.3000.
- [21] Essopus Philosopho Iden.3000.
- [22] Una Sobreventana con una cabra a qui en esta mamando una Zorra.1200.

Pieza sexta

- [23] Una Sobrepuerta, un perro de falda de una silla.1200.

Pieza septima

- [24] Un Bufon rebestido de filosofo estudiando.3000.
- [25] Otro Bufon con una baraja de naypes, sobre puertas.3000.

[26]	Una Sobreventana de una Zorra y dos Erizos.	...600.
[27]	Otra Sobrepuerta un Pays de un Conejo y una Tortuga.	...1500.
[28]	Otra Sobrepuerta de un Galgo.	...1200.
[29]	Otra Sobrepuerta de otro Galgo.	...1200.
[30]	Otra Sobrepuerta de un Benado caido sobre un tronco seguido de muchos perros.	...1500.
[31]	Otra Sobreventana un Pavo, un Gamo y cinco Gallinas.	...1200.
[32]	Otra Sobreventana un Javali que quiere combertir a un Mochuelo por que le a levantado.	...1200.

Cuarto vajo

[33]	Un lienzo grande en que esta una Caza de Francia con la muta de perros y muchas Madamas y Monsiures, acaballo.	...9000.
[34]	La Caza del oyo un lienzo muy largo y ancho.	...10800.
[35]	Una Sobre chimenea el Bellocino de oro.	...6000.
[36]	Un Pahis con dos Gatos, dos Ratas en un Arbol, y unos Pajaros.	...1800.
[37]	Erudise y Orfeo cuerpos enteros.	...6600.
[38]	Un quadro de unos Pescadores flamencos.	...1200.
[39]	Una Sobreventana un Borrico cargado de carne y diferentes Aves.	...1200.
[40]	Una Sobre ventana con un Gallo y Gallinas.	...900.
[41]	Otra Sobreventana con dos Pavos Reales.	...1200.
[42]	Otra Sobreventana con una caza de Gamos y Perros.	...1200.

Madrid, Archivo General de Palacio, Reynado de Fernando 6º, Legajo No. 17 (Casa).

The Pardo 1747

Appraisals of all kinds of furnishings and paintings. Ferdinand VI.

His Majesty Philip V should consider the following as property of the preceding King. This inventory will include a general list of what was bought, added and acquired during the reign of His Majesty in order to provide a better

and clearer knowledge of the kind of personal property of our recently dead King.

Fourth preliminary note

This is added to the amount entrusted to the keeper of the Pardo and must be taken from that of the keeper of the Torre de la Parada.

The Count of Montenuovo, governor of the Palace, was ordered by His Majesty (may he rejoice in God) on July 1714, to take forty-two paintings from the Torre de la Parada and give hem to the Marquis of Valouse to be taken to the Palace of the Pardo. This Royal decree is here recorded as it does not appear in the records of the Royal Governors which were made later. It is believed to exist in the Royal Board of Works and Forests or in the former inventory of the aforesaid Palace of the Pardo given to the Court for testamentary execution. It carries within it a special list signed by Don Joseph Cayetano de Grijalva, son of Don Gregorio, who served as keeper of the Torre de la Parada, which says that, on the 17th and 28th of the same month and year and according to the above-mentioned decree, the aforesaid forty-two paintings were given to the Marquis of Valouse and in his name to Matheo Ossorio, laborer at the tapestry shop of the Queen's house. Hereby we shall give in accordance with the aforesaid list, a description of their sizes and themes so that they may be known and recognized.

Appraisal of the aforesaid forty-two paintings in reales vellón

Numbers that these forty-two paintings seem to have had.

First room

[1]	Door-piece depicting a deer in the water followed by dogs. Its number and value appears in the margin.	...1500.
[2]	A large canvas depicting a hunt of bucks by the King and his brothers who killed the bucks with knives while the Queen and her ladies-in-waiting were sitting on a bench.	...12000.
[3]	A chimney-piece of Philip IV striking a wild boar held at bay by some dogs.	...6000.
[4]	A royal hunt with canvas enclosure of wild boars with pikes.	...18000.
[5]	A large canvas depicting a hunt of wolves with nets as used to be done in the past.	...7800.

- [6] A chimney-piece depicting the hunt with snare. ...6000.
- [7] A large canvas depicting Philip IV on horseback pursuing a wild boar with the help of his brothers and other gentlemen. ...4800.
- [8] A door-piece of some vixens pursued by dogs which have already taken one. ...1500.

Second room

- [9] A door-piece with a hog backed up against a tree. ...1500.
- [10] A window-piece of a hen protecting her chickens from the falcons that try to grab them. ...1200.
- [11] A window-piece with some romping rabbits and some frogs. ...1200.
- [12] A door-piece of the marriage of some Flemish peasants, showing the hand of a master. ...18000.

Third room

- [13] Full length portrait of Democritus crying [*sic*]. ...4500.
- [14] A similar portrait of Heraclitus laughing [*sic*]. ...4500.
- [15] A lion in the net and a mouse gnawing the cord. ...3000.
- [16] A window-piece with peacocks. ...1200.
- [17] A door-piece with a young wild boar. ...900.
- [18] Another door-piece with a greyhound urinating and showing his teeth to a magpie that wants to bite him. ...1200.
- [19] A window-piece of the fable of the vixen and the stork. ...600.
- [20] Full length portrait of the philosopher Menippus. ...3000.
- [21] The philosopher Aesop. Idem. ...3000.
- [22] A window-piece of a vixen sucking from a goat. ...1200.

Sixth room

- [23] A door-piece with a lap dog on a chair. ...1200.

Seventh room

- [24] A buffoon dressed as a studying philosopher. ...3000.
- [25] Another door-piece of a buffoon with a deck of cards. ...3000.
- [26] A window-piece of a vixen and two hedgehogs. ...600.
- [27] Another door-piece of a landscape with a rabbit and a tortoise. ...1500.
- [28] Another door-piece of a greyhound. ...1200.

- [29] Another door-piece of another greyhound. ...1200.
- [30] Another door-piece of a deer fallen over a log pursued by many dogs. ...1500.
- [31] Another window-piece of a turkey, a buck and five hens. ...1200.
- [32] Another window-piece of a wild boar that wants to fight a horned owl for having roused him. ...1200.

Lower quarter

- [33] A large canvas depicting a French hunt with the pack of hounds and many ladies and gentlemen on horseback. ...9000.
- [34] A large and wide canvas of the pit hunt. ...10800.
- [35] A chimney-piece of the golden fleece. ...6000.
- [36] A landscape with two cats, two rats on a tree and some birds. ...1800.
- [37] Eurydice and Orpheus in full length. ...6600.
- [38] A painting of some Flemish fishermen. ...1200.
- [39] A window-piece of a donkey laden with meats and varied fowl. ...1200.
- [40] A window-piece with a cock and hens. ...900.
- [41] Another window-piece with two peacocks. ...1200.
- [42] Another window-piece with a hunt of bucks and dogs. ...1200.

INDEX I : COLLECTIONS

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PLATES





1. *View of the Pardo and the Torre de la Parada*, drawing from *Le Passetemps de Jéhan Lhermitte*, c. 1600



2. Spanish, 17th century, *Torre de la Parada*.
Madrid, Museo Municipal

ainsi mourut. Ainsi s'ntreaymerent les deux aymâs , desquelz l'ung se mist a mort pour l'autre. Les parens qui les trouuerent les mirent en vng seul sepulchre . Et la moure qui parauant estoit blanche, receut couleur noire en signe de douleur.

3. La honte que fist Vulcan à Mars & sa femme Venus trouuez sur le fait d'amours , par Phébus qui descouvrir le secret.



Pres Leucothoe l'auanca & commença la sienne en telle maniere. Puis que nous sommes entrés à parler de matieres amoureuses, Je veuls faire mon cōpte de Phébus qui enlumine tout le mōde, lequel pour l'ainour d'une damoyseille estoit surprins merueilleusement. Or vous diray cōment cestu dieu qui plus cler voit que aultres , s'apperceut que Mars le dieu des batailles auoit accointé Venus la deesse d'amours, & qu'ilz faisoient ensemble le passetemps. Moult en fut Phébus dolent. Si l'alla dire à Vulcan le mary de Venus qui est dieu du feu. Si luy

H iii

3. *Mars and Venus*, woodcut (Paris, 1539)



4. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens and Snyders, *Diana and Nymphs*. Barcelona, Universidad



5. *Atalanta and Meleager*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557)

Così l'istesso effetto anco e maggior
L'huon, ch'andassò là giù, ueder patria :
Ne meraviglia forse, che l'umore
(Benché contraria l'acqua al foco sua)
Se auueni, che temperato habbia il calore,
Granda albor, mirabil cose cria :
Anzi, quanto hu fra noi spirto e forma,
La discordie concordia ordise e forma.



Con la grandezza sua, col fiero aspetto
Porgua a ch'il uede a tema e paura
L'horrido Serpe, che Python s'è detto :
Ne mente hebbi giamai tanto sicura
Alcun mortal, ne così ardito petto,
Che ardisse riguardar la sua figura.
Fuggon tutte da lui le genti accorte,
Proprio, come si fugge da la morte.

Ma guastando ogni di turba infinita
Pithone, e distruggendo ogni paese,
Febo delibero torlo di uita :
E'l suo fior' arco e le sciette prese :
Le quali, si come quello, a cui gradita
Era la caccia, huuea da primi spese
In Damme e in Capri, e solamente in tali
Fugaci sere, e timida anima.

E, perchè tosto al fin l'empio uenisse,
E fosse di quel mal libero il mondo :
Di mille e più sciette lo traffisse
Fin che de la Faretra apparisse il fondo.
Così conuenne, che Python morisse
Per man d' Apollo, e giacque il serpe immôdo.
Onde restò gran spazio di terreno
Sparsò tutto di sangue e di ueleno.

E quindi Apollo, accio che rimanesse
Di sì bel fatto la memoria tale,
Che secolo uenir non la spiegasse,
Ma uiuisse fra noi chiara e immortale ;
Feste e giuochi ordinò, ch'a lui douesse
Celebrar d'anno in anno ogni mortale :
Le quali poi dal nome del Serpente
Pithie chiamò la liberata gente.

Ouid.

B

6. *Apollo and the Python*, woodcut (Venice, 1553)



7. *Scenes from Ovid, Met., Book vi*, engraving (Venice, 1584)



8. School of Rubens, *Æolus or Air*. Madrid, Prado



9. School of Rubens, *Vulcan or Fire*. Madrid, Prado



10. School of Rubens, *Flora*. Madrid, Prado



11. Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting*, sketch. Brussels, Coll. J. Nieuwenhuys



12. Rubens, *Diana and Actaeon*, sketch. Brussels, Coll. J. Nieuwenhuys



13. P. de Vos, *Bull Hunt with Dogs*. Madrid, Prado



14. P. de Vos, *Deer Hunt with Dogs*. Madrid, Prado



15. P. de Vos, *Fallow Deer Hunt with Dogs*. Madrid, Prado



16. Attributed to P. de Vos, *Boar Hunt with Dogs*. Madrid, Prado



17. P. de Vos, *Dog*. Madrid, Prado



18. P. de Vos, *Dog*. Madrid, Prado



19. P. de Vos, *Dog*. Madrid, Prado



20. P. de Vos, *Fox*. Madrid, Prado



21. P. de Vos, *A Fable : The Dog and the Shadow*. Madrid, Prado



22. P. de Vos, *A Fable : The Fox and the Crane*. Madrid, Prado



23. P. de Vos, *A Fable : The Dog and the Magpie*. Madrid, Prado



24. P Snayers, *Philip IV Killing a Wild Boar*. Madrid, Prado



25. *Boar Hunt*, engraving (Mateos)



26. P. Snayers, *Philip IV Shooting Deer*. Madrid, Prado



27. *Deer Hunt*, engraving (Mateos)



28. Velázquez and an assistant, *Philip IV Hunting Wild Boar*. London, National Gallery



29. P. Snayers, *Hunting at the Pit at the Cuartel de Velada*. Madrid, Prado



30. P. Snayers, *Court Hunt (Caza de Francia)*. Madrid, Prado



31. *Philip IV's Horse Dying under him during a Hunt*, engraving (Mateos)



32. Velázquez, *Philip IV*. Madrid, Prado



33. Velázquez, *Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand*.
Madrid, Prado



34. Velázquez, *Prince Balthasar Carlos.*
Madrid, Prado



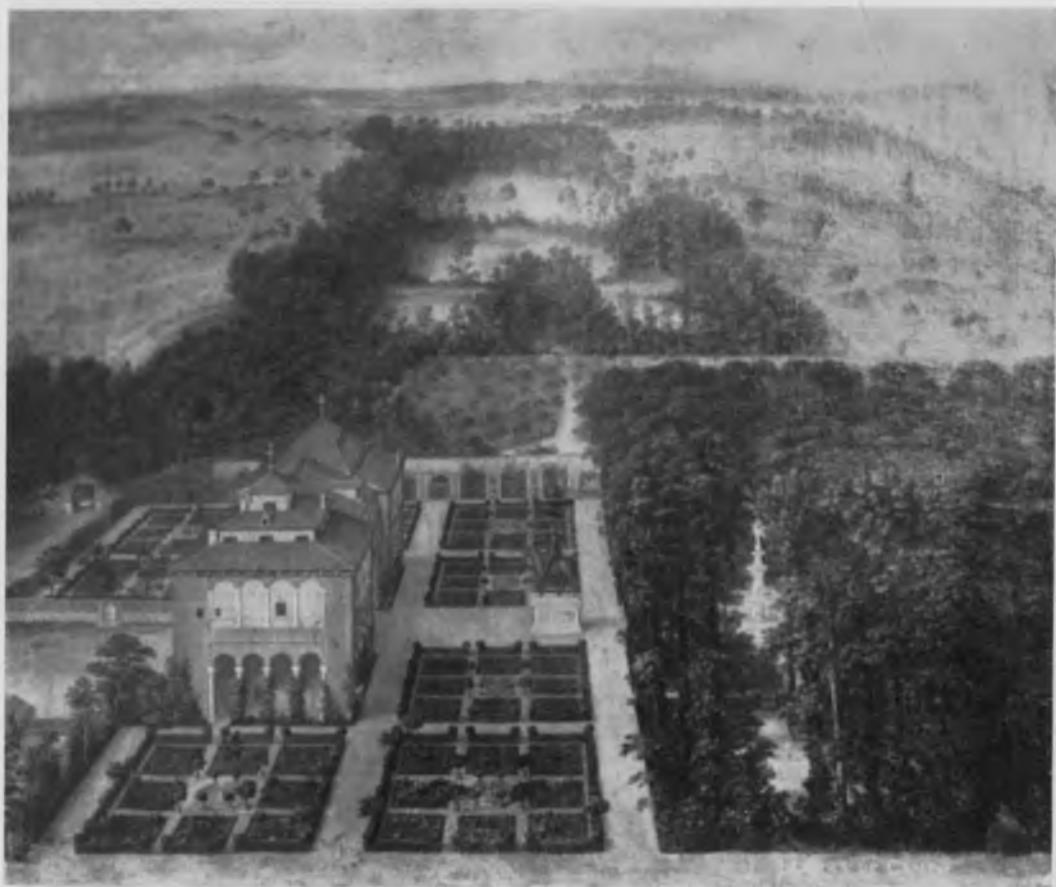
35. Velázquez, *Diego de Acedo, El Primo.* Madrid, Prado



36. Velázquez, *Francisco Lezcano*. Madrid, Prado



37. Velázquez, *Juan de Calabazas*. Madrid, Prado



38. Spanish, 17th century, *Casa de Campo*. Madrid, Museo Municipal



39. Spanish, 17th century, *Real Alcazar*, Madrid. Madrid, Museo Municipal



40. Spanish, 17th century, *Valsain*. Madrid, Royal Palace



41. Spanish, 17th century, *Aceca*. Escorial



42. Spanish, 17th century, *Escorial*. Escorial



43. Spanish, 17th century, *Campillo*. Escorial



44. Spanish, 17th century, *Pardo Palace*. Escorial



45. Spanish, 17th century, *Vaciamadrid*. Escorial



46. Spanish, 17th century, *Buen Retiro*. Madrid, Royal Palace



47. Velázquez, *Mars*. Madrid, Prado



48. Velázquez, *Aesop*. Madrid, Prado



49. Velázquez, *Menippus*. Madrid, Prado



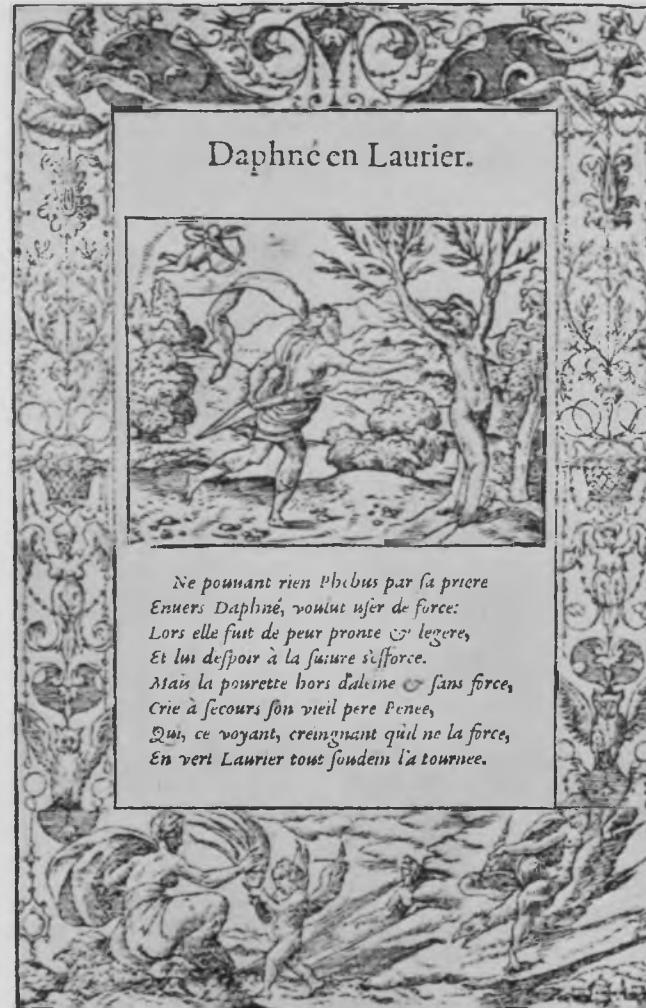
50. School of Rubens, *Apollo and Daphne* (No. 1). Madrid, Prado



51. Rubens, *Apollo and Daphne*, sketch (No. 1a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



52. *Apollo and Daphne*, woodcut (Lyons, 1557; No. 1a)



53. *Apollo and Daphne*, woodcut (Lyons, 1557; No. 1a)



54. C. de Vos, *Apollo and the Python* (No. 2). Madrid, Prado



55. Rubens, *Apollo and the Python*, sketch (No. 2a). Madrid, Prado



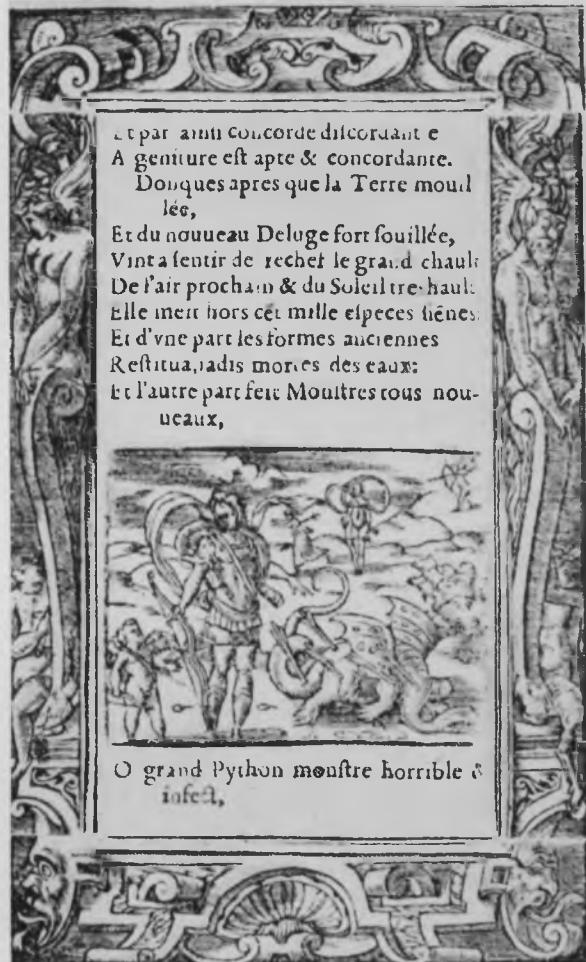
56. *Apollo and the Python*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 2a)



57. *Apollo and the Python*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 2a)



58. *Apollo and the Python*, engraving (Tempesta; No. 2a)



O grand Python monstre horrible & infernal,

Ainsi est de la
coniondictio des
diuerses lexes.

Nature ne voulut
lait n'er perdre
nulle forme si-
enne. Parquoy
c'eist les enians
retembler leurs
peres ou ayeulx
ou parens de-
tunetz.

59. *Apollo and the Python*, woodcut (Lyons, 1556; No. 2a)



60. Rubens, *Arachne and Minerva*, sketch (No. 3a). Richmond, Virginia, The Virginia Museum of Fine Arts



61. *Arachne and Minerva*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1559; No. 3a)



62. *Arachne and Minerva*, engraving (Tempesta; No. 3a)



63. *Scenes from Ovid, Met., Book vi*, engraving
(Oxford, 1632; No. 3a)



64. J.P. Gowy, *Atalanta and Hippomenes* (No. 4). Madrid, Prado



65. Rubens, *Atalanta and Hippomenes*, sketch (No. 4a). Paris, Coll. Heugel



66. *Atalanta and Hippomenes*, engraving (*Tempesta*; No. 4a)



67. *Atalanta and Hippomenes*,
woodcut (Leipzig, 1582; No. 4a)



68. *Atalanta and Hippomenes*,
woodcut (Lyons, 1557; No. 4a)



69. Rubens, *Atlas*, sketch (No. 5a). London, Coll. Count Seilern



70. After Rubens, *Atlas*, sketch (No. 5a). Madrid, Prado



71. Rubens, *Aurora and Cephalus*, sketch (No. 6a). London, National Gallery



72. C. de Vos, *The Triumph of Bacchus* (No. 7). Madrid, Prado



73. Rubens, *The Triumph of Bacchus*, sketch (No. 7a). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



74. E. Quellinus, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (No. 8). Madrid, Prado



75. Rubens, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, sketch (No. 8a).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



76. J. Jordaens, *Cadmus and Minerva* (No. 9). Madrid, Prado



77. Rubens, *Cadmus and Minerva*, sketch (No. 9a). Raveningham Hall, Norfolk, England, Coll. Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.



78. *Cadmus and Minerva*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 9a)



79. *Scenes from Ovid, Met., Book III*, engraving
(Oxford, 1632; No. 9a)



80. P. Symons, *Cephalus and Procris* (No. 10). Madrid, Prado



81. Rubens, *Cephalus and Procris*, sketch (No. 10a). Madrid, Prado



82. *Cephalus and Procris*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 10a)



83. *Apollo and Coronis*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 10a)



84. Rubens, *Clytie*, sketch (No. 11a). New York, Coll. William Suhr



85. *Clytie*, woodcut (Venice, 1553; No. 11a)



86. E. Quellinus, *Cupid on a Dolphin* (No. 12). Madrid, Prado



87. Rubens, *Cupid on a Dolphin*, sketch (No. 12a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



88. School of Rubens, *Cupid and Psyche*, fragment (No. 13). Madrid, Prado



89. Rubens, *Cupid and Psyche*, sketch (No. 13a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



90. Rubens, *Daedalus and the Labyrinth*, sketch (No. 14a).
La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes



91. *Theseus and Ariadne*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 14a)



92. *Dejanira and Nessus*, engraving
(*La Tempesta*; No. 16a)



93. Rubens, *Dejanira and Nessus*, sketch (No. 16a).
Present whereabouts unknown



94. After Rubens, *Dejanira and Nessus* (No. 16a). Madrid, Prado



95. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *Deucalion and Pyrrha* (No. 17). Barcelona, Ayuntamiento



96. Rubens, *Deucalion and Pyrrha*, sketch (No. 17a). Madrid, Prado



97. Rubens and ? P. de Vos, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting* (No. 20). Present whereabouts unknown



98. Rubens, *Diana and Nymphs Hunting*, sketch (No. 20a). Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, Coll. Maj. General Sir Harold Wernher, Bart.



99. Rubens, *Diana and Endymion*, sketch (No. 19a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



100. Rubens, *Ganymede* (No. 24). Madrid, Prado



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101. E. Quellinus, *The Rape of Europa* (No. 21). Madrid, Prado



102. Rubens, *The Rape of Europa*, sketch (No. 21a). Madrid, Prado



103. E. Quellinus, *The Death of Eurydice* (No. 22). Madrid, Prado



104. Rubens, *The Death of Eurydice*, sketch (No. 22a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



105. Rubens, *Fortune* (No. 23). Madrid, Prado



106. Rubens, *Fortune*, sketch (No. 23a). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



107. J. Jordaens, *The Fall of the Giants* (No. 25). Madrid, Prado



108. Rubens, *The Fall of the Giants*, sketch (No. 25a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



109. Rubens, *Glaucus and Scylla*, sketch (No. 26a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



110. *Glaucus and Scylla*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 26a)



111. School of Rubens, *The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais* (No. 27). Madrid, Prado



112. Rubens, *The Harpies Driven Away by Zetes and Calais*, sketch (No. 27a). Madrid, Prado



113. J.B. del Mazo after J.B. Borrekens, *The Apotheosis of Hercules* (No. 28). Madrid, Prado



114. *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, woodcut (Lyons, 1557; No. 28a)



115. J.B. Borrekens, *The Apotheosis of Hercules* (No. 28). Madrid, Prado



116. Rubens, *The Apotheosis of Hercules*, sketch (No. 28a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



117. Rubens, *Hercules and Cerberus*, sketch (No. 29a). Madrid, Prado



118. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *Hercules and the Hydra* (No. 30). Madrid, Prado



119. After Rubens, *Hercules and the Hydra*, drawing (No. 30).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



120. Rubens, *Hercules and the Hydra*, sketch (No. 30a).
London, Coll. Count Seilern



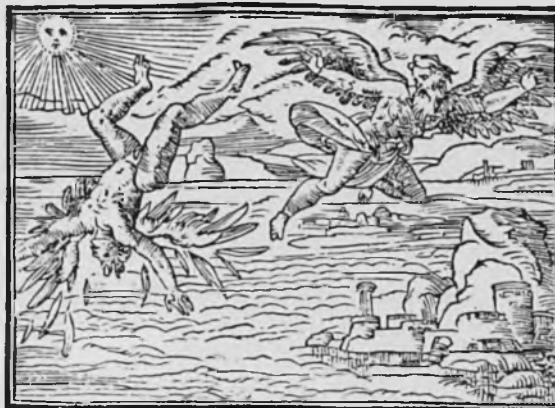
121. T. van Thulden, *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple* (No. 31). Madrid, Prado



122. Rubens, *Hercules's Dog Discovers Tyrian Purple*, sketch (No. 31a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



123. Rubens, *The Death of Hyacinth*, sketch (No. 32a). Madrid, Prado



124. *The Fall of Icarus*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 33a)



125. *The Fall of Icarus*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 33a)



126. *Scenes from Ovid, Met., Book x*, engraving
(Oxford, 1632; No. 32a)



127. *The Fall of Icarus*, engraving (Tempesia; No. 33a)



128. J.P. Gowy, *The Fall of Icarus* (No. 33). Madrid, Prado



129. Rubens, *The Fall of Icarus*, sketch (No. 33a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



130. E. Quellinus, *Jason and the Golden Fleece* (No. 34). Madrid, Prado



131. Rubens, *Jason and the Golden Fleece*, sketch (No. 34a).

Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



132. J. Cossiers, *Jupiter and Lycaon* (No. 35). Madrid, Prado



133. Rubens, *Jupiter and Lycaon*, sketch (No. 35a). Rochefort-sur-Mer, Musée Municipal



134. *Scenes from Ovid, Met., Book I*, engraving
(Oxford, 1632; No. 35a)



135. Rubens, *Jupiter and Semele*, sketch (No. 36a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



136. Rubens, *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs* (No. 37). Madrid, Prado



137. Rubens, *Studies for the Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs and Hercules Struggling with a Bull*, drawing (No. 37a).
Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard



138. Rubens, *The Battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs*, sketch (No. 37b). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



139. *Lapiths and Centaurs*, engraving (*Tempesta*; No. 37a)



140. *Mercury and Argus*, engraving (*Tempesta*; No. 40a)



141. Rubens, *Mercury and Argus* (No. 40). Madrid, Prado



142. Rubens, *Mercury and Argus*, sketch (No. 402). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



143. Rubens, *Mercury* (No. 39). Madrid, Prado



144. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens,
Mercury (No. 39). Madrid, Prado



145. After Rubens, *Mercury*,
drawing (No. 39). Cambridge, Mass.,
Fogg Art Museum



146. J.B. del Mazo after Jordaeans, *The Judgment of Midas* (No. 41).
Madrid, Prado



147. J. Jordaens, *The Judgment of Midas* (No. 41). Madrid, Prado



148. Rubens, *The Judgment of Midas*, sketch (No. 41a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



149. Rubens, *The Creation of the Milky Way* (No. 42). Madrid, Prado



150. Rubens, *The Creation of the Milky Way*, sketch (No. 42a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts



151. J. Cossiers, *Narcissus* (No. 43). Madrid, Prado



152. Rubens, *Narcissus*, sketch (No. 43a). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



153. Rubens, *Nereid and Triton*, sketch (No. 44a).

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



154. Attributed to T. van Thulden and P. de Vos, *Orpheus Playing the Lyre* (No. 45). Madrid, Prado



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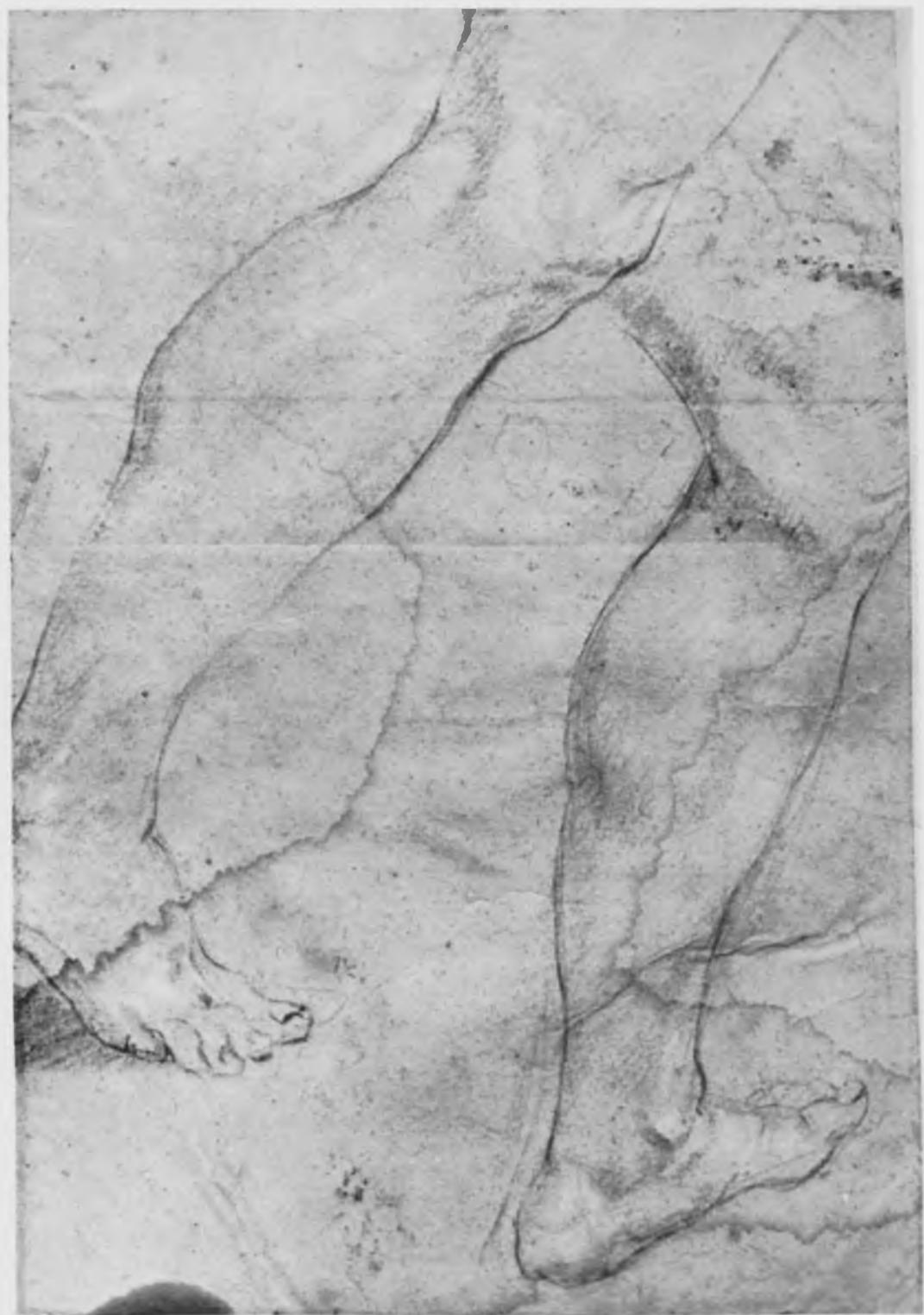
155. Rubens, *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades* (No. 46). Madrid, Prado



156. Rubens, *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades*, sketch (No. 46a). Zürich, Kunsthaus



157. Rubens, *Man Holding a Staff*, drawing (No. 46b). Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe



158. Rubens, *Study for a right and a left Leg*, drawing (No. 40b).

Rome, Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe



159. *Orpheus and Eurydice*, woodcut
(Paris, 1539; No. 46a)



160. Rubens, *Pan and Syrinx*, sketch (No. 47a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



161. Rubens, *Perseus and Andromeda*, sketch (No. 49a). Present whereabouts unknown



162. J. Jordaeus, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (No. 48). Madrid, Prado



163. Rubens, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, sketch (No. 48a). Chicago, Art Institute



164. J. van Eyck, *The Fall of Phaethon* (No. 50). Madrid, Prado



165. Rubens, *The Fall of Phaethon*, sketch (No. 50a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



12.

Phaetontis casus.

166. *The Fall of Phaethon*, engraving (*Tempesta*; No. 50a)



167. After Rubens, *Polyphemus*, sketch (No. 51a). Madrid, Prado



168. School of Rubens, *Prometheus* (No. 52). Madrid, Prado



169. Rubens, *Prometheus*, sketch (No. 52a). Madrid, Prado



168. School of Rubens, *Prometheus* (No. 52). Madrid, Prado



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169. Rubens, *Prometheus*, sketch (No. 52a). Madrid, Prado



170. Rubens, *The Rape of Proserpina* (No. 53). Madrid, Prado



171. Rubens, *The Rape of Proserpina*, sketch (No. 53a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



172. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *The Rape of Proserpina* (No. 53). Barcelona, Universidad



173. Rubens, *The Rape of Proserpina*, sketch (No. 53a). Paris, Petit Palais



174. *The Rape of Proserpina*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 53a)



175. *Canens*, engraving
(*Tempesta*; No. 54a)



176. Rubens, *Reason* (?), sketch (No. 54a).
La Coruña, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes



177. Rubens, *Saturn* (No. 55). Madrid, Prado



178. Rubens, *Saturn*, sketch (No. 55a). Present whereabouts unknown



179. Rubens, *Satyr* (No. 56). Madrid, Prado



180. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *The Banquet of Tereus* (No. 57). Valladolid, Museo



181. *The Banquet of Tereus*, woodcut
(Leipzig, 1582; No. 57a)



182. Rubens, *The Banquet of Tereus* (No. 57). Madrid, Prado



183. Rubens, *The Banquet of Tereus*, sketch (No. 57a). London, Coll. Edward Speelman



184. After Rubens, *The Banquet of Tereus*, sketch (No. 57a). Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



185. After Rubens, *The Banquet of Tereus*, sketch (No. 57a). Urbana, Illinois, Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois



186. C. de Vos, *The Birth of Venus* (No. 58). Madrid, Prado



187. Rubens, *The Birth of Venus*, sketch (No. 58). London, National Gallery



188. Rubens, *The Birth of Venus*, sketch (No. 58a). Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts



189. J. Jordaens, *Vertumnus and Pomona* (No. 59). Caramulo, Museu



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190. Rubens, *Vertumnus and Pomona*, sketch (No. 59a). Madrid, Prado



191. *Vertumnus and Pomona*, woodcut
(Lyons, 1557; No. 59a)



192. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *Vulcan*
(No. 60).
Saragossa, Museo Provincial de Bellas Artes



193. Rubens, *Vulcan* (No. 60). Madrid, Prado



194. Rubens, *Vulcan*, sketch (No. 60a). Great Britain, Coll. Mrs. Nicholas Mosley



195. Rubens, *Democritus* (No. 61). Madrid, Prado



196. Rubens, *Heraclitus* (No. 62). Madrid, Prado



197. Rubens, *Cyparissus*, sketch. Bayonne, Musée Bonnat



198. Rubens, *Hercules and the Nemean Lion*. St. Louis, Missouri, Coll. Dr. Charles Kuhn



161.

199. J.B. del Mazo after Rubens, *Hercules in the Garden of the Hesperides*. Madrid, Prado



200. After Rubens, *Hercules and a Bull*, drawing. London, Coll. Count Seilern