

CORPUS RUBENIANUM

LUDWIG BURCHARD

PART XVIII

LANDSCAPES AND HUNTING SCENES

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I · LANDSCAPES

BY WOLFGANG ADLER

CORPUS RUBENIANUM
LUDWIG BURCHARD

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

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN
BY P. S. FALLA

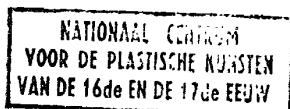
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LANDSCAPES

BY WOLFGANG ADLER



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CONTENTS

Author's Preface	page 7
Abbreviations	9
Introduction	21
Catalogue Raisonné	37
Illustrations	193
List of Illustrations	349
Sources of Photographs	354
Indexes:	355
I · Collections	356
II · Subjects	361
III · Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text	368
IV · Names and Places	370

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

IN THE 1960s, when completing my doctoral thesis on Jan Wildens's collaboration with Rubens as a landscape painter, I frequently consulted the records at the Rubenianum in Antwerp. At that time Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, President of the 'Nationale Centrum voor de Plastische Kunsten van de 16^{de} en de 17^{de} Eeuw', invited me to compile the two volumes of Part XVIII of the Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, entitled *Hunting Scenes* and *Landscapes*. I was able to begin this work in 1972 thanks to the generosity of the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft in providing a research grant with liberal travelling expenses.

It soon became clear, however, that the volume of material on *Hunting Scenes* and *Landscapes* was too great to be handled adequately at the same time by a single researcher, and moreover that these two important branches of Rubens's activity have much less in common than is suggested by the fact that they are traditionally grouped together. One reason for this may be that Rubens's hunting scenes partake of the nature of battle-pieces. Some years ago it was accordingly decided that Mr Arnout Balis would take over the editorship of Volume 2 of Part XVIII, dealing with *Hunting Scenes*.

There are only two instances in which problems arise from the overlapping of the two types of theme, and only one of these presents a real dilemma. With much hesitation, the *Wild Boar Hunt* at Dresden has been included (as Cat. No. 18) in the *Landscapes* volume. It will, however, also be described in the volume on *Hunting Scenes*, naturally without a separate catalogue number. This case in particular serves to justify the grouping of *Landscape* and *Hunting Scenes* in Part XVIII of the series. A less problematical case is the Prado *Landscape with the Hunt of Meleager and Atalanta* (No. 41), where the mythological hunting scene, composed of fairly small figures, is presented in the symbolic setting of a golden sunset contrasted with the deepening shades of night. This late work clearly ranks as a landscape painting, but the hunting scene will also be dealt with separately in Volume 2.

I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks for the kind and helpful cooperation I have received at the Rubenianum. I am especially grateful to Professor R.-A. d'Hulst, Mr Frans Baudouin, Dr Hans Vlieghe, who is responsible for the detailed editorship of this Volume, and Dr Carl Van de Velde. A very special word of thanks goes to Mr P. S. Falla, for his careful and far from easy translation of my original German text. Without the generous aid

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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Wolfgang Adler

ABBREVIATIONS

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London, 1829 *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1829.

ABBREVIATIONS

London, 1831 *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1831.

London, 1835 *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1835.

London, 1836 *Exhibition of the British Institution*, London, 1836.

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ABBREVIATIONS

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Rotterdam-Paris-Brussels, 1977 *Le Cabinet d'un Amateur. Dessins flamands et hollandais des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles d'une collection privée d'Amsterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, and Royal Library, Brussels, 1977.*

Vienna, 1977 *Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640. Ausstellung zur 400. Wiederkehr seines Geburtstages, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1977.*

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INTRODUCTION

THE EARLIEST SURVIVING LANDSCAPES that are regarded by critics as definitely by Rubens form a stylistically homogeneous group. In 1940 Gustav Glück, in the preface to *De Landschappen van Peter Paul Rubens*,¹ drew attention to two study drawings of shepherdesses (now in the Albertina² and the Print Room at Berlin-Dahlem³) for *The Adoration of the Shepherds*⁴—a work which came into the possession of the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Marseilles after the French Revolutionary wars, and was originally one of the two predellas of the altarpiece *The Adoration of the Magi* in St John's church at Mechlin⁵—and pointed out that the figures in *The Farm at Laken* in the Royal Collection in London (No.20, Fig.63) were variations on these studies, which had clearly been made for the predella. The shepherdess kneeling with hands crossed over her breast reappears in *The Farm* as a dairymaid with a brass pitcher. The standing shepherdess who, in the Dahlem study and in the predella, carries on her head a round vessel which she is steadying with both hands, is seen in *The Farm* with a basket of fruit on her head, which she holds in position with her left arm only: with her right hand she reaches down and pulls at her apron. As documents show the Mechlin altarpiece to have been painted in 1617–19, *The Farm* can scarcely be dated before 1617—unless Rubens altered the figures considerably at a date subsequent to the work itself, which there is no reason to suppose. It thus appears that all the works of the group here referred to can hardly be earlier than about 1615. Some critics, however, appear not to be acquainted with Glück's evidence on this point, or to have disregarded it for other reasons. For instance, Leo van Puyvelde in his work on Rubens published in 1952,⁶ and also in the 1964 edition,⁷ gives a date of 1614 for *The Farm*, and actually assigns the *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St. Paul* in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum (No.36, Fig.101) to a date during Rubens's stay in Italy, on account of its canvas support and bolus ground. This latter view, which is contrary to stylistic indications, is repeated in 1977 in Michael Jaffé's *Rubens and Italy*.⁸

The *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* in the Louvre (No.14, Fig.42),

1. p.16 and figs.2,3.

2. Glück–Haberitzl, no.111; Glück, fig.2.

3. Glück–Haberitzl, no.112; Glück, fig.3.

4. K.d.K., p.166, top.

5. K.d.K., pp.164–166, 461 (notes to pp.164–166).

6. Van Puyvelde, p.118.

7. Id., ed., Brussels, 1964, p.139.

8. Jaffé, 1977, pp.78,116 (repr. pl.149).

INTRODUCTION

which was long rejected and which derives directly from Elsheimer's version of the subject at Munich, was reattributed to Rubens by Ludwig Burchard, who dates it c. 1613. He assigns a date of c. 1614 to the lost *Landscape with Antique Ruins* (No.15, Fig.46), known from a Bolswert engraving and copies, the best of which is in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier, as well as to the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No.16, Fig.45) and the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection (No.17, Fig.52); and a date of c. 1616 to the *Landscape with Boar Hunt* in the Dresden Gemäldegalerie (No.18, Fig.53).

In 1957 Jaffé published a sheet of drawings from the collection of Professor Van Regteren Altena at Amsterdam with, on the verso, two pen and ink sketches of Roman outdoor scenes, executed rapidly but precisely and with clear artistic intent (No.1, Fig.1). The figures embodied in the veduta (guests at a trattoria, conceived in the composition as participants in a divine banquet, and absorbed into it by light and shadow; a troop of pilgrims as an embellishment to the abbey of Santa Sabina on the Aventine)—all these figures indicate that even in his topographical studies the artist tends towards pictorial composition. The present drawings may have been executed in 1606 (cf. Paul Bril's very similar view of the Aventine with the abbey of Santa Sabina in the Berlin-Dahlem Print Room, dated 1606; Fig.8) and are the first two items in the present critical catalogue of Rubens landscapes.

Together with this previously unknown sheet, Jaffé in 1957 also ascribed to Rubens the drawing in pen and water-colour of *The Farm near the Ruggenveld* (No.12, Fig.40), the best-known of the 'Farm' group of drawings. I believe that all the twelve known drawings of this group (the twelfth has survived only in copied form) that represent Flemish farmsteads together with a moated castle, or the ruins of one, are by Rubens. They probably belong to the first two years after his return from Italy and may represent parts of the land which was an inheritance from his mother ('a kind of pictorial inventory').⁹ Since the inscriptions and dates on the backs of the drawings are by different unknown hands, the date of 1606 which figures on two of the sheets, besides 1609 and 1610, is no reason why views of Flemish farmsteads should not have been executed by Rubens, who indeed was in Italy in 1606; especially considering that, for instance, Rubens's nephew Philipp was mistaken concerning such an important date as that of the artist's purchase of 'Het Steen', which he placed in 1630.¹⁰ Many basic features connect these topographical scenes with Rubens's painted landscapes: for instance the central mass, surrounded by space, of the pen and water-colour drawing representing *The 'Keyzers Hof'* (No.11, Fig.33), which is paralleled in the

9. Winkler, p.51.

10. Rubens-Bulletijn, II, p.167; see also further, No.2.

Pond with Cows and Milkmaids in the Liechtenstein collection (No. 17, Fig. 52). These are the first Baroque landscape drawings executed north of the Alps. They reflect not only Rubens's artistic impulses but also his training, his encounter in Rome with Elsheimer and with the draughtsman Barocci, whose importance in his development was pointed out by Michael Jaffé in *Rubens and Italy*.

Burchard did not discuss the question of the origins of Rubens's landscape painting, but the importance of Elsheimer is clearly shown by the *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* in the Louvre (No. 14, Fig. 42), which we have already mentioned and which owes its inspiration to Elsheimer's composition at Munich, and by the version at Kassel which bears the date 1614.¹¹ In a letter of 14 January 1611 to Johann Faber, Rubens makes special mention of the German artist and expresses the desire to get Elsheimer's widow to send to Flanders a *Flight into Egypt* painted by him on copper:

'Surely, after such a loss, our entire profession ought to clothe itself in mourning. It will not easily succeed in replacing him; in my opinion he had no equal in small figures, in landscapes, and in many other subjects. . . . I am sorry that in these parts we have not a single one of his works. I should like to have that picture on copper (of which you write) of the "Flight of Our Lady into Egypt" come to this country, but I fear that the high price of 300 crowns may prevent it. Nevertheless, if his widow cannot sell it promptly in Italy, I should not dissuade her from sending it to Flanders, where there are many art-lovers, although I shouldn't want to assure her of obtaining this sum. I shall certainly be willing to employ all my efforts in her service, as a tribute to the dear memory of Signor Adam.'¹²

The deep impression that Elsheimer's art made on Rubens is also traceable in those landscapes where it has so far not been noticed. The *Landscape with Antique Ruins*, preserved in the Bolswert engraving (No. 15, Fig. 47) and a good contemporary copy at Montpellier (No. 15, Fig. 46), shows an arbour with a parapet and figures, and also some antique pillars still carrying part of their architrave. These motifs seem to have been suggested by the right-hand half of Elsheimer's *Il Contento*¹³ (a copy, by Rubens, of the left-hand half of this picture is in the Princes Gate Collection—formerly Seilern—in London).¹⁴ Similarly, the Baroque diagonal of Rubens's *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No. 28, Fig. 84) corresponds to Elsheimer's *Aurora* at Brunswick,¹⁵

11. Cat. Kassel 1958, Inv. No. 87, pp. 132, 133; *K.d.K.*, p. 78.

12. *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp. 327–331, No. CMXXIV.

13. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland; oil on copper, 30.1 x 42 cm.; see *Andrews, Elsheimer*, Cat. No. 19, Pl. 71.

14. *Seilern*, No. 30.

15. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, No. 550; oil on copper, 17 x 22 cm.; Cat. Brunswick 1969, p. 56 (colour repr. VIII).

INTRODUCTION

and Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel* ('The large Tobias')¹⁶ seems to provide the compositional model for Rubens's late *Landscape in Moonlight* in oil on paper at Leningrad (No.62, Fig.145): even the southern-looking building in the hilly background could still be explained by such inspiration in the fourth decade of Rubens's creative activity. (This building does not appear in the Flemicized *Landscape with Moon and Stars* in the Princes Gate Collection, No.63, Fig.146; in Elsheimer, on the other hand, it is in the centre of the picture).

Elsheimer's influence on Rubens is also shown in the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.23, Fig.72) and the painting derived from it, *The Watering Place* (No.25, Fig.71), with its wedges of forest breaking up the space, its tree-shapes and to some extent its lighting. The *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* in the Hermitage (No.19, Fig.62) with moonlight and a shepherds' fire in the darkened left half shows features developed from Elsheimer, and the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No.16, Fig.45) should also be mentioned here. Even in the *Landscape with St George*, painted in London in 1629–30 (No.35, Fig.93), the wooded bank on the far side with the shepherds' fire reflected in the river is reminiscent of Elsheimer's night scenes. See also the *Landscape with St Paul* (No.36, Fig.101).

As we have seen, Jaffé in *Rubens and Italy* pointed out the importance of Federico Barocci for Rubens's early development as a landscapist, especially his drawings from nature and treatment of landscape backgrounds.¹⁷ As Jaffé remarks: 'Appreciation of Barocci was crucial to Rubens's shift from a Venetian-based style of rendering the details of landscape; and this is noticeable in his draughtsmanship even before his return to Antwerp . . .'¹⁸ Jaffé provides excellent illustrations of these important points, and shows that Rubens's copies after Titian also make integral use of Barocci's method of transforming landscape backgrounds. 'Comparing his copy of Titian's *Penitent St Jerome* with the painting which was before his eyes in Venice, we are struck by his substitution of a luminous and penetrable background alive with light and feathery trees and twisted trunks for the dark bank of trees with dense and heavy fronds. . . . The source of the transformation is apparent if we turn to such a masterpiece of Barocci's draughtsmanship as the British Museum *Stigmatization of St Francis*. . . .'¹⁹

Compared with the importance of Elsheimer and Barocci during and after Rubens's formative years in Italy, especially for his development as a landscape painter, the influence of Paul Bril, to which Jaffé also refers, is less

16. See Andrews, *Elsheimer*, Cat. No. 25 (repr. Pls.89,90).

17. Jaffé, 1977, p.52.

18. *Ibid.*, p.52.

19. See, also for notes and references to reproductions, Jaffé, 1977, pp.52,112 (notes), figs.77,78,79.

strong and rather of a secondary nature.²⁰ Both Bril and Rubens show the direct influence of Muziano, Annibale Carracci and Elsheimer. Jaffé discerns Bril's influence on Rubens in the old-fashioned composition partly framing the subject, the scenic construction, the middle-distance volumes and light effects of St Paul's shipwreck at Malta ('in which the scene is fretted by incidents and the scattering of light'), the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* at the Hermitage (No.19, Fig.62), the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52), the *Landscape with Boar Hunt* at Dresden (No.18, Fig.53), the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No.16, Fig.45) and the landscape vista in the *Four Philosophers* in the Pitti Palace, and in the trial piece for the Chiesa Nuova.²¹ Discussing the effect of Rome on Bril and Rubens, Jaffé says of the latter that 'He may have gone sketching with Bril in the Campagna'.²² It is not inconceivable that the lower scene on the sheet in Van Regteren Altena's collection, *View of the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino* (No.1, Fig.1), and the similar scene by Bril in the Berlin-Dahlem Print Room, monogrammed *P.B.* and dated 1606 (Fig.8), originated in a common undertaking by both artists.

In view of Rubens's encounter with Barocci's art and his meeting with Elsheimer, it seems impossible to accept the view of some art historians that it was the return of Jan Wildens from Italy in 1616 that prompted Rubens to start painting his first landscapes, the earliest that have survived. Wildens did no more than bring the influence of Paul Bril from Italy to Antwerp, and for some time thereafter collaborated with Rubens, as is shown by the landscape backgrounds of several of the master's paintings of c. 1616–20.²³

A firm basis for the chronology of later Rubens landscapes is provided by his second encounter with Titian's work in Spain and England in 1628–30. A renewed Titianesque sense of colour and technique of applying paint enables us to distinguish between, on the one hand, early works like the *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (No.29, Fig.86) and the *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No.28, Fig.84) and, on the other hand, later works such as the *Landscape with Rainbow* in the Wallace Collection (No.55, Fig.138), *Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt* in the National Gallery in London (No.53, Fig.136), and the extremely Titianesque *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* in the Louvre (No.40, Fig.114). The watershed between these two groups is marked by the *Landscape with St George* in the Royal Collection, painted in London in 1629–30 (No.35, Fig.93), which, like the work of the same period *Minerva protects Pax from Mars* (Peace and War) in the National

²⁰ Jaffé, 1977, p.54.

²¹ Ibid., p.54.

²² Ibid., p.54.

²³ Adler, Wildens, *passim*.

INTRODUCTION

Gallery,²⁴ shows the new Titianesque sense of colour in Rubens's last decade as an artist.

Individual catalogue entries record particular results of investigation such as the confirmation of Evers's supposition that one of the two big Rubens landscapes at Berlin is a *Shipwreck of St Paul* (No.36, Fig.101); the discovery of an Italian drawing showing that the group of people and animals in *The Watering-Place* in the National Gallery in London (No.25, Fig.71) derives from Titian; and the reference to an antique bronze statuette as a model for Meleager waiting, spear in hand, for the Calydonian boar in *Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar* in the Prado (No.41, Fig.115). While I was able to supplement Burchard's findings in this way, in view of Burchard's amazing command of the older literature scarcely anything could be added to his research in the latter field. Apart from the certainty with which he dated Rubens landscapes, Burchard's pertinacity in establishing the pedigrees of individual works served as an example from the methodological point of view, as he verified and supplemented all the conclusions of his great predecessor Max Rooses. He was the first Rubens scholar who attempted systematically to exhaust the older auction catalogues and the evidence provided by copies of Rubens's works. All this applies not only to Rubens landscapes, but to Burchard's study of the master's entire *oeuvre* as a painter and draughtsman.

It is usually said of Rubens that he stands at the end of the development of Flemish art and sums up the heritage of a great tradition: in other words, his achievement was one of completion rather than pioneering. In the context of landscape painting, reference is especially made to the work of Pieter Bruegel the Elder, which Rubens brought to Baroque completion in the 17th century, and more particularly to the relationship between Bruegel's *Hay Harvest* in the National Gallery in Prague and Rubens's *Return from the Harvest* in the Pitti Palace (No.48, Fig.127).

There is some justification for this view as a working hypothesis from the point of view of tracing the history of the Flemish school as a local aspect of European painting. But if pushed too far the theory is apt to obscure the specific nature of Rubens's art, especially in landscape, in the context of European painting, in which landscape has been more important in the last three centuries than ever before. Dutch landscape painting, which developed during Rubens's life-span as an artist, is an important witness to this. A late Rubens landscape like the *Flat Landscape with Clouds*, in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham (No.59, Fig.142) is an example of observation which enables us to understand how Constable, in the early 19th century, traced back to Rubens the artistic intentions of his own time.

24. National Gallery, Inv. No. 46; cf. Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.116–125, repr.

An attempt to go beyond this characterization of Rubens as a late 'summer-up' or perfecter of the achievements of a particular school in landscape and other forms was made in 1926 by Willi Drost in *Barockmalerei in den germanischen Ländern* in the *Handbuch der Kunsthissenschaft*,²⁵ and in autumn 1977 Gisela Rosenthal, in an essay on Rubens landscapes, vividly endorsed the main contention of Drost's work.²⁶

Rubens's art as a landscape painter is connected with the shift away from the medieval geocentric, anthropocentric world-view to the cosmic attitude induced by astronomy and the other natural sciences in the 16th and 17th centuries. In landscape painting there is reflected a shift from the idea of a man-like Creator above and outside his creation, which is sharply distinguished from him, to that of a universe governed by natural laws, in which our own earth is merely a speck of dust and the old idea of God is reduced to that of a cosmos stripped of all magic properties. Invoking the authority of Aristarchus of Samos, who proclaimed the heliocentric system in the third century B.C. but was not believed, Nicholas Copernicus in 1543 (the year in which he died) published his work on the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*. At that time Pieter Bruegel was about 20 years old. Giordano Bruno, who was approximately Rubens's contemporary, was burnt in Rome for his philosophical views in February 1600. Other contemporaries of Rubens were Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630: from 1600 to 1613 he was court astronomer to the Emperor Rudolph II at Prague, which was then largely Protestant). It has recently been shown that Galileo's observations of the moon's surface, by means of a telescope which he made himself and which magnified ten times, had a direct effect on Elsheimer's representation of the moon in his nocturnal *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (discussed under No.14, Fig.42), a pioneering work for its century.²⁷ For publishing his works on the heliocentric system Galileo was hauled before the Inquisition in 1632 in the Dominican monastery of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome, and there, under threat of torture, abjured his 'error' on 22 June 1633. It may well have been partly due to this victimization of Galileo that from this time on scientific enquiry, which had till then flourished chiefly in southern Europe, shifted towards the Protestant North. After Galileo's condemnation Descartes migrated from France to Sweden; Spinoza evolved his pantheistic doctrine in Holland, while Newton worked in England. Everywhere the development of science encouraged pantheistic ideas and a rationalist, materialist outlook. Spinoza

25. Drost, pp.24–53; cf. also, however, the reference, as early as 1913, to parallels with Giordano Bruno's enthusiastic pantheism in Heidrich, pp.64,65.

26. Rosenthal, pp.14–19.

27. Anna Ottani Cavia, 'On the Theme of Landscape—II: Elsheimer and Galileo', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, 1976, pp.139–144.

INTRODUCTION

regarded finite things (matter) as modes or aspects of infinite substance (spirit), and in this way superseded the medieval-Aristotelian opposition of spirit and matter. For Spinoza God's revelation is expressed in natural laws and not in miracles. In the Catholic world, what was not allowed to be stated in words and concepts was expressed, albeit indirectly, in the fine arts and above all in Rubens's late landscapes. With their intimations of the animation of nature and the affinity between mankind and the natural world, these works were especially valued in the Romantic period by Heinse and Goethe, who was himself pantheistically inclined. Gisela Rosenthal also points out the far-reaching changes in religious life which accompanied the change, in less than a century, from the medieval to the modern world, and reinforced the development brought about by science and philosophy. In the 16th century personal and private forms of devotion, outside religious communities, became more and more frequent, and estrangement from religion manifested itself in humanistic circles. Pantheistic elements also penetrated into post-Reformation Catholicism in Flanders, where the exclusion of the laity from the Mass led to the development of individual forms of faith, often tending to humanization and a 'this-worldly' approach.²⁸ The nascent art of landscape expressed a natural life imbued with pantheistic sympathies; both artists and spectators projected a subjective element into nature, conflicting ever more sharply with the ritual approach to art that had hitherto prevailed.

Elsheimer's landscapes, and above all those of Rubens's late period, clearly exhibit the tendency towards subjective interpretation. Examples are *Tournament in Front of a Castle* (No.65, Fig.148), *Landscape with a Hanged Man* (No.61, Fig.144), and *Landscape with Windmill and Bird-Trap* (No.67, Fig.150), with which may be compared the evocative landscapes of Brouwer, the visions of El Greco, Rembrandt and the other Dutch masters. As human figures and to some extent human drama becomes less evident, the landscape becomes in its own right a vehicle for subjective interpretations on the one hand, and an illustration of natural laws pervading the universe on the other. The shift of emphasis, characteristic of the era, from a geocentric and anthropocentric to a cosmic, naturalistic approach finds expression in the fine arts as well as in philosophy and, as far as Rubens is concerned, not only in landscape. The value of Drost's analysis of 1926 consists in the vivid account of Rubens's efforts, throughout his work, to reorganize the picture surface into a new, organic unity of figures and background, human beings and landscape. Even Rubens's early development is examined by Drost from the point of view of determining to what extent, in his Italian years, he preserved the Renaissance-style isolation of individual figures; Drost shows how he began, on the other hand, to treat figures more freely and flexibly and unite them with

²⁸. Rosenthal, p.18.

the background. (We may here compare Burchard's analysis of 1928,²⁹ which is set in a wider art-historical perspective and studies the whole of Rubens's work from a differing point of view.) The merging of figures with the background is characteristic of Baroque, which sought to organize the whole picture surface into a fresh organic unity.³⁰ In contrast to Renaissance Platonism it proclaimed that man was not simply the unique image of God but was part of a greater divine whole, which it conceived in pantheistic terms.³¹

In *The Reception of Maria de' Medici at Marseilles* in the Louvre³² Drost paid particular attention to the sea-goddesses, growing out of the watery element and embodying its force and undulating movement, and the figure of Fame hovering in the air, and he suggested that these creatures of fable seem to be reabsorbed into the elements of which they were in the first place a human embodiment.³³ In Drost's opinion, this cosmic aspect of Rubens's art reached its peak in his later years in *The Festival of Venus* at Vienna,³⁴ which is dominated by a basic feeling of landscape:

'In *The Festival of Venus* the master, free from the constraint of any imposed material, . . . expresses passionate allegiance to the love-goddess who gives life and embodies the supreme joy of existence. . . . In the same way Lucretius began his great poem on nature with an invocation to Venus. . . . The most striking feature is the extreme smallness of the figures, so that the general effect is almost that of a landscape. . . . Everything is interlinked in a general embrace, and this is paralleled by the soft gradation of the greenish, golden and reddish tones throughout the picture surface. One is scarcely aware of the heterogeneity of figures and the soil, or the stiffness of partly invisible tree-trunks. Every part of the picture is united in a single interlocking whole of mutual relationships, and in this way the artist expresses his sense of the spirit pervading all that is.'³⁵

Rubens's Baroque paintings, and especially his landscapes and hunting scenes, express the vital forces of nature in a way that has scarcely been equalled before or since. In portraits, too, he is invariably concerned with the sitter's quality of vitality, and the promptings of the same daemon are evident

29. Burchard, 1928, p.66. For the views expressed there by Burchard see under Cat. No. 31, below.

30. Drost, p.27. Drost also criticized Wölfflin's definition of the concepts of closed and open form: 'It must be said that for the purpose of a formal consideration, which always relates details to the whole of a work, other current concepts of art criticism are also unsustainable. It is only in respect of bodies and spaces, considered as objects, that the closed form of the Renaissance turns into the open form of Baroque. As to the structure of the picture surface, i.e. the whole sensual complex of the work, this becomes more and more of a closed form owing to the richer interrelation of the parts.' (Drost, p.32).

31. Drost, p.27.

32. Drost, p.40.

33. Ibid., p.40.

34. K.d.K., p.324.

35. Drost, p.44.

INTRODUCTION

in his depiction of children and animals. In Drost's view this untiring sensitivity exceeds all that the nominal subject of the painting might be expected to inspire: hence the parallel between *The Festival of Venus* and the proem to Lucretius's *De Rerum Natura*. Rubens's ability to feel the vital forces of nature and portray them in every aspect of his art, his evocative use of colour, light, outline and detail, so that familiar forms dissolve into an impression of movement, his poetic strength and virile emotion—all these, together with his many-sided personality, made his work the epitome of Baroque painting and the supreme expression in art of a new conception of the universe.

It was only in its early phase that the new cosmic world-view could be reflected in the work of an artistic personality who was a great landscape painter, and could be expressed even in formal and stylistic details. The developing age of science did not again find such a coherent, identifiable expression in the work of a single artist and in a particular genre, as it did in Rubens's landscapes. The Baroque was the last example of a style embracing all forms of art. Only in such a style was it possible, either in general or more particularly in the eloquent domain of painting, for the artist's conception of the universe, which was also that of his contemporaries, to be reflected not only in the content of his work but in its stylistic structure. Rubens's landscapes represent the marriage, at a historical moment, of content and style in the work of an artist whose great strength was to perceive and exhibit in all their intensity the forces underlying the visible world of nature. This task presented Rubens with such a challenge that, busy as he was, he continued throughout his life to draw and paint landscapes even though he received no commission to do so.

Up to the time of Patinir, old Netherlandish landscape painting is linked to the medieval world-view. Landscape entered into religious art because it represented the topography of man's redemption, and was correspondingly elevated in importance; in the 16th century, however, it began to be emancipated from this function. In Patinir the landscape, although treated with more constraint than in the work of Pieter Bruegel, has become a dominant feature, the religious scene being confined to a strip in the foreground; while in Bruegel's landscapes we already feel the new sense of nature as the manifestation of an all-embracing order. Bruegel, in an exhaustive series of oil paintings, depicts nature and natural phenomena as they come into being and pass away in the great procession of months and seasons.³⁶ It is noteworthy, however, that unlike Rubens, whose landscapes are in fact nearly all in Brabant or in

36. Cf. Rosenthal, pp. 17, 18.

southern lands, Bruegel paints rocky mountain scenes, deep valleys and craggy cliffs with the sea beyond, none of which are to be seen in his native Brabant. Such features appear, though less prominently than before, even in Bruegel's late *Landscape with a Gallows* in Darmstadt. We do not find them, on the other hand, in Rubens's early *Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63), or his picture of a *Flemish Peasant Dance* in the Louvre.³⁷ The 16th-century world landscape is only partially recalled in Rubens's early *On the Way to Market*, also called *Summer*, at Windsor Castle (No.22, Fig.67). This picture of country folk carrying their produce to town probably derives from a lost landscape by Bruegel, the composition of which is preserved in a copy by an unknown Flemish draughtsman in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung in Munich (Fig.70).³⁸

The fanciful quality of 16th-century landscape in its various forms can be discerned in the forest landscapes of Gillis van Coninxloo. Rubens was also influenced by these for some years after his return from Italy, but in general the fantastic element in his work diminished under the influence of Titian, the Bolognese masters and Elsheimer. As already noted, I was able to show evidence of the influence of Bologna or Titian in *The Watering-Place* in the National Gallery, London (No.25, Fig.71). The drawing (Fig.73) of a watering-place in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, executed by a Bolognese artist in about 1600, probably derives from a model that originated in Titian's circle. At the same time, as we have seen, Rubens also reverted to the manner of Pieter Bruegel two generations earlier. The Flemish element, which remained very strong alongside the Italian, is especially noticeable in *Winter* (No.21, Fig.66), which belongs to the same early period, and in which the observation of the season combines with the Flemish tradition of the stable.³⁹ In the large group of early Rubens landscapes at present known, we are struck by the variety of types. The cyclic type which we meet first in *Summer* and *Winter*, depicting peasant activities proper to the seasons, is continued in the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.23, Fig.72), the more bucolic *Watering-Place* (No.25, Fig.71) with its developing central mass, and in the Leningrad *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* (No.19, Fig.62) showing different times of day in a single picture; and in these works an important part is again played by peasant figures giving, as it were, symbolic expression to natural processes. At this early period Rubens lays more emphasis on the stable as a theme than on the cyclic element: only two or three years lie between the very early *Winter* and the simplified *Prodigal Son* (No.26,

37. *K.d.K.*, p.406.

38. See further under Cat. No. 22. Burchard also calls the picture *Morning*, in contrast to *Winter* at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66), which he also calls *Evening*.

39. Cf. the two round pictures by Roelant Savery, Nos.26 and 29 in the catalogue of the Savery exhibition, Ghent, 1954, both reproduced.

Fig.75) with its concentration of motifs and forms. *The Shepherd and his Flock* and *The Watering-Place* follow at about the same time, after which Rubens did not pursue this bucolic genre—the roots of which lie in Van Coninxloo's forest scenes, despite the particular borrowed motifs mentioned above. Instead, the Italian strain had more influence on his future development: the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52) and the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* in Munich (No.27, Fig.77), with the figure of a shepherd inspired by Titian's *Entombment* now in Paris, lead to the considerably later Berlin *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* (No.31, Fig.89). *The Farm at Laken* in the Royal Collection (No.20, Fig.63), which is as early a work as the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52), shows clearly the second source of Rubens's later pastoral landscapes, with peasant life rather than forest scenes: they are manifestly Flemish rather than Italian, and depict the flat meadows of Rubens's homeland.

The striking bucolic element is to some extent also present in the southern *Landscape with Antique Ruins* (No.15, Figs.46,47)—preserved in Bolswert's engraving and a copy at Montpellier—and the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No.16, Fig.45). Here again the former composition seems to be somewhat earlier, and the latter, with its stronger concentration on a main motif, to date from a little later in Rubens's post-Italian period. He does not, however, seem to have painted any landscapes with antique ruins after a date well before 1620.

As to mountainous or rocky landscapes, Rubens seems to have painted these only up to the time of his second journey to Spain (1628–29), except for the *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow*, inspired by engravings after motifs from Titian: versions of this by Rubens's own hand are in the Hermitage (No.39, Fig.113) and in the possession of the Louvre (No.40, Fig.114). It has hardly been disputed by anyone that the *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St. Paul* at Berlin-Dahlem (No.36, Fig.101) belongs to Rubens's early landscape period. The second impact of Titian's work on Rubens in Spain and England in 1628–30 is a stylistic watershed from the point of view of his later use of colour and frequent impasto, so that the *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* in Vienna (No.29, Fig.86) and the *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* in the Pitti Palace (No.28, Fig.84) can be assigned to a date before 1628. A last, large-size landscape of rocks and mountains, the *View of the Escorial* executed by a collaborator of Rubens, is in Longford Castle near Salisbury (No.38, Fig.107). This is a composition of 1628–29, a landscape portrait, in which the Escorial looks as small as a toy in comparison with the rising white clouds and the crystalline forms of the rocks, while Madrid is visible in the distance. The dimensions present an astonishing contrast to the intentions of the royal architect as regards the relative importance of man and nature, and in this

respect the picture gives the impression of unconsciously illustrating the 16th- and 17th-century change of attitude towards nature and the universe. Pieter Bruegel produced gradations of this kind in drawings of Alpine scenes and in his bird's eye view of Naples, but neither his oil painting in the Galleria Doria-Pamphili in Rome⁴⁰ nor his mountain setting of the *Conversion of St Paul* in Vienna⁴¹ presents nature as an overwhelming force emphasized by the diminution of the human element.

The multiplicity of types that characterized the tumultuous beginning of Rubens's landscape painting around 1614/15 diminished somewhat around 1630. At this time we find a predominance of observed Flemish landscapes, showing peasants in action but without the bucolic atmosphere of such early works as *The Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63).

The Berlin *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen*, which Rubens began in the early 1630s as a repetition of the Munich landscape, but which he soon enlarged and altered (No.31, Fig.89), is, from the point of view of its strong bucolic element, not really an exception to Rubens's activity as a landscape painter in this decade: rather, as the repetition and development of a work originated more than ten years earlier, the phases of its completion illustrate the later development of Rubens's art as a landscape painter. In *Return from the Harvest* (No.48, Fig.127) in the Pitti Palace, everything indicates that man is a part of nature: the movement that unifies the work, the light that suffuses the whole, the transition of planes and colours, the parallel between the women carrying loads of produce on their heads and the tree-tops swaying in the wind. This late work is as typical an example of Rubens's later style as are landscapes with a threatening storm (Nos.44,56, Figs.122,139) or a view of a flat landscape from an unusual height (No.52, Fig.135), a scene recalling late works by the Dutch artist Philips de Koninck. The latter was born in 1619 and was thus about 15 years old when Rubens painted the picture in question, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Mass. In the 1630s Rubens painted only one landscape with a mythological theme, *The Hunt of Meleager and Atalanta* in Madrid (No.41, Fig.115). Here too the scenery is so animated that the forest and the evening light that glides over the ground seem to take part in the hunt by driving the boar towards the dark area of shadow in the centre of the picture; smitten by Atalanta's arrow, he circles round it to the right and swims across a marshy patch, after which he runs upon Meleager's lowered spear. The small human figures are caught up into the violent agitation of nature by effects of light, shade and movement. Here too, there is nothing southern in the wooded landscape. There is, however, a southern atmosphere about a smaller picture in the Louvre (No.69, Fig.153), which dates from the

40. F. Grossmann, *Pieter Bruegel, Complete Edition of the Paintings*, London, pls.48–49.

41. Ibid., id., Pls.128–129.

INTRODUCTION

last five years of Rubens's life and is inspired by an engraving after a motif from Titian's circle. Against this, the Flemish character of the landscapes of the 1630s is again seen in a picture in the Louvre (No.65, Fig.148) based on smaller, sketch-like scenes with a tower, now in Oxford (No.64, Fig.147) and Berlin (No.65, Fig.149). This picture shows a medieval tournament being held in front of a moated castle: the human combat, with the herald blowing a trumpet, is mirrored by the sun's battle with the evening shadows that are starting to invade the ground.

Only with hesitation can the late *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Prado (No.43, Fig.120) be counted as a landscape. However, the scenery in this religious work is unquestionably Flemish.

Thus Rubens's landscapes of the 1630s almost all depict observed Flemish scenes, with a few exceptions directly inspired by Titian. We find no examples of the earlier type of universal or bird's eye view, no southern or mountainous scenes, antique or antique-bucolic landscape. However, in this same period Rubens gave a fresh form to his iconographical types, including those he handled only once (the mythological theme of Meleager and Atalanta) and also evolved new ones such as the London *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* (No.53, Fig.136), the *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre (No.65, Fig.148), *The Park of a Castle* in Vienna (No.42, Fig.118) with a youthful company merry-making, including Rubens with his young second wife—a picture which strongly impressed Watteau and inspired *The Embarkation for Cythera*. Rubens's type-forming, abstracting power, often apparent even in initial sketches, also shows itself in his late landscapes, and he is nearly always content with a single work that creates a type. If an attempt or pattern does not satisfy him, however, he persists and tries again. This can be seen by the versions of *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* in the Hermitage (No.39, Fig.113) and the Louvre (No.40, Fig.114) respectively, or the Berlin and Oxford sketches of dark landscapes and a tower (Nos.64,65, Figs.147,149) with the *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre (No.65, Fig.148). This ability to create a type shows even in Rubens's sketches, and is so marked that it affords one criterion among others for attributing works to him.⁴²

In the 17th century the works of man and nature were for the first time set in a single visual and psychological perspective.⁴³ The new type of landscape is marked not by greater truth to nature in detail but by the unity of the whole. Despite the increased attention paid to light, air and the unity of space, an achievement of the High Renaissance that even Pieter Bruegel brought back from Italy, the new style was essentially a new form of abstraction. Rubens, who was closer to Renaissance humanism than Hercules Seghers or

42. See further under Cat. No. 1.

43. E. Hubala, *Die Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, IX)*, Berlin, 1970, p.59.

Rembrandt, and who in many of his landscapes allowed the human element to retain a high degree of importance, showed exemplary consistency in absorbing that human element into the new system of abstract representation, especially in the years after 1620.⁴⁴ Largely for this reason it is natural to trace his development as a landscape painter against the background of the abandonment of the medieval and Aristotelian dichotomy of spirit and matter and the 17th-century adoption of a scientific world-view. The new way of representing and experiencing nature, which influenced landscape painting from that time until late in the 19th century, was discovered and developed by Rubens, incidentally as it were, as a consequence of his universality and in a process of interaction between his landscapes and his other, commissioned works. Many critics of his landscapes resort to the idea of a polarization between his official and personal creativity, but this does not do justice to his work in general. To isolate the landscapes in this way is a retrograde step when compared with the achievement of Drost, who, nearly sixty years ago, interpreted Rubens's development in this field in terms of his general development as an artist.

A more promising approach to the historical understanding of Rubens's Baroque art may be found in Müller Hofstede's recent reference to his eclectic attitude towards nature and towards artistic models.⁴⁵ The normative, type-creating power which he displayed as one of the early masters of the Baroque balanced the strong feeling for nature that pervades all his work, and, as far as landscape is concerned, it enabled that feeling to express itself in ways that inspired artists as long after him as Gainsborough and Constable. Perhaps one of the secrets of Rubens's art is to be found in the fact that there is no conflict between his normative and sensual powers. The former seems to control the latter—indeed such mastery is perhaps itself an inherent quality of the normative. Thus, although Rubens had throughout his career been painting and drawing landscapes, the earliest of which have most probably been lost, he devoted himself more intensively to this form relatively late, despite the pressure of other work of all kinds in which he was engaged, when his humanistic style had already fully developed.

44. To be seen in the 1620s in the *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (No.29, Fig.86) and the *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No.28, Fig.84).

45. J. Müller Hofstede, *Rubens und die Kunstretheorie des Cinquecento*, in Cat. Exh. *Peter Paul Rubens*, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, 1977, p.65, n.7: 'As Rubens displayed an eclectic attitude towards artistic models and also in regard to nature (especially in his landscape painting), he no doubt agreed with Durer's principle of election as regards the determination of proportions . . .'.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ

1. Views of Rome: A Trattoria in the Baths of Diocletian and the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino: Drawing (Fig. 1)

Pencil, pen and brown ink, washed in brown; 393 x 293 mm. In the upper part below on the right, the numbers 6 and 249; in the lower part, below on the left, the number A 2714.

Amsterdam, Collection of Professor J. Q. van Regteren Altena.

PROVENANCE: (?) De Clementi; Benno Geiger; Henry Oppenheimer.

EXHIBITED: Rotterdam-Paris-Brussels, 1977, No. 106 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Jaffé, 1957, pp. 1-6, Figs. 2, 3; Adler, Wildens, pp. 52-64, figs. 219, 220.

This sheet of drawings with a man-at-arms on the recto was folded, after which both parts of the verso were used for topographical scenes of Rome. From the way in which paper was generally folded and used it is likely that the uppermost drawing, in pen washed with bistre, was the first to be executed. It is a view, from the south, of the south-eastern palaestra of the Baths of Diocletian. The Print Room at Berlin-Dahlem possesses a drawing attributed to Paul Bril and dated 14 *Lulio* 1609 in which this part of the Baths can be seen on the right of the general complex (Fig. 2).¹

It is noticeable to what an extent the veduta theme is overshadowed by a picturesque Roman impression, at first glance of an everyday character, but heightened emotionally by the use of

wash around the edges, emphasizing the *chorus* of guests at the trattoria. The drawing does not present a merely antiquarian view but is a firmly composed southern scene in which light and shade, architecture, vegetation and human figures are combined with supreme skill and profound imagination. The emphasis is not on the ruins of the Baths but on the *mise-en-scène* created by the artist, including the relatively small but important human element, under the dominant impression of light and shadow. Small though the figures are, the word *trattoria* in the title of the drawing is justified. The human beings form a *chorus* on the left, framed and emphasized by the pronounced wash of the tall trees and the raised foreground. A lighter shadow cast by the beginning of an arch encloses them still more firmly in this significant corner, marked off by the oblique leftward movement of the innkeeper with his dog or cat hastening over the last undulation of the foreground. The two figures on the steps to the right, to which the foreground wash is prolonged, are seen closer to and are therefore larger. In this way we can recognize the intersection of the two axes of the drawing in the pillar right of centre. The longer of these begins in the lower left corner between the two boldly washed areas in the foreground and extends obliquely, almost parallel with the picture-edge, towards the arched opening of the domed building which, with its lofty wall and the vegetation springing up above it, corresponds to the boldly washed vegetation on the left-hand side. The other axis, at right angles to the first, corresponds to the oblique

line of the parts of the wall with windows on the right and the shadowy arch opening. This axis leads from the area of the steps and the two large human figures down to the wooden gate and then broadens out to the full size of the high, wide arch opening, which allows the line of sight to continue towards the rich tree-vegetation of the left background. In this way the whole composition is embraced by two simple movements of the eye.

The rapidity with which the sketch was drawn is shown by the swiftly flowing, uninterrupted lines of the vegetation and brickwork, and the lavish use of wash for picturesque effect. Despite all the variety of vegetation and the significant effects of light and shade—which led the artist away from the veduta towards the stage-like effect of the *chorus* and innkeeper—the dominant features are clarity and harmonious proportion. A comparison may be made with the same piece of architecture as it appears, reduced to narrow proportions and subordinated to a vaguely indicated sloping ground, in Jan Pynas's painting *The Raising of Lazarus*, signed and dated 1605, in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen in Munich (Fig. 4).² In Rubens's drawing, full of material as it is, the emphasis is on compositional simplicity; richness of detail is transformed at once into pictorial shorthand; the inspiration is humanistic, and the topographical genre is immediately subjected to artistic norms. This imaginative power is also seen in the circle of guests, who look like an assembly of gods at a banquet.

Rubens's drawing combines in a single graphic impression the large architectural mass dominating the background and middle distance, the guests at table, the key figure of the hastening innkeeper, the steps and the counter-balancing figures; these human elements

are episodic yet pictorially significant, and the whole effect is heightened by the free use of wash. The massive central pillar which is seen behind or above the wooden gate and is caught by the brightest light is the pivot and support of the foreshortened inner corner of this spatio-plastic architectural scene. Ten years later we find a similar central mass and scenic framework in *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection (No. 17, Fig. 52), while a central architectural mass also figures in *Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No. 16, Fig. 45). Arches around a central pillar (or rather, as in the present drawing, on one side a wall-arch and on the other a round vaulted structure) appeared in a lost painting by Rubens, known to us from an engraving by Schelte a Bolswert and an anonymous copy (No. 15, Figs. 47, 46). In that work there is even a flight of steps in front of the round vaulted building, and its arch-shaped opening is divided vertically as in the present drawing; moreover we find in both the unusually thick wall between the steps and the arched portion of the building on a round foundation. The *chorus* also recurs in the lost painting in the form of a group taking their ease in an arbour to which the steps in question lead. The architectural motif in front of the hill in the lost painting, with light flowing behind it, bears witness to the rather free use that Rubens probably made of topographical scenes from his Roman period, only two of which have survived on the back of this sheet of drawings. For the reversing of the composition that accompanied the use of the architectural motif cf. under No. 15.

The firm conciseness of Rubens's treatment is apparent from a comparison with representations of the same locality by Bartholomäus Breenbergh (Fig. 5)³ and Cornelis de Wael (Fig. 7).⁴ The latter shows the connection between the

palaestra and the rest of the building in the same way as Bril's drawing. An engraving by Vasi also clearly shows the palaestra and the characteristic slope on the right (Fig.6).⁵

For a single graphic form connecting this sheet, produced in Rome, with the group of *Farm* drawings cf. remarks under No.8 below.

Jaffé believed the undermost drawing to be a motif from the Campagna. In 1969 I found in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris a drawing with the monogram *P.B.* (Paul Bril) and inscribed *Roma 1606*, showing the same motif and also a stretch of water with a boat on it (Fig.7).⁶ It could be seen that both drawings represented the ruined abbey of Santa Sabina on the Aventine, Bril having drawn it from further downstream than the author of the present sheet. The condition of the abbey in 1606 was similar to what it had been in 1575, when Du Pérac engraved a view of the Aventine from the opposite bank of the Tiber (Fig.11).⁷ An 18th-century engraving by Vasi shows the abbey after rebuilding (Fig.10).⁸ In April 1970 Waddingham and Wright published the rediscovered picture by Elsheimer *The Embarkation of St Helena* (Fig.12),⁹ which must have been painted before 1606¹⁰ and shows the ruined abbey in the background. A repetition of Bril's drawing is in a Dutch private collection (Fig.9).¹¹ When comparing Bril's version with the present one, it is noticeable that the former has very little spatial depth. In the present drawing the Tiber is simply left out, but a procession or train of pilgrims, together with ground wash extending into the foreground, create a new scenic effect which no longer tallies with the actual topography where the Aventine slopes steeply down to the Tiber. It is very probable that not only the small figures on the left and in the centre, but also the larger ones

sketched in the foreground belong to the pictorial sketch developed from the veduta in three phases: (1) veduta; (2) 'train of pilgrims' and small figures in pen on the slope to the left, also wash as far as the foreground; (3) larger figures in pen in the foreground; the small architectural sketch in the corner, below left, is not part of the representation. (It is noteworthy how far the buildings on the Aventine extend to the right.) These groups of figures in front, the wash extending into the right foreground, the 'train of pilgrims' and the steps on the right drive the broadly spread-out architectural motif into the background. In Bril's version the buildings by the river in the foreground distract attention from the principal motif, which Rubens emphasizes to the mind and eye by means of the 'train of pilgrims'. Although Bril is topographically accurate, none of his motifs dominates the scene: his veduta has neither spatial depth nor centres of gravity. In the present sheet everything directs the eye to the ruined abbey, from the larger figure in the middle foreground and across from the other figures on the right, the oblique direction being reinforced by the steps (the *Scalae Gemoniae*). It is rounded into a concentric movement by the curve formed by the small figures on the left slope, some of them lying down, and the larger standing figure also on the left.

What was originally a topographical note was transformed by additions into a sketch for a picture which, if it was painted, must have shown Elsheimer's influence on the young artist. A glance at Goudt's *View of the Campagna* in the Print Room at Berlin-Dahlem (Fig.13)¹² will show the source of inspiration. Goudt's drawing in Berlin also shows a procession in the distance in front of a mountain-slope (in Goudt a train of mules, in Rubens of people), and in both works there is a group of fairly large

CATALOGUE NO. 2

human figures in the foreground: in Goudt they are busied around a cistern. See also the reference, above, to Elsheimer's *Embarkation of St Helena*.

Typical of the sheet are the delicate, wavy lines indicating the contours of decaying walls. It may date from 1606.

For another view, contemporary with this, of the Tiber with the Aventine and Santa Sabina cf. the drawing in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel,¹³ reproduced in Fig.14.

1. Black chalk and pen in brown on white paper; inscribed with ink, on the left: *14 Lulio 1609*; on the right by a later hand: *Brugel*. 160×224 mm. See *Bock-Rosenberg*, p.202, No.745, as *Willem II Van Nieuulant*. The attribution to Van Nieuulant may be due to the fact that this artist, who lived in Rome from 1602 to 1605, depicted the same locality in an etching, seen in reverse in our Fig.7: *Hollstein*, XIV, p.165, No.61 (repr. second row from the top, middle). Van Nieuulant's version not only shows the characteristic ramp on the right but also that the guests in Rubens's drawing are seated in the shade of part of a vault.
2. Inv. No. 6499; Oil on panel, 45×60 cm.; actually in the 'Filialgalerie St. Johannisburg', Aschaffenburg.
3. Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Inv. No. 3796. Pen in brown, washed in brown, 182×301 mm. See Marcel Roethlisberger, *Bartholomäus Breenbergh, Handzeichnungen*, Berlin, 1969, No.24, repr.
4. Paris, École des Beaux-Arts (Collection Masson), No.741. Pen drawing, washed, 337×480 mm. Attributed to Cornelis de Wael.
5. See G. Vasi, *Delle Magnificenze di Roma Antica e Moderna, Rome*, 1754, No.35: *Piazza di Termini*.
6. Paris, École des Beaux-Arts (Collection Masson), No.367. Pen drawing, washed in brown and indigo, 135×240 mm. Below, on the left, inscribed: *Roma 1606*.
7. I.e. engraving No.23 from *I Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma*, by Etienne Du Pérac, Rome, 1575. See A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le Peintre-Graveur Français*, VIII, p.97, No.23 and *Le Blanc*, III, p.164 (11-50).
8. G. Vasi, op. cit., V, Rome, 1754, No.96: *Monte Aventino, e Vestigi del Ponte Sublichto*.
9. Frankfurt am Main, Städelsches Kunstinstitut. Oil on copper, 22.5×16 cm. See the publication of this painting by M. Waddingham and C. Wright, in *The Burlington Magazine*, CVII, 1970, pp.192-194.
10. M. Waddingham and C. Wright, op. cit., p.193: 'Therefore a time soon after 1602 would seem a plausible date for its execution'.
11. Pen, washed in brown, 92×144 mm.; inscribed below on the left: *Roma*. See the catalogue *Master Drawings*, Bernard Houthakker, Amsterdam, 1967, No.52 (as Pieter Stevens: *View along the Tiber*).

12. *Bock-Rosenberg*, No.12333. Pen, washed, 134×160 mm.

13. See Friedrich Thöne, *Ein deutschrömisches Skizzenbuch von 1609-11 in der Herzog-August-Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, Berlin, 1960, Fig.22.

2. The 'Crayen Hof' at Zwijndrecht: Drawing (Fig.15)

Pen and brown ink, watercolour; 160×380 mm. Inscribed in ink at the back: *1606 het craeyen hof te swyndrecht. Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet. Inv. No. 131-1*.

PROVENANCE: J. Goudstikker, Amsterdam.

EXHIBITED: *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.137 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1938-39, No.50.

LITERATURE: *Wescher*, pp.92,93; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, p.9, n.30; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130-134; *Adler*, *Wildens*, pp.52-64, figs.221,236.

The ruins of Crayenhoef Castle, near Zwijndrecht on the lower Scheldt, are seen on the extreme left of the drawing. The building, which no longer exists, had fallen into decay by the first decade of the 17th century. Later in the century it was restored, and a copperplate engraving of it figured in Antonius Sanderus's topographical collection in 1644 (Fig.16).¹ In the engraving the castle is seen obliquely from the right, in this drawing obliquely from the left. The ridge of the thatched roof of the stables, to the right of the engraving, appears in the middle of the drawing. The outer wall with the main gate is seen, much foreshortened, on the right of the drawing, on which the thatched building by the gate is also visible in foreshortening.

Jaffé in 1957 attributed to Rubens the Roman sketches owned by Prof. Van

Regteren Altena (No.1, Fig.1) and, wrongly, *The Water-mill*,² as well as *The Farm near the Ruggenveld* (1610) in Berlin-Dahlem (No.12, Fig.40) and, apart from these, only the drawings at Antwerp (No.8, Fig.28) and New York (No.11, Fig.33).

The present sheet, inscribed by an unknown 17th-century hand 1606 *het craeyen hof te swyndrecht*, is one of the two drawings which led critics to reject Rubens's authorship of the 'Farm' group, since it was unanimously accepted that in 1606 Rubens was in Italy and could not have drawn any Flemish farms at first hand. The drawing, *A Moated Grange with Bridge-House* (No.7, Fig.27) only bears the date 1606, but not in Rubens's hand—nor, indeed, are any of the other inscriptions on the sheets, some of which are acceptably dated 1609 and 1610. Considering that, for instance, Rubens's nephew Philipp was mistaken on such an important date as that of the artist's purchase of Het Steen,³ it is appropriate to judge this group of drawings independently of the date 1606, which occurs along with 1609 and 1610.

It is noticeable, first of all, that the draughtsman was much interested in the flattened mound which occupies the entire foreground, and beyond which only the middleground and background are seen in perspective; in fact the whole scene shows his interest in undulations of the ground. The castle, diminished in size, is at the very edge of the drawing and is situated at a somewhat lower level than the draughtsman, who looks down slightly on the front-structure with its pyramidal roof. On the right, behind the eminence in the foreground, the road stretches directly away into the distance, and the foreshortened wall with its gatehouse slant off over the horizon. The centre of the drawing is occupied by a clump of fruit-trees with leafless,

withered branches sticking up like spears: these divide the vista so that the eye travels either left towards the castle or right towards the gatehouse. The mound in the foreground leads the eye back to this central point of departure; while itself of no thematic significance, it is a basis for the organization of the whole scene below and beyond it. Under the appearance of a perfectly straightforward representation the mound and fruit-trees arrogantly dominate the castle, and the depiction of space prevails over the romantic motif which the draughtsman has pushed to one side instead of seizing it without particular artistic dispositions as Jan Bruegel the Elder did (cf. Fig.17 and remarks at No.6 below).

Two of the *Farm* drawings—this one and No.3, Fig.19—bear inscriptions locating them at Zwijndrecht on the Scheldt opposite Antwerp; in the case of No.3 the inscriptions are by two different hands. In 1926 Ludwig Burchard pointed out in a lecture to the Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft in Berlin that Rubens owned a farm there; it is mentioned in the inventory of Isabella Brant's estate of 28 August, 1628,⁴ in that of the painter himself (June–July 1640),⁵ in the agreement of 8 August, 1645 on the division of the property bequeathed by Rubens,⁶ in the protocol of 9 April, 1646 on the distribution of Rubens's estate,⁷ and in the inventory drawn up at the death of his son Albert (Brussels, 6 December, 1657).⁸ Rubens's mother had owned several country properties, and a number of farms and manors from which she drew revenues are listed in the 1609 inventory of her estate.⁹ A document signed by Hélène Fourment on 19 January, 1658 speaks of rent received by her and two of her sons from a farm at Swijndrecht;¹⁰ possibly the same farm as that mentioned in 1626 in the inventory of

CATALOGUE NO. 3

Isabella Brant's estate, but none of this can be confirmed as we lack precise knowledge of the property relationships and do not know who wrote the inscriptions. The attribution of the group of drawings to Rubens is based purely on the stylistic and art-historical data set forth on pp.22,23 and in the catalogue entries of Nos.1-13.

In the oil painting *The Farm at Laken* in Buckingham Palace, London (No.20, Fig.63) three cows are seen on the eminence in the foreground, which, in that far richer treatment of the subject, has the function of concentrating the view, which sets in broadly from the lower edge of the picture, before it travels further into the landscape. Both works have in common this sequence of spatial dimensions with buildings disappearing on the horizon: in the painting they are village houses to the left of the church, while in the present drawing they are thatched farm buildings near the castle. In the painting, the hill on which the cows are standing is steeper on the right, where it is in darker shadow. On the right of the drawing a much foreshortened road, bordered by a palisade of willows, leads off into the distance; in the painting an avenue runs up towards the rising ground, and there is even a curved section of wattle fence similar to that in the same part of the drawing. It is not unusual for Rubens to repeat motifs from one work to another, and it would be still less surprising for him to revert, in his early paintings, to material which he may have had in hand in connection with the topographical studies inspired by the *Series of Small Landscapes* published by Hieronymus Cock.¹¹

Executed c. 1608-9: for the date cf. *Introduction*, pp.22,23.

1. *Flandria Illustrata*, II, Cologne, 1644, p.547, below.

2. Jaffé, 1957, pp.9,10,12,18,19, Fig.9.

3. 'Ayant acheté la seigneurie du Steen entre Bruxelles et Malines, l'an 1630, il y prenoit grand plaisir...' (*Rubens-Bulletijn*, II, 1883, p.167).

4. *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp.166-169.

5. Génard, p.65.

6. *Id.*, pp.90,91.

7. *Id.*, p.106.

8. *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1897, p.56.

9. Génard, pp.425,426.

10. 'Ontfanghen van mynen schoonsone van Parys de somme van een hondert vijfentachtentich guldens 10 stuyvers my competeren ende myne twee sonen Srs. Francis ende P. P. Rubens voor ons gedeelten in een jaer pachte vande hoeve tot Swijndrecht verschenen kersemisse 1654.

Item noch hondert sevenentachentich guldens 10 stuyvers in een halff jaer huere vanden pachter tot Ekeren verschenen halff Meert 1657.

Item twee hondert negenveertich guldens 16½ stuyvers in een jaer rente van Ipre verschenen in 1650.

In Antwerpen desen 19en January 1658.

Helena Fourment.'

(Antwerpen, Rubenshuis, Inv. No. D-36.)

11. See Van Bastelaer, pp.35-38, Nos.19-69.

3. A Farm near Zwijndrecht: Drawing (Fig.19)

Pen and brown ink, watercolour; 170 x 391 mm. Cut above (inscription on the back partly cut off) and below, probably also at the right edge. Inscribed at the lower left: *P. P. Rubens*; at the back: *de hoeve by swyndrecht* (this inscription is repeated slightly lower as *de houeve bij swijndrecht*; this handwriting is the same as that of the inscription at the back of No.2 (Fig.18).

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.
Inv. No. D 5048.

PROVENANCE: Robert von Hirsch, Frankfurt/Main and Basle, sale, London (Sotheby's), 20 June 1978, lot 33 (as *Flemish School, circa 1600*).

EXHIBITED: *Handzeichnungen alter Meister aus deutschem Privatbesitz*, Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main, 1924, No.34 (repr.); *Recent Acquisitions of the Department of Prints and Drawings*, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1979, No.17 (as

unknown Flemish Master, early 17th century).

LITERATURE: *Wescher*, pp.92,93; *Bock-Rosenberg*, p.254, under No.1540; *Herrmann*, pp.11,66-68; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, p.9, n.30; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130-134; *Adler*, *Wildens*, pp.52-64, figs.222,237.

The topmost branches of the large tree on the right are cut off, as are the short lines and zigzag lines at the bottom left, showing that at least the upper and lower edges of the sheet were cut. Cf. also what is said above concerning the inscription on the back, cut off partly at the upper edge. As the reproduction shows, the uppermost of the two inscriptions is plainly visible from the front.

In the same way as No.1 (Fig.1), this topographical scene presents, besides the static horizontal vista which first catches the eye, a directional effect following the undulation of the ground: this illustrates once again the artist's interest in seizing and rendering the relationships of mass and the spatial effects created by irregularities of terrain. The ridge in the foreground, with wattle fences running along it, must have been even more impressive before the lower edge was cut off. For the eye first encounters, along the whole width of the sheet, the near-side slope of this swelling ground, around which the wattle fence curls on the right: here too there seems to have been a cut, to judge from the withered branch of a smallish tree, part of its trunk invisible, which projects into the picture half-way up.

The undulations which can be seen plainly in the foreground and right background rise in the right centre to a crest which subsides in the direction of the foreshortened cottage. It can be seen that to the left of this central mass of ground, consisting of two main undulations,

there are only three discernible formations, separated from the principal mass by the ditch that runs in a curious zigzag course from the left foreground to the area right of centre. These are: the mound girt by a semicircular wattle fence to the left of the ditch, on which the spectator looks down from his high vantage-point; the tongue of land, in a strong ochre wash, projecting to the right of the stable so that the ditch makes a hairpin bend round it; and the plinth-like elevation beyond the further course of the ditch, on which are seen the dwelling-house, the crumbling walls and a kneeling figure busying itself on the ground. The ditch runs obliquely past the dwelling-house and, as it were, pushes it to the left, although it occupies the very centre of the sheet; this effect is enhanced by the three trees in front of the last section of the ditch, which overlap the house. The stable buildings give the clearest directional pointer to the dwelling-house, set in the middle and facing slightly right, which is also designated by the trees on the right. The artist's dominant interest, however—viz. the structuring of space by the plastic force of the earth-formation, which swells up to a point obliquely to the right of the house—is confirmed by the angle at which the house is set, facing this all-important *repoussoir*. We can also perceive the direct opening towards the horizon between the oblique roof of the stable and the gable wall of the dwelling-house. A second vista leads from the right foreground, between the two rows of trees, to the front of the dwelling-house.

Rubens's interest in masses of terrain and their space-creating effects is shown impressively in the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection (No.17, Fig.52), *The Farm at Laken* in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace (No.20, Fig.63)—this also shows

the two openings just mentioned, one of them being emphasized by a flight of pigeons—and the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* in the Hermitage at Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62). In this last work the central rocky mass tapers towards the right background as does the island-like elevation in the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids*. In the right-hand quarter, including its flatter part, the wavy ground leads firmly to the middle distance, whence follows a leap, prepared by the whole lower border of the picture, to the background where the terrain once more builds up into a mass, seen small because of the distance.

The large tree in the right background shows, in the indication of foliage, the same technique as Rubens's landscape drawing in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (No.72, Fig.158).

Executed about 1608–9; for the dating cf. *Introduction*, pp.22,23.

4. Farm with Horses at a Draw-Well: Drawing (Fig.20)

Pen and brown ink, washed in blue, fully mounted; 254 x 497 mm. Inscribed in ink, below on the left: *Brughel*; below, on the right, the mark of the collection of P. H. Lankrink (L. 2090).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 8422.

PROVENANCE: P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628–1692); Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738–Vienna, 1822).

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.164 (repr.; as *circle of Rubens*).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.299,300, No.1587; *Rosenberg*, p.120; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957; pp.1–19; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130–134; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.52–64, fig.223.

The draughtsman's ability to clarify and simplify is especially evident in this unpretentious drawing. Despite the obstruction of the distant view, typical of many drawings of this group, on close examination the sense of spatial arrangement is astonishing. At the left edge a tall, slender willow tree, reaching to the top of the sheet, forms the starting-point of a view into the distance: the eye is led by a fence which begins here and runs off to the right in an S-shaped curve (including the house). Under the penthouse roof of the stable a vista opens along the second section of the fence, and to this corresponds another at the left margin, embracing almost the whole drawing. The tall, slender willow and the beginning of the fence are surrounded by the horseshoe curve of a path which skirts the fence to the left, thus pointing to the space planted with trees behind the dwelling-house and the second section of the fence. The opening of the horseshoe, representing the shape of the ground, points towards these two wavy diagonals, which are accompanied by spatial indications. From the starting-point of the willow and out of the horseshoe curve, the spatial diagonal is prolonged in the form of the fence.

The pool, with its strong blue wash, acts as a repoussoir to the second vista which extends directly into the distance from the courtyard below the props of the projecting stable roof. As an element of the soil, which the artist treats so attentively, this pool forms a pendant to the horseshoe shape, which is of similar significance for the area on the left beyond the fence. The horseshoe and pond are not parallel to the picture space but are set obliquely to each other, corresponding to the diagonal course of the two vistas. The pond is in itself the introductory motif of the drawing, around which the first section of the

fence, the dwelling-house and the stable are organized in a semicircle. The artist has taken immense trouble to counteract the first impression of an obstruction of the view into the distance. J. S. Held wrote in 1972,¹ with reference to the *Keyzers Hof* (No. 11, Fig. 33), that the artist had sacrificed the three-dimensional firmness of tree-trunks and foliage to a 'purely decorative and essentially flat treatment of these forms', and added that the vegetation in the *Farm* drawings showed no trace of the inherent forces of growth (and decay) with which Rubens generally endowed it. We do not need to invoke the magnificent drawing in New York in order to refute this judgement. The plants springing up beyond the fence and buildings speak a clear language: the topographical scene was depicted at the season of burgeoning growth.

For the figures of men and horses on the left we have an opportunity of comparison with two copies of Sebastiaan Vrancx by Rubens in the Uffizi (Figs. 21, 22). In the *Farm* drawing in the Albertina the man nearest the spectator has no discernible feet, in fact one of his legs tapers to a point as it touches the ground. In the Uffizi sheet No. 1333 E (Fig. 21) we see in the middle small figures of soldiers, some without feet, and on the right a somewhat bigger soldier, also without feet. The two horses in the Albertina drawing have no visible hoofs: they are carefully washed, but give the impression of having been drawn at a single stroke. The same is true of two small horses in the centre of the Uffizi sheet No. 1334 E (Fig. 22), seen from behind.²

Executed c. 1609–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, pp. 22, 23.

1. Held, 1972, p. 132.

2. The two drawings in Florence (pen in bistre, bistre wash, 401 x 303 mm. and 406 x 298 mm.) were formerly attributed to Pieter Snayers (Cat. Ferri, 1890,

p. 356), but were assigned to Rubens by Michael Jaffe in 1967. The soldiers in the lower half of each sheet are borrowed from an undated painting by Sebastian Vrancx in the Hamburg Kunsthalle, *Soldiers Encamped in a Wood* (Cat. 1956, No. 334). There is, however, a drawn copy of this picture, dated 1617, in the Chr. S. Westermann collection in Amsterdam. If, therefore, a date 1610–15 is assumed for the oil painting, Rubens—who used some of the figures from four sheets in the Uffizi in 1628 in a picture of the Henry IV cycle (Konstmuseum, Gothenburg, Inv. No. 1380)—could have made his copies in those early years. On all this cf. E. K. J. Reznicek, exhibition catalogue No. XVIII of the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, *Mostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, Florence, 1964, Nos. 67–70 (repr.), especially No. 67 (No. 1334 E) and No. 69 (No. 1333 E).

5. Farm with a Draw-Well: Drawing (Fig. 23)

Pen and ink, washed in blue; 190 x 510 mm.

Formerly in the Kupferstichkabinett, Dresden; lost since 1945.

LITERATURE: Rooses, V, p. 300, No. 1588; Rosenberg, pp. 111 (repr.), 120; Rooses, Vie, p. 401 (repr.); Adler, Wildens, pp. 52–64, fig. 224.

This sheet has been missing from the Dresden Print Room since the Second World War and only survives in reproduction in Rooses, Vie; the reproduction in Rosenberg is very poor. After the discussion of No. 4 above it is easy to recognize it as a grandiose treatment of the basic conception of the Vienna drawing.

In the lost Dresden sheet a long S-curve stretches diagonally from the pond in the lower left corner to the extreme right, where it terminates in a house shaded by a grove of trees. The farm stands on rising ground beside the pool. A light path and a wooden hurdle lead the eye to a doorway in the light gable wall of a large farm building overshadowed by a huge draw-well. The

CATALOGUE NO. 6

upright pole and shaft of the well—the former is a naturally growing tree, sawn off well above its fork—run parallel to the oblique lines of the roof-gable and are thus visually linked with the main building. The doorway is framed on one side and emphasized by the forked tree (which repeats the inclination of the tree in the left foreground), by a wheelbarrow and other implements; the curving space-diagonal leads through the doorway and the three houses to the right. A first glimpse of the space beyond appears to the left of the main building, where the ground is flat; this is not a direct vista in the manneristic sense, although there is a clear intention to lead the eye around the curve formed by the group of buildings. The drawing is an elongated rectangle, and the whole visual movement is extended over a large distance. Abrupt transitions are avoided; a ladder propped against a concave thatched roof connects it with the ground and with the nearer part of the scene. Large boughs lying on the ground, and a patch of refuse in which pigs are rooting, accompany the receding movement of the buildings. The draw-well dominates the latter, and its rope divides the whole drawing vertically in two; the well is so closely linked to the gable end of the main building by the triangular structure of each that it appears as a powerful frame of the dark doorway, drawing to itself the diagonal movement which begins in the lower left corner. This movement extends through and beyond the well, whose long shaft, pointing diagonally to the right, is in a direct line with the foot of the tree in the lower left corner and the bright strip of ground leading to it from the pond. The rope, suspended between the chimney and the perpendicular gable of the main building, also links the well orthogonally with the latter—an essential functional and compositional feature of this

luminous early Baroque drawing, and one which has an emotional impact despite its sobriety.

This was the largest of the group of drawings, being 510 mm. in length.

Executed c. 1609-10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, pp.22,23.

6. 'Het Huys Bekelaar in de Bosseleny van Jperen A° 1609': Drawing (Fig.25)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 206 x 342 mm.; below on the left, mark of the collection J. Gigoux (L. 1164), below on the right, mark of the Louvre (L. 1886a).—*Verso*: inscribed at the left by an 18th century hand: *Het huys Bekelaar in de bosseleny van Iperen A° 1609.*

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 1272.

PROVENANCE: Jean Gigoux (Besançon, 1806—Paris, 1894); Dr. Suchet; presented to the Louvre by Madame Juiff, 1929.

LITERATURE: *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande, II*, 1949, p.60, No.1272, pl.LXXIX facing p.59; O. Benesch, in *Kunstchronik*, 1954, p.202; [F. Van den Wijngaert], in Cat. Exh. *Antwerp*, 1956, p.17; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.52-64, figs.225, 238.

It would be surprising if the 18th-century inscription on the verso were the repetition of a 17th-century one lost by reason of a hypothetical cutting-down of the sheet at that very time. The drawing does not in fact give the impression of having been appreciably cut; and the 17th-century inscriptions on other sheets of the group are not so near the edge that a slight cutting-down would have removed them. It is an open question (cf. below) whether the 18th-

century writer had any means of determining the location that are not available to us, such as paintings, drawings etc.; and it is quite uncertain what weight can be attached to the date 1609 inserted by this later hand. Lugt was the first to point out that the inscription on the verso was in an 18th-century hand; he thought *bosselfeny* might be a mistake for *Kasselrij*. The chateau at Bekelaer was rebuilt before 1641, but this according to Lugt, could not explain the difference between its appearance in the drawing and in the copperplate engraving in Antonius Sanderus's *Flandria Illustrata*.¹

A curtain of five trees (the fifth can be seen on the left behind the gate in the garden fence), which borders the moat and curves leftward into the distance, combines with the moat itself to form an outer framework to the complex of buildings, which is seen slantwise. At the same time the principal line of vision, beginning with the section of fence on the right, follows the highlighted face of the wall leftwards and continues between the wall and the farm buildings to the distant horizon. The path starting from the right front corner and the moat under the bridge are in line with this movement into depth. The main line of vision is bounded on the right by, above all, the curtain-wall-like, bright, foreshortened, gated front wall of the castle: this divides the whole landscape diagonally into two halves, the left-hand one appearing for reasons of perspective to be much larger than the other. Thus the castle, which is the principal motif of the drawing and is separated by the curtain of trees from the bright foreground, appears to stand with only its gated front in the main line of vision and hence in the larger-looking area stretching diagonally to the left, which is treated in greater detail, while the mass of the castle extends slantwise into the area to

the right of the main division. A castle, seen obliquely, with a similar front and with a drawbridge and moat, behind which the chief vanishing point of the composition is seen in the distance, occurs in Rubens's *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre (No.65, Fig. 148). In this late painting the castle and tower enclose the vanishing point and the moat leading to it still more firmly than in the early topographical sketch.

The apparent displacement of the chief topographical motif, due to the broad diagonal division of the picture-space, is soon seen to be a means of placing that motif in a seasonal context: this is achieved most convincingly, although natural phenomena are sparingly represented. This is because of the harmony between the ultimately simple, assured composition and the use of contrasting washes. Under the wintry grey-blue of the sky, and behind the dull grey tones of the foreground vegetation, the long reddish gate-wall of the castle, bathed in obliquely falling light, joins at the corner nearest the spectator with the grey-violet hue of the part of the building which lies in shadow. This corner is emphasized by the tallest tree, from which the curtain of trees on either side provides a setting for the edifice: it prepares the eye for the solid mass of the castle, and makes it appear less small and far away than it otherwise would. The leafless trees, stretching up into the wintry sky and dominating the buildings, determine the character of the work; the castle is subordinated to the portrayal of the winter landscape. The withered plants in the foreground already proclaim the theme that secretly informs the artist's treatment of topography and turns it into an impressive rendering of seasonal atmosphere. A plastic mass surrounded by a spatial framework occurs not only in the drawing *The Keyzers Hof* in this group

(No.11, Fig.33) but also in Rubens's early oil painting *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52). That Rubens abandoned the topographical genre and that we know of only one oil painting by him that may be connected with any of the sheets discussed here² is not surprising in view of the fact that his artistic development led him to explore every other pictorial genre as well. In the same way he only twice treated the theme of barns and stables, in *The Prodigal Son*, Antwerp (No.26, Fig.75) and *Winter*, Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66).

The treatment of vegetation in the left foreground by crescent-shaped dabs with the brush is the same as in a drawing reworked by Rubens of *Pan and Syrinx* in the British Museum, which M. Jaffé dates c. 1615 (cf. Fig.24).³ A much later work (c. 1630) by Rubens, the landscape in oil on paper in the National Gallery, London (No.57, Fig.140)—probably a design for an engraving—not only shows dabs of this kind in the bush at the extreme left, but also the basic idea of a curtain of trees leading from right to left and then curving into the distance, and enclosing a further important part of the composition.

Gustav Glück in the 1920s proposed Jan Bruegel the Elder as author of the *Farm* group of drawings,⁴ while in 1935 and 1940 he favoured Sebastiaan Vrancx.⁵ Burchard also finally concluded that Jan Bruegel was the author. The *Farm* group of drawings may be compared to a drawing of a moated castle by Jan Bruegel the Elder (Fig.17)⁶ and to David Vinckboons's *Moated Castle with Christ and the Disciples on the Road to Emmaus* (Fig.26).⁷ It can be seen from these what an advance the present sheet represents compared with the work of Jan Bruegel the Elder and his contemporaries.

Executed c. 1609–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, pp.22,23.

In view of the fact that the 18th-century location of the scene at Bekelaer near Ypres is very uncertain, it is of interest that Rubens's mother, Maria Pypelinckx, owned a small moated house at Nispen near 's Hertogenbosch, the outstanding rent on which—including 60 pounds of butter—fell due to her son Peter Paul after her death. The relevant document of 1610 was published by Génard in 1877 but has not hitherto been noticed:

Item, in accordance with the letters quoted in the aforesaid inventory No.1, this estate of the deceased comprising a moated castle and other buildings appertaining thereto and with the gardens, lands and pastures, whether held in fee or inherited, known as Moerendaal and situate near Nispen, with a total area of about . . ., which estate has been held on annual lease by Jan Adriaenssen for the sum of 54 guilders, and on which the rent due at the death of the said Marie Pypelinckx was 89 guilders and 2 stivers; since then the lessor has received 18 guilders and 15 stivers; item 54 guilders and 60 pounds of butter for the aforesaid Sig. Petrus Paulo, at 4 stivers the pound equals 12 guilders . . .⁸

Moated (ruined) castles also occur in the *Farm* drawings Nos.8 (Fig.28) and 9 (Fig.29). No.7 (Fig.27) shows a moated farmstead with a stone dwelling-house.

1. A Sanderus, *Flandria Illustrata*, I, Cologne, 1641, p.390.
2. Cf. 'Een hoffpoort van myn Heer Rubbens', in Jeremias Wildens's estate, listed at 30 December, 1653 (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.161, No.274).
3. See Hind, II, p.15, No.28, pl.IV; M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Raphael*, in: *Studies in Renaissance & Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt on his 60th Birthday*, London–New York, 1957, pp.99,100, pl.XX, Fig.4.
4. Glück, 1924, p.7; Glück, 1927, p.17.
5. Glück, Bruegel, p.165, n.39; Glück, p.9, in the Dutch edition of 1940: p.11.

6. Present whereabouts unknown; 165 x 310 mm.; see F. Becker, *Handzeichnungen alter Meister in Privatsammlungen*, Leipzig, 1922, pl.8.
7. Pen and ink, washed in brown and grey, 109 x 162 mm.; East-Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. No. 174 (not in *Bock-Rosenberg*; from the collection Beuth-Schinkel).
8. *Génard*, pp.425,426; cf. also 'de Hoeve ende landen genoemt Moerendaal' listed in Maria Pypelinex's will of 18 December, 1607 (*Génard*, pp.374,375). Cf. also A. J. Buys, *Moerendaal en de familie Rubens*, *Jaarboek van de Oudheidkundige Kring De Ghulden Roos*, Roosendaal, 1958, pp.44-48.

7. A Moated Grange with Bridge-House: Drawing (Fig.27)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 173 x 313 mm. Inscribed below, at the left: *P. P. Rubens.*—*Verso:* inscribed: 1606. *London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings.* Inv. No. 1895-9-15-1041.

PROVENANCE: Egmont; Dr. Wellesley, sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 June 1866 *et seqq.*, lot 1089; John Malcolm; purchased by the British Museum, 1895.

EXHIBITED: British Museum, London, 1894, No.345.

LITERATURE: J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Drawings by the Old Masters, forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.*, London, 1869, p.200, No.574; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.298, No. 1587;² *Rooses, Vie*, p.20 (repr.); *Hind*, II, p.33, No.106, pl.XIV; *Glück*, 1924, p.76; *Glück*, 1927, p.173; *Herrmann*, pp.11,66,67,n.10; *Glück*, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, pp.9, n.30, 14-17, fig.11; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130-134; *Adler, Wildens*, pp. 52-64, figs.227,239.

As in No.2 (Fig.15), so here a flat ridge or undulation in the foreground serves as a vantage-point for the spectator to take in

the remainder of the scene. From the highest point of the ridge the eye travels straight to the gatehouse, where a much foreshortened cart is seen, and thence inside the farm. Clarity, simplicity, concentration on a single motif, and a strong impression of winter despite the economy of indications (cf. No.7 above) are the salient features of this scene from life, whose massive equilibrium makes an unforgettable impression. The foreground ridge, on which the gatehouse and the whole farmstead appear to stand, gives a monumental effect to the scene, enhanced by the cloud strata of the wintry sky. The shifting of the motif to the left of centre eliminates stiffness and allows the eye to travel obliquely to the right along the moat with its calm reflections. The encircling willows, especially those on the left, which form a regular line and are mirrored in the moat below, suggest further oblique directions and hence the three-dimensional values of the group of buildings clustered together on an island.

A foreground ridge, forming more of an enclosure, and a central mass surrounded by water and regular rows of trees can be seen in Rubens's early *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52), which has been cited several times by way of comparison with the *Farm* drawings.

A detail which appears in cursory form in the drawing of a trattoria in Professor van Regteren Altena's collection c. 1606 (No.1, Fig.1) and which is more deliberately executed in the present sheet, serves as a link between the Rome drawing and the *Farm* group. Between the wooden gateway and the house on the right the eye is caught by a bare tree with crooked branches, linking the two structures together. A very similar tracery of boughs in a dark wash can be seen in the trattoria drawing on

the left of the view extending over the central flat arch of Roman brickwork. In the *Farms* this motif also appears on the extreme right of the powerful drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library (No.11, Fig.33), whose early Baroque character is shown by the robust vegetation, the concentration of wash on points or areas that are crucial to the composition, and the concise, pregnant manner in which the oblong shape holds these forms closely together.

Executed c. 1608–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

8. A Farm near Luithagen: Drawing (Fig.28)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 237 x 488 mm. Cut below, probably also at the lateral edges. Inscribed below, at the left: *P. P. Rubens.* — *Verso:* inscribed *dits de hoeve by de luijthagen 1609.*

Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet. Inv. No. A.XV.5.

PROVENANCE: Henry Oppenheimer, London, sale (Christie's), 10 July 1936, lot 304 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1927, No.568; *Brussels*, 1938–39, No.51; *Paris*, 1954, No.416; *Scaldis*, Antwerp, 1956, No. 612; *Plantin-Rubens*, Archiginnasio, Bologna, 1965, No.53 (repr.).

LITERATURE: [A. M. Hind], *Vasari Society*, 2nd Series, II, No.14 (repr.); *Hind*, II, p.33, under Nos.106, 107; *Glück*, 1924, pp.72–76; *Wescher*, pp.92, 93; *Muchall-Viebrook*, No.29, repr.; *Glück*, 1927, p.173, No.29; *Glück*, *Bruegel*, p.165, n.39; *Herrmann*, pp.11, and 66–68, n.10, *Delen*, I, p.63, No.190; II, pl.XXXV; *Glück*, p.9; *Winkler*, pp.51, 52; *Thiéry*, p.96, n.112; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, pp.9, 14–17,

fig.11; *Held*, I, pp.8, 9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130–134; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.52–64, figs.228, 240.

The most striking feature of this view of a ruined castle with farm buildings among trees is the stratification of the pictorial space by the plastic use of light, shade and colour. The same effect is seen in Rubens's *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* in the National Gallery, London (No.23, Fig.72); for this reason among others, I believe that work to be earlier than *The Watering-Place* in the same gallery (cf. No.25, Fig.71). In the present drawing, a painterly topographical sketch, the dominant receding movement is powerfully expressed by the tree bending sharply away from the spectator, an effect reinforced by light. The impetuous movement beginning in the left lower corner leads rapidly to the farmstead, to which the eye also travels directly by way of the tapering shaft of light beyond the bush which acts as a repoussoir. Like the moat on the left and the path in the foreground, shafts of light on the right reinforce the general receding movement, which is fully consonant with that observable in Rubens's later landscapes.

Rubens's *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* in Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62) provides a striking example of an inclined tree expressing the dominant spatial feeling of an entire work. In that picture, however, the tree inclines forward, overshadowing the cart and the downward slope along which it is being perilously urged. At the same time its trunk, which is further back in the picture, draws attention to the middle ground, the undulations of which lead in turn without a break to the far-off mountains. Although the tree is inclined in the opposite direction to that seen in the early drawing, it serves in the same way

to express the headlong sense of spatial depth, as the movement originating from the lower left corner swings round and recedes into the distance. A tree resembling that in the Antwerp drawing is seen in the oil painting *The Conversion of St Paul* in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection in London (Fig.30).¹ Here even the angle of the branches is similar, and the treatment of foliage corresponds to that seen in the drawing.

Executed c. 1609–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

1. Seilern, No.21, pl.XLVII; panel, 95 x 120.5 cm.; painted c. 1615; K.d.K., p.157.

9. The 'Baseliers Hof': Drawing (Fig.29)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 169 x 383 mm. *Verso*: inscribed: 1609 baseliers hof.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room. Inv. No. 5546.

PROVENANCE: A. von Beckerath (Berlin, 1834–1915); purchased for the Print Room, 1902.

LITERATURE: *Wescher*, pp.92,93, fig.9; *Bock-Rosenberg*, I, p.253, No.5546; II, pl.185; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, pp.9,n.30, 14,15; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130–134; *Miekle-Winner*, pp. 117,118, No.45, repr. (as *circle of Rubens*); *Adler*, *Wildens*, pp.52–64, figs. 229,241.

This work, one of the most astonishing of the group of drawings, is distinguished by unimpeded entry into the composition along the whole breadth of the elongated sheet and by the way in which the varied scenery is drawn into a

single powerful thrust into depth. If we ignore the two figures added by a later 17th-century hand, we can at once perceive the broad, majestic progression right across the sheet, leading from the water and patch of ground to the drawbridge. The starting-point in the lower right corner is marked by a row of trees of various kinds, foreshortened by the central perspective, which form the right-hand vertical side of the thrust into depth. The left side of this thrust is constituted by the foreshortened, shadowed outer wall of the former castle, which stretches away into the distance beyond the drawbridge. The upper contour of the castle ruin, which decreases in height as it recedes, is prolonged towards the upper left corner of the sheet by an invitingly curved tree with a loose crown of foliage.

Executed c. 1609–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

It has been suggested at various times that this sheet is the work of Jan Bruegel the Elder or his school. The latter's treatment of a castle beside a stretch of water in similar perspective may be seen from a drawing in the Print Room of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum at Brunswick, catalogued there as a copy after Jan Bruegel (Fig.31).¹ If the date of 1609 on the verso of the present sheet is at all accurate, it marks an extraordinary advance for the first years of the 17th century. Held's idea that the *Farm* pieces may be the work of an unknown, gifted artist who died young² presupposes that he must have been a spiritual twin of Rubens who shared the same early experiences, including a stay in Italy and acquaintance with Elsheimer; the conjecture is understandable, in view of this masterly composition, simple yet precise and clear in its topographical details.

1. Cat. Hausmann, No.144; washed pen drawing, 206 x 312 mm.

2. *Held*, p.2.

**10. The 'Gastes Hoef' near Deurne:
Drawing (Fig. 32)**

Pen and ink, watercolour; 229 x 374 mm. Inscribed below, at the left: *P. P. Rubens.—Verso: inscribed dits de gastes hoef duer dueren 1609.*

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 1895-9-15-1040.

PROVENANCE: Egmont; Dr. Wellesley, sale, London (Sotheby's), 25 June, 1866 *et seqq.*, lot 1087; John Malcolm; purchased by the British Museum, 1895.

EXHIBITED: British Museum, London, 1894, No. 343

LITERATURE: J. C. Robinson, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Drawings by the Old Masters, forming the Collection of John Malcolm of Poltalloch, Esq.*, London, 1869, pp. 199, 200, No. 573; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p. 298, No. 1587¹; [A. M. Hind], *Vasari Society*, 2nd Series, II, No. 14; *Hind*, II, p. 33, No. 107, pl. XIV; *Glück*, 1924, p. 76; *Herrmann*, pp. 66, 67, n. 10; *Glück*, p. 9; *Winkler*, p. 51; *Held*, 1956, p. 123; *Jaffé*, 1957, pp. 9, 14, 15, 17, fig. 11; *Held*, I, pp. 8, 9; *Held*, 1972, pp. 130-134; *Adler*, *Wildens*, pp. 52-64, figs. 230, 242.

Like the previous sheet, this one is an example of the organization of multi-form scenery in terms of a centrally directed thrust into depth. The hay or straw shed on the left, with its roof in dark wash pointing to the root of the large tree, provides the first starting-point: the stable on the right reinforces it but comes later into view, as it is further off. This slight slanting of the open, courtyard-like area between farm buildings corresponds to the slightly oblique direction of the recession produced by the repoussoir bush in the foreground in relation to the large leafy tree. The two

heavily washed areas at the furthest edges of the elliptical sunlit pool—which extends to the right border and is overlapped by the most darkly washed branches of the bush in the foreground—are in a similar relation to each other, athwart the link between the bush and the tree. We can now fully recognize the organizing effect of light, which imposes a gentler rhythm of light and dark patches, alternating and holding each other in check, on the central thrust into depth of the two rows of buildings. The light, in addition, imparts a unity to the scene including the sky, partly overcast with rain-clouds, and shows up the undulations of the ground, which appears to recede in all directions, including towards the spectator, from the longish pool in the centre lit up by a ray of sunshine piercing the clouds. While the large shaded area on the right indicates a part of the pond's surface not reached by the sun, further off on the left we see the dark eroded side of a bank which curves round into the distance past the figure of the artist and on the end of which is a conical pile of straw. Towards the lower left corner a hill rises in several gradations; on it the thatched barn with the artist in front appears large and is at a considerably higher level than the pond. The spectator, who is still higher up, looks down on the entire foreground, while the buildings further off look small and seem to be borne by the undulations spreading outward from the sunlit pool.

To the heavily washed triangle of the roof at the left margin corresponds, on the right, the stable-roof divided by the falling shadow into light brown and whitish yellow. The large barn on the left, the man sketching, the dark-washed hill and the bush at the point where the hill begins combine to form a foreground repoussoir thrusting the rest of the composition back into space beneath the sky,

which is bright on the left and overcast on the right.

The decision and firmness with which light and shade are concentrated on zones of critical importance, and the resulting simplicity and tautness of the complex impression, is echoed by the stiff horizontality of the peripheral foliage on the left side of the large tree, and the strict economy with which all types of foliage are rendered in the drawing. In this part of the detail we recognize the same drive towards simplicity and vivid conciseness that is visible at first glance in the energetic handling of space from a central perspective and, interacting with it, the composition in light and shadow and the yellowish-green, ochre brown and slate-grey water-colouring. The following sheet, *The 'Keyzers Hof'* in the Pierpont Morgan Library (No. 11, Fig. 33), is the most impressive example of this powerful, stylized treatment of foliage, making do with a few basic forms, and of the use of water-colour, applied thickly in key areas, to emphasize the recessional and diagonal aspect of the landscape.

Executed c. 1609–10: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p. 22.

The device of including the artist as a figure in the landscape occurs in a drawing by a Frankenthal painter in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (Fig. 35).¹ Two men sketching a landscape are seen in an engraved *Landscape with the Abduction of Psyche* after Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Fig. 34).² The earliest use of the motif known to us is in the so-called *Chain Engraving*, a Florentine woodcut of the late 15th century (Fig. 36).³

1. Pen and brown ink and wash; 184 x 298 mm. Inscribed at the *verso* by a 16th century hand: *het slaghthuis en Muijens tot franckendahl*. Cf. the catalogue by H. Wellensiek of the exhibition *Die Frankenthaler Maler*, Mannheim-Frankenthal, 1962, p. 33, No. 66, fig. 25.

2. See *Van Bastelaer*, p. 31, II and *Hollstein*, III, p. 254, as after P. Bruegel I. See also Pieter Bruegel's drawing of c. 1554–1555 in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection (*Seilern*, No. 9, pl. XXVI).

3. See Friedrich Lippmann, *Der italienische Holzschnitt im XV. Jahrhundert*. Offprint from *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 1885, pp. 1–107, esp. pp. 18–22, with repr. See also Christian Hülser, *Die alte Ansicht von Florenz im Kgl. Kupferstichkabinett und ihr Vorbild, Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, 35, 1914, pp. 90–102, and Friedrich Lippmann, *The Art of Wood-Engraving in Italy in the Fifteenth Century*, Amsterdam, 1969, pp. 30–33 (repr.).

11. The 'Keyzers Hof': Drawing (Fig. 33)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 232 x 481 mm. Inscribed, in ink, below on the left: *P. P. Rubens*; below, on the right, the mark of the collection of J. C. Robinson (L. 1433).—*Verso*: inscribed, in ink: *dits Keyzers hof*.

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library.
Inv. No. I. 231.

PROVENANCE: J. C. Robinson (Nottingham, 1824–London, 1913); C. Fairfax Murray (London, 1849–1915).

EXHIBITED: *Exhibition of Landscape Painting from Patinir to Hubert Robert*, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1941, No. 17; *Seventy Master Drawings: Paul J. Sachs Anniversary Exhibition*, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, 1948, No. 31; *Watercolours by Old Masters*, Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, 1952; *Landscape Drawings and Watercolours*, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, 1953, No. 54; *Cambridge–New York*, 1956, No. 9 (repr.); *Treasures from the Pierpont Morgan Library*, New York, 1957, No. 89 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, pp. 197, 198; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 52, repr.; C. Fairfax Murray, *Collection of Drawings by the Old Masters*

formed by C. Fairfax Murray, I, London, 1905-12, No.231; Hind, II, p.33, under Nos.106,107; Wescher, pp.92,93; Bock-Rosenberg, p.253, under No.1540; Delen, I, p.63, under No.190; Goris-Held, p.44, No.125, pl.97; A. Mongan (ed.), *One Hundred Master Drawings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, p.68; Held, 1956, p.123; Jaffé, 1957, pp.9,n.30, 14-18; Held, pp.8, 9; Held, 1972, pp.130-134, fig.64; Adler, *Wilden*, pp.52-64, figs.231-243.

The farmstead, together with the foreshortened dwelling-house on the left, which looks as if it were inclined backwards, and the path leading straight past its right side into the distance, forms a central mass lit up from the front on the left and in darkness on the right. The front and sides of this mass are surrounded by an outer framing of space which is indicated by the light path forming a horseshoe curve around the complex, and is clearly defined externally by two trees on the left, the repoussoir bush in front and a slender tree with budding foliage on the right. The gatehouse, which is seen in front of the dwelling-house and, while also oblique, is at a different angle to it, contributes to the compact effect of the group of buildings, seen beyond the two trees on the left whose crowns of foliage give a powerful impression of vegetable growth. These two trees and the slender one on the right frame the farmstead from the spectator's angle of vision, and the repoussoir bush comes into the centre of the scene thus formed. The dark shape of the bush is emphasized by the shadow cast by the tops of the two trees; their trunk-shadows point towards the farmstead and indicate the breadth of the outer space-frame. In the space between the two trees, sitting beside the path, is a young woman: her bodice,

cloak and tall, broad-brimmed hat are clearly visible.

A central mass enclosed by a space-frame was used by Rubens a few years later in his *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein collection at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52). The frame is there provided by the pond which, like a moat, surrounds the rising ground planted with trees, and its outer limits are marked by the trees surrounding the pond and the coulisse in the foreground. The present drawing and the picture at Vaduz also have in common the direct view into depth on the right, along a corridor bordered with trees. The energetic distribution of darks may likewise be noted. Compared to the Vaduz picture, the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* at the Hermitage in Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62) is less concise and exemplary; but this too has a central mass with a path leading round it (and going off into the distance on the right), while the trees and the cart act as powerful repoussoirs to push the central mass further into the background. The space-creating effect of the large tree in this picture has been discussed under No.8.

The way in which the trees in the Leningrad picture seem to thrust out their tufts of leaves is also observable in the present sheet. The left periphery of the two large trees in the painting (in the case of the right-hand tree, the upper part in particular) should be compared with the left periphery of the heavily washed left-hand tree in the present drawing, and so should the left periphery of the tree in No.10 (Fig.32). Under No.10 I drew attention to the stiffly horizontal and parallel treatment of the peripheral foliage on the left side of this tree, and referred in advance to the present sheet.

The stiffly parallel treatment of the tufts of leaves on the left periphery of the tree-tops in both the pen drawings and

the trees in the Leningrad picture contrasts with the freer, less regular way in which all these trees put forth their tufts of leaves on the right-hand side. For the parallel drawing of leaf-covered branches cf. also the upper left part of the large dark tree, cut off by the top edge of the panel, in *The Farm at Laken* in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace, London (No.20, Fig.63).

Although in 1959 Julius Held referred to the *Farms* as 'some of the finest landscape drawings of the period', in 1972, having meanwhile discovered the drawing for the engraving *St Ignatius in a Landscape*, he spoke apropos of the present sheet of the 'purely decorative and essentially flat treatment of these forms'.¹ This judgement will hardly be accepted by anyone who recognizes the significance of the high-lighted path in the shape of a horseshoe and the outer space-frame around it, which forms a semicircle extending to the front of the picture surface. The path bends round to the right past the farmstead and then leads to the horizon as a foreshortened avenue between trees. The shadow of the tree-trunk is inclined slightly forward; with its spread of foliage this gives a lively lead-in to the composition, and points rightward to the background into which the path leads. The early Baroque use of wash, emphatic and full of contrasts, and the treetop shadows on the ground which act as a powerful repoussoir for the gatehouse and farm buildings, show that Rubens's idea of a broadly-based, increasingly rapid penetration into the depths of a landscape—exemplified in the *Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No.18a, Fig.58) by means of solid three-dimensional objects—could also be achieved to the full in a topographical landscape making use of light and shade and the most powerful atmospheric effects, such as a summer sky about to burst into rain. The tree in the

foreground and the shadow of its trunk serve as a prelude to the opening up of the picture surface, in the same way as the tree and its uprooted neighbour do in the Louvre drawing.

The compact forms of the trees and bushes and the contrastive light are reminiscent of the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No.16, Fig.45).

From the point of view of the general composition with a central mass surrounded by a horseshoe shape and with a direct vista into depth on the right, the present drawing can even be compared with the late *Park of a Castle in Vienna* (No.42, Fig.118).

Cf. also No.12 below, where this important sheet will be referred to further.

Executed c. 1610: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

1. Held, 1972, pp.93 ff., fig.44.

12. The Farm near the Ruggenveld: Drawing (Fig.40)

Pen and ink, watercolour; 255 x 484 mm. Inscribed in ink, below, on the left: *P. P. Rubens*; below, on the right, the mark of the collection of J. C. Robinson (L. 1433).—Verso: inscribed, in ink: *1610 de hoeve byet ruggen velt. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room. Inv. No. 1540.*

PROVENANCE: J. C. Robinson (Nottingham, 1824—London, 1913); purchased by the Print Room, 1880.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, pp.298, 299, No.1586, pl.429; *Rosenberg*, pp.118 (repr.), 120; *Rooses, Vie*, p.52; J. Meder, *Die Handzeichnung. Ihre Technik und Entwicklung*, Vienna, 1919, p.516; O. Zoff, *Das Leben des Peter Paul Rubens*, Munich, 1922, pl.I; [A. M. Hind],

Vasari Society, 2nd Series, II, under No.14; *Hind*, II, p.33, under Nos.106, 107; H. Leporini, *Die Stilentwicklung der Handzeichnung. XIV. bis XVIII. Jahrhundert*, Vienna-Leipzig, 1925, No. 224 (repr.); *Wescher*, pp.92,93; *Glück*, 1927, p.173, under No.29; *Lippmann-Grote*, II, No.249; *Die Reichsdrucke*, Berlin, 1928, p.297, No.923 (repr.); *Bock-Rosenberg*, I, p.253, No.1540; *Glück*, *Bruegel*, p.165; *Herrmann*, pp.11,66-68; *Glück*, p.9; *Goris-Held*, p.44, under No.125; *Winkler*, pp.50-52, fig.29; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p.601, under Nos.1271, 1272; *Thiéry*, p.96; [F. Van den Wijngaert], in Cat. Exh. *Antwerp*, 1956, p.17; Cat. Exh. *Cambridge—New York*, 1956, under No.9; *Held*, 1956, p.123; *Jaffé*, 1957, pp.9-19; *Held*, I, pp.8,9; *Held*, 1972, pp.130-134; *Mielke-Winner*, pp.118-120, No.46, repr. (as *circle of Rubens*); *Adler, Wildens*, pp.52-64, figs. 234,244.

This, the better-known of the two Berlin sheets, is generally regarded as the most important of the *Farm* drawings. Jaffé, who believed the series to be by various hands, maintained in 1957 that the only ones attributable to Rubens were the present sheet and a drawing on *carta azzurra* in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, *Landscape with a Water-Mill*, which he mistakenly published as Rubens's work.

The present drawing has features in common with the oil painting *Winter* at Windsor Castle, dated 1617 (No.21, Fig.66): what Jaffé called 'the unimpeded, broad and sweeping entry into the composition',¹ the obstruction of the vista in the middle distance and the way in which the eye is nevertheless led through to the landscape in the background. The rural-pastoral depiction of *The Prodigal Son* in Antwerp, which

Burchard dates c. 1619 (No.26, Fig.75), presents the same phenomenon as well as the foreshortened rack wagon, which is seen on the left in *Winter* and on the right under the shed in the present drawing, besides providing the central motif of the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford* in the Hermitage at Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62).

Even Julius Held, who in general rejected the *Farm* drawings, was still hesitant about this one in 1969, although he had by then made the discovery, which he regarded as decisive, of the design for an engraving of the *Vita Ignatii* (Fig.37).² In 1972 he finally rejected the present drawing on the strength of an axiom that may have been largely inspired by the summer atmosphere of the drawing in the Pierpont Morgan Library (No.11, Fig.33), which he rejected with especial firmness. Summing up his conclusions, he wrote:

What really matters is that the artist of the Morgan drawing sacrificed three-dimensional solidity of tree trunks and foliage to a purely decorative and essentially flat treatment of these forms. Moreover, in all his painted landscapes, and in those drawings that are undoubtedly his, Rubens suggested movement of forms in nature by observing the interaction of wind and weather with the forces of growth (and decay) inherent in the plants themselves. This vision of nature is manifest in the Louvre drawing for the *Vita Ignatii*, but entirely absent in the drawing of the Morgan Library—and for that matter in all the other drawings belonging to this group.³

Held's general test of landscapes attributed to Rubens, that they should display 'the interaction of wind and weather with the forces of growth (and decay) inherent in the plants themselves', is brilliantly answered by the sheet in the

Morgan Library (exuberant vegetable growth under the rays of the sun breaking through summer rain-clouds) and by the present drawing with its wintry atmosphere and the gnarled tree partly eroded by decay. The impression of wintry bareness and torpor is also given by No.2 (Fig.15), No.6 (Fig.25), and No.7 (Fig.27).

The rack cart, seen foreshortened from behind, reappears, seen obliquely from the other side, in the well-known study drawing with a peasant threshing, at Chatsworth (No.26a, Fig.76). This drawing was probably executed c. 1615–17, i.e. in any case later than the *Farm* group, which we place soon after Rubens's return from Italy. If the cart in the present drawing is to be regarded as an imitation by Rubens's circle of the similar carts in the Leningrad picture as well as *Winter* and *The Prodigal Son*, the date 1610 on the verso must be called in question and the drawing assigned to a much later date. In that case the date of 1606 which appears on two of the sheets (Nos.2 and 7), and which is the only valid reason for disputing Rubens's authorship of the *Farm* group, must also be regarded as untrustworthy. If we accept that the writers of these dates on the sheets in question were mistaken and that the group is in fact by Rubens, the shed with the cart under it serves to illustrate the development of his interest in rustic and peasant motifs, the beginning of which, after his return from Italy, is perhaps to be seen in this example.

The early dating 1610 of the inscription can only be upheld if the depiction of the cart under the framework of the shed is regarded as the work of another artist, genuinely independent of *Winter* and *The Prodigal Son* and accidentally similar to them. In that case, however, the opponents of the attribution to Rubens would, in view of the stylistic

data, have a difficult task on discovering the creator of the first Baroque landscape drawings north of the Alps. Held was aware of this difficulty when he wrote in 1959:

One might consider another possibility in connection with a group of landscape drawings ... which have been attributed to Rubens. . . . Perhaps the author of the better ones among them (Berlin; New York, Morgan Library; London) was a gifted artist who died young. The disappearance of drawings of this style after 1610 makes us think of the epidemics which ravaged Antwerp in the early seventeenth century, particularly that of 1612. . . . I mention this theory primarily to point out how many possibilities a cautious historian ought to keep in mind.⁴

With reference to the date of 1606 inscribed by unknown hands on Nos.2 and 7, and the question of the reliability of such inscriptions in general, we may once again recall the error made by Rubens's nephew Philipp when he gave the year of the artist's purchase of *Het Steen* as 1630 instead of 1635 (cf. under No.2).

Held's discovery in the Louvre of a design by Rubens, previously ascribed to an unknown Flemish artist, for an engraving of the *Vita Beati P. Ignatii Loiolae* of 1609 appears on closer examination not to be an objection to attributing the *Farm* group to Rubens (Fig.37).⁵ If the small, almost miniature design, representing an invented landscape, is compared with the 481-mm. wide, topographically exact drawing from nature in the Pierpont Morgan Library (No.11, Fig.33) it is at once apparent that they both depict the burgeoning force of vegetable growth in the same manner. Just as, on the right of *The 'Keyzers Hof'*, the leafy branches of

a young tree shoot forward as the rain-cloud recedes, so do the leafy branches of a tree leap upwards over the head of the kneeling saint so as almost to meet the tufts of foliage of the side branches of the large tree: these come to meet them with equal impetuosity, the tree seeming to hurl them from itself in the opposite direction to its general thrust upwards and to the right. The same phenomenon can be seen in the case of the strongly washed tree, some distance back on the left side of *The 'Keyzers Hof'*. Its foliage joins with the branches of a bush below it on the left, and a large part of the crown of the tree in front of it on the right spreads out exuberantly upwards and to the right. The tension of this movement of the two treetops towards each other is echoed in the drawing by the taut roundness of heavily washed forms. In the engraving design we notice the same unifying, simplifying tension of movement in the more distant trees on the left and the sideways thrust of the large tree, as they project their foliage upwards behind the saint on the right. Not only the slender tree behind the saint's head thrusts upward towards the obliquely descending foliage of the large tree: the trees further back on the left do the same, despite the dark intervening clouds.

Held is well aware of the difficulty of directly comparing works so different in style and genre (such categories are of great importance in Rubens's case) as well as in size, and in his publication of 1972 he makes two careful reservations. The first of these is expressed in the last words of the following sentence:

The Louvre drawing for the *Vita Ignatii* now provides, I believe, new ammunition against Rubens's authorship of the drawings of Flemish farms, even if one makes allowance for differences of size and function.

Shortly afterwards he says:

If it were by Rubens, the Morgan drawing would have to be dated around 1610 ... in other words in very close chronological proximity to the *Saint Ignatius* drawing in the Louvre. Yet they are separated by fundamental differences of approach. These differences cannot be blamed on the different character of the scenes, though there is surely little *qua* theme that connects the portrait of a Flemish farm with the lonely beauty of the setting for Ignatius's tearful contemplation.⁶

Then comes the passage already quoted, in which Held maintains that *The 'Keyzers Hof'*, like the other *Farm* drawings, does not display the interaction of wind and weather with the forces of vegetable growth and decay. As we have shown in detail under the previous number, while in the great *Study of a Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No.18a, Fig.58) Rubens expressed landscape area by the decisive use of landscape forms, in *The 'Keyzers Hof'* he achieved the same effect by means of light, shade and watercolour. Held, while struck by the resemblance between the massive round tree-trunks in the Louvre drawing and in the engraving design, does not perhaps make it clear enough that the forked tree behind St Ignatius is freely chosen and drawn in a freely invented landscape (almost the same tree recurs in the much later *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis*, No.29, Fig.86, on the right behind the Ovidian group), while the *Fallen Tree* in the Louvre is an individual study from nature. Views of farms, on the other hand, in view of their genre and the need for topographical exactitude, must be able, without loss of artistic quality, to dispense with gnarled plastic features, with the exception of the present sheet and No.8 (Fig.28).

Rubens, it is true, has not so far been known as a topographical draughtsman.

The work discovered by Held is a freely invented nocturnal setting for the depiction of a saint and is, moreover, a design for a small engraving. A comparison with the design for the engraving *Adoration of the Magi* (c. 1613) in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (Fig.38),⁷ will show that although these two works belong to the same genre, both being engraving designs of the period 1608–13, scarcely anyone could have recognized them as done by the same artist if it were not for their relationship to the published engravings.

The third of Held's reservations is expressed in the words: 'Granted, a certain flexibility of critical standards is necessary in measuring out the work of a great master.'⁸ At the beginning of his essay he remarks that in studying engraved book illustrations after Rubens he has turned his attention to an aspect of the master's work that has become unfashionable. Perhaps there is also room for the consideration that Rubens may at some time in the course of his manifold activity, most probably in his youth, have taken to depicting topographical scenes or *vedute*, both in Italy (cf. No.1, Fig.1) and in his homeland. So far the only things known about this are isolated features of oil paintings such as the Palatine, the basilica of Maxentius, San Teodoro, the temple of Venus and Roma in Rome (Nos.16,15, Figs.45,46, 47), peasant cottages and sheds (*Summer*, Windsor Castle; No.22, Fig.67; *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen*, Berlin-Dahlem; No.31, Fig.89), the garden pavilion of Rubens's house, Het Steen, and a bulky tower with pinnacles which occurs in several of his works. In a lost work to which he refers as *un mien dessin* (cf. under No.38), and which dates from his second visit to Spain, Rubens depicted the Escorial from a

distance; the medium in which this landscape portrait was executed is not known.

The present work was executed c. 1610: for the dating cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

The advanced technique of the drawing is especially noticeable in contrast with a *Farm under Trees* by David Vinckboons (Fig.39).⁹ The cart, seen from behind, under a shored-up roof, is portrayed very differently from the one in the present drawing. It should be noted particularly how in Rubens's drawing the ground with its undulations emphasized by wash, expresses the gradations of spatial relationships, and how the washed areas of earth and sky, trees and cottages combine to render the immensity of wintry space, which, rather than the farmhouse, is the dominant theme. Even if Vinckboons's Leiden drawing dates from after 1610, it remains firmly in the Flemish tradition of the generation of Jan Bruegel the Elder.

1. Jaffé, 1957, pp.16–19, fig.9.

2. Letter of 12 January, 1969.

3. Held, 1972, p.132.

4. Held, pp.8 and 9.

5. Lügt, *Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, No.1614 (22.239).

6. See note 3.

7. Goris-Held, p.42, No.102.

8. See note 3.

9. Leiden, Print Room of the University. Inv. No. AW 273; watercolour drawing; 195 × 300 mm.; signed below, at the left: *D. Vinckboons*.

13. Farm Buildings by a Well: Drawing

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig.41), New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery, Inv. No. 1961.61.64; pen and ink, washed in brown, 249 × 499 mm. PROV. Egmont. LIT. E. Haverkamp Begemann and Anne-Marie Logan,

European Drawings and Watercolours in the Yale University Art Gallery. 1500–1900, New Haven–London, 1970, I, p.319, No.591 (as *copy after the Master of the Farm Landscapes*); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel 25 x 40.5 cm. PROV. Brussels, De Jonckheere (1979). EXH. *Tableaux de maîtres flamands et hollandais des XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Galerie De Jonckheere, Brussels, 1979, p.10 (repr., as *Jan II Brueghel*); *Adler, Wildens*, pp.52–64, fig.235; (3) Drawing, Moscow, Pushkin-Museum, No.4657.

Very probably an old copy after a lost *Farm* drawing. Begemann and Logan called it a copy after the *Master of the Farm Landscapes*, and observed: 'Our drawing has all the characteristics of a copy, such as a rather wooden execution and a faulty perspective, especially in the representation of the well.' Cf. especially No.5 (Fig.23). The existence of the two copies shows the importance contemporaries attached to this composition.

The lost original no doubt dated from c. 1608–10, like the rest of the group: cf. *Introduction*, p.22.

14. Landscape with the Flight into Egypt (Fig.42)

Oil on canvas; 74 x 105 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 2080.

PROVENANCE: Louis XIV, King of France (first mentioned in Le Brun's inventory of the royal collections, 1683, under No.324), first in Paris, since 1695 in Versailles; Duc d'Antin, Louvre, Paris, 1715–1736; brought back to the Palace of Versailles, 1737; again in the Louvre since 1792.

EXHIBITED: *L'Astre des Nuits et Diane*, Musée Goya, Castres, 1965, No.14; *Le Grand Siècle dans les Collections Françaises*, Tokyo, 1966, No.37 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Les Merveilles Parlantes de Versailles*, Paris, 1720, p.376; *Descamps, Vie*, p.314; [A. J. Dezallier d'Argenville], *Supplément à l' Abrégé de la Vie des plus fameux peintres, etc.*, III, Paris, 1752, p.304; *Musée Central des Arts. Notice des tableaux des écoles française et flamande exposés dans la grande Galerie*, Paris, 1801, No.497; *Notice des Tableaux exposés dans la Galerie du Musée*, Paris, 1814, No.571; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.115, No.389; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, III, pp.557, 558, No.681; E. Kolloff, *Beschreibung der Königlichen Museen zu Paris*, Pforzheim, 1841, pp.122, 123, No.681; *Louvre, Cat. Villot*, No.430; W. Bode, *Adam Elsheimer der römische Maler deutscher Nation*, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, I, 1880, pp.67, 72; C. R[uelens], *Nouvelles rubénianes, Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, 1882, p.256; W. Bode, *Studien zur Geschichte der holländischen Malerei*, Brunswick, 1883, p.269; *Rooses*, I, p.238, under No.178; A. Rosenberg, *Peter Paul Rubens*, VI, *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N.F., VII, 1896, pp.215, 216; *Engerand*, pp.240, 241; *Rooses, Louvre—National Gallery*, p.92; *Louvre, C.S.*, p.168, No.2080; *Hymans*, 1903, p.262; N. Restorff, *Die Flucht nach Ägypten von Rubens, Repertorium für Kunsthistorik*, 1908, pp.470–475; *Archives de l'Art français*, 1909, pp.18 (No.30), 390 (No.191); W. Bode, *Adam Elsheimer der römische Maler deutscher Nation*, Munich, 1920, p.83; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, p.85, No.2080; *Sterling*, p.180, n.2; *Drost, Elsheimer*, p.185, fig.115; *Herrmann*, pp. 12, 39, 41–43, 46, 48, 51, 53, 68, 81; *Weizsäcker, Elsheimer*, I, p.255; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Glück*, p.9; *Van Puyvelde*, p.202, n.45; *Larsen*, pp.155, 194; *Hulftegger*, pp.125–135; R. Klessmann, *Nachtrag zu Jacob Jordaens, Berliner Museen*, 1961, pp.20, 21, fig.3; J. Foucart, *Rubens: copies*,

répliques, pastiches, Revue de l'Art, XXI, 1973, pp.48-55.

A dramatic and miraculous episode of the Holy Family's flight into Egypt is shown in a nocturnal landscape lit by a full moon. By the right border two mounted pursuers, diminished by distance, ride off on a false trail along a path beside a sheet of water. The Holy Family, left of centre, advance to the left and forwards to escape the danger; they have just reached the shadow of a coulisse of tall trees, in front of which a shepherds' fire is burning at the picture's edge in the middle distance. The diagonal formed by the treetops and the more distant bushes on the bank slopes downward from left to right and points towards the gradually unfolding depths of the scene; on the right-hand side the eye is led in the same direction by the glittering surface of the calm water, the foreshortened path along the bank, curving first left and then right, and the galloping horsemen. A heron, startled by their passage, has emerged from the aquatic plants beside the path and makes its way over the gleaming water to the further-off bushes on the left bank of the pond.

Just as, on the right, the broad patch of reflected moonlight on the water shines out in contrast to the darkness of the further bank and the reflection of a cloudy sky, so the fire on the left is reflected in a pond amid the shadows of the forest.

A robust youth in the style of Caravaggio, bending forward with painful exertion, leads a donkey, its head and neck bent low, through the shallow pond into the safety of the shadows; only the wings on his back proclaim him to be an angel. The two toiling servants, the celestial being and the animal, are largely

engulfed in shadow. They are dominated by the figure of the Virgin, whose cheek, bust and scarlet-clad arm are bathed in the supernatural light that emanates from the Child sleeping on her right arm. A smaller, somewhat younger-looking angel with a wreath of cloud, hovering to the left of the Virgin and Child, endeavours with a switch to prod the donkey in the right direction. (He derives from the angel holding out the palm of martyrdom to *St Matthew* in Caravaggio's picture in San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome). St Joseph, checking his stride, turns back to gaze after the pursuers in an imposing attitude.

The dominant tones of the landscape are bluish and green, both darkening to the deepest shadow. There is brown in the soil of the foreground and yellowish-white patches of light in the sky, on the water and on the moonlit meadow to the right. The Virgin emerges from the shadows in red and blue, covered by a grey cloak. Her bust, and the Child enveloped in a white cloth, are in light flesh-colour; the complexion of the heavenly guardians is darker. Joseph's impressively draped cloak, his bald cranium and the hand resting on his stick are bathed in a warm golden-brown light that radiates from the Child and lights up the group from within. Red and reddish-brown reflections and sidelights glimmer on the ground and on the animals and shepherds by the fire.

The rehabilitation of this picture is one of the great achievements of Ludwig Burchard, who dated it c. 1613 and placed it at the beginning of the catalogue of Rubens's landscapes which he was planning at his death. The composition and idea of the picture show the inspiration of Elsheimer's nocturnal *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen at Munich (Fig.43).¹ The landscape and figures, as compared with

Elsheimer's, have been altered and brought into a new Baroque harmony. Not only have the two angels been added, but the group has become more spatial: this is due to the attitude of the donkey, which is now seen advancing from the background, to St Joseph's stride and the fact that the group is now further away from the spectator. The point of vision and the horizon are higher, the foreground and middle distance are seen more from above—both these features are typical of Rubens. The supernatural light from the Child has taken the place of St Joseph's torch. The shepherds' fire and the group of fugitives are more closely related to each other. St Joseph's more striking attitude and the two celestial helpers introduced by Rubens are a consequence of his introduction of the pursuers, who also account for the startled heron. All the figures have become larger, and the drama of the whole scene is intensified by Rubens's invention of the horsemen. Gone is Elsheimer's enormous starry sky, with the Milky Way and the deep absorbent blue of its immeasurable height, which in its silent majesty imparted an idyllic quality to the action and landscape. In 1933 Willi Drost summed up the effect of Rubens's changes with conciseness and accuracy:

The landscape in Paris is a free repetition of Elsheimer's painting, which Rubens admired, of a moonlit scene with the Flight into Egypt. Elsheimer's landscape was broadly disposed; Rubens has drawn it together, at the same time loosening the stiff threefold division by means of the powerful rhythmic outline of the trees and moving the figures obliquely so as to connect them more closely with the space. Besides Elsheimer he undoubtedly had in mind Tintoretto's fine landscape in the Scuola di San Rocco. . . .

The objection, constantly repeated even in recent times, that 'Rubens would never have copied Elsheimer so slavishly'² disappears of itself in the light of these facts and of some well-known copies from Rubens's hand, e.g. the *Deposition* after Michelangelo da Caravaggio (original in the Vatican Pinacoteca, copy in the Liechtenstein collection), the Louvre *Castiglione* portrait after Raphael (Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, London), or his many copies after Titian in which the originals are similarly re-created: *The Andrians*, *The Worship of Venus*, *Adam and Eve*, *The Rape of Europa*, portraits of women and of the emperor Charles V. Another inspired re-creation of Rubens's which deserves to be set beside the *Flight* in the Louvre is *The Triumph of Caesar* after Andrea Mantegna in the National Gallery, London.³

The armoured pursuer on the right, seen from behind and foreshortened, may be compared with the horsemen in the *Equestrian Portrait of the Duke of Lerma* of 1603 in the Prado, who are seen some distance away through the horse's legs and to the right of it (Fig.44). As in their case, the flowing light on his helmet and shoulder spreads out star-fashion over the back of his neck, his upper arm and the side of his armour.

The comprehensive characterization of this horseman also brings to mind the mounted farm-hand in *The Prodigal Son* at Antwerp (No.26, Fig.75). The group of shepherds round the fire may be compared with the group round a bonfire in the *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul* at Berlin-Dahlem (No.36, Fig.101). The festoons of foliage over the fire, dabbed in with the brush, are typical of Rubens and may be compared with the foliage in the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* in the Louvre (No.16, Fig.45).

Many details of this damaged work can only be seen when the original is in sunlight, and do not appear at all in reproduction. Thus there is a gnarled osier behind St Joseph, some distance further into the picture. The group by the fire on the left can only be seen clearly in the old photograph by Braun. A bullock is seen standing; its crupper is below the feet of the maid with a pail; its body points towards the lower left corner, but its neck is turned towards the other group; the firelight plays on its ear and nearly vertical horns. To its left another bullock is lying on the ground, with its back to the spectator and its head turned to the left. For the man by the fire cf. the man in the same pose by the fire in *Winter* at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66). For the attitude of the maid standing and holding a pail cf. the maid at the extreme right of the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No.16, Fig.45) and the maid with a basket on her head in the lost *Landscape with Antique Ruins*, the composition of which is best preserved by a Bolswert engraving and a painted copy in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier (No.15, Figs.46,47).

There are obvious differences from the Elsheimer picture; the canvas is fuller, the foliage on the left extends towards the upper edge, and the group of fugitives appears to emerge from the background along the wedge of forest, from the right-hand part of the picture illuminated by moonlight. The group is dynamically displaced to the left of centre, and the Caravaggesque angels lead it towards the lower left corner and ultimately out of the picture. The pursuers galloping off, and the heron flying across the pond, form a line of movement which links up with St Joseph's attitude and finally curves round to the left. The figure of the saint, in the very centre of the picture under the upspringing foliage of a tall tree (for this tree and

other foliage cf. the right-hand part of the island in the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* at Vaduz, No.17, Fig.52), symbolizes the Holy Family's escape from extreme peril in a way which is beautifully evoked by the whole landscape composition and the flow of light across the picture. The displacement of the group is occasioned by the brightly lit path introduced by Rubens, along which the fugitives have just come and the pursuers are now galloping away; this also accounts for the two angels who are leading them towards the protective shade of the forest on the left. This is Rubens's first version, inspired by Elsheimer, of a theme which he repeated not long afterwards, in 1614, in the signed painting at Kassel:⁴ the latter is a cabinet piece, a detail as it were of the present one, in which the action of the group is less motivated.

Two decades later Rubens again repeated the group in two versions of the *Flight into Egypt*, the oil sketch now in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian at Lisbon⁵ and the pounced drawing in the British Museum.⁶ These were the models for a copperplate engraving by Marin Robin van der Goes (Marinus), two engravings from the studio of Cornelis Galle II and an anonymous etching.⁷

The figure of the shepherd lying to the left of the fire appears some years later as a beggar with a crutch by the fire in *Winter* in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66).

Originally oil on panel, transferred to canvas by Hacquin in 1777. A painted-over vertical crack in the former panel can be discerned in the treetops, 21–22 cm. from the upper edge. In the sky, at the very top in the centre, a shooting star falls obliquely from right to left: this oblique line is not the effect of a scratch, merely of old paint. The paint surface is much rubbed in many places.

1. Inv. No. 216; copper, 31 x 41 cm.; inscribed indistinctly at the back: ADAM ELSHEIMER FECIT. ROMAE 1609.
2. E.g. Julius Held in 1967, informing the Louvre staff (orally); see J. Foucart, *op. cit.*, p.52.
3. *K.d.K.*, p.310.
4. *K.d.K.*, pp.78,457.
5. Inv. No. 78; oil on panel, 48.5 x 64 cm.; repr. J. Foucart, *op. cit.*, Fig.8.
6. *Hind*, II, No.7 (Gg. 2-233). Repr. J. Foucart, *op. cit.*, Fig.4.
7. *V.S.*, p.24, Nos.102-105.

15. Landscape with Antique Ruins

Oil on canvas; 73.5 x 107 cm.

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's estate, 1640 ('Une piece collée sur du bois d'un paysage d'Italie avec la ruine d'un Temple'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61, No.105); ? James II, King of Great Britain ('Un paysage avec figures et ruines'; *Walpole, James II*, No.910); ? Marquess of Camden, sale, London (Christie's), 12 June 1841, lot 57; Samuel Rogers, London, 1847.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.46), Montpellier, Musée Fabre, Inv. No. 836-4-51; panel, 33 x 56 cm. PROV. Brussels, Collection Binders, 18th century; sale, Amsterdam, 9 April 1783, lot 48; bequeathed to the Museum by A. L. Valedan, 11 February 1836. LIT. A. Joubin, *Catalogue des peintures et sculptures ... du Musée Fabre de la Ville de Montpellier*, Paris, 1926, No.274 (as Rubens); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 36 x 57 cm. PROV. sale, Brussels (Giroux), 4 May 1957, lot 476 (repr.); (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 90 x 135 cm. PROV. Prince Franz von Anhalt-Dessau; Amsterdam, Dr. Spielmeyer, 1963; sale, Bad Kissingen (L. Spik), 22 May 1964, lot 187 (repr.; as *L. Van Uden*); (4) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.47); 319 x 450 mm. (*V.S.*, p.232, No.53, 1).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.321, No.1204; IX, p.331, No.321; *Art Union*, IX, 1847, p.85; *Sainsbury*, p.105; *Rooses*, IV, p.366, No.1174; *Herrmann*, p.16; *Glück*, pp.11,22,23, No.40; *Jaffé*, 1977, p.78.

A tall tree on the left with leafy lateral branches starting from low on the trunk acts as an effective repoussoir. Its top, which inclines towards the centre of the picture is cut off by the upper edge of the picture. It grows on a bank, and its roots can be seen protruding from the latter's silhouette facing towards the background. Behind the tree, which is in shadow, a broad stream of light flows over the ground, which is level on that side, illuminating a hilly, rocky, southern-type landscape which rises abruptly in the centre and on the right. Veils of cloud drift obliquely over the scene as if driven by the light. Massive Roman ruins are picked out by the light at the foot of a compact rocky ridge that rises out of the smooth, well-watered landscape. At the extreme left periphery of the hill is a tall ruined building overgrown with bushes at the top, which resembles the Temple of Venus and Roma in the Forum Romanum in Rome. On to it, and into its semi-cylindrical interior with a conch-like coffered vault, fall the dark shadows of three huge Corinthian columns, the remains of a vanished temple, still bearing part of the architrave with the frieze and a widely projecting cornice. The frieze, in relief, depicts a bullock and several human figures, some in lively animation: possibly a sacrifice is in progress. On the hillside further forward, two lofty entrances to Roman vaulted buildings face the spectator. Inside the left-hand vault a later piece of masonry and a blazing fire can be seen. In the other archway is a loving couple in 17th-

century dress, the man wearing a broad-brimmed hat. To the left of the two archways a heavy flight of stone steps, not very wide and becoming narrower as it goes up, ascends towards a bower-like construction of more recent date, where several people are seated together under a trellis of vines. Two of them have walked away from the group to the parapet, over which they lean with folded arms, looking at the view or talking. Trees and bushes grow in profusion on top of the ruins and on the first plateau of the hill. Further back, on this level space, a villa-like building can be seen. Behind it the hill rises further; trees also grow on the topmost ridge, and become almost as dense as a forest on the right-hand edge of the picture. Light from the left illuminates every feature of the ridge: it produces long stretches of light and shadow on the high meadows, causing rocks, buildings and treetops to shine brightly and cast strong shadows to the right. The ridge protruding from the right and the light streaming in from the left work powerfully against each other; the cloud-veils and the branches of the tree stretching out to the right enhance the effect of nature in a state of exaltation, displaying the monuments of a great past made all the more solemn and majestic by their ruined condition. Groups of cattle can be seen on the level ground surrounding the hill and the ruins on its flanks. Some of the animals are standing in great shallow pools between meadows and the boulders on the edge of the hill. In the foreground a broad stream flows to the right under the eye of the spectator, for whom a high vantage-point is assumed. Two young women, holding up their skirts, wade across the stream obliquely to the right, away from the spectator and towards the hill. The first of them has a flat basket on her head with a pumpkin and other vegetables or fruit, and is steadying it

with her left hand. She turns round towards her companion, who holds a similar basket with two pumpkins against her hip with her right arm. The second woman looks back at a shepherd on the left, who is standing in shallow water surrounded by three cattle and is driving one of them off with a stick.

In reverse direction to the engraving Fig.47 is a copy in oils, apparently of the 17th century, in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier (Fig.46), which well reproduces Rubens's style of colouring at the time of the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No.16, Fig.45) and *The Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63) and may thus have been done from the original. Whether this copy is identical with 'Eene ruine van Wouters naer Rubens', recorded in 1644 as belonging to the estate of Sara Schut of Antwerp, is doubtful, not only because there is no suggestion of Wouters's authorship on the copy at Montpellier, but because the work in question may, for instance, have been a copy of the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine*.

For the motif of antique ruins in the right middle distance cf. No.1 above. In both works we find a simple arcade next to an arch-shaped opening through which can be seen a vaulted structure on a round foundation, and in both of them steps lead upwards to the right of this structure, from which they are separated by a very thick wall. The *chorus* of guests, so important in No.1, also figures in the present work in the form of a group of people taking their ease in an arbour at the top of the steps.

The repetition of the same general theme in reverse direction may be compared with instances in which Rubens sketched a work in one direction and executed it in the other, e.g. the *Medici Cycle*.²

For further elements of this composition Rubens seems to have made

use of the landscape background of Elsheimer's *Il Contento*.³ In both landscapes we see a group of people in an arbour behind a walled parapet, while at the back, in front of a hillside, are the remains of an antique temple in the form of pillars with Corinthian capitals and part of an architrave.

Executed c. 1614.

1. See Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.116.

2. See Lugt, *Notes sur Rubens*, pp.180-183; *The Coming of Age of Louis XIII and The Reconciliation of Maria de' Medici with her Son*.

3. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, Inv. No. 2312; see Andrews, *Elsheimer*, No.19; fig.1.

16. Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine (Fig.45)

Oil on panel; 76 x 106.5 cm.

Paris, *Musée du Louvre*. Inv. No. 2119.

PROVENANCE: L. La Caze, Paris, who bequeathed the painting to the Louvre, 1869.

COPIES: (1) Drawing after (2), Vienna, Albertina, Inv. No. 8251; 178 x 241 mm. EXH. Vienna, 1977, No.73 (repr.). LIT. Rooses, V, p.175, No.1358, pl.392; Rosenberg, *Rubensstecher*, p.114, n.2, (repr.); *Muchall-Viebrook*, p.12, pl.28; Jaffé, 1957, pp.6-8, fig.6; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 329 x 445 mm. (V.S., p.232, No.53, 2); (3) Anonymous engraving after (2), published by G. Huberti, with the inscription: *Non via sollicitis, non est gravis unda puellis sic breve spes lucri, sic bene steruit iter, hinc piger aeternus ut opes caelumque lucreris Vim potitur caeli gloria disce pati* (Herrmann, p.71, n.39).

EXHIBITED: London, 1953-54, No.173; *Le Paysage aux Pays-Bas de Breughel à Rubens*, Breda-Ghent, 1961, No.53; Paris, 1960, No.230.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.323, No.1208; La Caze,

No.105; Rooses, IV, p.367, No.1175; *Louvre*, C.S., No.2119; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.25; *Bode*, 1905, p.201; *Glück*, 1905, p.54; Dillon, pp.92, 181, 203, pl.XXI; K.d.K., pp.188, 462; *Louvre*, Cat. Demonts, p.95, No.2119; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.13, 14; Sterling, pp.180, 183, 187, 189; *Glück*, 1933, p.157; Drost, *Elsheimer*, p.185; Herrmann, pp.16, 21, 22, 29, 53, 54, 56, 73; Cornette, pp.722-724; *Glück*, pp.11, 22, 23, No.11; Evers, 1943, pp.113, 327; Van Puyvelde, p.118; Larsen, pp.192-194, pl.151; Thiéry, p.92, Fig.55; Jaffé, 1957, pp.6-8, fig.6; H. Keller, *Die Kunstschaften Italiens*, Munich, 1960, p.352; Gerson-ter Kuile, p.109; Cat. Exh. *Bologna*, 1962, under No.124; J. Müller Hofstede [Review of Gerson-ter Kuile], *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 1964, p.89; Nicole Dacos, *Les peintres belges à Rome au XVII siècle*, Rome-Brussels, 1964, p.87, under No.124; E. Mitsch, in Cat. Exh. *Vienna*, 1977, under No.73.

The coloured sky is covered with misty evening clouds. A shallow stream in the foreground, flowing leftwards, separates the viewer from a large hill with Roman ruins: these, and the other structures on the hill, most of which is in the left-hand half of the picture, are seen slantwise. At the near corner of the hill, a low mound on the far side of the stream acts as a *repoussoir*. Behind the mound, at the foot of the hill, is a carved figure (a river god?) in a semicircular, conch-like coffered niche. The hill, whose top is overgrown with luxuriant trees and bushes, extends from the right background to the left foreground of the picture, dividing it with a long diagonal. The right flank of the hill is extensively covered with walls such as might enclose a park or garden. The left, more foreshortened flank is occupied by the ruins of the Basilica of Maxentius, through

whose high arches the coffering of the interior can be seen, lit from the right by the rays of the setting sun, which is low in the sky and invisible to the spectator. Apart from the Roman brickwork thus illuminated, the left side of the hill and the entire left of the picture are in evening shadow. On the right flank of the hill a vineyard stretches towards the background past the early Christian church of San Teodoro, originally a round pagan temple. In spite of various discrepancies Rubens's basic model seems to have been the Mons Palatinus in Rome. To the right of the vineyard, in the middle distance, are a shepherd leaning on a stick and a man driving donkeys. In the right foreground four women are preparing to wade across the stream to the hill. Two of them are young, sturdy, bare-headed, and painted in stronger colours; one of these, with a basket on her head, is holding up her skirts and is ankle-deep in water. To the right, two more women advance into the picture from the right margin. One is old (she wears a head-covering and, though walking rapidly, uses a stick), the other young and bare-headed: holding up her skirts, she looks back towards the right lower corner of the picture. These two women are in shadow, almost silhouette-like in front of the reflecting water, but the shadow is transparent and they are seen in sufficient detail. The young woman furthest left, who is painted in strong colours, is the most conspicuous human figure owing partly to her position in the extreme foreground, two-thirds of the way across the picture. She has stood her basket on the ground to her left and is seen from behind, holding up her sleeveless dress in front with her right hand. The short sleeves of her white under-garment emerge from under the flame-coloured dress, which forms a bright oblong patch at the crucial point where the last third of the

picture begins. The reddish brown slope of the hill, prolonged by the mound in front of it, leads the eye to this dazzling figure. The predominant tones of the landscape are light ochre, sand-colour, tender reddish-brown, brown and green. The sky with its streaks of scudding cloud, reflecting the thrusting diagonal of the formations below, shows whitish, yellow, blue and red tones which the evening light turns to tender violet. The stream on the right shows shimmering tones of blue-white, steel-blue, yellow and tender reddish-violet, and the form of the young woman about to wade across is closely linked with this colour-scheme.

Rooses believed Copy (1) to be an authentic drawing from Rubens's Italian period, and so did Muchall-Viebrook and Jaffé. In view of the two topographical sketches published by Jaffé and dating from Rubens's second stay in Rome (No.1, Fig.1) it is to be remarked that between lost topographical views of the Forum Romanum by Rubens and the creation of the oil painting one would have to postulate the genesis of an idea for the picture that would rule out such an exact correspondence between the picture and a sketch made years before. Another argument for the Vienna drawing being a copy of the Bolswert engraving is that it is in the same direction as the latter, which is reversed as compared with the picture.

In any case the present picture can only have been painted several years after Rubens's return from Italy. The remarkably close stylistic resemblance to *The Farm at Laken* in the Royal Collection at Buckingham Palace (No.20, Fig.63) links the picture in the Louvre to the whole group of early known Rubens landscapes and to the approximate date of the latter work. However, there is a chronologically irreversible relationship between two female figures in Rubens's

country landscapes and two shepherdesses in the Marseilles *Adoration*,¹ a predella originally forming part of the altarpiece of *The Adoration of the Magi* in St John's church at Mechlin (1617–19). Documents show that Rubens began work on the altarpiece in 1617,² and consequently *The Farm at Laken* cannot have been executed before that date. The study drawings for the two shepherdesses are respectively in the Albertina at Vienna and the Print Room at Berlin-Dahlem. In *The Farm at Laken* they appear with variations which prove that the study figures, which were unquestionably intended for the predella, were used a second time for *The Farm at Laken* (cf. *Introduction*, p.21, and also under No.20). If, then, *The Farm at Laken*, which is crucial to the dating of Rubens's early known landscapes, cannot have been executed in final form before 1617, it follows that the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* must date, at earliest, from the years immediately before 1617. Burchard, when he proposed the date c. 1614, was stretching the possibility of early dating to the uttermost.

The motif of the Palatine with San Teodoro (but without the ruin on the left, resembling the Basilica of Maxentius) also occurs in the background of Rubens's painting of c. 1612, *Justus Lipsius and his Pupils* in the Pitti Palace in Florence.³ The colour-scheme and application of colour, especially as regards the vegetation, in *Susanna and the Elders* (1614; National Museum, Stockholm)⁴ agree with the corresponding parts of the group painting in the Pitti Palace and of the Palatine landscape. Burchard dated the Louvre painting c. 1614; like Bode and Evers—who regarded it as 'the earliest known authentic landscape by Rubens', and would not date it later than 1615—Burchard was certainly nearer the mark

than Oldenbourg, who placed it in 1618–20, as late as the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich (No.27, Fig.77). As to the *terminus ante* of 1621 for the latter picture, based on the use of motifs from it in a landscape by Jan Wildens dated 1621, cf. under No.39. The idea that the Louvre painting was executed in Rubens's Italian period is based on the annotation *Pet. Paul Rubbens pinxit Romae* on later impressions of the Bolswert engraving; after Rosenberg and Dillon it was put forward by Larsen, Gerson and Harald Keller. The above arguments to the contrary, based on *The Farm at Laken* and the Marseilles predella with *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, were expounded by Glück as long ago as 1940 in the Dutch edition of his quarto volume on Rubens's landscapes.

San Teodoro on the northern slope of the Palatine was drawn by Marten van Heemskerck in 1534 or 1535.⁵ In contrast to Rubens's accurate depiction of this building, the ruin on the left resembling the Basilica of Maxentius shows how freely he made use in the same picture of motifs from the surroundings of the Forum Romanum, for which we must assume he previously drew sketches that are now lost. We may again compare the freedom with which he used in a later painting a sketch, still extant, from the time of his second stay in Rome: cf. our Nos.1 and 15. An important inspiration for the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* seems, however, to have come from Titian's circle. In 1936 Herrmann pointed out the similarity of composition and motif with an etching by Lucas van Uden which bears the inscription *Titianus inv* (Fig.49).⁶ Herrmann, while vigorously rejecting the evidence of an engraving inscription—cf. under Copy (3)—that the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* dated from Rubens's Roman period,

proposed the Titian model as though it was Rubens's only possible source, and treated the whole question one-sidedly from the point of view of whether the work was a landscape portrait or not.

San Teodoro and the Palatine do occur in oil paintings of Rubens's Roman period, viz. the two bozzetti for the altarpiece for Santa Maria in Vallicella in Rome, now in the Grenoble Museum,⁷ and a washed chalk drawing for the same purpose, now in the Musée Fabre at Montpellier.⁸ These three studies were probably done in Rome between June or July and September 1606.⁹

A recumbent river-god in a walled niche set in an earth-mound, with the ruins of the Nymphaeum of Alexander Severus at Aqua Iulia behind it,¹⁰ also occurs in the painting of *Rebecca Refreshing Abraham's Servant at the Well* in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (Fig.48),¹¹ ascribed to the South Netherlandish Master of the Prodigal Son. The motif of a recumbent river-god and a (separate) niche of Roman flat bricks is found in an early work by Frans Floris, *The Judgement of Paris*, in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel (Fig.50).¹² The river-god depicted by Floris (the Hellenistic, so-called, Tigris of the time of Hadrian, now in the Vatican Museum)¹³ was also drawn by Marten van Heemskerck during his stay in Rome from 1532 to 1536 (Fig.51).¹⁴ The statue was then in a niche of the Cortile del Belvedere, mounted over an Amazonian sarcophagus, which is still shown there, to form a wall fountain. Both Floris and Rubens may well have seen the fountain at the Belvedere.

The panel is composed of three horizontal planks, with no added pieces. It is quite thin, parquetté, with some very steep chamfering on the left side only.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.116, above.

2. See *Rooses*, I, pp.219-221.

3. *K.d.K.*, p.45.
4. *K.d.K.*, p.75.
5. See C. Hulsen and H. Egger, *Marten van Heemskerck. Römische Skizzenbücher im kgl. Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin*, I, Berlin, 1913, I, pl.117.
6. B., V, No.51, 2; 8.3 x 12.9 mm.; *Herrmann*, p.21, Fig.4.
7. See H. Vlieghe, *Saints*, II (*Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, VIII), Brussels-London-New York, 1972, pp.53-56, Nos.109d, 109e, Figs.25, 26.
8. See repr. e.g. in *Jaffé*, 1977, pl.322; not accepted by H. Vlieghe (op. cit., p.57).
9. Cf. Müller Hofstede, *Sta Maria in Vallicella*: the author there refers to the hagiographical connection between the Palatine and San Teodoro (an early Christian church, formerly a pagan temple) and the desire of the Oratorian Fathers to have the saint portrayed on the altarpiece. The preparatory studies seem to mark the beginning of Rubens's interest in San Teodoro, aroused perhaps by the Oratorians' commission: it appears in *The Four Philosophers* in the Pitti Palace in Florence and in the present landscape, with the addition for the first time of other Roman motifs, the Basilica of Maxentius and a river-god. For the architectural history of San Teodoro, cf. Furio and Orseolo Fasolo, *San Teodoro al Palatino, Palladio*, V, 1941, pp.112 ff.
10. See Norman Neuerburg, *L'Architettura delle Fontane e dei Ninfei nell'Italia Antica. Memorie dell'Accademia di Archaeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli*, V, 1965, pp.206-208, No.151; E. Du Pére, *I Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma*, Rome, 1575, fol.27 (repr. in: Ernest Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*. Revised Edition, London, 1968, II, p.126, Fig.841).
11. Inv. No. 845; oil on panel, 61 x 93 cm. This painting was attributed by Hoogewerff to the Master of the Prodigal Son (see G. J. Hoogewerff, *Italiaansche Rhapsodie. Een merkwaardig werk van den Meester van den Verloren Zoon*, in *Actes du XIe Congrès International d'Histoire de l'Art*, II, Brussels, 1930, pp.360-367, repr.).
12. No. GK 1001; panel, 120 x 160 cm.; cf. C. Van de Velde, *Frans Floris (1519/20-1570). Leven en Werken*, Brussels, 1975, Cat. No.6, pl.4.
13. See G. Lippold, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, III, 2, Berlin, 1956, pp.36 et seqq., pl.23.
14. See C. Hulsen and H. Egger, op. cit. fol.62 recto (see also I, fol.28 recto: Detail study of the head).

17. Pond with Cows and Milkmaids (Fig.52)

Oil on panel; 76 x 107 cm.

Vaduz, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein. No.412.

PROVENANCE: Brought from Holland to England, by Thomas Emmerson, 1818; Jeremiah Harman, sale, London (Christie's), 17 May 1844, lot 108; Dunn Gardner, sales, London (Christie's), 25 March 1854, lot 76 (bought in) and 3 June 1876, lot 22; Legatt; Robert Vernon; Prince Paul Demidoff, sale, San Donato near Florence, 1880; purchased by Prince Reuss and acquired for the Liechtenstein Collection in the same year.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with variations, whereabouts unknown; panel, 37.5 x 50 cm. PROV. Cesky Budejovice, Dr. Vlastislav Zátko, before the Second World War. LIT. Glück, p.53, under No.1; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 75 x 126 cm. PROV. A. Leiffmann, sale, Düsseldorf (Paffrath), 12 November 1932, lot 51 (repr.). LIT. Glück, p.53, under No.1; (3) Painting, with variations, whereabouts unknown; oil on panel, 60 x 88 cm. PROV. sale, Cologne (Lempertz), 29 November 1968, lot 134 (repr.; as *Manner of L. de Vadder*); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 73 x 124 cm. PROV. Oberweistritz (Silesia), Linnartz collection, before the Second World War; (5) Drawing of parts of the central and right part of the painting, without the maids and cows; Hamburg, Kunsthalle, Inv. No. 22445; 416 x 541 mm. PROV. ? E. Harz, 1863; (6) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 309 x 439 mm. (V.S., p.234, No.53, 8); (7) Anonymous engraving after (6), published by G. Huberti, with the inscription: *Lympha bovem pascit, gratum lac illa refundit / Alterius sic res una vovetur ope: Vis ut honoreris, gratis homo gravior esto: Mutua res amor est, vis ut ameris, ama* (Herrmann, p.79, n.103).

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.322, No.1205; Rooses, IV, pp.371, 372, No.1182; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.398; Bode, 1905, p.201;

Dillon, pp.184, 228, pl. CCLXXIX; Heidrich, p.47, Fig.57; Oldenbourg, 1918, p.58; K.d.K., p.181; Vitzthum, p.281; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.11-13, 14, 45, n.16; Kronfeld, p.89, No.412; Sterling, pp.182 (repr.), 186, 192, 195, 196, 198, 200; MacLaren, *A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; Herrmann, pp.21, 33, 35, 53, 73, n.61, 81, n.128; Cornette, pp.721-724; Raczyński, p.79, fig.55; Evers, 1942, pp.236-240, figs.140, 141; Glück, pp.13, 38, 53, under No.1; Larsen, pp.195, 198, pls.155, 156; Gerson-ter Kuile, p.107; Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.208, 209.

An enframing foreground, open at the top includes on the right three brown cows and two sturdy girls, one in a bright red skirt. The scene beyond is an idyll of clear, simple beauty in which the natural element predominates. It is fully in harmony with the foreground, in which we see, besides the bucolic staffage, a lichen-covered tree and gnarled osiers on the left and, on the right, a stout tree-trunk inclined away from the centre. Although the foreground is clearly designed to serve as a frame—for, immediately beyond it, there extends right across the picture, somewhat below the spectator's position, the reflecting surface of a lake with reeds and aquatic plants—there is a compositional link between the frame and staffage on the one hand and, on the other, a hill which rises massively in the centre of the lake and is covered with trees stretching out dramatically in all directions. Evers pointed out that the hill, violently foreshortened as it recedes into the right background, resembles a half-hidden monster, facing forwards with its head turned to the right, which is mysteriously lying in wait for the girls and cattle. Starting from the point where a plump cow is partly cut off by the right edge of the picture, the group of girls and

animals is advancing towards the promontory which forms the monster's head (cf. a similar promontory in No. 16, Fig. 45, also an early landscape, and a platform-like one in No. 20, Fig. 63). The cow seems to push the sturdy basket-bearer with its muzzle as she strides forward: she is wearing a grey-black dress, a greenish apron and a white blouse, carries a round brass milk-can on her head and with her left arm holds a flat basket against her hip. The girl at the head of the procession, in a bright red dress with white sleeves, bends down to draw water and turns in contrapposto to glance at the spectator and draw him into the picture. To the left of the group a cluster of reeds sticks up sharply to the left and, across the surface of the lake, brings the foreground with its figures into a fluid relationship with the monster's 'head'. The vigorous movement expressed by the cow entering the picture from the right and the farm-girls with their imposing gait (reminiscent of the powerful proportions of women in the paintings of Zeuxis, whose fame the classically-educated Rubens is said to have desired to emulate),¹ is linked with the monstrous 'head' by way of the bulrushes rising towards the left, so that a single curving movement can be followed from the right foreground to the left side and then to the right background. The force of this movement thrusts the tree at the left edge outwards and, like a wave, pushes the trees upwards at the turning-point of the curve, on the left side of the hill. On the right the lake foreshortens directly into depth. The lake itself, the trees round it and the enframing foreground form an outer shell round the heavy central mass (cf. similar examples, Nos. 6 and 11, Figs. 25 and 33). Overhead a large stork flies leftward, and other birds can be seen some way off. An angler is seated at the far end of the hill.

The brightest lighting is at the yellow horizon on the left and in the white clouds whose outline corresponds to the left group of trees on the island. Especially light are the shoulder and arm of the maid bending down, on whom this illumination falls. In the reeds, on the ground and in the trees, including the large one on the left, there is a great deal of white mixed with relatively little local colour. This mixture with white is the secret of the warmly tonal colouring of the picture, which is pastose in places. The foreground strip is grey and light sandy in colour, and the promontory brownish-greenish and sandy. The large tree in the left foreground is sandy, greyish green and brownish, with yellowish lights; its bark is drawn in striking detail. In the extreme left background a deep steel blue tint is used for the land immediately below the sky with its light yellowish and white tints. The trees are dull or pale green—nowhere a rich, sappy green—and have many white lights on their trunks and foliage. A silvery tone pervades the picture, which has far less reddish-brown in it than Rubens's later landscapes. The sky is blue, grey-blue and grey. The cow rubbing its sandy, light-brown head against the tree at the right edge, has raspberry-coloured highlights on its lower jaw. The cow in the foreground, in warm tones of brown, also has reddish highlights everywhere. The cow seen from a lower angle is a dark, seaweed-like green-brown.

As to the question, raised by Herrmann, of inspiration in Greek and Roman literature for Rubens's scenes of grazing and harvesting,² we may point out that echoes of the present work are to be found in Book III of Virgil's *Georgics*, where advice is given as to the best pasturage for breeding horses and cattle:

saltibus in vacuis pascunt et plena
secundum flumina, muscus ubi et
viridissima gramine ripa.

However, it continues:

speluncaeque tegant et saxea
procubet umbra.³

It seems doubtful whether the first two lines quoted are to be regarded as a direct source of Rubens's inspiration. This can more probably be traced to Venetian, Bolognese and Roman art of the 16th and early 17th century and to the circles of Elsheimer and Paul Bril.

The anonymous engraved copy in reverse direction, published by Gaspar Huberti see Copy (7), bears a Latin inscription which points out that the cows, by drinking water and giving milk, play a part in the circulation of water, and draws the moral that human beings should benefit one another mutually.

Executed c. 1614.

1. See *Bock von Wülfingen*, pp.26,29.

2. *Herrmann*, p.78, n.97.

3. *Georgics*, III, 143-145.

18. Landscape with Boar Hunt (Fig.53)

Oil on panel; 137 x 168.5 cm.

Dresden, Gemäldegalerie. No. 962.

PROVENANCE: Purchased from Rubens by George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham, 1627; George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, sale, Antwerp, 1648; purchased by Archduke Leopold William for his brother, the Emperor Ferdinand III; purchased at the Hradschin in Prague by Augustus III, Elector of Saxony, 1749.

COPIES: (1) Painting by J. Wildens and an unidentified master (for the figures), Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, No.715; panel, 135.5 x 167.5 cm. PROV. ? Rubens's Estate 1640 and bequeathed afterwards to his son Albert ('Een Verkensjacht, op panneel'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.78, No.LXVI); ? Jere-

mias Wildens's Estate, 30 December 1653 ('Een Landschap, wesend een Verkensjacht, naer Rubens'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.155, No.18); Antwerp, Mme de Nevel; William II, King of the Netherlands, first sale, The Hague, 12 August 1850, lot 66, withdrawn; second sale, The Hague, 1851; purchased by Scheveleer; Adrian Hope, sale, London, 30 June 1894, lot 58; purchased by Lawrie; purchased for the Glasgow Museum, 1894. EXH. The New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No.143. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.276, No.931 (as Rubens); *Blanc, Trésor*, p.475 (as Rubens); *Rooses*, IV, p.345, under No.1160; *The Art Journal*, October, 1894, p.312 (as Rubens); M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, p.216 (as Rubens); V, pp.174,324 (as a copy); *Herrmann*, pp.15,70, n.31, fig.1; *Glück*, pp.56,57, under No.8; *Evers*, 1942, p.494, n.202; D. P. Bliss, in: *Scottish Art Review*, V, 1955, pp.29,30, No.4; [H. Miles and A. Hannah], *Dutch and Flemish, Netherlandish and German Paintings*, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, 1961, I, p.120, No.715; II, pl.23; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.10,29,30,98,99, G 23, f.39; (2) Painting by J. Wildens and an unidentified master (for the figures), Aschaffenburg, Castle, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No.6378; canvas, 134.5 x 202.5 cm. LIT. *Parthey*, II, p.799, No.9; *Galerie Aschaffenburg, Katalog*, Munich, 1964, pp. 135, 136, No.6378; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.10, 29, 30, 99, G 24, fig.40; (3) Painting, with variations, by J. Wildens; whereabouts unknown; canvas, 158.5 x 203.5 cm. PROV. ? Hampton Court, Martin; J. C. Robinson (Nottingham, 1824—London, 1913); Amsterdam, F. Muller, 1927; ? Brussels, Art Trade, 1929. EXH. The New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No.117; Royal Academy, London, 1910, No.119; *Brussels*, 1926, No.253. LIT. *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.225; *Dillon*, p.117; *Glück*, p.57, under

No.8; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.39,40, G 64, fig.92; (4) Painting, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Cat. 1907, No.831; canvas, 68 x 86 cm. LIT. *Glück*, p.57, under No.8; (5) Painting by E. Delacroix, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No.8717; canvas, 55 x 72 cm. PROV. purchased, 1913; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 136 x 184 cm. PROV. Dijon, G. de Salvatore, 1964; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. London, David Reder; (8) Painting by a monogrammist ARD, Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 794.1.11; panel, 42 x 72 cm. PROV. Marquesses of Robien until 1792; (9) Drawing, with variations, London, British Museum, Inv. No. 00.9-37; 164 x 312 mm. PROV. P. H. Lankrink (1628-1692); Payne Knight Bequest, 1824. LIT. [A. M. Hind], *Vasari Society*, I, 1905, p.20 (as *Rubens*); Hind, II, pp.34,35, No.112, repr. (as *Rubens*); Burchard, 1913, p.60; Lugt, *Notes sur Rubens*, pp.196,197 (repr.); *Glück*, p.57, under No.8; Held, I, p.145, under No.131; Burchard-d'Hulst, I, p.169, under No.104; (10) Engraving by P. Soutman, 1642 (Fig.54); 438 x 800 mm. with the inscription: 'Masculam quicunqu: venationem amas hic oculos flecte: viros hic habes venabulis instructos, et contra adversas ferarum dentes impavidos; Equos, oculis, naribus, toto habitu corporis, animorum ignes spirantes; Molossos, venaticos, aliasq: Canes rabido furore Ursu[m] insilientes, ut lacerent, et lacerentur.' (V.S., p.228, No.31, 9); (11) Lithograph by F. de Roy, ? c. 1758 (*Rooses*, IV, pl.326).

EXHIBITED: *Ausstellung der Gemälde aus der Dresdner Galerie*, Nationalgalerie, Berlin, 1955-56, p.95; *Gemäldegalerie Dresden, Ausstellung der von der Regierung der UdSSR übergebenen Meisterwerke*, Staatsgalerie, Dresden, [1956], p.77, No.962.

LITERATURE: *Fairfax, Buckingham*, p.15, No.7; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.82, No.254; *Sainsbury*, p.66; K. Woermann, *Katalog der königlichen Gemäldegalerie*, Dresden, 1887, No.962; *Rooses*, IV, pp.344-346, No.1160; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.304,305,313; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.260 (repr.),262; *Michel, Paysage*, p.61; K.d.K., ed. *Rosenberg*, p.214; *Bode*, 1905, p.202; *Davies, Buckingham*, p.379; *Dillon*, pp.116, 117, pl.CVIII; *Heidrich*, p.65, Fig.56; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, pp.58,59; K.d.K., p.184; *Lugt, Notes sur Rubens*, pp.193-196; *Kieser*, 124, 125; *Kieser, Rubens-landschaft*, pp.16-18,42,n.4; *Sterling*, pp.184,195,196; *Rosenberg*, 1928, p.62; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Herrmann*, pp.15,53,56, 61,n.4,70,n.31; *Cornette*, p.724; *Raczyński*, pp.79,80, fig.56; *Evers*, 1942, pp.232-236, fig.136; *Glück*, pp.11,19,20,45,56,57, No.8; *Larsen*, p.160, figs.81,82; *Evers*, 1961, pp.93-97,140; *Isermeyer*, pp.15,33, pl.13; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.10,29,30, fig.38.

Evolved progressively from a nature study in the Louvre (No.18a) and a hunting scene with figures, this picture shows the final stage of a boar-hunt in a partly marshy forest glade surrounded by tall, leafy trees. The concise format makes the height of the trees especially impressive. Forming a transparent curtain in front of the blue sky with its white clouds, they cover the left foreground and especially the middle distance and extend over more than two-thirds of the picture from left to right. The forest glade leads the eye deep into the picture to the right, where the view of the distant background of open sky is almost completely shut off by a coulisse of forest extending from the right. Beyond this, and also beyond the forest curtain on the left, flat country extends to the horizon bathed in yellowish-red evening light.

One imagines a vast extent of air behind the forest coulisses in the foreground.

In the left foreground rises a large crooked oak-tree, partly cut off by the left margin; the cracked bark reveals a broad patch of light, warm-looking wood, reddish-brown at the edges. Still further forward and nearer the lower margin, the eye falls on the roots of an old beech which have been prised out of the ground by the falling tree. The tree lies diagonally across the picture, leading the eye over a marshy, reed-grown area to the edge of the clearing and beyond, through a narrow opening between trees, to the distant horizon. The foreshortened trunk, twisted, forked and overgrown with lichens, ramifies in all directions and is an important element in the composition. Given the almost square format of the picture it opens up the space dramatically. Its vigorous diagonal points to the opening between the treetops and is continued by the clouds, also diagonal in outline, to the top right corner of the picture.

A hunt is reaching its climax in the reedy, marshy area framed by the fork of the toppled beech. The boar is trying to escape into the forest on the left through the space formed by the tree's two branches. The hounds, mostly light ochre-brown in colour, are clinging to him and form a single mass of frantically moving bodies in the centre of the picture. On the left, five rustic huntsmen stand behind the trunk of the beech-tree. Four of them threaten the boar with spears and a pitchfork, while the fifth, to the left by the trunk of the oak-tree, blows a hunting-horn. In the foreground is the thickset figure, seen from behind, of a sixth huntsman climbing over the thick end of the beech trunk to assist his companions with a hog-spear. This man, his right foot planted on the ground, has just swung his left leg vigorously over the trunk. He wears a bright red

jacket and close-fitting, buff-coloured breeches, which show prominently the tense muscles of his buttocks and legs. His powerful action harmonizes with the twisted shape of the mighty trunk over which he is climbing. To the right of this impressive figure, several light and dark brown hounds are jumping or clambering over the lowest branch of the fallen beech, while another is crawling under it. A light brown hound, standing conspicuously in the centre of the picture and seen from behind, has just laid its fore-paws on this branch, which runs parallel to the picture plane. Underneath the trunk, a lifeless huntsman lies in the marshy depths. Bleeding hounds, mauled by the boar, run off whining across the glade and into the marsh. From the right margin two gentlemen on bay horses gallop towards the boar and hounds, which are thus surrounded by a semi-circle, open at the far side, of attackers and waiting huntsmen. In the lower left corner, to this side and to the left of the fallen beech, a young, beardless huntsman holds a leash on which two hounds are straining. On the far side, where the semicircle appears to be open, two more horsemen are galloping forward. One of them, evidently a nobleman, thrusts at the boar with a sword in his gloved right hand, while his bay horse rears in terror. His companion, dressed in sea-green, is mounted on a grey horse.

Further back, on the right, other huntsmen and hounds are pursuing a fleeing boar. This action is only sketched and is subordinate to the principal hunt, which is brightly illuminated from the right foreground (in contrast to the sunset sky). The two dark-clad horsemen in the right foreground are seen against the light and are little more than silhouettes, whereas the light ochre hound, seen from behind, which is about to climb over the branch is lit from the spectator's

side, as are the huntsmen on the left including the man astride the tree-trunk. Parts of the ground are seen in light ochre and light green. The foliage contains dark, warm green intermixed with brown and also a lighter, cool grey-green, as well as reddish-brown and red. The shadows in the landscape and the figures of the hunting scene are greenish-grey and a transparent grey-black. Broom, ferns, creepers and rotting wood extend into the foreground and impart extreme density and narrative richness to the compact, stirring scene: the luminous colouring of the picture, which is in excellent condition, is completed by all the hues of the forest and marshland.

The present picture is clearly a development, framed in a significant landscape, of the Marseilles *Boar Hunt*, one of four hunting scenes painted by Rubens in 1615-16 for the Elector Maximilian of Bavaria.¹

The central motif of the two hunting scenes at Marseilles and Dresden, that of the boar threatened by men on the left with hog-spears (in the Marseilles version the men are half-naked) while a horseman gallops up behind the animal on the right, probably derives, as Kieser pointed out,² from a 3rd-century Roman relief on a sarcophagus, now at Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire (Fig.55); from, at latest, the mid-16th century to, probably, the mid-17th century this work was over the gateway of Giulio Porcaro's house near Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome. Fig.56 reproduces a drawing from the *Codex Coburgensis* (1550-54) showing the relief, which measured 95 x 225 cm., as it appeared before it was spoilt by additions including, in Carl Robert's opinion, the horseman's right arm holding a sword.³

While this relief, which Rubens may have drawn in Rome between 1601 and 1608, seems to suffice as a suggestion for

the *Boar Hunt* in the Marseilles Museum painted for Maximilian of Bavaria about 1615, the somewhat later Dresden picture with the impressive figure of the man holding back a hound in the left lower corner, and the especially remarkable hounds in the foreground (particularly the one crawling under the branch), may owe something to a contemporary book illustration to which Herbert Herrmann drew attention in his Berlin thesis on Rubens's landscapes, printed in 1936:

Hunting scenes after Stradanus' time nearly always used his iconography as a pattern, but this is not the case with Rubens's *Landscape with Boar Hunt* at Dresden. Philostratus also describes a boar hunt in his *Imagines*. An illustrated French edition of Blaise de Vigenère, dated 1614 at latest, includes a representation of a boar hunt by Jaspar Isaac (Fig.57). The grouping of this—with the horsemen galloping up from the right, the huntsman on the rearing horse striking downwards, and the beater holding back the hounds in the left corner—resembles Rubens's picture, and it may be supposed that both are based on the same unknown prototype. Isaac's version, however, indeed suggests a classically ordered model, while in Rubens the dominant feature is the open baroque form, the sense of freedom and the personal idiom in which the motif is expressed.⁴

A few years earlier, in 1933, Kieser had drawn attention to an early 3rd-century Roman sarcophagus representing Hippolytus, with a huntsman holding two hounds on a leash,⁵ but in that work the hounds are sitting quietly: one is even licking at its hind leg. Much more important, however, is the fact that in Isaac's illustration the hounds are much more similar to Rubens's (the left-hand one of the two in the foreground, seen

from behind, is simply copied into the Dresden picture) and that altogether the illustration provides a compositional model for Rubens's work. Isaac's boar hunt, with all the features enumerated by Herrmann, takes place in a landscape with forest coulisses reminiscent of those in the Dresden picture. No similar model is known in the case of the version for Maximilian of Bavaria based on the Meleager sarcophagus relief 'ai Porcari'. In view of the hound copied from Isaac, whose hindquarters are brought into prominence by its crouching attitude, one is even tempted to suppose that the more or less square form of the Dresden composition was suggested by the vertical shape of Isaac's illustration. Curiously, Herrmann in his 1936 thesis did not mention Kieser's essay of 1933.

Rubens began by combining his *Study of a Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No. 18a, Fig. 58) with the hunting scene he had already used for the picture for Maximilian, and he introduced Isaac's man holding the hounds in leash, as well as the man climbing over the tree (a figure no doubt suggested by the tree itself) into the new hunting scene, which the tree had already amplified into a landscape. Only when he decided to bring the hunting scene centred round the fallen tree into a wider landscape setting did Rubens apparently hark back to Isaac's overall composition with the horseman (two of them in Rubens's version) galloping up from the right. He took over the markedly vertical forest coulisses and copied the hound on the left, seen from behind, while providing a reason for its pose which did not exist in the Albertina drawing (No. 18b, Fig. 61): viz., in the Dresden picture it is crawling under a branch of the fallen tree which was not present in the drawing. This branch, springing from a low point on the trunk, marks the transition from the foreground to the middle distance of the

Dresden composition, and, with the hound pressing against it, causes the hunting scene to recede further into the landscape. The branch does not appear on the Vienna copy, whether that was made after the Dresden picture or after a lost preliminary stage of the work. It does appear in Soutman's etching of 1642 (Fig. 54), so that this no doubt is a reduced version of the Dresden picture.

Burchard convincingly dated the Dresden picture c. 1616.

1. *K.d.K.*, pp. 115, 459.
2. *Kieser*, pp. 124, 125, Figs. 23, 24.
3. See C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, III, 2, Berlin, 1904, pp. 288, 289, No. 224, pl. LXXVI.
4. *Herrmann*, p. 15.
5. *Kieser*, p. 125; C. Robert, op. cit., pp. 212, 213, No. 171, pl. LV.

18a. *Study of a Fallen Tree: Drawing* (Fig. 58)

Pen and brown ink over preliminary work in black chalk; fully mounted; 582 x 489 mm. Below on the right, mark of the Louvre (L. 2207) and, inscribed with the pen, 3.—*Verso*: 8983 inscribed with the pen, and the stamp of the Louvre with *N^o d'Ordre* 20.212.

Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins. Inv. No. 20.212.

PROVENANCE: Refugee property confiscated during the period of the French Revolution.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1938–39, No. 48 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No. 46 (repr.); *Paris*, 1949, No. 111; *Brussels*, 1949, No. 105; *Antwerp*, 1977, No. 143 (repr.); *Rubens, ses maîtres, ses élèves*, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre, Paris, 1978, No. 14 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p. 301, No. 1591, pl. 430; *Michel*, p. 254, pl. XIX (facing p. 252); *Michel, Paysage*, pp. 61,

72 (repr.); *Burchard*, 1913, p.60; *Lugt, Notes sur Rubens*, pp.193–196, repr.; *Kieser*, p.42, n.4; *Muchall-Viebrook*, p.32, No.27, pl.27; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.47, No.134, repr.; L. Van Puyvelde, *Die Handzeichnungen des Rubens zu der Ausstellung in Brüssel, Pantheon*, 1939, pp.76 (repr.), 78; *Evers*, 1942, p.494, n.203, fig.139; *Glück*, pp.19,20,21 (repr.), 57, under No.8; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p.20, No.1034, pl.XXXI; *Held*, I, p.145, No.131; II, pl.140; *Evers*, 1961, p.95, repr.; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.168,169, No.104; II, pl.104; *Held*, 1972, p.130, fig.63; *Adler, Wildens*, p.62, fig.271.

A pen drawing in vertical format over a preliminary sketch in black chalk. In the lower left corner, close to the spectator, are the intertwined roots of a fallen red beech which still bears foliage although partly wrenched from the ground. The trunk, much foreshortened and ending in a mighty fork, thrusts forcefully into the depth of the picture on the right. Somewhat to the left and further off is another tree, inclined leftwards and cut by the edge of the drawing. The foliage, the vigorous undergrowth on the left and the smooth terrain to the right (cf. the illustrative No.28a, Fig.85) are treated with expressive, rapid strokes of the pen, with great accuracy and lively tension. The vivid play of light and shadow enhances the amazingly plastic effect of this study from nature.

As was first pointed out by Émile Michel, this study was used by Rubens for the left-hand portion of the *Boar Hunt*, painted c. 1615–16, in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (No.18, Fig.53). The alterations which he made for the purpose, giving additional prominence to the fallen tree, were pointed out in 1959 by Held, who referred to an Italian model which he thought had

played a significant part, viz. a stage design of 1565 by F. Zuccari.¹

As Lugt pointed out,² Rubens may have drawn the same trees once more, but seen from the right, during the same sitting. This second study is No.28a in this volume.

Executed c. 1614–16. Cf. also under Nos.18,18b,18c,28a.

1. Reproduced in H. Voss, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, II, p.453, Fig.176.

2. *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, loc. cit.

18b. Boar Hunt: Drawing (Fig.61)

Pen and brown ink with brown wash over preliminary work in black chalk; 413 x 567 mm. The marks of J. G. Schumann (L. 2344) and Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (L. 174).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 15.097.

PROVENANCE: J. G. Schumann, Dresden (1761–1810); Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen (Moritzburg near Dresden, 1738–Vienna, 1822).

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.71 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Lugt, Notes sur Rubens*, pp.194–196, repr.; *Glück*, p.57, under No.8; *Held*, I, p.145, under No.131; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p.169, under No.104; *Evers*, 1961, pp.95–97, repr.; Anne-Marie Logan, *Rubens Exhibitions* 1977, *Master Drawings*, XV, 1977, p.407; E. Mitsch, *Zum 400. Geburtstag von Peter Paul Rubens/Zeichnungen der Albertina, Wien, Weltkunst*, XLVII, 1977, p.1178.

In my opinion neither the present nor the immediately following item (No.18c–d, Figs.59,60) is by Rubens's own hand.

The present sheet does not appear

in Rooses or in Glück-Haberitzl. Meder (passe-partout mark annotation) ascribed it to Van Dyck; Glück in his landscape volume referred to it as a free copy after the Dresden painting. Lugt believed it to be by Rubens; Julius Held, the next critic to consider it in detail, proposed as its author Pieter Soutman, who etched the greater part of the figure composition of the Dresden *Landscape with Boar Hunt* (No. 18, Fig. 54). Evers in 1961 tried to assign a place to it in the genesis of the Dresden painting and believed that he could at the same time prove it to be authentic. Müller Hofstede and Jaffé pronounced for Rubens's authorship in passe-partout annotations. In the Albertina catalogue of the Rubens exhibition of 1977 Erwin Mitsch rightly pointed out that it is hardly possible to solve the problem of the drawing's authenticity by assigning it a place in the genesis of the main work. To our great surprise Anne-Marie Logan, in her otherwise excellent review of the Rubens exhibitions of 1977, took the view that the drawing is an autograph study by Rubens for a lost painting which, she believes, is now known only from Soutman's etching of 1642, consisting of two sheets, mentioned above.

The pen drawing over preliminary work in black chalk, which latter can hardly be judged at the present time, is flabby and expressionless in line and texture and covered by so dense a pattern of hatchings and lines indicating vegetation that the all-important tree-trunk is almost obliterated. This alone speaks decisively against the attribution to Rubens. As to the composition, matters are less certain. Erwin Mitsch was at great pains to argue that this is not simply a partial copy of the Dresden painting; however, the hound to which he refers, which has been wounded by the boar and is turning back, does appear in the painting with a slightly different

pose of the head. There is much to be said for Mitsch's considered view that the drawing represents a version of the boar-hunt theme prior to the Dresden painting: for the latter gives the strong impression that a hunting scene which had already been elaborated to a great extent was placed in a landscape setting executed subsequently for that purpose. The composition of the Vienna drawing does not include the branch springing from a low point on the trunk of the fallen beech-tree, over which a hound is clambering (another hound is crawling under the branch, while a third has almost jumped over it). The motif of the branch and three hounds in different poses, which thrusts the whole hunting scene away from the spectator—the hound in a striking, upright attitude being seen directly from behind—first occurs in this pronounced form in the Dresden picture; the branch and the hound in a climbing position also occur in Soutman's etching of 1642. In Rubens's painting of a boar hunt for Maximilian I of Bavaria, which was probably executed shortly before the Dresden picture (now at Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts),¹ a similar-looking hound is trying to climb over a branch of a fallen tree from the left of the picture, but neither the branch nor the tree resemble those in the Dresden painting, nor does the hound produce the effect of opening up a view in depth as he so powerfully does in the final version. The branch, springing from a low point on the fallen tree, which in the Dresden painting marks the transition from foreground to middle distance does not yet appear in the *Study of a Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No. 18a, Fig. 58). It is possible that the Vienna drawing, by an unknown hand, represents a lost version of the hunting scene which was modified shortly afterwards when it was placed in a wider landscape setting; this, too, was

no doubt when the two horsemen galloping up from the right were first added, as we see them in the Dresden painting.

1. *K.d.K.*, pp. 115, 459.

18c-d. Figure Studies, partially related to the Landscape with Boar Hunt: Drawing (Figs. 59, 60)

Pen and black ink, black and red chalk; 338 x 492 mm.—*Verso*: inscribed in black ink in a 17th century hand: *dit gedaght heft Rubens.*

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room. Inv. No. 593.

PROVENANCE: P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628–1692); J. Richardson sen. (London, 1665–1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701–1779); C. Rogers (London, 1711–1784).

LITERATURE: *Rosenberg*, 1928, p. 62; *Bock-Rosenberg*, I, p. 253, No. 593; II, pl. 184; *Lugt*, 1931, p. 66; *Evers*, 1961, pp. 93–97, 136–140, repr.; *Mielke-Winner*, pp. 125–128, No. 51, repr. (as a *copy*).

On the recto (No. 18c, Fig. 59), with the two caryatids and the design for the confessionals, there is a pen-and-ink sketch in the lower right corner of the two horsemen who occupy the same position, galloping in from the right, in the Dresden picture of the *Boar Hunt*.

On the verso of the sheet (No. 18d, Fig. 60), which has been folded once vertically, to the left of the crease is a pen-and-ink sketch of four of the peasant huntsmen in the Dresden picture. Above is the man with the hunting-horn (with suggestions of foliage behind and beside him); in the middle, two of the men confronting the boar with hog-spears behind the fork of the fallen beech (the head and right arm of the one further left

are re-drawn above him; both are here in a less rigid pose); below is the powerful figure of the man who, holding his spear in both hands and raising it slightly, is seen from behind as he bestrides the fallen tree-trunk. (Here and in the Dresden picture the trunk is twisted, whereas it is straight and smooth in the nature study in the Louvre and the drawing by an unknown hand in the Albertina). To the right of the crease, in the centre, is a sketch of the two horsemen who come riding up behind the boar in the centre of the picture, one of them thrusting with his sword. On the right, below this group, is the 17th-century inscription mentioned above. Below is a sketch of the young huntsman straining to hold back the two hounds. In the drawing a third, lightly sketched hound, somewhat further off, is seen leaping forward. The sheet was evidently cut off at the bottom, as the right leg (the one touching the ground) of the man on the left climbing over the tree, and the legs of the young huntsman and of his hounds on the right, are sharply intersected at the lower edge: especially in the case of the hounds, there is no sign of a slackening of intensity or of the artist's pen-strokes at that point.

The figure motifs of the Dresden *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* (No. 18, Fig. 53) which appear on this sheet are, in my opinion, recollections or copies by another hand. In 1961 Evers identified the caryatids and the architectural drawing as designs for the confessionals of the Lady Chapel in the Jesuit church of St Charles Borromeo in Antwerp, and believed that the figure sketches related to the *Landscape with a Boar Hunt* were also by Rubens's own hand. Accordingly he proposed to date these supposed preliminary studies and therefore the Dresden painting itself to the year 1624, when the building of the Lady Chapel commenced.

19. Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford, 'La Charrette Embourbée'
(Fig.62)

Oil on canvas, transferred from panel;
87 x 129 cm.

Leningrad, Hermitage. No. 480.

PROVENANCE: ? Cardinal Mazarin, Paris, 1661; Earl Cadogan; D. Potter, sale, The Hague, 19 May 1723, lot 44; Marquis de Lassay, 1750; Pierre-Jean Mariette, 1756; Comte de la Guiche, sale, Paris, 4-7 March 1771, lot 16; Robert Walpole, first Earl of Oxford (Houghton Hall, 1676-1745); sold by George Walpole, third Earl of Oxford (1730-1791) to Catherine II, Empress of Russia, in 1779.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 86.5 x 124.5 cm. PROV. Nuneham Park, Oxford, Viscount Vernon Harcourt, 1922. Sale, London (Christie's), 11 June 1948. EXH. British Institution, London, 1853, No.20; *Winter Exhibition*, Agnew's, London, 1922, No.15. LIT. Rooses, IV, p.370, No.1179 (as *Rubens*); Glück, p.56, under No.7; (2) Painting, Antwerp, J. de la Faille de Leverghem; panel, 88.5 x 128.5 cm.; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, approx. 87 x 129 cm. PROV. ? Antwerp, Sam Hartveld, 1933; (4) Painting, with variations, whereabouts unknown; 87 x 127 cm. PROV. Vienna, Otto Schaetzker, before the Second World War. LIT. Glück, p.56, under No.7 (as *probably by L. Van Uden*); (5) Drawing, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; watercolour, 190 x 281 mm. LIT. Held, I, p.34, n.2, pl.18 (as *L. van Uden*); (6) Drawing, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.329; 122 x 203 mm. LIT. Lügt, *Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, No.1184; (7) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 330 x 447 mm. (V.S., p.233, No.53, 5); (8) Engraving by J. Browne, 1776; 428 x

572 mm. (V.S., p.233, No.53, 5); (9) Engraving by S. W. Reynolds (*Rooses*, IV, p.370, under No.1178); (10) Engraving of the right half by W. Faithorne (*Rooses*, IV, p.370, under No.1178).

EXHIBITED: *Man and His World*, Montreal, 1967, No.80 (repr.); *Europäische Landschafts-malerei 1550-1650*, Dresden-Warsaw-Prague-Budapest-Leningrad, 1972, No.84 (repr.); *Antwerp, 1977*, No.42 (repr.), *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, No. 32; *Gemälde aus der Eremitage und dem Puschkin-Museum*, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, 1981, pp.112-115 (not numbered; repr.).

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, I, p.316; *Walpole, Aedes Walpoliana*, p.87; *Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting*, p.145; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.157, No.547; IX, p.303, No.216; *Mariette*, V, p.139; *Waagen, St. Petersburg*, p.143, No.594; *Cosnac*, p.344, No.1286; *Rooses*, IV, pp.369,370, No.1178; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.316,317; A. Somof, *Ermitage Impérial. Catalogue de la Galerie des Tableaux*, II, St. Petersburg, 1901, pp.371,372, No.594; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.404; *Dillon*, p.184, pl.CCCCLVI; *K.d.K.*, p.185; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.15,16, 23; *Sterling*, pp.186, 187, 192, 195, 196, 200; *Herrmann*, pp.15, 18, 34,70, n.34; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Cornette*, pp.724,739,740; *Evers, 1942*, p.392, Fig.220; *Evers, 1943*, pp.176,350, n.2; *Glück*, pp.14,15,18,19,56, No.7; *Larsen*, p.201, fig.160; *Thiéry*, p.92; *Cat. Eremitage*, II, p.82, No. 480, fig.83; *Levinson-Lessing*, 1962, pl.7; *Kuznetsov*, 1967, No.34; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.208-210; *Varschavskaya, Rubens*, pp.127-131, No.19, pls.20,21.

In the centre of a landscape sloping down the left, near the front of the

picture is a rock on which small trees and shrubs are growing. Between it and the spectator is a rushing stream which starts its course from the depth of the picture at the back and runs from the right to the left foreground. The rock is split vertically in the middle, and at the bottom of the cleft is a cave-like opening. The main course of the stream runs past this opening into the dark area of the lower left corner of the picture—for, curiously enough, the scene to the left of the rock is a nocturnal one: the full moon, in front of which bats are fluttering, shines out in a cloudy sky and is reflected in a calm stretch of water below. To the right of the rock the scene is in broad daylight, and the broken-up terrain rises in successive elevations to a distant mountain. In front of this prospect at the right, but without obscuring it, stands a gnarled oak-tree with sparse foliage, its top cut off by the upper edge of the picture. The tree, rooted at the rear of the foreground plane, leans impressively to the left and towards the spectator, overshadowing a road which leads from the right lower corner towards the stream and the rocky cave. A cart drawn by a white and a bay horse is seen from behind obliquely and close to: it is a vehicle of the South Netherlands type, laden with large quarried stones, and is negotiating with difficulty the slope leading down to the stream, which is no doubt fordable at this point. The cart is tilted to the left and is in imminent danger of capsizing. The driver on the white horse, in a whitish coat, is attempting to hold back the horses and looks round anxiously, while his mate, who is barefooted and wears a bright red jacket, is pushing at the cart to prevent it toppling over to the left. Both men are in straw hats. At the left edge of the rock a man and a woman can be seen in the darkness, warming themselves by a fire. Also to the left of the rock, and further

away than the oak-tree on the right, whose roots are on this side of the stream, is a tall leafy tree. The two trees embrace the counter-diagonal which the cart, road and cave present to the strike-line of the rock and the stream flowing by; they thus enframe the cleft rock and the central motif of the cart on its toilsome journey from day into night. Two low pollard willows in front on the left are effective repoussoirs and emphasize the detail and depth of the foreground area, always so important in Rubens landscapes.

A conspicuous inclined tree like the oak on the right also occurs in the drawing, attributed to Rubens by the present author, in the former Henry Oppenheimer collection, now in the Municipal Print Room at Antwerp (No. 8, Fig. 28). The junction of the branches with the trunk is also similar, as is the flowing treatment of the tufts of leaves.

With reference to this painting Evers in 1942 discussed the question of landscapes presenting, as it were, two independent scenes. This form of composition, frequent in the 16th and early 17th centuries, was linked by Evers with the medieval type of stage which presented several structures simultaneously or consisted of juxtaposed carts with different superstructures. He pointed out that cyclic representations naturally lend themselves to compositions in two or more parts: morning and evening, day and night, the four seasons, the twelve months. An example of the correlation of life and death with summer and winter is pointed out by Evers in the *Allegory of Life and Death* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum at Nuremberg,¹ a work that originated c. 1480 in the region of Lake Constance under Franco-Flemish influence. This shows on the left a dead man in a landscape of trees that have lost their leaves, on the right an elegant young couple in a blooming landscape,

and in the foreground two naked infants beside a spring.

A white and bay horse together appear in Rubens's *Watering-Place*, London, National Gallery (No.25, Fig.71) and *The Farm at Laken*, London, Buckingham Palace (No.20, Fig.63), and also in Cornelis Massys's *Arrival of the Holy Family in Bethlehem*, signed and dated 1540 (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen).²

For the rack waggon seen from behind in foreshortening Rubens used a sketch from life (No.26a, Fig.76), which also appears as the cart outside the barn in *Winter* at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66) and in *The Prodigal Son* at Antwerp (No.26, Fig.75).

Oldenbourg dated this picture c. 1620, Burchard c. 1617; the latter date seems plausible to me.

A drawing attributed to Rubens, and reproducing the composition of the Leningrad painting or the engraving after it, was in Pierre-Jean Mariette's collection sold in 1776. Rooses, who had not seen this drawing, believed it to be a design for the engraving by Schelte a Bolswert, see Copy (7); he referred thus to the item in the sale catalogue of 1776:

Le catalogue de la vente Mariette mentionné, sous le n° 1014: 'Un paysage en travers, où se trouve une charrette embourbée, connu par l'estampe de Bolswert, qui s'y trouve jointe.' Adjugé à 33 livres. Le dessin reproduit le tableau du musée de St. Pétersbourg (notre n° 1178), gravé per Schelte a Bolswert (V.S. 53⁵).

No.1014 in the Mariette sale was most probably Copy (5) which still has the Mariette mount and bears his mark *L. 1852*. The folio sheet in the Metropolitan Museum on which the Mariette mount is pasted is inscribed in an old, probably 18th-century hand: 'The Original Drawing, bought at the sale of M. Mariette's Collection at Paris 1776'.

In spite of the transfer to canvas it can still be seen that the original support consisted of horizontal boards and may have been enlarged on all four sides. The topmost board extended throughout its width.³

1. See e.g. *Evers*, 1942, Fig.218.
2. Repr. in Leo van Puyvelde, *La Peinture Flamande au Siècle de Bosch et Breughel*, Brussels, 1962, p.231, fig.119; see also *Adler*, *Wildens*, pp.79, 80, n.86, fig.306.
3. Cf. *Martin*, *Flemish School*, pp.208–210 and our Cat. Nos. 20 and 23.

20. *The Farm at Laken* (Fig.63)

Oil on panel; 84.5 × 125.5 cm.
London, Buckingham Palace,
Royal Collection.

PROVENANCE: Arnold Lunden, c. 1643–44; purchased from the latter's descendants in 1817, by L. J. Nieuwenhuys; purchased by N. Le Rouge; Aynard, Paris; purchased by King George IV in 1821, through the intermediary of De la Hante and Lord Farnborough.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 54 × 79 cm. PROV. ? Hamilton Palace, sale, London (Christie's), 8 July 1882, lot 1013; H. Mautner-Markhof, sale, Vienna (Glückselig), 22 November 1927, lot 20; Vienna, Dr. Alfred Kadisch, 1929; sale, Vienna (Wawra), 22 September 1930, lot 52; sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 21 March 1932, lot 45. LIT. *Glück*, p.53, under No.2; (2) Drawing of the ox, Vienna, Albertina; for further references, see No.20a; (3) Etching by L. Van Uden; 196 × 296 mm. (V.S., pp.236, 237, No.54, 4); (4) Engraving by A. Willmore (*Rooses*, IV, p.382, under No.1198).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1826, No.60; *London*, 1827, No.29; *London*, 1953–54, No.171.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, I, p.324; *Mensaert*, I, pp.196,197; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.237, No.817; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, I, pp.174,175; *Bürger, Manchester*, p.199; *Rooses*, IV, p.382, No.1198; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.376,485; *Dillon*, pp.119,184,219, pl.CCLXXX; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.60; *K.d.K.*, p.186; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.14,15,41; *Sterling*, pp. 184,n.6, 186, 202, 204; *Burchard*, 1928, pp.66, 67; *Herrmann*, pp.19, 29, 33, 34, 42, 46, 52, 79,n.107, 81,n.128, 83,n.142; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Cornette*, pp.725,726; *Glück*, pp.13-15,17,24,38, 53,54, No.2; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.107; *Held*, I, pp.132,133; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p.163; *Martin, Two Landscapes*, pp.183,184; *Martin, Etchings*, pp.210, 211; *Martin, Flemish School*, p.208; H. Vlieghe, *Une grande collection anversoise du dix-septième siècle: le cabinet d'Arnold Lunden, beau-frère de Rubens*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Kunstsammlungen*, XIX, 1977, pp.172,177,186,202, fig.9; *Millar, Landscapes*, pp.631,632, figs.37, 41.

The greater part of the background (apart from a distant glimpse on the extreme left) is occupied by a ridge which rises on the right to two-thirds of the height of the picture and falls away abruptly on the left. The top of the ridge forms a plateau rising gently towards the right, where a village with a Gothic church can be seen. According to tradition, reported already by Descamps, this represents the church of the former village of Laken (actually a Brussels district), which was pulled down in 1894-95, but the hilly nature of the terrain is not in keeping with this. There is, however, a general similarity between the church in the picture and that of Laken (Fig.65). Between the sharp declivity on the left and the picture-edge

is the narrow vista, already mentioned, of distant undulating ground thickly planted with trees. Here too, the coloured evening sky can be seen as far down as the remote horizon, whereas in the rest of the picture its lower, twilit part is hidden behind the ridge, which is relatively close to the spectator. The leftward diagonal of a depression running along the foot of the ridge is emphasized by three groups of trees extending from the right foreground to the left background. Between the first and the middle group two horses, a white and a bay, are drinking in the shallows of a pool whose surface is partly covered by aquatic plants. A farmer wearing a light brown jacket and a straw hat is mounted on the bay (for this motif cf. under No.19). The area of the foreground cut off by the depression is occupied by rising ground forming a small rocky plateau. For a small elevation of this kind in front of a larger one cf. the *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No.16, Fig.45), and the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* (No.17, Fig.52); also the mound in the foreground of the topographical sketch (No.2, Fig.15). On top of the smaller hill, in front of two cows, an ox stands sideways on, looking at the spectator and swishing its flank with its tail. To its left are the hindquarters of a whitish-yellow cow, which is being milked by a bare-footed cow-girl sitting on the ground, dressed in a dark skirt and a bodice with red sleeves. The second cow, immediately behind the ox, has stretched out its neck to graze on the further slope of the hillock; only its legs, chest, neck and head appear in dark silhouette, almost as if part of the shadow of the monumental ox. Closer to, in front of the small plateau, a brown spotted cow stands facing the centre foreground; its tail and hind leg are cut off by the left edge of the picture. Another cow lies on the ground, half-

turned away from the spectator. On this side of it, in the near foreground, is a clump of thistles and a large cow-pat; five pigeons are pecking at the ground. Near the centre of the picture, still in the foreground, are two striking female figures who are important for the dating of the work and hence of the whole group of Rubens's early extant landscapes. A young woman facing left, in a brown-black skirt and a bright red jacket, is kneeling on the ground and holding a large round brass pitcher. In front of her is a bowl of milk, and behind it a large brassbound wooden vessel shaped like a truncated cone. Behind her to the right, in the very centre of the picture, is a second barefooted girl who—unlike the kneeling one, whose face is partly turned away—looks leftward and towards the spectator. With her left hand she holds on her head a flat basket of fruit; the forward angle of her elbow seems to touch the very front of the picture. With her right hand she holds up to waist level a greyish-green apron worn over her bright skirt of a warm brown colour. She wears a black bodice and a white blouse. She appears to be walking forward thoughtfully; her weight is supported on the vertical right leg, while the left hip is slightly twisted. A sinuous birch-tree in the clump behind her, on a level with her basket and the ox's back, repeats the double S-curve of her backbone and raised arm. The bright nacreous tone of her forearm, the muscularity of which contrasts with her slender legs, links up diagonally with the bark of the birch-tree illuminated from the left. The horizontal line formed by the ox's back and the basket is prolonged to the right in a strip of light running along the foot of the hill.

As the woman with the basket is connected with the middle group of trees, so the ox and the cows behind it are linked to the left-hand group and the

farmer and horses to the trees on the right. In each clump of trees is seen the gleaming white trunk of at least one birch-tree; one of the cows is white, and one of the horses. A bunch of white turnips is seen in the wheelbarrow in the right foreground; on the left high above the woman with the basket, a flock of white doves comes flying from the depths of the picture over the central ridge towards the spectator, giving a dynamic effect to the recessive movement already suggested by paths and a wattle fence. The additions above and at the sides give the picture more spaciousness, but if anything, increase the original sense of verticality. The concealment of a large part of the horizon occurs in other early Rubens landscapes: the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* at Vaduz (No.17, Fig.52), *The Watering-Place* (No.25, Fig.71) and the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock*, London (No.23, Fig.72), the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows*, Munich (No.27, Fig.77) and several of the *Farm* drawings (Nos.4,5,8–13, Figs.20,23,28,29,32,33, 40,41).

Rooses, who took a disparaging view of this picture, saw in it, as in other Rubens landscapes, the hand of Lucas van Uden. Oldenbourg, in 1921, ascribed it to Rubens without reserve and dated it 1618–20. Burchard dated it c. 1617–18 and contrasted it, as one of the earliest known landscapes by Rubens, with the much later *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* in the then Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin (No.31, Fig.89). Kieser, Herrmann and recently also Kelch (see No.31) have commented in detail on the influence of Titian's circle on the bucolic landscapes of Rubens.

The Farm at Laken is in fact distinguished among the earliest known Rubens landscapes because it affords specific grounds for dating this early

group c. 1618: viz. its close connection with the predella of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, part of the altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Magi* in St John's church at Mechlin, dating from 1617–19.¹ The two girls in the foreground seem to have been designed not for this rustic scene but for the predella, where they appear in their original form as worshipping shepherdesses. The evidence for this consists in the two drawings in the Albertina and the Berlin-Dahlem Print Room, which are clearly sketches for the predella: the kneeling woman in the Albertina drawing clasps her arms across her breast in veneration, while the standing one in Berlin, as in the predella, uses both arms to support a round vessel on her head.²

This painting on oak was transferred in 1940 to a new oaken panel, which was cradled. The horizontal grain shown by the present X-ray is that of the new panel, measuring 85.7 x 126.8 cm. This includes three additions painted by Rubens himself: on the left c. 6.9 cm. (here the original grain was vertical, as is shown by the trace of an old crack); on the right c. 14.6 cm.; right across the top, c. 12.7 cm. The panel on which Rubens began the painting must therefore have measured about 75.5 x 104.1 cm.

It may be that, before the enlargement, the cow on the left was cut off by the picture-edge in the middle of its body (like the cow on the right of the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* (No.17, Fig.52)). Oliver Millar thinks it was painted, as we see it now, over a recently-made join. The wheelbarrow on the right was a corner motif pointing diagonally into depth. The treetops in the centre and on the right were added subsequently above the former edge of the picture, which can be clearly seen. Among the trees on the right the old vertical edge is also clearly visible, especially in the upper part.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.166.

2. Cf. the drawing in the Albertina, Vienna (*Glück-Haberitzl*, No.111; also reproduced in *Glück*, fig.2); for the drawing in Berlin-Dahlem, see *Glück-Haberitzl*, No.112 (also reproduced in *Glück*, fig.3); further *Glück*, pp.14–16; *Held*, I, under No. 90, as well as the *Introduction* to this volume, p.21.

20a. Study of an Ox: Drawing (Fig.64)

Black and red chalk, pen in brown; 280 x 437 mm.; inscribed below, in the middle: *PPR*.

Vienna, Albertina. No. 8253.

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

EXHIBITED: *Vienna, Albertina*, 1977, No.30 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, V, p.297, No. 1583; *Rooses*, *Vie*, pl.214; *Muchall-Viebrook*, p.31; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.47, No.138, repr.; *Glück*, p.14, fig.1; *Held*, I, p.133, No.91; II, pl.106.

This drawing of an ox similar to that in *The Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63) has hitherto been unanimously—also by Ludwig Burchard—considered as an original work by Rubens. In my opinion, however, the drawing lacks the qualities inherent in Rubens's personal draughtsmanship. The drawing of the hindlegs is very weak, in particular of the one furthest from the spectator. The body of the ox seems to fall apart into different sections: the belly and dewlap are quite separate; the part where the head joins the neck (the cheek) shows no sense of anatomy. The ear overlapping onto the neck is rendered quite flat, and the neck itself has no depth and lacks any detail in the drawing. The head and the animal's features are treated in a merely perfunctory manner.

21. Winter (Fig.66)

Oil on canvas; 144 x 223.5 cm.
Windsor Castle, Royal Collection.

PROVENANCE: George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, York House, London, (inventory of 11 May 1635 [Reuben.—One *Winter* piece; Davies, *Buckingham*, p.379]); probably sold with the rest of this collection in Antwerp, 1648 ('A piece representing winter, wherein there are nine figures. 4f.0 x 7f.0'; Fairfax, *Buckingham*, p.15); Madame Spangen, Antwerp.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 128 x 219 cm. PROV. G. Hoet, sale, The Hague, 25 August 1760, lot 32 ('Een Stal met Beelden en Beesten'); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; c. 225 cm. wide. PROV. Brussels, Defordt, 1926; Brussels, G. Marseau, 1928; (3) Engraving by P. Clouwet (Fig.68), 441 x 621 mm. (V.S., p.232, No.52, 6); (4) Engraving by P. Pontius, in the *Livre à Dessiner*, after the group of the three horses and the peasant leaning on a staff (Fig.69; Rooses, V, p.25, No.1229¹⁵); (5) Anonymous engraving of the peasant leaning on a staff (Rooses, IV, p.366, under No.1173).

EXHIBITED: London, 1819, No.23; London, 1831, No.50; London, 1953-54, No.199.

LITERATURE: Fairfax, *Buckingham*, p.379; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.237,238, No.818; IX, p.300, No.206; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, p.175; Waagen, *Treasures*, II, p.436, No.6; Rooses, IV, pp.365,366, No.1173; Davies, *Buckingham*, p.379; L. Binyon, *Catalogue du Duc de Buckingham, Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, p.277; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, pp.86,470,n.; Bode, 1905, p.202; Dillon, pp.120,181, pl.LXXIX; Oldenbourg, 1918, p.58; K.d.K., p.238; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.22,42,n.5; Sterling,

pp.184,n.6, 193,200,204; Herrmann, pp.12,13,22,52,68,n.14; Collins Baker, *Windsor*, p.281, pl.92 (as *Rubens School*); Cornette, pp.726,727; Glück, pp.21, 22, 58, No.10; Millar, *Landscapes*, pp.631-635, figs.38,42.

The picture shows the interior of a lofty barn. The underside of the imposing roof is visible, and on the left and in the centre there is a view, past the upright beams, of a village covered in winter snow. A snow-filled ditch, bare trees with snow on their branches, cottages and country objects such as carts and baskets are some of the elements of the composition. The beams of the barn lead the eye to a clear view, in the centre, of a cottage close behind the barn. On the snow-covered thatch two pigeons are seen. The subdued light is that of the decline of a winter's day. Inside the barn, next the right-hand wall which is not exposed to the elements, are nine cows, one of which is being milked by an old woman. Another old woman stands beside her, and at the right edge of the picture are two girls. One of them, at the very edge and somewhat further away, is in a dark dress, facing the spectator and holding a basket in front of her. Her face, neck and forearm show up palely in the flickering light of a fire burning on the clay floor of the barn, in the foreground left of centre. Another source of light is a candle by the flame of which a man is busying himself among the cows. The second of the two girls on the right (nearer the spectator than the first, whom she partly conceals) is seen full-length from behind. She holds her arms akimbo in a way which emphasizes the breadth of her shoulder-blades; her left hand is on her hip, while with the right she holds to her side a large brass milk-can. She has dark blonde hair, is bare-headed and looks down at the old woman

milking. Her red, long-sleeved jacket gleams in the light of the fire behind her, and her face partly turned away is also caught by the red glow. Around the open fire in the foreground right of centre is a family of beggars: to the left of the fire a semi-recumbent half-naked beggar with a crutch, a man yawning and leaning back, and a sturdy-looking old woman with her arm inside the handle of a basket; to the right of the fire a young mother with two children, one of which is leaning fully forward and blowing at the fire with all its might. The reddish firelight illuminates the group of beggars, plays over the massive forms of the cows on the right and, on the level above them, lights up a doorway, some wheatsheaves, a chest for fodder, a barrel and a large plaited winnowing-fan. The left-hand side of the picture, on the other hand, is seen in the fading light of a winter's day. Here, illuminated from the left, are three horses at a rack, a brown mare with her sucking foal and a grey. Beside them, separated from the spectator by a plough, is a bearded man in a hat, leaning on a stick with his hands in front of his chest and looking towards the foreground. Behind him are a churn and a large flat basket. In the left foreground is a large, lively, black and whitish-grey dog. Outside, under the projecting roof of the barn, and partly hidden by one of the vertical beams, is a rack cart seen from behind and foreshortened. The air is full of snowflakes which blur the distant view, and many are blown into the barn past the beams, which are in darkness. The brown ground of the painting, which is 224 cm. wide, shows through almost everywhere, especially in the extensive shadowy areas inside the barn and in the landscape on the left. The basic tonality is brown (chiefly dark brown), white and grey; in it all the other coloration is embedded—the red and red-brown firelight and

candle-light, the yellow-red of the flames, the brick-red and grey-blue of the accessories.

It is only with reservation that one can include in the category of landscape a picture which is partly a scene of country people and animals, a 'seasons' picture, and a genre study with still-life elements. But the classification is justified by what seems to be a companion picture by Rubens's hand (No.22, Fig.67), entitled by Burchard *Summer (Morning)* and by others *Going to Market*, which also prominently features peasants, animals and cottages, and is definitely a landscape painting. Despite appearances, what we have here is not a true genre picture. The yawning beggar by the fire, for instance, is not really a genre figure; rather does he express in physical terms, but with great seriousness and dignity, the state of mind of a human being held fast in the grip of winter. From this point of view he is a Rubensian heroic type bearing the same relation to the rustic wintry scene as Meleager and Atalanta, Ulysses and Nausicaa do to their respective landscapes: he plays the same part as the Flemish-Arcadian countryfolk in the pictures of Roman ruins, or the peasant labourers in the late harvesting pictures, the inspired embodiment of the forces of nature in scenes of Baroque animation. Rubens's natural affinity with ancient art as the Renaissance humanists conceived it, his acceptance of classical Italian art up to and including its modern culmination in his own contemporary Caravaggio (who is a 'realist', but not a genre painter either), was in accord with his profoundest interests in art and in the political and social sphere. The attitude towards life which we feel in all aspects of his personality is one which excludes genre painting in the usual sense, especially as we know it in 17th-century Dutch painting. The idea that 'things we dislike

in real life are pleasant to look at in pictures' is not reflected in Rubens's work, even for instance in the *Flemish Kermesse* in the Louvre,¹ which is rather conceived as a Bacchanal picture. This is not only because a great deal of Rubens's work was executed for the princes of Europe, and because he possessed the appropriate means of expression for the taste of this social class in an extraordinary degree. His critical bourgeois attitude towards the nobility, which Warnke emphasizes,² did not signify any leaning on his part towards 'bourgeois' art; it was rather a result of his self-awareness as a Baroque painter. Baroque feeling does not go with genre painting, even in Brouwer, for instance. If we compare Rubens's yawning beggar with the most impressive of Brouwer's open-mouthed smokers and drinkers, the former appears by contrast to be an embodiment of classical pathos.

The beggar with the crutch, lying by the fire, corresponds to the man lying to the left of the shepherds' fire in *Flight into Egypt* in the Louvre (No.14, Fig.42 painted c. 1613). The old woman warming herself, and the child blowing on the fire, closely resemble the corresponding figures in Rubens's *Old Woman with a Brazier* in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie in Dresden.³ In that picture too, the child is blowing on the fire. The brazier is represented in *Winter (Evening)* by a basket with handles; so it is in *Old Woman with a Candle*, formerly owned by Lord Faversham⁴ and the engraving after it,⁵ and the old peasant woman on the right of *Summer (Morning)* (No.22, Fig.67) also has a basket with handles on her right arm.

Oldenbourg dated this work 1620–25, Burchard rightly c. 1617, i.e. before *Summer (Morning)*, which he dated c. 1618.

There is a very early addition on the left, about 59.7 cm. wide. Much later

additions at the top and bottom—perhaps intended so that Frederick, Prince of Wales (1707–1751) could hang *Winter* and *Summer* together as pendants at Leicester House—were removed in 1959 and fastened to the back of the canvas. The X-ray published by Sir Oliver Millar in 1977 shows that the original canvas ended on the left behind the peasant leaning on a pitchfork. The priming of the two sections of canvas is different. The large basket covers part of the join. Millar believes that Rubens only designed the original composition but did not execute it; he does see Rubens's hand, however, in the addition on the left, which may have been made before the picture was sent to London. He expresses this view on the assumption that tradition is right in holding that *Winter (Evening)* and *Summer (Morning)* belonged to the first Duke of Buckingham. Millar, like Burchard, thinks *Winter* earlier than *Summer*. In my opinion the painting on the original canvas is also by Rubens himself.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.406.

2. *Warnke, Kommentare*, pp.28 ff.

3. *K.d.K.*, pp.137, 460.

4. *Evers, 1943*, Fig.235.

5. *V.S.*, p.153, No.134; *Evers, 1943*, Fig.236.

22. *Summer* (Fig.67)

Oil on canvas; 143 × 223 cm.
Windsor Castle, Royal Collection.

PROVENANCE: George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, York House, London; probably sold with the rest of this collection in Antwerp, 1648 ('A large piece, being a landskape full of figures, horses and carts. 5f.0 × 7f.7'; *Fairfax, Buckingham*, p.15); purchased by Frederick, Prince of Wales, 1748.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Madrid, Duque de Berwick y de Alba; panel, 140 × 217 cm.
PROV. Berwick y Alba, sale, Paris, 17–20

April 1877, lot 2, withdrawn. LIT. A. M. de Barcia, *Catálogo de la colección de pintura del Excmº Sr. Duque de Berwick y de Alba*, [s.l.], 1911, No. 207, (repr.); *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.60; *Glück*, p.57, under No.9; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; Cardinal Valenti, sale, Amsterdam, 18 May 1763, lot 16; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 69.5 x 95 cm. PROV. Prague, Dr. Pavel Bächer. LIT. *Glück*, p.57, under No.9; (4) Painting by L. Van Uden; whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 x 70 cm. PROV. Gaston von Mallmann, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 12 June 1918, lot 108 (repr.). LIT. H. Voss, *Die Galerie Gaston von Mallmann in Berlin, Der Cicerone*, I, 1909, p.46, fig.3; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, p.43, n.5; *Glück*, p.57, under No.9; (5) Drawing of the wood in the left; Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, Inv. No. 20.289; 705 x 490 mm. PROV. P. J. Mariette, sale, Paris, 1775, lot 998. LIT. Rooses, V, p.301, No.1590 (as *Rubens*); Lügt, *Notes sur Rubens*, pp.194, 196-198, (repr. as *L. Van Uden*); *Glück*, p.57, under No.9 (as *L. Van Uden*); (6) Drawing of the background landscape in the central part; Leningrad, Hermitage, Inv. No. 5528; 540 x 105 mm. PROV. Count Cobenzl, 1768. LIT. Dobroklonsky, 1940, pp.16, 17, No.10, pls.VIII,X (as *Rubens*); (7) Engraving by T. Van Kessel, dedicated to the Antwerp amateur Peter Gisbert; 300 x 426 mm. (V.S., p.237, No.55); (8) Mezzotint engraving by J. Browne, 1783 (V.S., p.237, No.55); (9) Engraving by A. Willmore (Rooses, IV, p.383, under No.1199).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1819, No.86; *London*, 1826, No.61; *London*, 1827, No.29; *London*, 1831, No.46; Spink & Son, London, 1930; *London*, 1946-47, No.286; *London*, 1953-54, No.197.

LITERATURE: *Smith*, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.238, 239, No.820; IX,

p.300, No.207; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, I, p.175; *Rooses*, IV, p.384, No.1199; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, pp.85, 470; *Bode*, 1905, p.202; *Dillon*, pp.119, 181, pl. CLXII; *K.d.K.*, p.239; *Lügt, Notes sur Rubens*, pp.196, 197; *Drost*, p.36, Fig.26; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.42, n.5, 43, n.6; *Sterling*, pp.184, n.6, 198, 202; *MacLaren*, *A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Herrmann*, pp.13, 14, 69, n.21; *Collins Baker, Windsor*, p.280, pl.91 (as *Rubens School*); *Cornette*, pp.726-728; Kieser, 1941-42, p.315; *Glück*, pp.20-22, 33, 57, 58, No.9; *Millar, Landscapes*, pp.631, 632, figs.39, 43.

The spectator looks down from a high vantage point on to a winding road along which countryfolk are carrying their produce from the hilly, broken area in the foreground to a distant town in gently undulating country. The sun is already well up, as can be seen by the rays of light breaking through the streaky clouds. To the left of the road a stream in a deep rocky bed accompanies the peasants on their way. On the other side of the stream is a path emerging from a forest in the left foreground; the trees, tall as they are, are partly cut off by upper edge of the picture. The path, by a footbridge, crosses a cleft in the ground by which a tributary joins the stream; this area is shaded by woods. Reeds and large-leaved plants grow in bed of the stream, where a sawn-off, and a broken tree can also be seen. The twisted trunk of a massive tree is wreathed with ivy, and beside it are tall birches with silvery stems. While on the left of the picture a few simple elements—trees, rocks, water, light and shade—create in a small space the illusion of dampness and gentle breezes in the silvery-green foliage of birch-trees, the right middle ground is dominated by peasants and a country atmosphere. At the extreme right a path

lined with boulders descends steeply into the picture; down it comes an old woman walking with a stick, a basket over her right arm, and behind her a thickset old man with a stick over his shoulder and a basket suspended from it. Behind these two figures some frisking pigs and, right at the picture's edge, a few cottages lead the eye into the distance. Beyond the cottages, right at the edge of the picture the narrowing rocky area rises higher still, in a cramped old-fashioned way reminiscent of 16th-century Netherlandish landscapes: cf. for instance, in Gillis van Coninxloo's *Judgement of Midas* in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie at Dresden, the rocky path at the left edge of the picture, leading upwards to an isolated farmstead.¹ The rural figures whom the artist has thus ingeniously brought into the picture, and who form a lead-in to the procession of countryfolk in the main part of the picture, are separated from it by a barrier of rocks and earth on which a row of gnarled pollard willows is growing. For the cottages on the right cf. those on the right of Nicolas de Bruyn's engraving after G. van Coninxloo's *The Prophet Elijah and the Children at Bethel devoured by Bears*.²

The zigzag movement of the procession starts with a two-wheeled cart, laden with vegetables and drawn by a grey horse, which has just come into the picture from the left. Its owner, in a red cap and greyish-purple jacket, walks along on the right and is pushing the horse's head to make it turn left. The next group, already much smaller owing to perspective, have turned into the next bend of the road. On the right, on a greyish-purple donkey, is a farmer in a red jacket and slouch hat, with a light-coloured sack on his lap. To his right, and talking to him, is a bare-headed, bearded man with the carcase of a brown calf slung over his back. To the left of

these two men a bare-footed, blonde young woman is seated sideways on a dapple-grey horse, with a stout brass milk-can on her arm. Next are seen six brown or black-and-brown cows, one of which is being mounted by a dark-coloured bull. The mating pair emphasizes the movement into depth and indicates the point where the road again bends to the right. The sections of the road, alternately light and dark, correspond to the alternation of sunlight and cloud and give a rapid, rhythmic force to the procession towards the town, which itself is partly in sunshine and partly beclouded. In front of the cows, at the head of the procession, a shepherd in bright sunlight moves obliquely to the right. Further away still, in a depression on the right in which individual forms almost disappear in the glittering light, the road again winds leftward towards a village church surrounded by trees (cf. the one in Rubens's *Farm at Laken*, No. 20, Fig. 63) after which it seems to zigzag even more frequently till it reaches the town with its spires in the background. The whole diagonal movement to the right is reinforced by the path on the left bank of the stream, and is carried into the region of the sky by the tall birch with its gleaming white bark, leaning over to the right. The morning light in which the landscape is bathed extends the movement to the area in the extreme right beyond the cottages. The movement is opposed on earth by a line of pollard willows and the dark area near them, and in the sky by a dark patch of cloud; two storks flying in front of this, however, have the effect of pushing it upward and away from the spectator.

Brown tones are far less dominant in the picture than reproductions suggest. The coloration is closer to that of the *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* in the Liechtenstein Collection at Vaduz (No. 17, Fig. 52). Cool green with white,

greenish-yellow and blue lights (these on the water and the sawn-off tree-trunk on the left) prevail over grey, warm brown tones and a warmer, dark green. The old woman on the right has a sea-green apron and brownish-purple sleeves on a blackish bodice. The greyish-purple already noted in the procession (clothing and animals) also appears in the vegetables with which the cart is laden. The foreground, especially, has grey tones in the earth and water which colour reproduction assimilates to the brown of other patches of earth. The silvery bark of the birches harmonizes with the cool, light green of the foliage. The distant area is an intensive blue-green; the light in the sky is white, grey-white, yellowish-white and in part sulphur-yellow. The light and dark red, sea-green and white of the clothing, and above all the white of the horse in the foreground stand out from the contrast of cool light greens and warmer tones.

Various details like a moated castle and a windmill, though subordinate, enrich the effect. This Baroque landscape with its dominant diagonals has archaic features that remind one of a 16th-century *Erdenbild*. Oldenbourg dated it 1620-25. More convincingly, Burchard proposed a date c. 1618—i.e. later than *Winter (Evening)*, which he dated c. 1617.

Burchard observed that the work was influenced by a lost picture by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, still known in the second half of the 17th century under the title *The Heath* or *On the Way to Market*.³ According to Burchard this composition was copied in a still extant drawing by an unknown hand (Fig. 70).⁴

Rubens added a broad strip right across the bottom, and two broad strips on either side. The vegetable cart in the foreground was thus painted subsequently over the join; much of the forest on the left, and the two old

peasants on the right, are likewise later additions.

The original canvas measured 121.9 x 162.6 cm.; the strips on the left and right are respectively c. 31.7 cm. and c. 26 cm. wide, and the bottom strip is c. 20.9 cm. high. The X-ray⁵ of the painting confirms that the composition was extended in the course of the work. All three additions are primed in the same way, quite differently from the original canvas. On the basis of recent X-rays Oliver Millar in 1977 believed it could be shown that the decision to enlarge the composition was taken before the original portion was completed. The tall trees on the left were painted over the join, but the X-ray does not show any important picture elements concealed under them on the original canvas. Part of the sky already painted on that canvas seems indeed to have disappeared under these trees. On the right, the original composition was bounded by a steep rocky slope. Millar thinks that, of the cottages now seen, the one nearest the spectator was there from the beginning; then the slope (which can still be seen) was painted over and replaced by a continuation of the more distant landscape, in which the remoter cottages were then included. The most important addition in the bottom strip is the cart laden with vegetables. All these additions confer impressive depth on the original composition. Millar does not perceive Rubens's hand in the enlargements and finally concludes that no part of the work is by Rubens. The present writer disagrees with this negative view at all points.

1. Repr. Raczyński, Fig. 1, and Thiéry, pl. 4.

2. Hollstein, IV, p. 14, No. 53; repr. Thiéry, pl. 5.

3. Cf. Gustav Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna, 1934, p. 75, No. 52a; Charles de Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel l'Ancien*, Brussels, 1935, p. 93, No. 44; Glück, *Bruegel*, p. 165; Glück, pp. 20, 21; J. S. Held, *Artis Pictoriae Amator: An Antwerp Art Patron and his Collection*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1957, p. 75, n. 26, Fig. 4a.

CATALOGUE NO. 23

4. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 1909:30; *Wegner*, No.1478 (repr. pl.426), as anonymous Netherlandish Master of the 17th Century; 210 x 325 mm.
5. Repr. in *Millar, Landscapes*, Fig.43.

23. **Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock** (Fig.72)

Oil on panel; 64 x 94.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. No. 2924.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 ('Un paysage avec des brebis, sur fond de bois.'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61, No.112); ? Gersaint, Paris, c. 1721; Crescent, sale, Paris, 15 January 1749 *et seqq.*, lot 79; the Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825), by whom lent to the British Institution, London, in 1819; bequeathed to the National Gallery by Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, in 1913.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Wilton House, Earl of Pembroke; canvas, 68.5 x 96.5 cm. PROV. at Wilton House since 1758. LIT. Sidney, 16th Earl of Pembroke, *A Catalogue of the Paintings and Drawings ... at Wilton House*, 1968, No.155; (2) Painting, Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste, Inv. No. 1562; canvas, 64 x 96 cm. PROV. Freiherr Speck von Sterneburg, Lützschena. LIT. F. Becker, *Gemäldegalerie Speck von Sterneburg in Lützschena*, Leipzig, 1904, No.XXXVII, repr.; (3) Drawing, Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. No. 41542; watercolour, 183 x 285 mm. LIT. *Wegner*, No.961, repr.; (4) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 305 x 447 mm.; (V.S., p.233, No.53, 4).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.322, No.1206; *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p.278; *Rooses*, IV, pp.368,369, No.1177; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p.319, *Dillon*, p.231; *K.d.K.*, p.472; *Kieser*, 1931, p.289, n.7; *Herrmann*, pp.15, 70, n.36; *MacLaren, A Rubens Land-*

scape, p.208, pl.IIA; *Borenius*, pp.138, 139; *Raczyński*, p.80; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 392-396,505, nn.415,416,fig.221; *Glück*, pp.16-18,54,55, No.4; *Martin, Two Landscapes*, pp.180-184, repr.; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.200-203, *Appendix*, I (repr.).

A wood, the right-hand part of which is close to the spectator, recedes, impressively foreshortened, into the distance on the left. From it a tongue of land projects forward, flanked by confluent streams. The triangular shape of the wood, in and around which space diagonals cluster and meet at a distant vanishing-point, is paralleled by a stream, the bluish-green and whitish waters of which reflect trees and the steep sides of the projection of land. At the right-hand side of the picture, where the tree-tops are cut off by its upper edge, a tributary flows out of the dark wood, joining the main stream where the latter is obliquely cut off by the lower picture-edge. The tributary is crossed by a footbridge leading from the rocky slope at the right-hand edge to the projecting piece of land. The bridge reinforces the cluster of space diagonals extending to the left. The footbridge and the direct view into depth at the right-hand edge, which is soon brought to a halt by the darkness of the wood, were added by Rubens at a later stage of the picture, originally much smaller. The small central vista through the wedge-shaped forest, where a patch of sky, yellowish-red in the sunlight, is visible above the distant horizon, must have played a much more important part in the original composition than it does now. An opening, only slightly concealed by two trees, appears in the section of the forest, and the latter does not recede continuously but in three stages coinciding with planes parallel to the picture surface; the shadowy opening

appears in the second of these three planes.

The stream flows into a large lake on the left. In front of it, in the very foreground, as though on a small island with tangled vegetation in the lower left corner of the picture, is a group of three trees which, like those of the forest on the extreme right, are cut off by the upper edge. A magpie and another bird are flying from the tops of these trees towards the middle of the picture. Beyond the tree motif, which serves as a repoussoir and frames the picture on the left, can be seen in the distance two swans on the water, a cottage with a fence round it and a cart standing in front, poplars and rows of bushes in an open meadow to the left, and on the extreme left, cut off by the edge, a quarter or more of the golden disc of the sun, the lower half of which is concealed by the reddish-yellow horizon. The lower part of the sky is covered by delicate veils of cloud, yellowish and red; further up, it is a deep blue. It is not certain whether the sun is rising or setting, but, in view of the huntsman coursing through the forest some distance away in the centre of the picture, the time is probably dawn.¹ Nineteen sheep are grazing on the tongue of land next to the waters of the stream in which trees are reflected. Four of them, including the ram, which is darker in colour, are at the rocky tip of the promontory. Obliquely to the right behind them, near the footbridge, is a barefooted shepherd standing on one leg leaning on a stick; he wears a broad-brimmed slouch hat and is turning his head over his left shoulder to our right. The ram behind the three sheep is looking attentively, with raised head, in the same direction.

The same figure, in reverse, of a man leaning on a stick occurs in *Winter* at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66).

The perspective scheme which we

have described above is overshadowed by the plastic treatment of space by means of light, shade and colour. The reddish-yellow light of the partially visible sun plays on the trunk of the gnarled tree on the left, where it has been stripped of its bark. This tree indicates the first of several planes parallel to the picture surface, others being distinguished by the alternation of light and shade. On the right silvery pale-green light marks the portion of the shore on which the sheep's coats are picked out in whitish-yellow. The shepherd's hat is a dull brown, his face reddish-ochre, his jacket bright purple and his breeches are sea-green. Individual tree-trunks behind him, silvery whitish-grey or cool light green, stand out against the warmer greens of the dark wood. The central parts of the wood are much lighter, cooler and milky green, an effect probably even more striking before yellowing and dirt. While the sheep are no more than part of the landscape, the shepherd and the two birds above on the left stand out clearly from the animal, earth and vegetable elements which form a connected whole among themselves. The light, milky, pale green area round the sheep ends with the shepherd immediately to their right; further right again, the prevailing tone is a warm, subdued ochreous brown.

In 1966 and 1970 Gregory Martin put forward decisive arguments against the view of MacLaren and Burchard that this picture was an enlarged detail from *The Watering-Place* (No.25, Fig.71). Martin agreed with Raczyński, Glück and Evers that, on the contrary, *The Watering-Place* originated from an autograph repetition by Rubens of the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock*, in which the composition was several times enlarged: for the part of *The Watering-Place* that corresponds to the present composition does not show the clear

signs of enlargement during the original execution that are visible in the latter composition. Evers pointed out this fact, which is crucial to the question of priority, in 1942, and in 1966 and 1970 Martin set out the arguments in detail, showing with the help of X-ray and infra-red photographs that the *Shepherd and his Flock* was enlarged on all four sides.²

All critics have drawn attention to the influence of Gillis van Coninxloo and Elsheimer on Rubens's development as a landscape painter, which is especially clear in this work.

The author accepts Burchard's proposal to date the two paintings c. 1618. Martin preferred a slightly earlier date, viz. c. 1616–17. On the problems discussed here cf. also under *The Watering Place* (No.25, Fig.71).

1. Cf. Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.201,202, n. 7 (referring to C. Van Mander, *Het Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, p.34, viz. the motif of the hunter in the morning light and description of the rising sun); cf. also Nos.49 and 49a in this volume, being representations of a hunter with dogs in a wood at sunrise, painted after 1630.

2. For the make up of the support, see Martin, *Flemish School*, Appendix, I, No.2924 (repr.), and Martin, *Two Landscapes*, pp.180, n.6, 183, Figs.14,16,17,19.

24. Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock (Fig.74)

Oil, over preliminary drawing in pen, on panel, 47.5 x 41.8 cm.; inscribed on the back, ---tch by Rubens, ink, by an English late eighteenth or early nineteenth century hand, and stencilled by Christie's 419 KS.

Rydal, Pennsylvania, Collection Stanley S. Wulc.

PROVENANCE: Sale, London (Christie's) 18 February 1948, lot 157; bought by F. T. Sabin and resold by him, sale, London (Christie's), 18 February 1955, lot 169; bought by J. A. Crichton.

LITERATURE: Jaffé, 1969, I, pp.433, 444, repr.; Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.201,202, n.6a, 19; Held, *Oil Sketches*, I, pp.645,646, No.A43.

This seems to be a repetition by Rubens, in vertical format, of the centre and right-hand parts of the picture of the same title in the National Gallery, London (No.23, Fig.72) including the extension to the right of what is now the main, central portion. The London picture may be the one described in No.112 of the inventory of Rubens's house at the time of his death: 'Un paysage avec des brebis, sur fond de bois' (cf. No.23, under PROVENANCE). In the repetition the huntsman seen through a gap in the forest is omitted, but one of his hounds is seen at the left edge of the picture. Also omitted are the two birds and the tree-tops which, in the original version, extend from the left as far as the forest seen in the repetition. The shepherd is not so sturdy as in the original, the tongue of land on which he stands is narrower, and the trees behind him are also less solid-looking.¹

Cool and very warm colours contrast with one another. The warm orange-brown bolus ground is the basis of the coloration, and cool colours stand out against it. Dabs of sea-green appear on the silvery-grey tree-trunks. An especially cool sea-green, mixed and heightened with white, is seen in the surface of the water, below left. Around the shepherd, the warmth of the bolus ground is tempered by white light. Cool greens and yellows are seen immediately in front of the sheep in the centre. The light, bolus-coloured parts of the vista on the left are made even more luminous than the area round the shepherd by the use of very light pastose cinnabar. A bright red-brown and cinnabar are used for the figure of the shepherd himself, as for the vegetation in the left lower corner

and the darker of the two intersecting trees to the left of the opening. The picture is extremely varied in colour, containing all shades of cream, white, yellow, bright ochre and brownish-red tones. The sky is bluish, grey, whitish, violet-grey with white overpainting, and elsewhere brownish where the ground shows through. In the rocky bank in the right foreground below the shepherd Rubens has used the brush handle on the wet pigment to scratch in a fern and some grasses. To indicate light and shade in the upper left portion above the shepherd, intense blue mixed with white is used in between the trunks and branches. There is also blue immediately below the gap in the trees and in the rocky bank below the second group of sheep. Tiny white dots show up brightly on stones at the water's edge and beneath the footbridge.

Jaffé, who published this work in 1969, believed it to be a study for No.23. Martin regards it as a copy after No.23 by another hand. Held agrees with Martin.

The panel has been planed down, but not so thinly as to prevent the bevel showing on the back at all four edges—proof that it has not been significantly cut; the panel is composed of five vertical boards.

I believed this to have been executed c. 1625-28, but a new examination of the picture may be necessary as a result of Held's reference to a copy of a sketch in the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Penn.

1. Cf. the comparison of reproductions in Jaffé, 1969, I, figs.18,19.

25. The Watering-Place (Fig.71)

Oil on panel; 99 x 135 cm.

London, National Gallery. No.4815.

PROVENANCE: M. d'Armagnac, 'grand

Ecuier' (? = Charles, Comte d'Armagnac [1684-1753]), by whom it was sold for 1650 francs; Duc de Tallard, sale, Paris, 22 March 1756 *et seqq.*, lot 141, bought by Remy; ? Peilhon, sale, Paris, 16 May 1763 *et seqq.*, lot 16; George Montagu, 3rd Duke of Montagu (died 1790), London, probably already by the summer of 1768; inherited by the latter's daughter, Elizabeth (died 1827), wife of Henry, 3rd Duke of Buccleuch (died 1812); bought from the 8th Duke of Buccleuch, 1936.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 63.5 x 79 cm. PROV. [Hart Davis], sale, London (Coxe), 1 June 1814, lot 42; Sir Francis Sharp Powell, sale, London (Sotheby's), 27 November 1929, lot 10; Leger and Son, London, 1929. LIT. *Glück*, p.55, under No.5; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.209, 211, n.32; (2) Painting, Perm, U.S.S.R., Art Gallery; panel, 53.5 x 73.5 cm. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, p.211, n.36; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 94 x 124 cm. PROV. ? T. F. Egerton, sale, London (Sotheby's), 17 December 1931, lot 64; A. L. Nicholson, 1934; New York, Ehrich-Newhouse Galleries, 1936. EXH. *Detroit*, 1936, No.59 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Glück*, p.55, under No.5; *Martin, Flemish School*, p.211, n.38; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 99 x 132.5 cm. PROV. Antwerp, J. M. A. Kockox; Antwerp, Sam Hartveld, 1938; ? sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 16 March 1954, lot 152. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, p.211, n.39; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Stockholm, Consul C. E. Schlyter, 1947; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 72.5 x 105.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 7 June 1950, lot 107; (7) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 66 x 89 cm. PROV. Earl Fitzwilliam and Viscount Harcourt; sale,

London (Christie's), 11 June 1948, lot 178, bought by Fell; sale, London (Christie's), 2 June 1950, lot 105; sale, London (Christie's), 29 June 1973, lot 39, bought by Mr. Harold. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.211, 212, n.41; (8) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 84 x 65 cm. PROV. Vienna, Hugo Engel, 1930; Cologne, Herman Abels, c. 1935. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.211, 212, n.41; (9) Painting by L. Van Uden, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 97 x 131 cm. PROV. sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 16 March 1954, lot 152; sale, Brussels (Palais des Beaux-Arts), 17 November 1954, lot 329; (10) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 66 x 87.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 18 October 1957, lot 60; (11) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 44.5 x 57 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 10 June 1965, lot 162; (12) Painting, Barcelona, Juan Escoda; panel, 65 x 89 cm. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, p.211, n.43; (13) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 57 x 73.5 cm.; (14) Painting, whereabouts unknown; ? panel, 60.5 x 85 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 18 October 1967, lot 163 (as *J. d'Arthois*); (15) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 46 x 61 cm. PROV. H. A. Day; (16) Painting, probably by L. Van Uden, whereabouts unknown; panel, 55.5 x 79.5 cm. PROV. A. G. H. Ward. EXH. ? Berlin, 1927, No.101; (17) Painting of the cattle on the right, by L. Van Uden, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 x 165 cm. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 14 December 1928, lot 143; bought by Leger; Berlin and Lugano, Dr. Wendland, 1929; Berlin, Ball and Graupe, 1931; (18) ? Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Everhard Jabach, 1696. LIT. *Mémoire, Estats et Règlements de droits dans la famille du feu sieur Evrard Jabach et de dame Anne-Marie de Groot, sa veuve, du 17 July*

1696, *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris*, 1894, p.278, No.574; (19) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. sale, London (Langford), 26 March 1778, lot 10. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.209, 212, n.47; (20) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 64 x 82 cm. PROV. sale, Copenhagen (Arne Bruun Rasmussen), 3 December 1973, lot 54 (repr.); (21) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. sale, London, 28 March 1947, lot 117; (22) Drawing by L. Van Uden; Paris, Petit Palais, Collection Dutuit, No.75; 320 x 428 mm. PROV. Huquier Collection, 18th century. LIT. F. Lugt, *Les Dessins des Ecoles du Nord de la Collection Dutuit au Musée des Beaux-Arts de la Ville de Paris*, Paris, 1927, No.75; (23) Etching by L. Van Uden; 183 x 275 mm. (V.S., p.236, No.54, 2); (24) Engraving by J. Browne; 432 x 572 mm. (V.S., p.236, No.54, 2); (25) Engraving (aquatint) by R. Brookshaw, 1773 (V.S., p.236, No.54, 2).

EXHIBITED: London, 1815, No.17; London, 1836, No.12; London, 1851, No.61; London, 1872, No.195; London, 1927, No.263; *Exhibition in Honour of Sir Robert Witt*, National Gallery, London, 1945-46, No.5.

LITERATURE: *Mariette*, p.139; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.181, No.630; *Rooses*, IV, pp.380, 381, No.1196; *Catalogue Montagu House, Duke of Buccleuch* [London, 1896, privately printed]; *Dillon*, pp.184, 231, pl. CCXXXI; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.42, n.2; *Fry*, p.144; *Burchard*, 1928, p.66; *Kieser*, 1931, p.289, n.7; *Burchard*, 1932, p.86; *Herrmann*, pp.15, 34, 35, 42, 46, 53, 70, n.35, 36, 81, n.128; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, pp.207-213; *Borenius*, pp.138, 139; *Raczyński*, pp.80, 81; *Cornette*, pp.725, 726, 739; *Evers*, 1942, pp.392-396, 505, nn.415, 416, fig.222; *Glück*, p.55, No.5, pl.5; *Martin, Etchings*, pp.

210, 211; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp. 205-213.

Evers and Gregory Martin established that this picture was continuously developed to its present size and composition by extensive additions to the original panel, a single board in the lower left corner.¹

In this landscape, of compact rectangular format, only a narrow strip of the horizon is visible at the left edge. In the centre and on the right the near middle ground is occupied by a natural scene of wild beauty with rock and earth formations, tree-trunks and masses of foliage soaring to the top of the picture. These prevent the eye from ranging into the distance and oblige it to rest on the bucolic group of somewhat small figures in the foreground. The animals and countryfolk, it should be emphasized, are depicted in small size and subordinated to the landscape.

The young man playing the flute appears to be a goatherd: behind him are four goats, some of which are resting their forefeet on the tree-trunks as they attempt to nibble the foliage. This motif is found in works by Titian's circle.²

In the centre middleground and foreground and on the bank to the right, the soil, rocky surfaces and parts of the staffage stand out in warm, bright ochre brown, yellowish-white and bright red. The stretch of water on the left reflects cattle, the wood and the shore. The trees are green and brown-green, with whitish lights on the leaves. The cloudy sky is white and, on the right, greyish-white, with glimpses of blue between. In the tree on the left are two magpies, and in the sky a peregrine falcon is chasing another magpie; higher up, larger birds are flying.

A large part of the left middleground corresponds exactly to the composition

of the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No. 23, Fig. 72). Raczyński, Glück and Evers all came to the conclusion that the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* was the earlier picture, and Gregory Martin subsequently proved with the aid of X-rays that the central portion of *The Watering-Place*, measuring 35.9 x 56.7 cm., was a reduced repetition of the final version of *The Shepherd*, which Rubens himself enlarged to the dimensions of 63.9/64.4 x 94.3 cm. The central portion of *The Watering-Place* shows no signs of development, such as Evers and Martin convincingly pointed out in their discussion of the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No. 23, Fig. 72). In it Rubens originally placed the figure of the shepherd, but afterwards painted him out and substituted a sheepdog. The new panel also features the conical hat of the huntsman coursing through the wood behind the grazing sheep. According to Martin it was enlarged in four separate stages to its final form, reproduced in all engravings and other copies.

I agree with Raczyński, Glück, Evers and Martin that the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* was the earlier work, though this is disputed by MacLaren and Burchard.

For the older shepherd urging the drinking cow out of the water, and the farm-hand riding the two horses down to drink, Rubens appears to have taken as a model an early 16th-century Bolognese drawing which the present author discovered in the Städelisches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt-am-Main (Fig. 73),³ or its prototype, probably from Titian's circle; in Rubens the figures are reversed as compared with the Frankfurt drawing. The group of two horses ridden by a farm-hand was not invented by the Bolognese draughtsman, for it already occurs in *The Arrival of the Holy Family at Bethlehem*, a painting signed by

Cornelis Massys and dated 1540 in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen at Berlin-Dahlem.⁴

The groups of animals form an obliquely placed, foreshortened cross with the milkmaid at its centre, enhancing the spatial effect of the foreground area. The young farm-hand's cape is of a subdued lacquer-red. Unlike the *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.23, Fig.72), the picture contains no milky or silvery green, and the lighter green of the foliage has become brownish or yellowish. Warm, glowing ochre also appears in the right-hand tree-trunk growing out of the rock in the centre. This tree, together with its neighbour to the left and the candelabra-like pollard willow to the right, seem to express radial movements which harmonize with those of the cruciform arrangement of human and animal groups and combine with them to produce an amplified geometrical effect in the centre of the picture, giving it a sense of unity and tension.

The reflection of the cows and dairy-maid is depicted with great care (cf. also Nos.54 and 56, Figs.137, 138). The reflection, however, does not include the churn on the maid's head, as it is hidden by the head of the grey horse (the remoter of the two).

Burchard dates this picture c. 1618. Gregory Martin, who points out the similarity to landscapes by Jan Bruegel the Elder, proposes 1616-17 for this picture and No.23. I accept Burchard's view.

1. For the make up of the support, see also Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.204-208, Appendix I, No.4815 (repr.), and Martin, *Two Landscapes*, p.183, and Fig.15.
2. Cf. Titian's *Nymph and Shepherd*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. No. 1825; Cat. 1938, No.727; K.d.K., *Tizian*, p.194.
3. Inv. No. 4427; pen and grey ink, 242 x 400 mm; Adler, *Wildens*, pp.78, 80, n.86, fig.306.
4. Cat. Berlin, No.675; Repr. M. J. Friedländer, *From van Eyck to Bruegel*, London, 1956, fig.188.

26. Interior of a Barn, with the Prodigal Son (Fig.75)

Oil on panel, 107 x 155 cm.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No. 781.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's estate, 1640 ('L'Enfant prodigue dans une estable'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.63, No.169); Diego Duarte, Antwerp, 1682; Madame Spangen, Antwerp, 1771; Edward Ravenell, sale, London (Christie's), 24 February 1776, lot 66; Pieter d'Aertselaer, Antwerp, where seen by Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1781; Stier d'Aertselaer, sale, Antwerp, 28 August 1817, lot 5, withdrawn; Stier d'Aertselaer, sale, Antwerp, 29 July 1822, lot 9, bought by Myin; John Smith, London, 1823-24; Thomas Lawrence, London, 1829-30; [? T. Lawrence], sale, London (Christie's), 22 May 1830, lot 14, withdrawn; William Wilkie, sale, London (Christie's), 7 April 1838, lot 30, bought by Farrar; Andrew Fountaine, Narford, sale, London (Christie's), 7 July 1894, lot 29, bought by A. Wertheimer, Paris; purchased in the same year by the Antwerp Museum from the Paris dealer Léon Gauchez.

COPIES: (1) Drawing of the horses at the left and the grooms, Oxford Ashmolean Museum, No.203; 213 x 238 mm. PROV. T. Lawrence. LIT. *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.40, No.93; Parker, *Drawings*, I, pp.87, 88, No.203; (2) Drawing of the barn, the three cows and the maid, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Crozat, sale, Paris, 10 April-13 May 1741, lot 822; A. Van der Marck, sale, Amsterdam, 25 August 1773 *et seqq.*, lot 1427; Thomas Lawrence. LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.298, No.1585; (3) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 439 x 615 mm. (V.S., p.232, No.52, 5).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1820; Royal Academy, London, 1880, No.65; *Antwerp*, 1927, No.9; *Paris*, 1936, No.60; *London*, 1953-54, No.169.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.226,227, No.804; IX, p.300, No.205; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p.429; *Sainsbury*, p.240; *Rooses*, II, pp.38,39, No.260; M. *Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, pp.209,210; V, 1897, p.293; *Michel*, p.360; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.67,469; *Dillon*, pp.120,181,189, pl.LXXVIII; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.58; *K.d.K.*, p.182; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.22,33-35,45,n.16; W. *Witwitzky*, *Das Gleichnis vom verlorenen Sohn in der bildenden Kunst bis Rembrandt*, Heidelberg, 1930, pp.35,36; *Herrmann*, pp.13, 34,41,46,52,69,n.17,81,n.128; *Cornette*, p.726, fig.418; *Evers*, 1942, pp.240-243, fig.142; *Glück*, pp.11,14-16,18,22,54, 55, No.3; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, pp.99,107; *Theuwissen, De kar en de wagen*, pp.199-201, fig.1; *Theuwissen, Het landbouwvoertuig*, pp.44,45, fig.9; *Theuwissen, Beelddocument*, pp.351,352; G. *Gogaer*, *De inventaris der schilderijen van Diego Duarte, Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1971, p.208, No.61.

This picture, in excellent condition, shows a slantwise view through a large barn or stable, open in the middle and especially on the right, where the eye rests on a Flemish cart standing in a farmyard and another stable, thatched and with a dovecot on the roof; beyond are bushes and trees and a sky reddened on the horizon by the setting sun. The sky in the upper right-hand part of the picture (beneath the roof of the large barn, which runs right across the top) is partly streaked with horizontal evening clouds.

The interior of the barn is an imposing complex of horizontal and vertical lines

and of others receding to the same vanishing point as the cart, seen from behind, and edge of the roof of the stable building on the right. On the left of the picture, against the wall of the barn, is a rack at which are standing two horses, a grey and a bay; the bay is bending his head round to bite his shoulder. Beside the grey horse is a robust, bare-headed man in a red jacket. His head and shoulders are lit up by a candle fixed further along the wall; by its light, which blends with the prevailing daylight, a farm-hand is shovelling hay into the rack. A plaited winnowing-fan and a basket hang on the wall, which recedes obliquely towards the vanishing-point on the right, and are also lit up by the candle. Near the farm-hand is an old woman, holding a lighted candle which she is screening with her arm, and turning towards some cows which are standing or lying sideways on to the spectator, facing left. The low structure by which they are sheltered occupies the centre of the picture, whose vanishing-point lies on the horizon just visible beyond the line of the cows' backs.

The most prominent of the cows, medium brown in colour and with its flank illuminated by the candle-light, once again reproduces the predominant rectangular form of the picture in the horizontal and vertical lines of its body. The scene which gives the picture its title is concentrated in the right foreground, where three rosy pigs are pushing towards a trough into which a maid-servant in a bright red jacket over a white blouse is tipping fodder. A brown dog, running across from the centre of the picture, is chasing the piglets, which scuttle to and fro as the mother-sow turns to face the intruder. To the right of the trough, looking up at the maid-servant, we see the Prodigal Son kneeling in left profile; he is dressed in rags

and appears to be complaining or beseeching. The maid looks back at him, and the farmer standing behind one of the uprights of the barn watches the scene angrily. (Luke 15,16: 'And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.'

By and large, warm brown tones predominate; in the lower parts of the landscape on the left there are also many brown and reddish-brown tones as well as green and blue. In the central vista, the ground near the distant horizon is lapis-lazuli blue. Despite the predominant daylight, the bodies of the cows and horses appear in the candle-light in a bright, light brown colour. The pigs are lighter still, while the maid's complexion and the firmly modelled bare torso of the Prodigal Son are highly luminous. Rubens's use of light to emphasize plastic forms and enhance colour effects is in many respects illogical. Although the cows and horses are largely in daylight, Rubens uses the two candles as sources of illumination for them; yet the edge of a second winnowing-fan in the centre of the picture, above the cows, casts a shadow that is exactly contrary to the candle-light and the illumination of the cow looking towards the spectator. The Prodigal Son appears to be lit from the direction of the spectator, the maid from a point in the right foreground. On the other hand, the shadows cast by two horses that are being ridden to water in the right background, and the lit-up edges of the clouds, indicate that the outdoor light comes from the left.

We may suppose that Rubens knew Dürer's early engraving *The Prodigal Son*,¹ which shows piglets clustering about the swineherd.

For the cart and stable on the right Rubens evidently used a drawing from nature (No.26a, Fig.76) in which, to the left of the vehicle and building, a peasant

is seen threshing corn with a flail. In the corresponding part of the picture he is replaced, towards the background, by a man riding two horses to water. The inclusion in a picture of a study from nature which was not necessarily intended for the purpose affords an indication of Rubens's method of work: cf. the *Landscape with Boar Hunt* in the Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, Dresden (No.18, Fig.53), for which he made use of the *Study of a Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No.18a, Fig.58).

It has been traditional to include *The Prodigal Son* in the category of Rubens's landscapes since the first appearance of Glück's volume in 1940. The best reason for this is the predominance of peasants and rustic elements in the foreground, as these play an important part in many of Rubens's landscapes: cf. Nos.17 (Fig.52), 20 (Fig.63), 22 (Fig.67), 25 (Fig.71), 27 (Fig.77), 31 (Fig.89), 32 (Fig.90), 33 (Fig.91), 39 (Fig.113), 40 (Fig.114), 53 (Fig.136), 55 (Fig.138), 68 (Fig.152), 69 (Fig.153). Cf. also *Winter* at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66), in which the winter atmosphere is largely treated in terms of landscape; it is, moreover, a natural pendant to *Summer* (No.22, Fig.67), which clearly falls into the landscape category.

The panel consists of five full-length horizontal boards, and is cradled. Dated by Oldenbourg c. 1618, by Burchard and myself c. 1619.

Cf. also the discussion under No.26a (the Chatsworth drawing of the cart and stable) of the relative chronology of the three pictures by Rubens in which this cart occurs. Burchard and Held differ in their views on this point.

¹ B, VII, No.28; see the reproduction in K.-A. Knappe, *Dürer, Das graphische Werk*, Vienna-Munich, 1964, No.7.

26a. A Labourer Threshing and a Waggon outside a Shed: Drawing
(Fig.76)

Black and red chalk and touches of yellow chalk, lightly washed with yellow, green and blue watercolour on paper; 255 x 415 mm.

Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Inv. No. 983.

PROVENANCE: ? N. A. Flinck (Rotterdam, 1646-1723); probably purchased c. 1723 by the second Duke of Devonshire.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1938, No.614; *Brussels*, 1938-39, No.47 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No.45 (repr.); *London*, 1949, No.45; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No.45 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No.45 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No.77; *London*, 1977, No.202 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p.204; *Vasari Society*, IV, 1908, No.21; *Burchard*, 1913, pp.8, 9; *Glück-Haberitzl*, No.94 (repr.); *Glück*, pp.15,17, fig.4; *Held*, I, p.144, No.129; II, pl.141; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.165,166, No.101; II, pl.101; *Theuwissen*, *De kar en de wagen*, pp.200-202, Fig.2; *Theuwissen*, *Het landbouwvoertuig*, p.44; *Theuwissen*, *Beeld-document*, pp.351,352, fig.17.

On the left, a labourer threshing grain with a flail raised above his head. On the right, a waggon seen from the back standing in front of a very lightly indicated shed.

The drawing is a study from nature. The foreshortened waggon occurs (drawn by two horses) in the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford*, painted c. 1617, in the Hermitage, Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62), on the extreme left in *Winter*, painted c. 1617 at Windsor (No.21, Fig.66) and on the extreme right

in *The Prodigal Son*, painted c. 1619, in the Antwerp Museum (No.26, Fig.75). For a second sheet of studies of waggons see No.48b (Fig.129).

Held thinks that *The Prodigal Son* was painted earlier than the two other paintings in which the waggon appears. He therefore thinks that the study was drawn by Rubens with *The Prodigal Son* in mind.

I myself think that this study was drawn c. 1615-17.

27. Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows (Fig.77)

Oil on panel; 81 x 106.5 cm.
Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Inv. No. 322.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1698 by the Bavarian Elector Max Emanuel from the Antwerp merchant Gisbert Van Ceulen; in the Alte Pinakothek since 1836.

COPIES: (1) Painting, with variations, whereabouts unknown; panel, 71 x 98 cm. prov. A. J. Bösch, sale, Vienna, 26 April 1885, lot 45; Albert Oppenheim, sale, Berlin (Lepke), 27 October 1914, lot 32 (repr.); Adlesberger, sale, Munich (Helbing), 8 October 1930, lot 129. EXH. *Brussels*, 1910, No.350. LIT. Rooses, IV, p.326, No.1206 bis (as Rubens); Herrmann, p.75, n.74; Glück, p.55, under No.6; (2) Painting, Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein, No.407; canvas, 69 x 87 cm. LIT. Kronfeld, No.407 (as J. Wildens); Glück, p.55, under No.6; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 71 x 108 cm.

PROV. Ghent, Spruyt, before 1815; Brussels, L. Seyffers, 1927. LIT. Glück, p.55, under No.6; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 83 x 107 cm. PROV. Strasbourg, Wurster; sale, Cologne (Heberle), 16 June 1896, lot 255. LIT. Glück, p.55, under No.6; (5)

CATALOGUE NO. 27

Engraving by Ostermeyer, 1797; (6)
Etching by J. Klaus (1847-1893).

EXHIBITED: *Berne*, 1949-50, No.77;
London, 1953-54, No.187.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.80, No.248; IX, p.277, No.119; *Marggraff*, p.157, No.916; *Reber*, pp.154,155, No.760; *Rooses*, IV, pp.389,390, No.1201; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p.315; *Rooses, Vie*, p.575, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.426; *Michel, Paysage*, p.66; *Bode*, 1905, p.203; *Glück*, 1905, p.64; *Dillon*, pp.184, 202, pl. CCLXXXI; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.58; *K.d.K.*, p.187; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.17-20,32,33; *Burchard*, 1928, pp.66-68; *Sterling*, p.202; *MacLaren, A Rubens Landscape*, p.208; *Herrmann*, pp.23,48, 55,75, n.74; *Cornette*, pp.724,725,739, repr.; *Evers*, 1942, pp.397, 398, 505, n.417,418; *Glück*, pp.17, 18, 24, 55, 56, No.6; *Thiéry*, pp.92,97,105,111; *Held*, I, pp.132, 133, under No.88; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.107; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.164,165, under No.100; *Martin, Etchings*, pp.210,211; *Martin, Flemish School*, p.208; *Martin, Two Landscapes*, pp.183,184; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.36,102, 103 (G 40).

The panel comprises three horizontal oak boards of 24.1, 29.3 and 21.9 cm. in breadth; at the lower edge another board has been added, c. 5.9 cm. in breadth, painted by Rubens himself.

In level country typical of Brabant, under a sky overcast with drifting greyish-violet rain-clouds, eleven cows are standing or lying by a peaceful stretch of water; one, in the foreground right of centre, is being milked by a dairymaid. The cow is seen from behind; the maid, sitting beside it, in left profile. For these two figures Rubens evidently used a pen-and-ink study now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Besançon

(No.27a, Fig.79). Behind the maid, towards the right of the picture, a bush with red berries, ferns and bulrushes are growing. Still further right, two pollard willows—one stripped of its bark so that the reddish wood is visible—project over the bank. A bush with dry reddish-brown leaves grows out still further over the expanse of water, which extends in a semicircle from the lower right corner into the distance and back to the centre of the picture. The curve of the lake is bordered on the right by a grove of trees, some with slender tops which seem to sway in the wind blowing the rain-clouds to the right. Only in a narrow area on the left is there a view past the trees along a winding road into the distance. Immediately above this there is a break in the clouds, revealing the bright sky. The light comes from the yellowish horizon on the left, filters through the tree-trunks from behind and plays upon their tops, and pours in a broad flood over the open foreground with its ten cows (the eleventh is further off, drinking at the water's edge). Three cows, standing at the left edge of the picture, almost merge into the colour of the meadow. So do three cows in the middle distance, two of which are recumbent, while the third is staling. The main group of four cows is in the centre and centre left of the picture. A light brown one, as already mentioned, is being milked. Another light brown and yellowish one is lowering its head to graze. At the left corner of the group of four a glossy-looking brown cow has turned its head round to lick itself on the side away from the spectator. Finally a black-brown cow stands sideways behind the other three: it is bellowing, with head raised, and lashing its flank with its tail. To the left of the massive cow with its head turned round, a maid dressed in grey-black crouches on the ground holding a brass churn, into

which a bare-headed, bearded man on her left with bare, tanned legs, wearing short trousers and a long, bright-red jerkin, is about to pour milk from another brass receptacle. This figure seems to be inspired by the bearers in Titian's *Entombment* in the Louvre.¹ Two other, similar receptacles with handles are lying in the foreground. The tracks of a cart in the grass, among cow-pats, run diagonally across the lower left corner. High up in the humid air, two herons are being chased by two peregrine falcons. The girl milking the cow wears a cocoa-brown skirt, a dark-blue apron and a blue-grey bodice. The pose of the man on the left harmonizes with the leaning willows on the right. These two forms, together with the stalting cow and a shining, overturned brass vessel in the foreground mark the boundaries of the central square, foreshortened into a rhombus, consisting of the main group of cows and countryfolk.

A *terminus ante quem* is provided by a painting by Jan Wildens, signed and dated 1621, which was probably cut in two in the 1920s.² The right half was in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in Berlin from 1928 and was destroyed there by fire in 1945. For the left half, now in the collection of Engineer Brør Serlachius at Tervakoski in Finland, Wildens used the cows and maids in Rubens's picture as a model. The group of cows is also used by Jan Bruegel the Elder in his painting *Rural Life* in the Prado at Madrid,³ to which Burchard assigns the date 1623.

For the idea of the picture (and the Berlin *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen*, No.31, Fig.89) cf. an early pen drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Landscape with Cows and Trees* (Fig. 78).⁴ As in Rubens's picture, there is a stretch of water on the right. In Bruegel's drawing cattle are standing in the water; there is also a brass churn similar to one in the Rubens painting.

For the influence of Titian's circle on Rubens's bucolic landscapes, cf. Kieser and Herrmann, also recently Kelch (under No. 31).

1. Inv. No. 1584; *K.d.K.*, *Tizian*, p.49.
2. See the reproduction in *Staatliche Museen Berlin. Die Gemäldegalerie. Die flämischen, französischen, englischen und spanischen Meister*, Berlin, 1933, p.86, fig.203.
3. *Diáz Padron*, *Catálogo*, pp.56,57 (repr.); canvas, 130 x 293 cm.
4. Pen in brown, 234 x 343 mm., Washington, National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1973, B-26, 350; see K. Arndt, *Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. und die Geschichte der Waldlandschaft*, *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, LII, 1956, p.73, n.9; *Exh. Cat. Pieter Bruegel d.Ä. als Zeichner. Herkunft und Nachfolge*, Berlin, 1975, No.38, fig.62.

27a. A Woman Milking a Cow: Drawing (Fig.79)

Pen and black ink over preliminary work in black chalk; 220 x 175 mm. Below on the left, the marks of the J. F. Gigoux collection (L. 1164) and of the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Besançon (L. Suppl. 238c); also inscribed with pen, D. 88. *Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts*. Inv. No. D. 88.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by J. F. Gigoux (Paris, 1806-1894) to the city of Besançon.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No.83 (repr.); *Musées de Besançon*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, 1957, No.184.

LITERATURE: A. E. Popham, *A Woman Milking, Old Master Drawings*, XII, 1937, p.26, pl.26; *Held*, I, pp.132,133, No.88; II, pl.104; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.164,165, No.100; II, pl.100.

On the lower right a woman holding a milk-pail between her legs is milking a cow. The cow is seen from behind and slightly turned to the right. The body and part of the right hind leg are

elaborated with the pen over a rapid sketch in black chalk. The head and hands of the woman are rendered in detail with the pen, the upper part of her body is sketched in outline, while the rest of her body is summarily indicated in black chalk.

This study from life of a woman milking was used by Rubens in his *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich (No.27, Fig.77), painted about 1620 and also in the later painting of *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem (No.31, Fig.89). A related figure of a woman milking appears, in an altered attitude, in *The Farm at Laken*, painted c. 1617, in the Royal Collection in Buckingham Palace, London (No.20, Fig.63).

Held, in 1959, discussed fully the problems connected with No.27 and the present drawing,¹ pointing out that the figure of the milkmaid in the drawing nowhere recurs so exactly as in the Munich landscape. The Berlin *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* (No.31, Fig.89) was painted later and uses several types already developed by Rubens. Held thinks the drawing may have been executed some years before the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* (No.27, Fig.77), and he points out that the other, crouching woman in the same picture goes back to a drawing that Rubens had made a few years before for *Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes*, now in the Prado.² It should be observed that the fact to which Held himself draws attention—viz., that the motif of a woman milking first occurs in Rubens, though in a different form, in the *Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63)—seems to contradict the frequently accepted early date of c. 1615 for the present drawing. Held dates it 1615–18, but it may in fact be later than the *Farm*

at *Laken* (1617–18) and thus immediately previous to the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows*.

Held, under his No.88, also compared the present drawing with the different drawings of cows at Chatsworth and the British Museum, in order to determine the interrelation of these disputed sheets (cf. our No.27b).

1. Held, loc. cit., and pp.12,13; see also Cat. No. 27b.

2. For this drawing: Held, No.90.

27b. Studies of Cows: Drawing

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Drawing (Fig.81), Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement, Inv. No. 964; pen in brown, 318 × 515 mm. PROV. Neyman, sale, Paris, 8 July 1776 *et seqq.*, lot 759; King William II of Holland, sale, The Hague, 12 August 1850 *et seqq.*, lot 300; purchased by the Duke of Devonshire. EXH. London, 1977, No.200 (repr.; as *A. Van Dyck*). LIT. Rooses, V, pp.25,26,297,298, No.1584; Hind, II, p.36, under No.118; Popham, 1938, p.20; Glück, p.55, under No.6; Held, I, pp.12,13, fig.21; Renger, 1978, p.135 (as Rubens); (2) Drawing (Fig.82), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings; pen in brown and in slight washes of grey, 340 × 522 mm. PROV. Verstegh; Sir Thomas Lawrence; William II, King of Holland; Leembruggen; Malcolm; purchased by the British Museum, 1895. EXH. Helsinki, 1952–53, No.46 (repr.); London, 1977, No.201 (repr.). LIT. Rooses, V, pp.25,26,297,298, No.1584; Hind, II, p.36, No.118; Popham, 1938, p.20; Glück, p.55, under No.6; Held, I, pp.12,13, Fig.21; Renger, 1978, p.135 (as Rubens); (3) Drawing (Fig.83), London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings; pen in brown, 315 × 517 mm. PROV. purchased by the

British Museum, 1860. LIT. *Hind*, II, p.36, under No.118, pp.45,46, No.122; *Held*, I, p.12; (4) Drawing, whereabouts unknown; 305 x 510 mm. PROV. Northwick Collection, sale, London (Sotheby's), November 1920, lot 200. LIT. *Hind*, II, p.36, under No.118; *Glück*, p.55, under No.6; *Held*, I, p.12; (5) Engraving by P. Pontius, *Livre à Dessiner*, 1649, No.16; 327 x 220 mm. (Fig.80; *V.S.*, p.238, No.65,17).

Rubens's sheet of drawings—the original of which, according to Burchard, no longer exists—comprises several cows and heads of cows in various poses. The whole breadth of the sheet at Chatsworth is occupied by three large studies of cows, depicted in light and shadow by means only of lines, hatching, dots and a light wash. Vegetation is indicated below and behind them. The two animals on the left are shown more from the front, the imposing one on the right more from the side. The cow on the extreme left has turned its head round to lick its shoulder; the other two are grazing, with outstretched head and neck. In the upper left corner the motif of the head turned back is repeated twice in a sketchy manner and in reduced size; this time the head is turned half away from the spectator, and not fully round away from him as in the first version. In the upper right corner is a sketch, also smaller than those on the left, of a head stretched out to graze. Somewhat below, and smaller still, a whole cow is drawn from the side. In the remaining space below on the right are complete sketches of two other cows on about the same scale as the three heads. One has its hind legs in about the centre of the sheet and is seen sideways, facing right, its head turned away from the spectator. The other, in the lower right corner of the sheet, is seen squarely from behind; its head is bent down to the right to graze,

and is thus seen from below and behind close to the ground, which, however, is not indicated at this point.

The lost original was one of twenty sheets of drawings by Rubens which Paulus Pontius published as engravings in his *Livre à Dessiner* at Antwerp in 1649 (Fig.80). In 1959 Held, in the Introduction to his *Rubens Selected Drawings*, observed that the existence of four almost identical versions of a single motif, as here, constituted 'a healthy warning against over-confidence' in all cases involving copies. Glück and Haberditzl regarded one of the two versions in the British Museum (Fig.82) as the original, while Rooses, Popham and other authors stressed the superiority of the Chatsworth version (Fig.81). Hind thought both sheets were by Rubens himself; he also believed that the third and fourth sheets—Copy (3) Fig.83, and Copy (4)—were copies of the Chatsworth version, and that Copy (2) Fig.82, was the model for Pontius's engraving. Held also discussed the possibility that the Chatsworth version, bearing what may be the authentic signature *Ant. van dyck*, might be the work of that artist; he finally left open the question whether Copy (1) or Copy (2) was in fact Rubens's original.

Judged in comparison with the study of *A Woman Milking a Cow* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Besançon (No.27a, Fig.79) with the firm, assured texture of its lines (especially at the point where the tail begins, the tail, udder and hock), its economy of drawing and clarity even in the dark portions, none of the sheets here discussed can pass as the work of Rubens. The lost original must have been done in about 1615-18.

Rubens used the lost study drawing for the cows in No.27 and also for the considerably later *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* in the Gemäldegalerie at Berlin-Dahlem (No.31, Fig.89).

Rubens's authorship of the Chatsworth drawing (Fig.81) has recently been defended by Konrad Renger on the ground that studio custom argues more in Rubens's favour than the old inscription (not, in his view, a signature) does for Van Dyck.

28. Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa (Fig.84)

Oil on panel; 126.5 x 205.5 cm.
Florence, Palazzo Pitti. No. 9.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Richelieu, Paris; The Grand Dukes of Tuscany, Florence; withdrawn from that collection by the French revolutionary troops, and exhibited at the Muséum Francais until 1814; restituted to Florence in the latter year.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 168 x 235 cm. PROV. Paris, Aguado, Marquis de las Marismas, sale, Paris, 20-28 March 1843, lot 376. LIT. [C. Gavard], *La Galerie Aguado*, Paris, 1837, repr.; Glück, p.61, under No.18; (2) Painting by L. Van Uden, signed and dated 1635; Barnard Castle, The Bowes Museum, No.16; panel, 32.5 x 55.5 cm. EXH. *Pictures from the Bowes Museum*, Agnew's, London, 1952, No.50. LIT. S. Harrison, *The Bowes Museum. Barnard Castle*, Darlington, 1939, p.66, No.16; Gerson-ter Kuile, p.152; Adler, *Wildens*, pp.11,75,n.24, fig. 289; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Bedgebury, sale, London (Christie's), 12 May 1919, lot 37; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 167.5 x 241.5 cm. PROV. G. M. Jefferson, sale, London (Christie's), 5 November 1948, lot 65; (5) Engraving, in *Manuel du Muséum Francais*, 1803; (6) Engraving by A. Parboni (Rooses, IV, p.389, under No.1200).

EXHIBITED: *Florence*, 1977, No.95 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.147, 150, 151, 259, 260; *De Piles, Cabinet Richelieu*, pp.104-106, 110; *De Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, pp.25, 60; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.144,145, No.509; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, p.174; Ruelens, *de Piles*, pp.157-162; Rooses, IV, pp.388,389, No.1200; Rooses, *Galerie Richelieu*, pp.138-148; Burckhardt, *Rubens*, p.322; Michel, p.530; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.374; Dillon, pp.183,215, pl. CCCCLVII; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.325; Oldenbourg, 1918, p.59; K.d.K., p.354; Winkler, 1924, p.133; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.28,29; Sterling, pp.183,193,200; Burchard, 1928, p.64; L. Curtius, *Beschreibung eines Bildes*, in *Buch des Dankes für Hans Carossa*, Leipzig, 1928, pp.78-84, repr.; Kieser, 1931, pp.286, 287,290,291; Drost, *Elsheimer*, p.185; Herrmann, 1933, pp.245,246; Herrmann pp.11,16,17,30,36,38,39,42,47,53-55, 58,71, n.43; Cornette, pp.728,730,731; Kieser, 1941-42, p.315; Evers, 1942, p.494, n.203; Evers, 1943, p.255; Glück, pp.11,28,29,61, No.18; Gerson-ter Kuile, p.107; Teyssèdre, p.292; Held, I, p.145; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, p.168.

As regards Burchard's supposition ('cut down at the top, to judge from the canvas copies') it is to be observed that the brush-strokes at the top edge show that the brush was lifted from the canvas. The diagram (Fig.170) shows the way in which the cradled panel appeared to me from the front, working without technical aids, in March 1974. The topmost part, 41 cm. broad at the left edge, seems to consist of a single horizontal member. Then, 104 cm. from the left edge and thus near the centre of the picture, a vertical joint can be clearly seen, extend-

ing over the edges of the boards but apparently not reaching the lower edge of the panel. Another vertical joint can be discerned equally clearly, 54.4 cm. to the right of the first; its course can be followed to within 12 cm. of the lower edge of the support, while it extends upward to the lower edge of a horizontal board, some 29.7 cm. in breadth. There thus seems to be a rectangular piece cut out of this top part of the panel, though it consisted originally of a continuous board. Apparently therefore at least three shorter panels, with the grain running different ways, are held together by a board extending right across at the top and a similar board at the bottom. However, as a study of the composition shows, this does not mean that it was enlarged while in course of execution.

The picture with its alternate waves of light and shadow is dominated by the diagonal, sloping from right to left, of a mountainous coast by a southern shore. Above and to the left, blue-grey storm-clouds are floating off over the sea; a last shower of rain is falling on a seacoast town some distance off. In the centre of the picture the bright golden light of the morning sun, hidden behind the mountain slope, pours forth over the abrupt or gentle variations of the terrain, the clefts and indentations of which are emphasized by the darkness that lingers in them. This is also true of the abundant growth of trees and bushes at the foot of the mountain, to which light and shade seem to adhere. Below left, the whole slope of the last great coastal terrace lies in a transparent sea of shadow which separates it from the lighter foreground. A fallen tree, caught in the sunlight, is silhouetted against the dark patch beyond. At the top of the first slope in the centre of the picture is an Italian villa with a fine formal garden, surrounded by rustic walls with buttresses which cast broad shadows on the mountain-side.

Further up, the mountain becomes steeper and rockier; a crevice is spanned by a stone bridge, and smaller and smaller-looking villas and castles are caught by the light on successive terraces overhanging shadowy slopes. The grey-green mountain-side, gilded by the light of the morning sun, turns to grey-violet in the rocky formations in the upper right corner, which finally disappear in the intense bluish haze of the clouds hanging there. Directly below this top-most point, at the right edge of the picture, is a chasm down which a gleaming waterfall cascades into a small lake nestling at the foot of the mountain. Further up the mountain, the sunlit spray forms a patch of light as it falls into another pool, the first catch basin, which is screened on the side of the picture centre by a grove of trees. In the prolongation of the rocky wall towards the spectator two large tree-trunks, rooted close to each other, lean to the right and are cut off, half-way up, by the right-hand edge of the picture; they shine with reflected light from the spray of the waterfall. In front of them, in the lower right corner, brushwood can be seen amid the shadows creeping along the ground.

Here in the foreground, the action of the picture takes place. In front of the lake with its cloud of spray, which is some way off and at a lower level than the foreground, Nausicaa's three maids start back in terror at the sight of Ulysses appearing behind a bush at the front edge of the picture, near the centre. Between them and Ulysses, Nausicaa in a bright purple robe stands and unveils herself with a gesture of royal dignity. Her old nurse cowers behind her for protection. The naked shipwrecked Ulysses, who is fully visible only to the spectator, stands behind the bush (on which red berries are growing) and addresses the princess. He is seen in

right profile, his face slightly turned away and his arm raised. His muscular body is modelled in contrasts of light and shadow, his back and shoulderblades gleaming white in the morning sun. The human figures make a strong impression in the foreground of the landscape, despite their small size. Behind Ulysses, towards the left of the picture, two mules stand in front of a decaying tree-stump; their bodies are dark brown and their harness crimson. As Nausicaa, the nurse and the maids form a group by themselves on the right, so Ulysses, together with the mules and the tree-stump, forms a corresponding group in the centre foreground. Finally, near the lower left corner, there stands on the sloping road a gilded, elaborately carved, two-wheeled carriage with a sphinx's head and a shaft ending in a dragon's head, lying on the ground as the mules have been unharnessed. Two sturdy young maids, who have not yet noticed Ulysses's sudden appearance, are piling on to it the clothes which Nausicaa and her companions have been washing. The maid on the left, facing centre, wears a crimson upper garment; the inclination of her body corresponds to that of the rain-shower over the distant city. In the top left corner, high above the shower, the storm-clouds have moved away to reveal a bright vision of the celestial sphere: Athena is imploring her father Jupiter to be merciful to her *protégé* Ulysses.

This picture is Rubens's only landscape with a Homeric theme.¹ It illustrates again the strong influence of Elsheimer (cf. the latter's morning landscape *Aurora* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum at Brunswick),² and thus shows Rubens in about 1627 using a peaceful, almost classically simple composition and with light effects in Elsheimer's vein, somewhat akin to Claude Lorrain, who was born in 1600.

Burchard dated this picture c. 1625–27 and thought it was reworked by Rubens himself in the thirties. The figures, and the bushes and trees in the middle distance, indicate an origin prior to the second great impact of Titian's style on Rubens. This is especially clear in Nausicaa's robe, which is painted in all its folds with great accuracy. Similarly the two maids on the left—note e.g. their heads—have none of the impasto that would be expected of such figures in the thirties, especially in the event of reworking. As contrary examples we may note the *Landscape with St. George* in the Royal Collection in London (No. 35, Fig. 93) painted in England in 1629–30, and the *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* in the Gemäldegalerie at Berlin-Dahlem (No. 31, Fig. 89), probably reworked by Rubens in the 1630s.

For the fallen tree in front of the patch of shadow in the left middle ground Rubens used a study from nature, drawn a decade earlier and now in the Duke of Devonshire's collection at Chatsworth (No. 28a, Fig. 85).

1. *Odyssea*, VI, 1–186; the meeting of Ulysses and Nausicaa is happening in the morning; Curtius's otherwise congenial description of Rubens's painting does not fit with respect to this particular detail.
2. No. 550; Oil on copper, 17 x 22 cm.; see Andrews, Elsheimer, No. 18, pl. 66.

28a. Study of a Fallen Tree: Drawing (Fig. 85)

Black chalk, light green and brown washes and some sanguine, on white paper; 184 x 310 mm.

Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Inv. No. 985.

PROVENANCE: ? N. A. Flinck (Rotterdam, 1646–1723); probably purchased c. 1723 by the second Duke of Devonshire.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1948-49, No.130; *Paris*, 1949, No.112; *London*, 1949, No.47; *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No.48; *Brussels*, 1953, No.48; *Antwerp*, 1956, No.106 (repr.); *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1973, No.99.

LITERATURE: *Vasari Society*, 2nd Series, VI, 1925, 12; Claire Stuart Wortley, *P. P. Rubens, Study of a Fallen Tree, Old Master Drawings*, IX, 1936, pp.49,50, pl.45; *Glück*, pp.28,29,61, Fig.7; *Lugt, Louvre, Ecole flamande*, II, 1949, p.20, under No.1034; *Held*, I, pp.145,146, No.132; II, pl.144; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.167,168, No.103; II, pl.103.

Against the background of a wooded landscape, a fallen dead beech-tree, reflected in some water in the foreground. The same tree seen from a different angle is drawn in No.18a (Fig.58). Burchard, d'Hulst, Held and I agree in dating the present study c. 1617-1619.

Some ten years after this study from nature was made Rubens used it for the dead tree lying in the centre foreground in his *Ulysses and Nausicaa* of c. 1627 in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (No.28, Fig.84).

29. Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis (Fig.86)

Oil on panel; 147 x 209 cm.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Inv. No. 690.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's Estate, 1640 ('Un grand déluge avec l'histoire de Philemon et Baucis'; *Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p.62, No.137); Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, 1659, Inv. No. 147; imperial collections, Bratislava and Vienna.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 145 x 230 cm. PROV. Brussels, De Griek, before 1763; de Montribleoud, sale, Paris, 9 February 1784, lot 14; Henry Hope, sale, London (Christie's), 27-29 June 1816, lot 83; Ph. Panné, sale, London (Christie's), 29 March 1819, lot 98; purchased by Harris; ? Sir Thomas Baring. LIT. *Mensaert*, I, p.61; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.93, under No.297; (2) Painting, Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection, No.667; panel, 40.5 x 63.5 cm. LIT. *Goris-Held*, p.41, No.91; *Kieser, Rubens-landschaft*, pp.40,83,n.140; O. Benesch, in *Kunstchronik*, VII, 1957, p.76; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 33.5 x 48.5 cm. PROV. A ..., sale, Paris (Remy), 9 December 1773, part of lot 3; (4) Drawing, Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, No. NMH 1911/1863; 201 x 307 mm.; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 483 x 651 mm. (V.S., p.231, No.52, 1).

EXHIBITED: *Vienna*, 1977, No.41 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.93, No.297; *Waagen, Wien*, I, p. 138, No.13; *Engerth*, II, No.1171; *Rooses*, IV, pp.359,360, No.1168; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.221, 320,321; *Michel*, p.530; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, pp.450,489; *Bode*, 1905, p.203; *Dillon*, pp.183,209, pl. CCCCLXVII; *K.d.K.*, pp.189,462; *Kieser, Rubens-landschaft*, pp.23,27,43, n.6; *Sterling*, pp.183,186,187,192,195, 196,200; *Kieser*, 1931, pp.286,290; *Hermann*, pp.14,21,26,28,35,37-40,42-44, 47,53-55, 69,n.22, 81, 82,n.129; *Cornette*, pp.728-730, Fig.419; W. Stechow, *The Myth of Philemon and Baucis in Art, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, IV, 1941, p.108, n.2; *Evers*, 1942, pp.398,401, fig.224; *Glück*, pp.11, 23,24,59, No.12; J. Müller Hofstede and T. Gaethgens, in *Die Kunst des 17. Jahrhunderts*, under the supervision of E.

Hubala, *Propyläen-Kunstgeschichte*, IX, Berlin, 1970, pp.169,170, pl.XXIII.

The panel consists of six horizontal boards, enclosed by an upright board on either side. About the middle of the left-hand board is a nearly horizontal crack. Across the lower right corner of the right-hand board is a slightly curved, more or less vertical crack, as though the corner were to be broken off. Apart from such cracks and the joints of the boards, the paint surface is excellently preserved.

A mountainous area, the full height of which cannot be discerned, slopes from right to left and towards the spectator. Some distance away, in the centre of the picture, can be seen a cloudburst with torrential rain and flashes of sulphurous lightning. A fortified city with towers and walls stands on a promontory directly underneath the densest storm-clouds. From there and from further up, cascades of water pour down the rugged, tree-covered slopes towards the spectator. All along the foreground, where the rocky formations swell to a huge size, a precipice opens and one seems to hear the roar of the foaming waters as they plunge into invisible depths at the left side of the picture. In the left lower corner the spray forms a spectrum of yellow, red, blue and green, like a small rainbow, spanning a ledge of rock on to which the raging flood has cast the bodies of a woman and her baby. Above, a man is trying to climb a tree to escape drowning. The carcass of a bull is wedged between two uprooted trees that lie across the waterfall and are just reached by the waters before the final precipice: its fate symbolizes the helplessness of all animal life amid the raging elements. Somewhat further back, almost exactly in the middle of the picture, a man who has escaped the flood

struggles desperately on to a boulder, his face upturned to heaven.

To the right of this man is a sheltered plateau, separated from the cataract by a low wall of rock and a fence of what seem to be pine-boughs with projecting branches. The spectator looks across to it over the rocky cliff in the foreground forming the far side of the ravine down which the waters are cascading; the impression is that the spectator himself is on the hither side of this ravine. The cliff is overgrown with limp-leaved bushes bearing red berries; a goat is climbing about on the rock and tugging at the foliage of an uprooted pollard willow. This goat, we suddenly realize, is the emblem of Jupiter, the 'father of gods and men', who appears on the extreme right, facing left and emerging on to the level ground from a sheltering forest. He holds the thunderbolt in his right hand extended behind him, while his left arm stretches forward and slightly to the left in a commanding gesture. His other emblem, the eagle, hovers overhead. In front of him, i.e. to the left as seen by us and slightly further away, the youthful figure of Mercury is seen in antique nudity and in a springy contrapposto: his head, wearing the petasos, is turned towards Jupiter, while his left arm with the caduceus—which can be recognized despite the smallness of the figures—rests on his hip. His right hip, which is swung forward, his strong knees and calves and his slim, winged ankles are illuminated by the storm and stand out against the dark wood behind. His only garment is a light blue cloth which encircles his neck, passes behind his shoulder, reappears where his left hand rests on his hip, covers his loins and disappears between his thighs.

To the left, beside Mercury, Philemon and Baucis kneel in a humble attitude, still grasping their sticks. Mercury is looking up at Jupiter, but his right arm

rests protectively and reassuringly on the shoulder of the aged, bearded Philemon, who gazes humbly downwards as Jupiter speaks. Baucis, the smallest figure and the furthest left, looks up past the other two at Jupiter. A large, twisted, forked tree, its top cut off by the picture's upper edge, leans protectingly over the group of figures, which are at first sight overshadowed by the storm; only on closer examination does one realize how expressively they are portrayed despite their small size. It is characteristic of Rubens's landscapes of this type that the significantly placed group of figures not only serves to reflect and comment on the natural event in all its heroic grandeur, but to enoble it with the language of antique mythology.

The picture is admirably preserved apart from some cracks, and is of extraordinary luminosity even for Rubens. There are green and brown, bright ochre tones and white spray in the flooded landscape, also red, yellow and blue, while the sky is blue-grey, sulphurous yellow and violet-pink. Above on the left a large bird (a crane?) is flying across the scene. Everything is painted in as much detail as the rich magnificence of the theme permits. It is instructive to compare the clearness and relative exactitude of the vegetation on the rock-face in the right foreground of this picture with the plants in the foreground of *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* (No.53, Fig.136), which was certainly not painted before 1635, while the present work must date from before Rubens's second encounter with Titian's work: Oldenbourg dated it c. 1620, Burchard 1626-28.

Critics have hitherto paid scant attention to the iconographical problems which this work presents. Stechow, in an article discussing the theme of Philemon and Baucis, dismissed it with the words: 'Rubens' admirable landscape with the rescue of Philemon and Baucis from the

flood (Vienna; smaller replica in the Johnson Collection, Philadelphia) is only of lesser interest in the present connection'. J. Müller Hofstede and T. Gaethgens in 1970 gave Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VII, 631 ff. as the literary source, while the verses inscribed on the Bolswert engraving, as Glück pointed out, are from *Metamorphoses* I, 240. The lines immediately relevant to the present picture are in fact *Metamorphoses* VIII, 689-697.¹ According to these lines the two old people, leaning on their sticks, follow the gods up a hill. When they are within a bow-shot of the summit they look round and see that all human habitations except their cottage are engulfed in a morass (*mersa palude*). No such morass was there before, and evidently the destruction of all human life and activity took place silently. Rubens, however, chose (there is nothing of the sort in *Comes* or *Cartari*) to substitute for a silent catastrophe the thunderstorm described in *Metamorphoses* I, 260-312, which relates the story of Deucalion and Pyrrha. He thus conflated two myths, and details of the earlier one may be noticed in this version, e.g. that the flood engulfed both men and beasts (*pecudesque virosque*).²

The figure of Mercury is reminiscent of a lost *Mercury* by Rubens, preserved only in two drawn copies, with which the representation in the Torre de la Parada is connected.³

1. '...dique sumus, meritasque luet vicini poenas
inopia dixerunt; vobis innumibus huius esse mali
dabitur; modo vestra relinquit tecta ac nostros
comitate gradus et in ardua montis ite simul! parent
ambo baculisque levati nituntur longo vestigia
ponere clivo. tantum aberant summo, quantum
semel ire sagitta missa potest: flexere oculos et mersa
palude cetera prospiciunt, tantum sua teca manere.'

2. *Met.*, I, 260-312.

3. Cf. S. Alpers, *The Decoration of the Torre de la Parada (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, IX)*, Brussels-London-New York, 1971, under No.39, figs.143-145; see also Kieser, 1933, p. 133, figs.21, 22 (the antique example for the figure of Mercury, viz. the Meleager from the Vatican).

30. **Stormy Coast Landscape**

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Count Brühl, Dresden, 18th century.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.88), Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, No.2304; panel, 30.5 × 42 cm. PROV. Helsinki, Gösta Stenman; Berlin, De Burlet, 1923; Berlin, P. Cassirer, 1923; Haarlem, F. Koenigs; The Hague, Dienst voor 's Rijks Verspreide Kunstbezit; on loan to the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. EXH. *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.61 (repr.). LIT. *Kieser*, 1931, pp.288-290 (as *Rubens*); *Herrmann*, pp.18, 19, 34, 39-41, 48, 58, 72, n.53, 83, n.139, Fig.2 (as *Rubens*); *Glück*, p.60, No.14 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting by L. Van Uden, signed and dated 1635, Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, No.4981; panel, 40 × 58 cm. PROV. Galerie at Mannheim. EXH. *Bordeaux*, 1959, No.135 (repr.). LIT. *Kieser*, 1931, pp.288-290, fig.7; *Herrmann*, pp. 39, 72, n.53, 83, n.138; *Glück*, p.60, under No.14; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 26.5 × 39 cm. PROV. St. Petersburg, Hermitage, until 1854. LIT. *Starye Gody*, 1913, p.121, No.604; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 × 64 cm. PROV. ? A. Fonson, sale, Oudenaarde, 5 September 1821, lot 164; Brussels, Piquet, sale, Brussels (Giroux), 11 May 1931, lot 162. LIT. *Herrmann*, p.72, n.53; *Glück*, p.60, under No.14; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.87), with the inscription: *En quo discordia ciues Et Coelum et Terram turbat bella horrida bella Nubibus in medijs ignis et unda gerens Ast ubi dissimiles agitat discordia mentes Plus noscitura alijs Et Sibi bella gerunt;* 291 × 428 mm. (V.S., p.233, No.53, 7); (6) Etching by P. E. Moitte (1722-1786).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.325, No.1214; *Rooses*, IV, p.371, No.1181; *Glück*, p.60, No.14; J. Oberhaidacher, *Gerard van Battem's Landschaftsradierung von 1658*, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XXX-XXXI, 1977-78, pp.222, 223.

The composition is preserved in an engraving by Schelte a Bolswert, other engravings and painted copies. According to the indication *de même grandeur* on the etching by Pierre Étienne Moitte, cf. Copy (6), reworked in drypoint and measuring 292 × 408 mm., the original, if it is correctly identified with the version in the possession of Count Brühl, must have measured about 29 × 41 cm.

From the copy in Rotterdam (Fig.88), which agrees with the various engravings, the lost original may perhaps be described with fair accuracy as follows. A cloudburst is falling on a rocky mountain coast, with flat land in the foreground. The imposing scene, with rocky mountains in the centre and right background and the sea on the left, is in twilight illuminated by flashes of lightning from behind a dark cloud. The cloud, from which heavy rain falls vertically, overshadows the sea and coast on the left, behind the flat-topped conical mountain in the centre. At the foot of the mountain, lit by a flash of lightning, is a city in a bay, with walls, towers and ships at anchor. On this side of it the sea, driven by the storm, is invading the flat country, on which the spectator looks down from a height, as in the foreground another rocky mountain overlooks the coastal plain; the highest part, on which trees are growing, is in the right corner close to the spectator's vantage-point. Immediately below, along a sunken path between crags, a peasant couple are fleeing out of the picture to the right. The woman has thrown her sea-green skirt

over her head as a protection against the wind and rain driving from behind her on the left. The man crouches as he walks and holds both hands in front of his face, pressing a stick to his side with his right arm. The couple are passing beneath a large pollard willow, the twisted trunk of which leans over the path. The forest behind is lit by a lightning flash. Sheep are grazing at its edge; the shepherd has taken refuge under a tall tree, is leaning against the trunk and supporting himself with a stick. In the flat country far below, groves of trees are already lapped by the invading sea; two churches are as yet out of danger. The clefts and chasms of the huge mountains in the background, cut off by the edge of the picture on the extreme right, are dimly and eerily illuminated by the lightning. The unexpectedly opposed planes of the high foreground on the right and the remote background, the precipitous view of the middle ground with churches, trees, the seething waters and the port beyond, the sharp contrasts of light and the sky rent by the storm—all give the work an imaginative power, visible even in the copy, which shows that the original must have been one of Rubens's finest compositions of the period 1625–28. The compact format measuring about 30×40 cm., and the sketch-like quality evident in the copy, concentrates the elements in effective contrast.

The copy in Rotterdam is so like a Rubens original in handling and coloration as to suggest strongly that it was painted from the lost original and not from an engraving. There is therefore no compelling reason to suppose that the original was larger than this excellent contemporary copy (which endeavours to reproduce a sketchily painted Rubens landscape), or than Moitte's graphic reproduction 'de même grandeur', or than the Bolswert engraving, which is of

about the same dimensions as the other two. It remains uncertain whether the copy owned by Count Brühl in Dresden and reproduced by Moitte—Copy (6)—was identical with the one now in Rotterdam—Copy (1); Fig.88. While the dimensions of the Bolswert engraving do not afford any sure evidence in themselves, their close correlation with those of the other two reproductions mentioned here makes them of some importance in determining the size of the lost original.

31. Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen (Fig.89)

Oil on panel; 113×176 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. Inv. No. 2013.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Richelieu, Paris; already in 1815 property of the Cavendish family, from whom purchased by the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum, in 1927.

COPIES: (1) Painting by L. Van Uden, Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, No.654; panel, 49×74 cm. PROV. Amsterdam, sale, 9 April 1783, lot 47, bequeathed by Count Lamberg, 1821. LIT. *Parthey*, II, p.439, No.447; *Rooses*, IV, pp.379, 380, No.1194; T. von Frimmel, *Geschichte der Wiener Gemälde-Sammlungen*, IV, Vienna, 1901, p.165; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.325; *Akademie, Wien, Cat. Eigenberger*, I, pp.353–355, No.2013; *Glück*, p.59, under No.13; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 114×175 cm. PROV. Antwerp, Sam Hartveld, before the Second World War; ? London, Art Trade, 1938. LIT. *Glück*, p.59, under No.13; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 35×50 cm. PROV. Berlin, auction house Union,

1936. LIT. *Glück*, p.59, under No.13; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 48 x 71 cm. PROV. Dortmund, Josef Cremer; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 322 x 457 mm. (V.S., p.235, No.53, 19).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1815, No.136; *Manchester*, 1857, No.544; *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.575.

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.147,148,260; *De Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, p.60; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.326, No.1217; *Waagen, Galleries*, pp.423,424; *Bürger, Manchester*, p.198; *Rooses, IV*, p.379, under No.1194; *Rooses, Galerie Richelieu*, p.139; *Dillon*, p.233; M. *Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1910, p.352; *Burchard*, 1928, pp.62-68, repr.; *Sterling*, p.184, repr.; *Herrmann*, pp.23,37, 39,41,48,58,75,n.74; *Evers*, 1942, pp.412,415, fig.233; *Glück*, pp.24,59,60, No.13; *Teyssèdre*, pp.265,266; *Held*, I, p.132, under No.88; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.163,165; *Warnke*, 1967, pp.13,14; *Cat. Berlin*, 1975, p.376, No.2013, repr.; *Kelch*, pp.99-109, repr.

An addition, about 30 cm. wide, extending to the fork of the foremost tree and including the two sportsmen on the right, was, in the Museum's opinion, painted at the same time as the rest.

A stream overarched by tall trees, its surface iridescent in the light of the setting sun, flows through a region of pasture-land, interspersed with groves of trees, towards the right lower corner of the picture. Here, on raised ground beside a small waterfall, are two men and a dog. Their attention is centred on the middle of the picture; one of the men is kneeling and has just fired his gun, probably at a fieldfare, while the dog crouches, ready to jump forward. This corner group, and still more that of the

cows and maids who fill the rest of the foreground, is extremely varied and striking on account of its intensity of coloration and the effects of light and shade which also appear in the Brabant scenery of the middle distance and background. On the left, the grey-blue clouds of a stormy shower are drifting away; from the right the warm reddish-yellow light of the setting sun filters through between the thick overlapping tree-trunks and unexpectedly illuminates the moving bodies of the cattle and dairymaids: the animals fallow, light brown, piebald white and dark brown, the maids' clothing bright red, violet, white and dark blue; their hair is blonde, their skin of a light nacreous colour. The foreground extends to the left, a clearly-defined greenish-brown expanse of land. Glancing red light can be seen all along the left bank of the stream and far into the picture, where it catches the udders and hindquarters of the cows at the far edge of the foreground, which are diminished in size and merge into the colour of the distant scene. In front, but as though enframed by the trees that arch over the stream further back, is a sturdy young woman stepping leftwards, dressed in red with a silvery sheen, violet-brown and white; she bears on her head a large wooden milk-tub and raises her arms in contrapposto to steady it with one hand on the lower edge and the other on its handle. Of the other maids, two are crouching or sitting to milk two of the eleven cows, while a third is occupied with the brass receptacles lying or standing on the ground. Under the trees are country cottages. The distant horizon is visible only on the left, where large birds appear in front of the stormy sky. At the right edge of the picture, quite close, on the far side of the stream, is a large tree with a broad fork; its rough bark is a warm brown in the evening sunshine, balancing the warm

brown tones of the cattle further left and in the lower left corner. The large expanse of ground with the cows and maids is clearly divided from the stream: the diagonal line separating the two is emphasized by the sportsman's shot and is only slightly overlapped by two cows and the girl with the milk-tub.

Burchard, who discussed this picture fully in 1928, contrasted it along with *The Farm at Laken* (No.20, Fig.63) and the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* in Munich (No.27, Fig.77), with *The Watering-Place* (No.25, Fig.71), which also belongs to the category of bucolic landscapes. In the first three pictures the cows and human figures occupy almost the entire breadth of the foreground, and dominate the background like actors close to the footlights, whereas—to continue the metaphor—the smaller figures in *The Watering-Place* are like subjects on a painted back-drop. In *The Watering-Place* the figures are subordinated to the landscape, in the other three they are coordinated with it. Burchard pointed out, with examples, that Rubens generally contrasted the two types of composition in his figure paintings a great deal more sharply. According to Burchard, coordination and subordination might be associated respectively with the example of ancient reliefs and the tradition of painting in the stricter sense; the contrast was not peculiar to Rubens, but had been of lively interest to artists ever since the Renaissance.

Detailed comments on the sources of 'motif' in Rubens's bucolic landscapes have been made by Kieser, Herrmann and Kelch. (Kieser obviously did not know the picture under discussion, since it was not yet in the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum nor was it included in the *K.d.K.* volume. For his detailed comments on Rubens's bucolic landscapes and the influence of Titian's circle, cf. Nos.20 and 27.)

In the light of these observations Burchard assigned the present work to the 1620s, 'closer, even, to 1630 than 1620'. In later years he came to the view that Rubens reworked parts of it, e.g. the maids, after his return from England in 1630. There would be an analogy with the *Flemish Kermesse* in the Louvre,¹ where the more distant landscape background belongs to the 1620s and the figures to Rubens's later period.

With the sportsman and his companion may be compared the right-hand corner with the kneeling crossbowman and, behind him, the portrait figure of the Duke in Tintoretto's *Ludovico II Gonzaga defeating the Venetians at Legnano on the Adige* in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich, which Rubens must have seen at Mantua.²

Warnke, by a somewhat modern association of ideas, suggests that the sportsman's shot symbolizes the fact that the peacefulness of Nature 'does not extend to human society'. There is no reason to think, however, that when 16th and 17th-century artists painted duck-shooters they intended a contrast to the Arcadian atmosphere of their landscapes. Cf. also what is said under No.36 about Warnke's suggestion that the *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St. Paul* in the Berlin-Dahlem Museum contains political metaphors and an allusion to the war between the Dutch and Spaniards. This arbitrary interpretation was based in part on the erroneous assumption that the picture represents the 'Shipwreck of Aeneas'. Virgil's Aeneas was in fact never shipwrecked; the error is due to the quotation in Bolswert's engraving of four lines from the *Aeneid* (III, 194–197).

The panel and layers of paint have in recent years been thoroughly examined for the first time by Jan Kelch, the dendrochronologists J. Bauch and D. Eckstein and the technical staff of the

Dahlem Gallery. It was found that the support consists of thirteen members, as shown in Kelch's diagram.³ Kelch rightly supposes that boards 1 to 4 formed an original panel supporting a somewhat enlarged version of the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* at Munich (No.27, Fig.77). The repetition measures 101.8 x 117.7 cm. as compared with the original 91.1 x 106.7 cm., while the X-ray⁴ shows the composition to be practically unaltered. This version, partly obscured by Rubens's own subsequent overpainting, followed the Munich prototype so closely that, having examined the X-ray photograph, one might have been tempted to suppose that the Berlin version was executed in about 1620, i.e. immediately after the painting at Munich. However, the dendrochronological examination in 1976 showed that the added pieces 5 to 8 came from the same oak-tree trunk as the original 1 to 4. This makes it unlikely, to say the least, that a picture which in its present form is entirely in Rubens's style of the 1630s was painted in two stages, at least ten years apart, by enlarging a second version of the polder landscape at Munich which supposedly had existed for a long time. Still more cogent is the fact that the two women painted over the bushes and pollard willows in the right-hand part of the Munich composition, and the cow standing parallel to the picture in the centre foreground, are clearly marked by cracks due to early shrinkage, which also appear in the neighbourhood of the group (below the trees by the water-side on the left, and in the slanting willow-tree opposite). Cracks of this kind are due to over-painting on layers of paint that had not yet dried out: Kelch points out that Rubens in this case painted 'wet on wet' in a manner open to objection from the technical point of view. He concludes very convincingly that the repetition of

the Munich composition, and also the final version arrived at by progressive alterations of the artist's conception, belong to the years 1635-38. The vertical gradation of colouring in the waterfall on the right is also part of the change of conception, and marks the area where a board has been added. In contrast to the thickly applied paint on the left, the glaze in this area lies directly on the priming, against the brownish tonality of which it has become transparent with the passage of time. Apart from these alterations, which are not due to ageing but to the way in which the picture was painted, it is on the whole in good condition. According to Kelch only a few retouches in the form of dots can be seen to have been made in the human and animal figures. Kelch also discusses the re-use of figures and figure-studies. See also *Introduction*, p.33.

1. *K.d.K.*, p.406.

2. See E. van der Bercken, *Jacopo Tintoretto*, Munich, 1942, pl.182.

3. See Kelch, fig.78.

4. *Ibid.*, fig.79.

32. The Afternoon (A Peasant Driving a Cart) (Fig.90)

Oil on panel; 24.5 x 34.5 cm.
Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE: Viscount Barrington, sale, London (Christie's), 9 March 1934, part of lot 2; purchased by Ludwig Burchard.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 55; *Bordeaux*, 1959, No.112 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück*, pp.35-37, 40, 65, No.26.

A painted panel, in the manner of a sketch, showing from a low point of

vision the bed of a stream running into the distance from right to left in fairly flat country. The right bank is higher than the left and is surmounted by bushes and a few trees leaning at a pronounced angle. Below, on the nearer side, a peasant on a grey horse is drawing a two-wheeled cart to the left. He wears a dark red jacket with dark breeches and a dark hat, the broad brim of which hides his face. A strip of white shirt is seen between the jacket and breeches. The cart is laden with fodder or vegetables. The sky is an evening one, with yellow and pink tints. A bird is sketchily indicated between the trees. The dark, peat-brown, sloping ground is bathed in evening light, and the man and cart seem about to be engulfed in the shadows between the banks.

As in the pendant sketch, No.33 (Fig.91) and in No.52 (Fig.135) Rubens here comes close to the Dutch manner; the two early instances date from immediately before his second major encounter with Titian's work.

Executed between 1625 and 1628, at the same time as No.33 (Fig.91)—perhaps on the same day.

33. The Evening (A Countrywoman Driving a Cart) (Fig.91)

Oil on panel; 23.5 x 34.5 cm.

Farnham, Collection of Wolfgang Burchard.

PROVENANCE: John Hunter, sale, London (Christie's), 29 January 1794, lot 35; Samuel Woodburn, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1854 *et seqq.*, lot 287; purchased by Ludwig Burchard from W. Duits, before the Second World War.

EXHIBITED: *Drei Jahrhunderte flämischer Kunst, 1400-1700*, Secession, Vienna, 1930, No.104 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück*, 1930, pp.168, 169; *Glück*, pp.35-37, 40, 65, No.25.

A small panel, sketchily painted, showing the same bed of a stream as No.32 (Fig.90). However, the point of vision is higher, the colours are more clearly opposed and the lighting presents more contrast, with the rain-cloud on the left and the golden light of the setting sun between the bushes and trees on the right. There is a clearer view of the open country to the left beyond the bed of the stream, with a hill rising in the distance. On the higher bank to the right are the same trees as in No.32, but the large leafy tree standing by itself is curved in shape instead of leaning to the right. These two companion sketches show to what extent Rubens subjected the physical features of terrain and vegetation to his formative pictorial imagination.

In the present sketch the bed of the stream widens into a pool with a sea-green surface. A two-wheeled cart laden with green fodder is advancing from left to right, fording the pool with difficulty; it is drawn by a grey horse on which a peasant woman in a bright red jacket is seated sideways, her legs towards the spectator. Her right arm is raised sideways as though in greeting or using the whip. The diagonal line of clouds, upper left, matches the majestic line formed by the tops of the trees and bushes; the curve of the woman's arms is in harmony with that of the trees.

Executed between 1625 and 1628, at the same time as No.32 (Fig.90), perhaps on the same day.

34. The Deluge (A Tempest at Night) (Fig.92)

Oil on panel; 39 x 69 cm.

Cologne, Collection of Gottfried Neuerburg.

PROVENANCE: Probably identical with the painting *Een weerlichtken van Rubbens*, no. 531, which in 1653 was listed in the goods inventory of Jeremias Wildens (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 166, No. 531).

COPY: ? Jeremias Wildens, *Een weerlichtken naer Rubbens* (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 157, No. 135).

EXHIBITED: *Drei Jahrhunderte flämischer Kunst, 1400-1700*, Secession, Vienna, 1930, No. 13 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Glück*, 1930, p. 169, pl. 97; *Glück*, pp. 27, 61, No. 17; *Stechow, Dutch Landscape Painting*, p. 179, n. 27.

A mountainous nocturnal landscape is seen in ghostly illumination under wracks of cloud pierced by lurid flashes of lightning and discharging showers of rain; eerie, half-defined patterns of individuals and trees make up the foreground. This is framed in semicircular fashion by large rock-formations on the left, decreasing in height towards the centre, and on the right by leafy trees at the edge of a grove; these are lashed by the storm-wind sweeping from left to right. A low rock in the centre foreground acts as a repoussoir for a river-valley and, behind it, a craggy mountain somewhat left of centre. The rock in the middle, smaller boulders to the left of it and the trees to the right are washed by the storm-driven waves, which advance towards the spectator from left to right and are cut off by the picture's lower edge as they cascade into further rocky depths. Trees growing on the slope to the left have been broken in two by the hurricane, and the gaping wounds in their trunks show brick-red and lacquered in the light of the storm. The truncated branches loom amid the darkness like arms raised in despair. Around the trunks we see human beings lit by the same red glow as they run up the slope to

escape the deluge and stretch out their arms to grasp at ledges of rock or the boughs of trees. One of these forms lies over a boulder as if broken in two, a victim of the waters or of a lightning-stroke. The writhing tree-trunks and human beings can scarcely be distinguished from one another.

In all planes of the picture, mixtures of dark green and light brown are used to produce warm, subdued tones of seaweed-green with touches of light brown, red, yellow and white. Down in the valley are leafy trees, bushes and a river flowing beyond. Red light fills the hollow like a dammed-up fluid, and distant bushes and tree-tops stand out vividly against it. A bridge of masonry, forming an obtuse angle, spans the river in the distance and leads to a village on the further bank; the Gothic spire of its church gleams in the stormy light. Behind the village the gentle lower slopes of the mountain are covered with trees, while, further up, two tremendous crags rise almost vertically; the lightning shows them up in a light brown and reddish hue, they are darkened in part by cloud-shadows and enveloped in torrential rain. Besides the reddish-yellow of the lightning and the dark brown and grey-black of the shadows, a warm light brown and the seaweedy green tones play an important part in the picture.

Burchard dated this work between 1620 and 1630; it was probably painted before Rubens's second visit to Spain and his second encounter with Titian's work. The rather old-fashioned form of composition with a vista framed by a foreground coulisse, the absence of impasto and the coloration all point to a date in the 1620s. A similar composition in reverse direction is seen in *A View of the Escorial*, going back to a study from nature made in Spain in 1628 or 1629 and best preserved in a version at Longford Castle (No. 38, Fig. 107).

35. Landscape with St. George
(Fig.93)

Oil on canvas; 153 x 226 cm.
London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection. Inv. No. 105.

PROVENANCE: Painted by Rubens in London 1629-30 and brought by him to Antwerp, 1630; returned to England, 1634, probably by Endymion Porter from whom the painting was purchased by King Charles I; Duc de Richelieu, Paris; Duc d'Orléans, Paris; W. Morland, London; purchased from the latter for the Royal Collection in 1814.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Paris, Galerie Alexander; canvas, 168 x 238 cm. PROV. ? Aguado, marquis de las Marismas, sale, Paris, 20-28 March 1843, lot 375; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 166.5 x 211 cm. PROV. Earl of Lincoln, sale, London (Christie's), 1 June 1937, lot 91. LIT. *Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting*, p.163; *Rooses*, II, p.270, under No.435; (3) Painting by ? David II Teniers, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Johann Anton de Peters (1725-1795). LIT. *Rooses*, II, p.270, under No.435; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Laren, Van Valkenburgh, 1927; (5) Engraving by J. Duplessi-Bertaux (1747-1818) and J.-B. Liénard (1750-after 1806) (*V.S.*, p.101, No.62); (6) Engraving by J.-C. le Vasseur (1734-1816) (R. Portalis and H. Berald, *Les graveurs du dix-huitième siècle*, Paris, 1880-82, p.695).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1820, No.98; *London*, 1826, No.1; *London*, 1827, No.26; *London*, 1938, No.72; *London*, 1946-47, No.288; *London*, 1953-54, No.191; *L'Art flamand dans les collections britanniques*, Groeningemuseum, Bruges, 1956, No.68; *The Age of Charles I*, Tate Gallery, London, 1972-73, No.84 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.164-170, 258, 259, 297, 298; *De Piles, Cabinet Richelieu*, pp.110-115, 123; *De Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, pp.25, 58-60; *Descamps, Vie*, I, p.314; *Walpole, Anecdotes of Painting*, p.163; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.162, 163, No.563; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, I, pp.174, 518 (7); *Mariette*, V, p.100; *Waagen, Treasures*, II, pp.3, 502; *Blanc, Trésor*, II, p.150; *Ruelens, de Piles*, pp.157-162; *Rooses*, II, pp.269, 270, No.435; *Rooses, Galerie Richelieu*, pp.138-148; *Dillon*, pp.156, 219, pl.CCCXXII; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.59; *Sterling*, pp.181, 183; *Herrmann*, pp.31, 32, 36-38, 40, 41, 43, 45, 50, 51, 54, 57, 80, n.124, 84, n.147; *Evers*, 1942, p.299; E. Croft-Murray, *The Landscape Background in Rubens's St. George and the Dragon*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXIX, 1947, pp.89-93; *Norris*, 1951, p.8, n.13; *Bjurström*, pp.27-43; *Teyssèdre*, pp.244, 271-273, 293; *Held*, I, pp.117, 118, under Nos.53 recto and verso, 54; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.227, 228, under Nos.145, 146; *Millar, Landscapes*, pp.631, 632, 635, figs.40, 44; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.46, 87, n.248, figs.323, 324.

The saint, whose features are those of Charles I of England, stands erect in the centre of the picture, in plate armour but bare-headed. His right foot rests on the head of the dragon, which he has struck down but not yet killed. He is seen from the left, his head slightly turned away. Facing him, and thus in half-profile, is the Princess of Silcha with the features of Queen Henrietta Maria. The saint is handing her the free end of her girdle, with which he has tied the monster by the neck; she is to lead it into a city, presenting features of London, which lies beyond the twilit river in the distance under an agitated evening sky. In the foreground are corpses and other

remains of people devoured by the dragon. On the right is a man in armour on a grey horse, wearing a plumed cap and carrying an English banner, and a bare-headed youth holding the hero's horse, which is shying at the monster. Above on the right, among rocks and trees growing over the dragon's cave, is a group of excited spectators. Kneeling or crouching on the left are two young women with children and two old women, expressing their relief and gratitude in various ways. Behind the princess is a lamb, its head meekly bowed, while her three maids clasp one another in joy and terror. Two cherubs issue from the clouds on a beam of light, bearing a wreath of flowers for the princess and a laurel wreath for the saint. Their rosy bodies correspond to those of the two human children in the foreground, and they form the apex of the figural composition which extends right across the lower edge of the picture into the distance. The dim light which prevails in the rich scenery of the foreground and the river landscape below is relieved by the light colour of the horse, two human figures, the shimmering surface of the water, the cherubs and the bright sky; these features combine with those of space and colour to enhance the thrust into depth. The trees standing alone and caught by rays of light powerfully reinforce the attitude of the old woman raising her arms and throwing back her head to express relief. On the left, night is already falling, and the old woman clasping her hands to her breast in profound gratitude is half-merged in shadow.

Boats full of people float past the city, and the river reflects a fire blazing on the shore. Another fire is burning at the edge of the forest in the centre of the picture, also on the far side of the river: its reflection glows amid the dark image of the trees, directly above the princess's

head. She wears a purple dress, and St George's scarf is purple also. The steel-blue colour of his armour is repeated in the first waiting-woman's dress; the second woman's gown is a bright golden yellow, that of the third is almost black.

The sky is a bright blue with grey clouds and light cocoa-brown, yellow and orange tones; its reflection in the water is blue-green. The horizon is partly blue, partly blue-green like the distant hills. The woods beyond the river and the bushes and trees are mostly deep green with white and yellow lights. The leaves of the two trees on the left are a cool silvery green, as though turned over by the breeze. In general the admixture of brown is stronger in the foreground. Orange light plays an important part, and is reflected in the water from the distant sky. On the right, behind the saint, two cows can be seen in a meadow. The one lying down is in bright red light, as is the bush above her. Touches of colour like the fires and their reflection, or the cool green of the tree-tops on the left, derive increased significance from the contrasting light effects. The grandiose colour scheme is a product of Rubens's later journeys and renewed acquaintance with Titian's work: the picture is animated by the contrast between the cool silvery green of the tree-tops, already noticed, and the deep, warm, Titianesque tones of the figures and the rest of the landscape. Dating from 1629 or 1630, the picture shows clearly the difference in Rubens's style between the third and fourth decades of the century. For the lighting and other effects it should be compared with the *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* in the Louvre (No.40, Fig.114), which was certainly painted soon after.

Croft-Murray pointed out in 1947 in his admirably-illustrated essay, with the aid of Hollar engravings, that the city in the picture contains features of London

such as St Mary Overy's church (Southwark Cathedral), the Banqueting House, Westminster Abbey (before Hawksmoor's west towers were added) and a reminiscence of the Temple church; the medieval bastions on the river's edge further to the right are a version of Lambeth Palace. He observes that such aspects of the river valley extending from the left foreground to the right background are probably Rubens's only interpretations of English landscape.

The composition of the landscape with the trees growing on a steep rock to the right, where the chorus of spectators are perched, may be based on one of Polidoro da Caravaggio's church landscapes in San Silvestro al Quirinale, viz. the *Landscape with a Scene from the Life of St Mary Magdalene* (Fig.95). Jaffé suggests two models for these spectators. In his opinion the group of peasants on the wooded bank in the *Landscape with St George* reflects Pieter Bruegel's *Sermon of John the Baptist* (1566; Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts)¹ as much as Polidoro da Caravaggio's *Procession to Calvary* (Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte).²

On the basis of the latest investigations Sir Oliver Millar describes the present support as consisting of eight pieces of canvas, of which the lowest strip—about 8.9 cm. wide, right across the picture, certainly added on and painted much later—is not relevant to a judgement of Rubens's work. The central piece, bearing the original composition, is cut in a roughly rectangular shape and measures c. 95.2–96.5 x 146 cm. To the right of it was added a strip 67.3 cm. in width, and then strips at the top and bottom, 20.3 and 24.7 cm. wide respectively; according to Millar these two strips each consist of two pieces of canvas. After this an important additional strip, 26.7 cm. wide, was added at the left. Finally, much later, the

bottom strip referred to above was added.³ Millar thinks that the central piece of canvas with the original composition was for some time on a wedged stretcher. If he is right, and if this picture is really 'the great St George' referred to by Van der Doort as being in Charles I's collection, the enlargement would have taken place between Rubens's departure from London at the beginning of March 1630 and the return of Endymion Porter (from whom Charles I bought the picture, according to Van der Doort) from a diplomatic mission to the Spanish Netherlands. Millar also pointed out that the additions in question are all painted on canvas of the same type and period. The X-ray, on the other hand (Fig.94), shows that the pieces of canvas added in Rubens's studio on the right and below are differently primed from the others and may, Millar thinks, have been previously used as supports for another picture. In the original composition, beside the two trees to the left of the main group there was a young woman with a small naked child clinging to her feet for protection; these two figures were painted out when the composition was enlarged and altered.

In 1955 Per Bjurström dealt at length with the question of the enlargement and that of an original compositional sketch, to which Sir Oliver Millar has recently reverted. Bjurström referred to two sheets of drawings in which Rubens evidently sketched the early composition executed in England in 1629–30, some painted-out portions of which can still be clearly seen on the original canvas. One of these drawings, which also date from 1629–30, is on a sheet in the National Museum in Stockholm, (cf. No.35a, Figs.98,99), the upper part of which comprises a pen and ink sketch for the altarpiece painted by Rubens in 1628 for the Augustinians' church at

CATALOGUE NO. 35

Antwerp—the last monumental work he carried out before starting on his diplomatic journey to Madrid on 12 August. The sketch for the St George landscape, with which we are concerned here, was undoubtedly done in England. Rubens must therefore have taken the drawing for the altarpiece to England with him, and perhaps even to Madrid as well, since he only spent a few days in Antwerp in May 1629 between his Spanish and English journeys. The other drawing, in the Berlin Print Room (cf. No.35b, Fig.100), shows the man with the banner on horseback and two studies for the youth holding St George's horse, also studies for the group of spectators in the upper right corner of the picture.

Ludwig Burchard pointed out another model that may have inspired Rubens at both stages, viz. Lucas van Leyden's engraving of *St George Delivering the Princess* (Fig.96). For the angle of the horse's head seen from behind at the right edge of the picture, cf. also Rubens's early drawn copy of a woodcut by Hans Weiditz (Petrarca, *Von der Artzney beyder Glück*, Augsburg, 1539), where there is a similar horse at the left border (Fig.97).

The picture of St George in the Royal Collection is first mentioned in a letter from Joseph Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville, dated (in another hand) 6 March 1629 and reading as follows:

Sir, . . .

My Lo: of Carlisle hath twise in one week most magnificently feasted the Spanish Ambassador & Monsr. Rubens also the Agent who prepared the way for his coming; who in honour of England & of our nation from whom he hath received so many courtesies, hath drawn with his pensill the History of St George; wherein, if it be possible, he hath exceeded himself: but the picture he

has sent home into Flanders, To remain there as a monument of his abode and employment here . . .
(Cambridge)

Christ Coll.
March 6

Yours most ready to be
Commanded Joseph
Mead

Bjurström inferred from this, and from the words 'hath drawn with his pensill', that Mead was perhaps acquainted only with a sketch of a first version in which St George was not depicted standing before the princess and with the features of Charles I: for otherwise Mead would have mentioned the compliment to Charles and not merely have said that Rubens had painted the picture 'in honour of England & of our nation'. Mead's letter is dated 6 March 1630, when Rubens had just left England. Rubens may therefore have begun the picture shortly before he left and sent it to Antwerp in an unfinished state. Finally Bjurström pointed out that the honours Rubens received from Charles I shortly before leaving England may have prompted him to include the King and his consort in the picture. On 3 March, just before his departure, Rubens was received in audience and knighted by the King, who presented him with the sword he had used for the accolade, together with a diamond ring and a bejewelled hat-band. The inclusion of Charles in the picture made it a political allegory celebrating the peace treaty which Rubens had helped to conclude and which had brought him a knighthood. In addition, Bjurström observes, the King is portrayed as a Knight of the Garter: 'Over his left shoulder is the dark blue ribbon which he himself added to the symbols of this Order; the purpose of the ribbon being to stress the King's position as the chief representative of the English nobility—

the exalted company into which Rubens was now received'.⁴

Finally Bjurström suggests the reason which may have caused Rubens, after all, not to send the finished picture to Charles I as a present but to sell it in 1634 to Endymion Porter, from whom it finally reached the King's hands: '... Rubens' wish to appear as a donor may have cooled a little in view of all the troubles the Whitehall painting had caused.' The question whether Bjurström is right in supposing that Van der Doort was mistaken in saying in his catalogue that Charles I had bought the picture is here left open; the fact is that Porter made a present of it to the King.

I do not agree with Sir Oliver Millar in holding that the old (peripheral and partly close-up) additions are not Rubens's own work.

1. See F. Grossmann, *Pieter Bruegel. Complete Edition of the Paintings*, London, 1974, pl.126.
2. See A. Marabottini, *Polidoro da Caravaggio*, II, Rome, 1969, pl. XLIII.
3. In Millar, *Landscapes*, fig.40, the indifferent execution of this portion can clearly be seen.
4. Bjurström, p.38.

35a. Studies for a *Madonna* and for a *Landscape with St. George*: Drawing (Figs.98,99)

Pen in brown, partially washed; 561 x 412 mm.

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum. Inv. No. 1966/1863.

PROVENANCE: Count C. G. Tessin (Stockholm, 1695-1770); in the royal collection of Sweden since 1773.

EXHIBITED: Brussels, 1938-39, No.14; Rotterdam, 1939, No.38; Helsinki, 1952-53, No.26; *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, 1953, No.102; London, 1953-54, No.191; Antwerp, 1956, No.108; New York-

Boston-Chicago, 1969, No.55; Brussels, 1971, No.74; Antwerp, 1977, No.159 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Lugt, Notes sur Rubens*, pp.199-202; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.53, No.172, repr.; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.83 (as not by Rubens); Bjurström, pp.27-42; Grossmann, 1955, pp.335-338; Held, I, p.117, No.53; II, pls.58,60; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp.225-227, No.145; II, pl.145; B. Magnusson, *Rubens som tecknare*, in *Rubens i Sverige*, Stockholm, 1977, pp.107-111, Figs.83-86.

This is the verso of a drawing, the recto of which shows a preliminary sketch for the *Madonna with Saints* executed by Rubens in 1628 for the high altar of the Augustinian church at Antwerp. The verso is clearly divided into two halves: only the lower half concerns us here, the upper being a further detail study for the *Madonna with Saints*.

The sketch for the *St George* in the Royal Collection comprises three of the most important figures in that work as we have it today, together with a female figure which was painted out and can now only be seen under X-ray. The young woman on her knees and with outstretched arms appears in the Stockholm sketch as in the picture, but the horseman does not face her so directly in the drawing as in the finished work. Just to the right of centre in the pen and ink sketch we see the princess, her gown ending in a train carried by a small putto; this was replaced in the picture by a lamb. Close to the princess and more or less facing her is the horseman with the banner, who in the picture appears in the right foreground. Bjurström is certainly right in believing that in the original design this horseman was St George himself: the saint is often shown as a knight with a banner, and the horseman

in the sketch wears a scarf over his armour like St George (=Charles I) in the painting. The scarf is a token of rank and honour, and the horseman no longer wears it in the painting, where he has been demoted to standard-bearer and appears at the right-hand edge. The woman left of centre in the Stockholm sketch has been painted out of the lower portion of the picture, near the two trees; in the Royal Collection painting she still has with her a very small naked child, which clings to her, terrified by the dragon.

35b. Studies for a Landscape with St. George: Drawing (Fig. 100)

Black and white chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash; sheet consisting of two fragments, joined along a vertical line; 348 x 496 mm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room. Inv. No. 3997.

PROVENANCE: Purchased in 1892.

LITERATURE: Michel, p.429, pl.XXIV; L. Hourticq, *Rubens*, Paris, 1924, p.180 (repr.); Rosenberg, 1928, p.62, repr.; Bock-Rosenberg, p.252, No.3997, pl.183; E. Croft-Murray, *The Landscape Background in Rubens's St. George and the Dragon*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXIX, 1947, p.93; Bjurström, pp.27-43, pl.6; Held, I, pp.117, 118, No.54; II, pl.61; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, I, pp.227-230, No.146; II, pl.146; Martin, *Flemish School*, p.119, n.9; Mielke-Winner, pp.96-100, No.35, repr.

Rubens seems to have paid particular attention here to the figure of the shying horse. According to Bjurström it is shying at the dragon, not at the bodies of its victims as in the present picture: he believes that the dragon was originally in

the foreground where the bodies now are, and that the rider on the traditional white horse was St George himself. The present figure of the saint (Charles I) was, on this view, added later, and the dragon transferred to its present place. A trace of the 'old' dragon's muzzle can even be seen, Bjurström believes, at the lower edge of the picture, by the two children's feet, where Rubens has turned it into a fold in the ground. In addition to the iconographical arguments—the scarf worn by the rider in the drawing, the white horse traditionally ridden by St George, the equally traditional banner, the women's grateful attitude directed at the rider on the white horse, and the latter's 'heroic attitude'—Bjurström also points out that without the St George now standing before the princess, the number of riders is equal to that of the horses.

The verso of this sheet shows studies of four heads of children for *War and Peace*, painted at about the same time as the *Landscape with St. George*, and now in the National Gallery, London.

36. Landscape with the Shipwreck of St. Paul (Fig. 101)

Oil on canvas; 61 x 99 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. No. 776 E.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Richelieu; Lady Stuart, sale, London, 1841; Henry Thomas Hope; Lord Francis Pelham Clinton Hope; presented to the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museums-Verein, 1899, by Alfred Beit, London.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. sale, London (Christie's), 4 May 1925, lot 115. LIT. *Glück*, p.60, under No.15; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 62 x 103 cm. PROV.

sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 12 December 1925, lot 73 (repr.); Stoltz, sale, Frankfurt/Main (Bangel), 29 March 1927, lot 307 (repr.). LIT. *Glück*, p.60, under No.15; (3) Painting of a part of the painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 56 x 70.5 cm. PROV. Munich, Lodi; (4) Drawing, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale; 185 x 265 mm. LIT. *Herrmann*, pp.31, 80, n.120; *Glück*, p.60, under No.15; *Adler, Wildens*, pp.51, 88, 89, n.265, fig.215; (5) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.102); 454 x 639 mm. (V.S., p.231, No. 52, 5).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1844, No.26; South Kensington Museum, London, 1891-1897, No.36; *Paris*, 1936, No.71.

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.147, 149; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.325, 326, No.1215; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, II, p.137; *Mariette*, V, p.140; *Waagen, Treasures*, II, p.114; *Rooses*, IV, pp.361, 362, No.1169; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.320, 321; *Bode*, 1904, pp.106, 107 (repr.); K.d.K., ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.215, 477; *Dillon*, pp.120, 182, 183, pl. CCXXX; M. *Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V, 1900, p.172; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.59, fig.25; K.d.K., p.355; *Vitzthum*, p.282; *Winkler*, 1924, p.133; *Kieser, Rubens-landschaft*, pp.27, 28, 43, n.7; *Sterling*, pp.183, 187, 192, 193, 195, 198, 200, 201 (repr.), 204; *Burchard*, 1928, p.64; *Kieser*, 1931, p.290; *Cat. Berlin*, 1931, p.410, No.776 E; *Drost, Elsheimer*, p.185; *Hermann*, 1933, pp.244, 245, pl. V; *Hermann*, pp. 26, 31, 36, 42, 55, 78, nn.98, 99, 80, nn.119, 120, 121, 81, n.129, 83, n.145; *Cornette*, pp.728, 730, fig.420; *Kieser*, 1941-42, pp.315, 316; *Evers*, 1942, pp.401, 415, n.420; *Glück*, pp.25, 26, 60, No.15; *Van Puyvelde*, p.199; *Thiéry*, pp.95, 96; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.107; *Teyssèdre*, p.267; *Cat. Berlin*, 1975, p.370, No.776 E (repr.); *Jaffé*, 1977, pp.54, 78, pl.149; H. *Vlieghe*,

Rubens and Italy, The Burlington Magazine, CXX, 1978, p.471; *Kelch*, pp.38-42, repr; *Alder, Wildens*, p.88, n.264.

Between the darkness of night and a departing storm on the left and the first light of dawn on the right, the eye falls from an elevated point on a rocky peninsula projecting into the raging sea. The rocky mass, left of centre, rises higher and higher towards the left; at its top is a lighthouse with a blazing beacon. On the other side the rock drops down to the foaming, phosphorescent sea below; the sheer descent is broken only by a single ledge. The waves are dashing the broken hull of a ship against the rocks in the foreground, and survivors are clambering up to the right from the left lower corner. In the right foreground, where it is still dark, some men are gathered around a fire beneath a tall tree which leans away from the spectator. One of them, who has crawled up from the left, is throwing a shiny, curved object into the fire, while the gestures of his companions express fear and amazement. This, as was pointed out in *Evers*, 1942, identifies the subject as St Paul's shipwreck at Malta (*Acts* 27, 39-44, and 28, 1-6). From the foreground a footbridge leads over a ravine to the rocky peninsula, whose right-hand slope, falling more gently towards a distant bay, is lit by the rising sun. On the slope are castles and citadels, while a villa can be seen on the adjoining land to the right; behind the distant harbour fortifications are the masts of ships at anchor. The morning sky is spanned by a rainbow, and a large white sea-bird is flying from the darkness of the departing storm towards the light that is pouring in from the right. A good deal of dark brown priming shows in the canvas, which is said to have been damaged by heat in the Second World War. Brown and green tones play an

important part, also light yellowish-green in the vegetation. There is yellow and brick-red in the sky to the right; the distant waves below it are sea-green. A glowing reddish-brown predominates in the right foreground, where the tall tree has light-brown, yellowish and pink-brown accents. The figure on the extreme right is putting on a sea-green garment. Almost everywhere in the landscape are touches of whitish-yellow, white, yellow, raspberry-pink and light ochre-brown.

This picture has been traditionally called *Landscape with the Shipwreck of Aeneas*, a title still used in *Cat. Berlin*, 1975. This mistake, which ignores the evidence of the figures in the composition, is no doubt due to the inscription, below Schelte a Bolswert's engraving, of four lines from the *Aeneid* (III, 194–197):

Tum mihi caeruleus supra caput
adstitit imber noctem hiememque
ferens et inhorruit unda tenebris.
continuo venti volvont mare mag-
naque surgunt aequora, dispersi
iactamur gurgite vasto. (Fig.102).

Evers, however, and Burchard in his notes, already suggested that the real subject was the shipwreck of St Paul. The man on his hands and knees, below right, seems to be throwing a snake into the fire, while the others express astonishment: cf. the story in *Acts* 28, 3–6. Van Puyvelde in 1952 rejected Evers's suggestion without giving any reason for doing so; for my own part, I have emphasized that it was correct. Before 1898 Jacob Burckhardt wrote that Rubens 'took from the third book of the *Aeneid* the theme of Aeneas' shipwreck on the Strophades (picture in the Hope Gallery, London, and an engraving that apparently corresponds to it)'; in this he was evidently following *Waagen, Treasures*: 'The Shipwreck of Aeneas on

the Strophades, from the third book of the *Aeneid*'. But the passage in Virgil does not describe a shipwreck, merely a three days' storm during which even the steersman Palinurus could not tell whether it was day or night. After the storm Aeneas landed on the Strophades, where he encountered the Harpies.

In the first book of the *Aeneid*, Virgil describes a storm, brought about by Juno, which brings Aeneas' fleet into great danger (verses 134–156) but is quelled by Neptune (verse 135: 'quos ego—! sed motos praestat componere fluctus'). Aeneas' ship is not wrecked, and those of his companions which ran aground on shoals and sandbanks are refloated by Cymothoe and Triton with the help of Neptune, who has driven away the clouds and brought back the sun (verses 142–147). Under a clear sky (verse 155) the fleet sails on to Libya, where it puts into a sheltered bay (verses 159–161) surrounded by shady woods; here there is a cavern containing fresh springs, where the ships can rest without needing to cast anchor (verses 157–179). Shortly afterwards, when the fugitives reach the temple of Juno at Carthage, it turns out (verses 509–519) that the only lost ship is that of Orontes, which Aeneas saw engulfed in the open sea (verses 113–117). Aeneas himself was not shipwrecked at any time.

Possible models for this picture are Adam Elsheimer's *Shipwreck of St Paul* in the National Gallery, London (Fig.103),¹ and an engraved *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul* by Hendrik Hondius the Elder after Gillis Mostaert (Fig.104).² Unlike Elsheimer's painting, Rubens's is dominated by the majesty of turbulent Nature; the ostensible religious theme is relegated to a corner of the foreground, where it is almost lost in the surrounding darkness.

Roger de Piles, who saw the picture in

the collection of the Duc de Richelieu in Paris, identified the landscape with a scene at Porto Venere near La Spezia in the province of Genoa; he wrote: 'Les deux autres sont d'un goust singulier; ils ont esté faits l'un en Italie, & represente la veue d'un fanal situé sur une montagne auprés de Porto-Venere'. Herbert Herrmann in 1936 compared the painting with an illustration of Porto Venere but found no resemblance; on the other hand he pointed out that Rubens's peninsula is strongly reminiscent of the Rock of Gibraltar. In both cases there is the sheer drop on one side, a gentler slope and level ground on the other, and a harbour in a bay. Herrmann, who believed the drawn copy in Brussels—Copy (4)—to be by Rubens's own hand, inferred that the artist had visited Gibraltar; he also drew attention to possible Spanish models for the lighthouse. It remains uncertain, however, whether the resemblance necessarily means that Rubens must have visited the south of Spain. The topographical question cannot be pursued further here, but it appears, for instance, that Herrmann may have been too hasty in rejecting Porto Venere on the basis of the illustration adduced by him.

In connection with this and other Rubens landscapes Martin Warnke offered interpretations of the kind that are certainly justified with a work like the *Allegory of War* in the Palazzo Pitti.³ Warnke suggested that the ship, which he took to be that of Aeneas, represented the ship of state; the storm signified war, the lighthouse the hope of peace, and so on. Wolfgang Schulz in *Cat. Berlin*, 1975 repeated these suggestions and pointed out that Aeneas figured in Roman tradition as pre-eminently the champion of peace; rejecting the evidence of Evers and Burchard, he insisted that the picture represented the shipwreck of Aeneas, and saw in it allusions

to the war between the Dutch and Spaniards.

Burchard believed that the picture was painted in 1628–29 and consequently in Spain. He too may have supposed that Rubens visited the south of Spain, thus explaining the resemblance to Gibraltar.

I believe that the abrupt, rather old-fashioned composition as compared e.g. with *Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No.28, Fig.84), and the bifurcated perspective with the shattered wreck in the lower left corner, point to a dating around the early 1620s. The way in which Rubens, during his second visit to Spain, depicted from a high viewpoint a topographical scene comparable to that of Gibraltar is illustrated by the *View of the Escorial* (No.38, Figs.107–110), which, with its long curves and rhythmic slopes, is much freer and more richly varied than the present work, despite its firm compositional structure.

1. No.3535; oil on copper, 17.5 x 23 cm.

2. Hollstein, XIV, p.91, No.18 (there wrongly dated 1508); cf. also H. G. Franz, *Niederländische Landschaftsmalerei im Zeitalter des Manierismus*, Graz, 1969, II, pl.334.

3. K.d.K., pp.428,471,472.

37. Spanish Landscape with a Goatherd

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? Estate of Canon Philip Happaert, 1686 ('Item eene schilderye, lantschap, Spaens gesicht, van myn Heer Rubbens'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.334); ? Didot, sale, Paris, 6 April 1825, lot 69.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig.106), Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection, No.666; panel, 39.5 x 59 cm. PROV. sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 30 November 1909, lot 44; Munich, Julius Böhler, 1912, where

purchased for the Johnson Collection. LIT. *Cat. Johnson Coll.*, 1913, No.666; *Cat. Johnson Coll.*, 1972, No.666 (repr.); *Valentiner, Aus der niederländischen Kunst*, pp.169,170, Fig.10; *Kieser, 1931*, pp.287,288; *Herrmann*, pp.31,35,80, nn.122,123; *Evers, 1943*, pp.322,323; *Glück*, pp.27,60,61, under No. 16 (repr.); *Goris-Held*, p.41, No.92, pl.92; *Van Puyvelde*, p.118; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.618, under No.452, pl. 472; (2) Painting, Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum, Inv. No. GK 824; panel, 40 x 54 cm. LIT. *Parthey, I*, p.439, No. 446; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.618, under No.452, pl. 473; (3) Painting by L. Van Uden and David II Teniers, Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie, No.1138; panel, 51.5 x 73 cm. PROV. first mentioned in the collection of the Saxonian electors, in 1722; (4) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.105); 318 x 447 mm. (V.S., p.233, No.56, 6).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.323, No.1209; *Rooses*, IV, p.370, No.1180; *Herrmann*, pp.31, 34, 35, 80-82, nn.122,123,129; *Glück*, pp.27,60,61, under No.16; *Held, Oil Sketches*, p.618, No.452.

The Bolswert engraving (Fig.105) shows in reverse the valley of the Manzanares flowing towards Madrid. The tree-lined river winds out to the left from behind a heavily wooded hill in the distance, and disappears not long afterwards beyond the left edge of the picture. On the broad hillside are buildings resembling villas and castles, and around them a wide area of the lonely-looking country is surrounded by a wall. The ground is riven by deep rocky clefts and canyons, and the tops of trees growing in these crevices are seen above the surface. The mountains of Castile rise in the background. The panorama, seen from a high viewpoint, is surmounted by a large

expansive of cloudy sky. In addition there is a large cloud bank below, near the mountain-peaks in the background, and detached round clouds extend diagonally leftward into the foreground, leading the eye into the distance. On the nearer part of the hill, goats are grazing at the edge of a rocky slope. Far below, on the left, a flock of sheep with two shepherds, one mounted, is moving from the foot of the hill to the lowest part of the valley, where there is a row of tall poplars; their regular shadows fall to the right, as do those of the trees and bushes higher up. The time seems to be evening. The Castilian mountain landscape with its austere grandeur impressively dominates the scene despite the Baroque treatment typical of Rubens.

The above-mentioned Copies (1) and (2) show in the right foreground a goat-herd in a bright red jacket, sitting thoughtfully at the foot of a tall tree.

Copy (1), now in Philadelphia (Fig.106), is painted in the manner of a small, sketch-like Rubens landscape. The engraving by Schelte a Bolswert—Copy (4); Fig.105—however, seems to have been made after a larger model, and does not show the tree and goatherd. Perhaps Rubens made a sketch in oils and a larger version. The inventory made at the death of Jan Philipp Happaert, canon of Antwerp cathedral, included a picture described as 'Item eene schilderye, lantschap, Spaens gesicht, van myn Heer Rubbens'.¹

Evers in 1943, discussing Rubens's early self-portrait with his companion at Mantua (now in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum at Cologne), observed that the present Spanish landscape is the second instance of Rubens painting a landscape visible from his own window. In his opinion it showed the valley of the Manzanares below the royal palace (Alcázar) of Madrid, looking northwest, 'a view which Rubens might well

have seen from his window when living in Madrid'. Evers supported this with an illustration of part of a town plan of Madrid dating between 1613 and 1630. Madrid, the only important city of its time without walls, was known as 'the biggest village in the world'. The last houses adjoined the rugged plateau without any transition, and the palace was at the north-western edge of the city overlooking the river, whose course today still divides at the Puente del Rey. According to Evers the coloured reproduction of the copy in Philadelphia (Fig.106) in Glück's work wrongly shows the river bending off to the right before this bridge, as though it was a weir. The version at Darmstadt and the Bolswert engraving show the course of the river correctly. The wall around the grounds of the Capuchin monastery can be clearly recognized in all surviving copies and in the plan of the city. The church and monastery are on the actual eminence. The fact that Rubens does not show the large four-winged Puerta del Cardenal Don Bernardino Rojas is accounted for by Evers on the ground that it either did not yet exist or was hidden by the mountain spur. Rubens shows very clearly the boundary of the monastery grounds by the river's edge with the two square watch-towers. Today there is a barracks where the monastery formerly stood.

In general Evers's identification of the place seems to be correct. The view on which the picture is based was no doubt seen by Rubens in Spain in 1628-29.

Emil Kieser was the first to point out that the same landscape appears in the copy, in the Uffizi in Florence, after the lost equestrian portrait of Philip IV.² The ground on which the king's charger stands is therefore the courtyard or garden of the royal palace.

1. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.334.

2. See F. Huemer, *Portraits*, I (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, XIX). pp.150-154, No.30, figs.90-92.

38. A View of the Escorial

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPIES: (1) Painting by P. Verhulst (Fig.107); Longford Castle, the Earl of Radnor; canvas, 155 x 254 cm. PROV. first mentioned by Rubens, in his letter to Balthasar Gerbier, 15 March 1640 (*Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp.257,258); Richard Cosway, sale, London (Christie's), 2-3 March 1792, lot 54; purchased there by the then Earl of Radnor. EXH. *Winter Exhibition*, Royal Academy, London, 1903-1904, No.66. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.319, under No.1195; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, II, p.268; Waagen, *Treasures*, III, p.141; Herrmann, 1933, pp.237-246, repr.; Glück, p.26; (2) Painting (Fig.108), Petworth House, Lord Leconfield; canvas, 103 x 197.5 cm. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.319, under No.1195; C. H. Collins Baker, *Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures in the Possession of Lord Leconfield*, London, 1920, p.131, No.25; Glück, p.26; (3) Painting (Fig.109), Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, No.983. PROV. acquired in Prague by Riedel, 1742. LIT. Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.319, under No.1195; Parthey, I, p.432, No.441; Glück, p.26; (4) Painting by L. Van Uden (Fig.110), Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum; panel, 49 x 73.5 cm. PROV. bequeathed by the Rev. R. E. Kerrich, 1873. LIT. Glück, p.26; H. Gerson and J. W. Goodison, *Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge Catalogue of Paintings. I. Dutch and Flemish*, Cambridge, 1960, pp.129,130, No.92, pl.68; (5) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. London, Richard Cosway; Stanley; Woodburn. LIT.

CATALOGUE NO. 38

Smith, Catalogue Raisonné, II, p.319; (6) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Edward Balme, sale, London, 1 March 1823, lot 64. EXH. *London*, 1819, No.127; (7) ? Painting by L. Van Uden and D. II Teniers, whereabouts unknown; panel, 42 x 64.5 cm. PROV. W. Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff, sale, Amsterdam (de Vries), 27 March 1925, withdrawn; Paris, J. Schmit, after 1937; Zürich, Kunsthaus Koller, 1969; Amsterdam, P. de Boer, 1970; sale, Lucerne (Fischer), 14-21 November 1978, lot 1884. EXH. *Fine Old Master Paintings*, Kunsthandel P. de Boer, Amsterdam, 1970, not numbered (repr.); (8) ? Engraving by S. a Bolswert (see further).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.318-320, No.1195; *Rooses*, IV, pp.385-387; V, p.302, No.1593; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.466,473,474, 612; *Herrmann*, pp.9-11,29,30,42,53, 54,79,80, nn. 108-115; *Glück*, pp. 26,27.

Records of 1640 speak of three landscapes by Rubens or his studio in which the Escorial appears.

Charles I of England, having heard from Edward Norgate that there was a landscape in Rubens's studio at Antwerp with a view of the Escorial, instructed Balthasar Gerbier to buy the picture and to ask that it be completed with figures of travellers and people in local costume.¹ On 15 March 1640 Rubens wrote to Gerbier explaining that the picture seen by Norgate was not painted by himself but by 'un Peintre des plus communs de ceste ville après un mien dessein fait sur le lieu mesme'. In the margin opposite 'Peintre' is written 'qui s'appelle Verhulst'. Rubens goes on to say that the picture is therefore not worthy of being purchased by the king.² Gerbier sent a copy of Rubens's letter (now in the Public Record Office; the original is lost)

to Norgate on 17 March, with a letter of his own.³

In April 1640 Rubens sent the picture to Gerbier in Brussels with an accompanying letter—the last from his hand that is at present known to exist—which is now the property of Christopher Norris in London; it is exhibited in Longford Castle, on a table under a sheet of glass, in the same room as the *View of the Escorial* (Fig.107). In it Rubens says that the picture has been completed 'selon la capacité du Maistre toutesfois avecq mon advis'. He describes the site in some detail and states that the mountain range is the Sierra de San Juan en Malagón; 'the mountain covered in clouds is the Sierra tocada, because it always appears veiled'; there is a royal hunting lodge, and 'la montagne tout contre à main gauche est la Sierra y puerto de Butrago . . . au sommet nous rencontrâmes forze vinayson comme est représenté en la peinture'.⁴

Verhulst's painting in the Earl of Radnor's collection at Longford Castle (Fig.107) is the only surviving copy that answers Rubens's description, and there is no reason to doubt that it is the one sent to Charles I.

It is very unlikely that the Verhulst mentioned in Rubens's above-quoted letter to Gerbier is the Pieter Verhulst who was a pupil of Gillis Vinckboons at Mechlin in 1583 and became a Master at Antwerp in 1589;⁵ this artist was of course several years older than Rubens. The tonality, colour and handling of the painting at Longford Castle suggests that it is the work of a younger man than Jan Wildens, who was born in 1585 or 1586.

As to the 'dessein' referred to in Rubens's letter of 15 March 1640 to Gerbier, we may perhaps suppose that this lost work was an oil sketch.⁶ This is supported by the fact that there exists a copy by an unknown 17th-century

Flemish hand after another topographical motif recorded by Rubens in Spain—in this case certainly in 1628–29: viz. the Philadelphia version of No.37 (Fig.106) the *Spanish Landscape with a Goatherd*, and this work is in the style of a small, sketch-like Rubens landscape. The word *dessein* can, it would seem, only be interpreted in this way on the assumption that the work copied by Verhulst dated from Rubens's second visit to Spain (1628–29), as the younger Rubens is not known to have worked in this fashion. During his second stay he visited the Escorial with Velazquez, as the latter's father-in-law tells us,⁷ and he uses the plural 'we' in his letter of April 1640, quoted above, to Gerbier (which was intended for the King's eyes as well). We do not know whether, in 1628–29, he paid several visits to the Escorial or the elevated mountain pass.

The third mention in 1640 of a landscape showing the Escorial is in the inventory of Rubens's own works in his possession at his death: 'Een Landschap ter plaatze geteekend, vertoonende het Escorial, en syn Omlanden'.⁸ It cannot be argued with any certainty that this refers to the hypothetical oil sketch of 1628–29, since adjacent items in the list describe four other landscape paintings as 'ter plaatze geteekend', viz.: No.131, 'Een groot stuk nae't leven of ter plaatze geteekend, met de Jagt van Athalanta, in beldekens op doek'; Nos.133, 134, 'Twee Landschappen ter plaatze geteekend'; and No.135, 'Een groot Landschap ter plaatze geteekend, met beldekens op pineel'.⁹ The designation is bestowed so liberally that it clearly has no value as indicating a precise topographical origin. Moreover the inventory does not say that the landscape in question is a small one, as it does in a later item: 'Twee Landschapkens op pineel'.¹⁰ All this, however, does not dispose of the question whether the item refers to a

larger version painted by Rubens himself or to an oil sketch which may, after all, have been painted during his second visit to Spain.

When executing his *View of the Escorial*, Rubens may have been inspired by *The Temptation of Christ*, a now lost painting by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, then in his own collection. According to Van Mander's description, this painting was likewise conceived as a breathtaking panoramic view, seen from a very high viewpoint, partially through the clouds.¹¹

1. Cf. Gerbier's letter to Rubens of 13 March 1640; cf. *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp.255, 256 (DCCCLXXX).
2. *Rooses-Ruelens*, VI, pp.257, 258 (DCCCLXXXII).
3. *Ibid.*, pp.256, 257 (DCCCLXXXI).
4. *Ibid.*, pp.279, 280 (CM).
5. P. Rombouts and T. Van Lerius, *De Lijgeren en andere historische archieven betreffende het Antwerpse Sint-Lucasgilde*, I, Antwerp, p.331; Jan Wildens was his pupil in 1596 (*Lijgeren*, I, p.394). For the Verhulst problem, see especially Riegel, *Beiträge*, II, p.90.
6. Cf. the conclusions of J. M. Muller, *Oil-Sketches in Rubens's Collection*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVII, 1975, pp.371–377.
7. Francisco Pacheco, *Arte de la Pintura*, 1638 [ed. F. J. Sanchez Canton, Madrid, 1956], I, p.154: 'Y fuéreron juntos a ver el Escorial'.
8. *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.62, No.132.
9. *Ibid.*, p.62, No.135.
10. *Ibid.*, p.63, Nos.171, 172.
11. The painting is mentioned in Rubens's estate inventory as 'La Tentation de nostre Seigneur, du vieux Breugel' (*Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.65, No.210). Carel van Mander (*Schilder-Boeck*, Haarlem, 1604, fol. 233^r) gives this description: 'Hy heeft gemaect een temptatie Christi, daer men van boven als in de Alpes, neder siet Steden en Landen overspreyt met wolcken daer men te som plaatzen door siet . . . '.

39. Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow (Fig.113)

Oil on canvas; 81 x 129 cm.
Leningrad, Hermitage. No. 482.

PROVENANCE: Matthijs Musson, Antwerp, 18 March 1654, as in the possession of 'Sieur de Barchon' (? Floris

van Berchem); Duc de Richelieu, Paris, 1677; Everard Jabach, sale, Paris, 17 June 1696, lot 150; Johan Cau, sale, Amsterdam, 7 May 1710, lot 6; Count Brühl, Dresden, from whom acquired by Empress Catherine II, in 1768.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Warsaw, Museum Narodowe, No.52; canvas, 141 x 193 cm. LIT. *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XXI, 1910, pp.255,257, Fig.10; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 x 170 cm. PROV. Earl of Plymouth. EXH. New Gallery, London, 1899-1900, No.134. LIT. *Glück*, p.70, under No.34; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; copper, 43 x 59 cm. PROV. Laszlo sale, Budapest, 9 December 1929, lot 438; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 92.5 x 123 cm. PROV. Emperor Maximilian of Mexico; Von Basch; Budapest, Countess Festetics; sale, Zürich (Koller), 25-26 May 1978, lot 5342 (as *Workshop of P. P. Rubens*).

EXHIBITED: *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* (russ.), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, No.45.

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.147-149,260; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.293, No.181; *Rooses*, IV, pp.372,373, No.1184; *Rooses, Vie*, p.577; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.317, 318; *K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg*, p.121; *Glück*, 1905, p.54; *Dillon*, pp.93,205, pl.XXXVIII; *Starye Gody*, February 1909, repr. facing p.80; *K.d.K.*, pp.356, 469; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.26,27; *Sterling*, pp.183,193,195,202; *Burchard*, 1928, p.64; *Kieser*, 1931, pp.281-286, 290,291; *Herrmann*, pp.22,56,73,74, nn.65, 66, 67, 78,n.97; *Evers*, 1942, pp.364-366,502, n.379, Fig.200; *Evers*, 1943, p.120; *Glück*, pp.42,43, under No.34; *J. Denucé, Na P. P. Rubens, Documenten uit den kunsthandel van M. Musson*, Antwerpen, 1949, pp.LXXIII,

136; *Cat. Eremitage*, II, p.93, No.482; *Müller Hofstede, Zwei Hirtenidyllen*, pp.35-38, nn.11,12,14; *Varshavskaya, Rubens*, pp.195-199, No.34, repr.

A double rainbow spans a trough-like valley along which a stream runs across the picture from left to right towards the spectator. Beneath the rainbow in the middle distance is a group of farm buildings of partly Southern appearance. The raised ground on which they stand is pierced by two tunnels through which the stream pours under twin arches towards the foreground. On the left, and extending into the foreground, is a grove of tall trees, perhaps the border of a forest. Behind the buildings and to the right of them is a rocky mountain slope extending beyond the picture edge, its upper part hidden by the vapours of a summer storm. Near the foreground, the stream is spanned by a wooden bridge with no parapet; on the far side, three black cattle are advancing towards it from the middle ground. Pasture-land extends to the left of the stream as far as the trees and into the foreground. A path from the bridge runs across this flat area to the lower left corner of the picture, and the bridge and path together form a main diagonal crossing that of the stream. In the middle distance beyond the path is a shepherd among his flock, leaning on a stick. The path leads towards the rootstock of a large leafy tree in the left corner. Seated on the rootstock and leaning back is a flute-player in shepherd's costume. He is looking to the right, in a line with the main diagonal; his left leg is stretched out in the same direction as the path, while his right leg is bent at the knee and pointing downwards. On the left, in front of the tree, another shepherd is leading a smiling young woman into the picture. These three figures form a conical group

around the lower part of the tree. Next, to their right, is a dog of slender build, the upward slope of its back pointing towards the diagonal formed by the path and bridge, while its head, turned towards the flute-player, corresponds to the diagonal of the stream. In the centre, to the right of the dog, a couple are seated on the ground. The man faces the spectator in a relaxed attitude, leaning back and to the left, his right arm supported by a large, round, overturned milk-can, and his cheek resting on the back of his hand. The outline of his head is enlarged by a broad-brimmed hat. He looks dreamily at his companion, who is sitting upright in left profile, her legs and bare feet stretched out to the left. Her extended left arm rests lightly on her left thigh, while her right arm is on her companion's left knee. She appears lost in thought. The right corner is firmly marked by two sheep standing at right angles to each other. The effect of light in the vaporous air is very striking.

This version of the composition is, broadly speaking, reproduced in Schelte a Bolswert's engraving (No.39a, Fig.111) made according to Burchard, from a lost oil sketch of which a copy, not traceable at present, existed after the Second World War. The drawn sketch for the flute-player (No.39b, Fig.112) corresponds to the Leningrad version—a strong argument for the priority of the latter as compared with that belonging to the Louvre (No.40, Fig.114), which has for many years been on loan to the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Valenciennes.

Burchard and I myself feel inclined to date the present picture c. 1630, while Oldenbourg proposed 1632–35.

Herrmann suggested that the work might have been inspired by a classical literary source such as a shepherds' musical contest in Theocritus or one of his imitators.

Kieser's idea, introduced in this con-

nection, of an 'ideal landscape' was firmly rejected by Müller Hofstede for this picture and all Rubens's landscapes.

39a. Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow: Oil Sketch

Whereabouts unknown.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 50 x 64.5 cm. PROV. Earl of Carnarvon, 1887; ? Wendlinger, Berlin, 1929; ? sale, Vienna (Dorotheum), 1 October 1930, lot 38; ? Dr. P. Bächer, Prague, 1940; Walter J. Goldsmith, Salisbury Hall, London Colney, near St. Albans, Hertfordshire. EXH. Burlington House, London, 1887, No.54. LIT. Rooses, IV, p.373, under No.1184; Burckhardt, Rubens, pp.317, 318; Dillon, pp.93, 231; Glück, pp.69, 70, under No.34; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 93 x 123 cm. PROV. Zürich, Kunstsalon Wolfsberger, 1926. LIT. Glück, p.69, under No.34; (3) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.111); with the inscription: *'Dum vigiles pascuntur oves amat otia pator; sed tamen et prima est pascere cura gregem. Sic vigila, sic pasce tuos homo: ne ferus hostis et premat errantes et male perdat oves'* (V.S., p.234, No.53, 10).

A copy of this lost oil sketch by Rubens was apparently seen by Burchard in 1929 at Wendlinger's in Berlin. It chiefly resembled the painting in the Hermitage; only the rainbow corresponded to that in the Louvre painting, as in the engraving by Schelte a Bolswert, which Burchard believed to be after the oil sketch. Burchard assigned a date of c. 1630 to the oil sketch which he believed to have existed.

The engraving by Schelte a Bolswert (Fig.111) shows most of the landscape features as they appear in the Hermitage

painting: the broad bridge without a parapet, the group of buildings in the distance (admittedly a third arch of the culvert, as seen in the engraving, appears only in the Louvre version of the picture, where it was perhaps reworked subsequently); the little chapel on rising ground, the three cattle on the other side of the river instead of the haycart, the shepherd with his sheep in the middle distance, and the little side-path with a fence at the near end of the bridge. (The ravine-like depth of the side-channel in the Hermitage version does not occur in the Louvre version, which has sheep lying in this area; thus it is only in the former, and in the engraving, that we see a tuft of water plants just beyond the outstretched toe of the flute-player). The church, on the other hand, appears in the engraving as it does in the Louvre version; in the Hermitage painting it is clumsier-looking and less detailed. The human and animal figures in the foreground correspond to the Hermitage version. The chief divergences between the engraving and both the Hermitage and Louvre composition are thus the church, the position of the rainbow and the shape, size and number of the wall arches, as to which the engraving differs from both paintings.

39b. Figure Studies: Drawing (Fig. 112)

Pen and brown ink and wash, over black chalk; 271 x 358 mm.; inscribed at the left, in Rubens's handwriting: *met een groot slegt lantschap*.

Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais. Inv. No. 2535.

PROVENANCE: ? Canon Johannes Philippus Happaert, Antwerp, 1686 (? recto of the *plunderincxken* in the inventory of his estate; *Denucé, Konstkamers*,

p.337); P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); J. Richardson Sr. (London, 1665-1745); ? Gerard Hoet, sale, The Hague, 25-28 August 1760, lot 451; Sir Joshua Reynolds (London, 1723-1792); Emile Wauters, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 14 April 1926, purchased by Frits Lugt.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1927, No. 28 B; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No. 134 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p.79; V, p.173; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.59, Nos. 218, 219, repr.; *Evers*, 1943, p.120; F. Lugt, in *The Art Quarterly*, 1943, pp.107, 109; *Glück*, p. 48, fig. 19; J. Müller Hofstede, *Opmerkingen bij enige tekeningen van Rubens in het Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, *Bulletin Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*, XIII, 1962, p.118; [C. Van Hasselt] in Cat. Exh. *London-Paris-Berne-Brussels*, 1972, p.129, under No. 85.

A flute-player sits with his back against a tree-trunk, which is partly obliterated by the left edge where the sheet has been cut. He faces more or less to the spectator's right, and has just taken his instrument from his mouth. He wears a cap or narrow-brimmed hat; his head is thrown back and he appears to be singing. He is evidently sitting on a cluster of roots. His left leg, drawn excessively long, is stretched out almost horizontally to the centre of the sheet; his right leg is bent at the knee and pointed downwards. On the right, facing him sideways, a young woman is seated on the ground. Immediately to the left of her profile, in full face, is the sketchily indicated head of another person who seems to be sitting behind her. To the left, above or behind the flute-player, two other persons are vaguely sketched. Across them is written in black chalk: '*met een groot slegt lantschap*' (with a large, simple [or: flat] landscape).

This is a sketch for the main figures in *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* in the version seen in Schelte a Bolswert's engraving (No.39, Fig.111) and the painting in the Hermitage (No.39, Fig.113). Burchard also knew the copy after a lost oil sketch (No.39a) which, he believed, was a preparatory study for that painting and was the model for Bolswert's engraving (Fig.111). In a later, more developed version of the picture, viz. that in the Louvre, which Rubens enlarged in the course of painting it (No.40, Fig.114), the figures are disposed quite differently in the widening space, and the attitude of the flute-player is altered.

Executed, in Burchard's and my own opinion, c. 1630 or perhaps soon after.

40. Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow (Fig.114)

Oil on canvas; 122 x 172 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 2118.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the French Crown, first mentioned there in Le Brun's inventory of Louis XIV's collection, in 1683; Versailles, afterwards Paris, Duc d'Antin, until 1737, when removed to Versailles; returned afterwards to Paris, first in the Palais du Luxembourg, later, since 1785, in the Louvre.

COPIES: (1) Painting by a French 18th-century painter (? F. A. Stiémart); oil on paper, pasted on canvas, 122 x 157 cm. PROV. Brussels, René Zivy; Paris, Jean Weil. LIT. R. Bouyer, *Un Rubens retrouvé*, *Le Figaro. Supplément Artistique*, 15 December 1927, p.133 (as Rubens); Glück, p.70, under No.34; (2) Painting, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, No.681; panel, 72 x 112 cm. PROV. acquired for the museum, in 1824. LIT. Waagen, *Wien*, I, p.136, No.4 (as L.

Van Uden); Engerth, II, No.1198; (3) Engraving by L. E. F. Garreau (active in Paris, c. 1803), in L. de Veyran, *Le Musée du Louvre*, VIII, Paris, 1877.

EXHIBITED: *Scaldis*, Antwerp, 1956, No.575; *Brussels*, 1965, No.212 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1977, No.109 (repr.); *Le siècle de Rubens dans les collections publiques françaises*, Grand Palais, Paris, 1977-78, No.152 (repr.: as *Rubens and his Workshop*).

LITERATURE: Engerand, pp.239, 240; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.119, No.400; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, III, p.566, No.689; Rooses, IV, p.380, No.1185; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, I, p.256, No.709; Rooses, *Louvre—National Gallery*, p.92; Hymans, 1903, p.262; Rooses, *Vie*, p.577; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, p.26; Glück, 1905, p.54; Dillon, pp.92, 93, 181, 203, pl. XXXIX; K.d.K., p.469; *Louvre. Cat. Demonts*, p.31, No.2118; Sterling, pp.180, 183, 189, 193, 195, 200, 202, repr. p.182; Burchard, 1928, p.64; Kieser, 1931, pp.281-285, 290, 291, figs.1, 2; Glück, p.68, under No.34 (as possibly not by Rubens); Larsen, 1945, pp.68, 69; J. Bouchot-Saupique, *La Peinture flamande du XVIIe siècle au Musée du Louvre*, Brussels, 1947, p.46; Renger, 1978, pp.5, 6 (as not by Rubens).

Rebacked. Burchard thought that strips 10 cm. wide had been added on the left and right, and 2 cm. wide at the top and bottom. Paillet's inventory of 1695, which indicates that the picture was at Versailles, says: *il a été agrandi en 1695*; the copy, formerly in the Weil collection in Paris—see above, Copy (1)—may be regarded as confirming this. I did not have the impression that the enlargements at the sides were painted by another hand. The sides, however, seem to have been folded back at some time.

This painting was already recorded in the 17th century as belonging to the collection of King Louis XIV of France. It shows clearly the decisive influence exerted on Rubens in the last decade of his life by the works of Titian which he saw in Madrid and in England between 1628 and 1630. Indications of this are the glowing coloration with intense blues and reds and frequent impasto, the bucolic atmosphere and reminiscences of classical antiquity. (For instance, the half-naked shepherd on the left, dressed in a skin, has a set of Pan-pipes at his girdle; he wears a wreath of vine-tendrils, and his leather footgear reaches half-way up the calf and leaves his toes free).

A valley landscape extends from the left background to the right foreground. The left middle ground and foreground consist of meadows and airy groves, while on the right the terrain ascends more steeply towards a remote mountainous area. A river flows out of a distant lake, through rising ground pierced by a stone tunnel, and under a wooden bridge in the right foreground, where it disappears beyond the picture-edge. The spacious, fertile valley and the sky above it are filled with the vapours of a summer storm, while the sunlight pierces through heavy veils of grey-violet cloud with such intensity as to overcome the darkness. The mountains high up on the right are still wrapped in cloud but are spanned by a rainbow. The left part of the arc, which is all that can be seen, shines brilliantly above the distant tree-covered mountain-side near the lake, which extends from the centre of the picture to the left and into the distance. The sunlight is refracted in red, blue, yellow and orange tones in the windows of a church situated on level ground half-way up the slope and surrounded by an extensive wall. Clumps of trees in the open country are over-

shadowed by storm-clouds. The light falling between the clouds spreads out in all directions like a bright vapour composed of tiny, tangible particles, picking out the remotest details of objects overshadowed by the darkened air. In the centre of the picture a large violet-grey storm-cloud hangs over the valley; its rounded shape is emphasized by ochre highlights painted in subsequently around its edges. The strongest light floods into the picture around this cloud, filling the background and middle distance but also reaching the left and centre foreground. Here the meadow is covered with sheep standing or lying close together, forming a kind of broad carpet which extends from right to left in a diagonal line parallel to the river and leads the eye quickly towards the middle ground. But one soon perceives that the river and the sheep are only a counter to the main, luminous diagonal running from left to right towards the rainbow which spans the mountains like a gateway. Some shepherd folk and a dog in the foreground are coordinated with this diagonal. Two sheep lie in the foreground, their bright fleeces catching the light and their bodies curved in a similar attitude. Sitting behind them on the ground are a shepherd and shepherdess in the centre of the picture, and to the left a light-brown Belgian sheepdog (Malinois); these three figures form a triangle whose hypotenuse is in the direction of the main diagonal. The youth is barefooted and faces the spectator; he wears a slouch hat and half-long hair, his right arm rests on a round, overturned brass milk-can, his left leg is bent at the knee and his right leg stretched out carelessly. With his head to one side and inclined slightly back, his cheek resting on the back of his right hand, he gazes lovingly at his companion. She is in left profile, sitting upright but with neck and shoulders

relaxed. Her legs stretched out in front of her and her feet and left shoulder (the one towards the spectator) are bare. Her left arm rests on her body, reaching almost to the knee. Her head and neck are bent forward, and she appears lost in thought. Her right arm rests on the shepherd's knee. Apart from the light in the sky, this young woman's head, shoulder and arm are the brightest parts of the picture. The clear blue sky between the clouds, a streak of blue over the distant horizon, and the shepherdess's bright blue dress are of great importance to the colour-scheme. The undergarment seen on her legs varies in hue from grey-indigo pink to old rose. The man with her wears a deep purple jacket and brown breeches, and his lower legs and feet are reddish-brown.

The shepherd's hat, to which the dog's back points, is at the apex of the triangle already referred to. The line of the shepherdess's legs and left arm is parallel to the main diagonal, but the dog's back is part of that diagonal itself, which starts from the lower left corner and continues, beneath the rainbow, to the distant mountain-top. To the left and behind the dog a flute-player, sitting with his back against a tree, is also facing in the direction of the diagonal. The dog looks round at him, so that its head with the pointed muzzle is parallel to the other diagonal formed by the sheep and river. The shepherdess's feet and those of the flute-player are almost symmetrically placed on either side of the dog.

The second group of figures forms a conical shape around the tree on the left, whose trunk leans towards the edge of the picture. The group consists of the flute-player in dark-blue breeches, who has just finished playing and begun to sing; a woman is kneeling beside him on the ground; and another woman in a dark purple dress, as we saw, is being embraced by a man dressed in a skin and

wreathed with vine-tendrils. The faces of three of these figures are turned in the direction of the main diagonal; the kneeling woman is looking round towards the spectator.

Some distance behind this group is a grove of trees in which light and shade are intermingled. Further off, on raised ground to the right of centre, is an Italian-looking group of farm buildings. In front of a dwelling-house is a man seated on a two-wheeled cart to which an animal is harnessed. Further right, a smith is working at a forge: he is seen obliquely from behind, in firelight, with upraised arm and holding a hammer. Beyond the river a haycart drawn by two horses is approaching. The reflections of light on the water are rich in colour. The trees on the left tower to a great height on account of perspective, and thus match the mountain area on the right. Finally the sheep and human figures, together with the buildings in the middle distance, form a rhomboid whose angles are constituted, in the foreground, by the group around the tree, the pair of sheep lying down and the two sheep standing at an angle to each other. A squirrel is perched in the tree on the left, and high up in the air a stork is winging its way to the right. An impression of Titianesque colour predominates over the wealth of invention and the grandeur of composition.

Burchard was undoubtedly right in supposing that this splendid work was the result of an evolution which can be traced through the preceding subjects of this catalogue. We may see from them how much time and energy Rubens devoted to the idea before he arrived at the mature version which alone seems to have given him final satisfaction.

Executed about 1635.

The doubts sometimes expressed as to whether this version in the Louvre is really by Rubens are without founda-

tion, as is shown by the copy attributed to Van Uden in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna—see Copy (2). Waagen long ago proposed Van Uden as the author of this copy, and it was in autumn 1978 that I was able to establish Van Uden's authorship of the central part of the Vienna painting, which was subsequently enlarged by additions on all sides. Van Uden copied Rubens's landscapes during the latter's lifetime and actually signed them with his own name alone. We would refer, for instance, to two copies in oil on panel, signed by Van Uden and dated 1635: one at Barnard Castle (copy after *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa*, No.28)¹ and the other in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (copy after Rubens's lost *Stormy Coast Landscape*, No.30).²

The figure sketch for the flute-player (No.39b, Fig.112) clearly relates to the Hermitage version of the composition (No.39, Fig.113). Burchard believed that the lost oil sketch for that version (No.39a) served as the model for the Bolswert engraving (Fig.111).

The view that the Louvre version is the later of the two is supported by the differences in composition, which bring it nearer to the style of Rubens landscapes of the late 1630s. The valley is more spacious, the mountains rise less steeply and are further off. The literal similarity between the two compositions is apt to obscure the very real difference in the treatment of space. In the Louvre version the buildings in the centre appear smaller and much further off; there is a light path leading round them; the arches through which the water flows are reduced visually to one; the rainbow no longer forms the centre of the composition but is integrated into the landscape, which is given a more diagonal effect by shifting the rainbow to one side. The pastoral group in the fore-

ground is no longer on a stage in front of the main picture, but is drawn more closely into its diagonal flow. The pair of recumbent sheep added to the foreground, and the 'carpet' of sheep beyond, are both of decisive importance, as the shepherd and shepherdess in the centre are now brought into the picture and surrounded by a quietly resting flock. The flute-player, like all the other figures, is proportionately smaller; he is now in shadow, and is more integrated into the natural setting. The increased importance given to the sheep and to animals and plants in general tones down the literary and episodic effect of the bucolic groups in the Leningrad version. The human figures are more integrated in nature, more subjected to the chiaroscuro of the weather effects which give enchantment to the scenery. In the course of perfecting this composition Rubens achieved the style of his later landscapes such as the *Return from the Harvest* in the Pitti Palace (No.48, Fig.127), the *Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt* (No.53, Fig.136) and the *Landscape with Rainbow* in the Wallace Collection (No.55, Fig.138), all of which show the Titianesque coloration that characterizes the present work. The first Rubens landscape to exhibit this quality, typical of the fourth decade of the master's activity, is the *Landscape with St George* (No.35, Fig.93) in the Royal Collection, Buckingham Palace.

1. Copy (2) of that painting. See also Adler, *Wildens*, pp.11, 75, n.24, fig.289.

2. See also Kieser, 1931, pp.288–290, fig.7.

41. *Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar* (Fig.115)

Oil on canvas; 160 x 263.5 cm.; inscribed below at the left: 1528.
Madrid, Prado. No. 1662.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's estate, 1640 ('Un grand bois au naturel, avec la chasse d'Atalante, en petites figures sur toile'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.62, No.131); Madrid, Alcazar, mentioned in the inventory of 1686.

COPIES: (1) Painting by J. Jordaens, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, No.391; canvas, 115 x 171 cm. PROV. Lady Stuart, sale, London (Christie's), 15 May 1841, lot 80; Saltmarsh Castle, Edmond Higginson, 1841; W. B. Beaumont, sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1887, lot 100; Paris, Léon Gauchez, from whom purchased by the Brussels Museum, in 1887. EXH. Brussels, 1937, No.41 (as *Rubens*); *L'Arbre et la forêt de Patenir à Permeke*, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1961-62, No.23 (as *Rubens*); Brussels, 1965, No.210 (as *Rubens*). LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.275, 276, No.928; IX, p.324, No.291 (as *Rubens*); *Rooses*, IV, pp.362, 363, No.1170; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.575, 577 (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.443 (as *Rubens*); *Bode*, 1905, p.203; *Dillon*, pp.181, 182, 184, 193, pl. CCCCLXVI (as *Rubens*); *K.d.K.*, p.453; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.38, 39, 45, n.15; *Sterling*, pp.179, 193, 196; *Herrmann*, pp.76, 77, nn.89, 90, Fig.11; *Glück*, p.71, under No.37; Yvonne Thiéry, *La Chasse d'Atalante aux Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Bruxelles*, in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp.139-142 (as *Rubens*); *Thiéry*, pp.99-101, pl.61 (as *Rubens*); (2) Painting by W. Van Herp, Chicago, J. P. de Laney; canvas, 76 x 102 cm. LIT. L. Van Puyvelde, *Guillaume Van Herp, bon peintre et copiste de Rubens*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XXII, 1959, pp.46-48; M. Diaz Padrón, *Miscelánea de Pintura Flamenca del Siglo XVII fuera de España*, *Archivo Español de Arte*, XLI,

1968, pp.242, 243, fig.11; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; 160 x 202 cm. PROV. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, sold by the Museum before the Second World War. LIT. J. Niessen, *Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Verzeichnis der Gemälde-Sammlung*, Cologne, 1888, pp.85, 86, No.620a (as *Rubens*); (4) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 469 x 649 mm. (V.S., p.231, No.52, 3).

EXHIBITED: *Madrid*, 1977-78, No.91 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.275, No.928; *Sainsbury*, p.239, No.131; J. Rousseau, *Les peintres flamands en Espagne, Bulletin des Commissions royales d'Art et d'Archéologie*, 1868, p.342; G. F. Waagen, *Ueber in Spanien vorhandene Gemälde*, *Jahn's Taschenbücher*, I, 1868, p.96; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p.353; *Rooses*, IV, p.363, No.1171; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.575, 577; *Dillon*, pp.184, 200; P. Beroqui, *Adiciones y correcciones al Catálogo del Museo del Prado, Escuela Flamenca, Castilla artística e histórica, Boletín de la Sociedad Castellana de excursiones*, 2nd series, I, 1917, pp.68, 69, 393; *Kieser*, pp.38, 39, 45, n.15; *Sterling*, p.180; *Herrmann*, pp.24, 26, 37, 39, 40, 42, 43, 48, 52, 55, 57, 76, 77, nn.89, 90; *Cornette*, p.728, n.1; *Glück*, pp.11, 45, 71, No.37; *Botineau*, LX, pp.299 (No.536), 314, 315 (No.816); *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, I, pp.264, 265, No.1662; II, pl.176.

An overpainted crack—probably an original seam in the canvas—runs horizontally right across the picture, about 127 cm. from the bottom; the addition at the top is thus about 35 cm. wide. Below left in oil, in light ochre: 1528.

The final scene of the Calydonian boar hunt is depicted in the orange-red light of sunset in marshy, undulating ground by the edge of a forest. On the

left, whence the warm light pours across the landscape, the border of the trees recedes into the distance. In the centre this border is much closer, and on the right the trees rise majestically to the upper edge of the picture, the topmost foliage being cut off by it. In the centre of the near part of the forest the trees recede somewhat, forming a shady hollow in front of which the action of the hunt takes place. The larger trees on the left, and all those at the edge of the wood, give an impression of wild agitation, their boughs stretching out like arms in impassioned gestures; the abundant foliage also contributes to this effect. The flood of golden light gives movement to the scene and creates an extraordinary atmosphere. The figures, which in this late work are comparatively small, are absorbed into the coloured light and shade of the landscape and give the impression of personifying an event of wider scope in which the whole of nature is involved. In front of the hollow in the woods, near the right edge of the picture a standing pool, curved in shape—probably a stream that has turned to marsh—extends to the middle of the foreground. At this obstacle the hounds have caught up with the boar, which is about to shake them off and jump from the reedy bank into the water, in which the trees are reflected. Waiting for it on the further bank (in the lower right corner of the picture) is Meleager, half-clad in a skin, ready to thrust with his hog-spear. The massive beast, with Atalanta's arrow sticking behind its right ear, turns back its head with snarling muzzle towards the hounds (and thus towards the spectator, as its movement is to the right). Two hounds, one with a protective leather coat, have leapt upon it from behind. The rest of the pack follow, surging in a powerful united movement from the left and jumping over a tree which has fallen across the

marshy ground. Atalanta, dressed in a purple garment, is jumping with them; she has just let fly her arrow at the boar, and still holds her bow in the shooting position. In the foreground one of her companions is also about to jump over the tree-trunk: she has a spear in her right hand and is gathering up her skirts with the left. Her clothing is grey-violet and raspberry-pink, her complexion mother-of-pearl pink, grey and white. On the extreme left two horsemen, half-dressed like Meleager, gallop after the pack. Close behind them, a tree with compact foliage seems to spin like a top, an impression heightened by the creepers entwined about its trunk—it is as though the spinning movement were propelling the riders on to the scene. The direction of the light, as we have seen, is also from left to right: for the most part golden-brown, but in places whitish-grey, it clings to all the irregularities of the ground, tree-trunks, branches and leaves. At the right edge of the picture it falls upon a withered tree, twisted to the right, and a heron, startled by the hunt, which is flying out of the picture immediately beside it. The bird's thin, ghostly-pale, angular forms seem to mimic those of the withered tree with its right-ward inclination. The loose style of the painting, the juxtaposed spark-like dabs of colour, the complete intermingling of light and colour and the anthropomorphic agitation of the scenery combine to indicate that the picture belongs to Rubens's fourth decade. Burchard dated it 1630-35.

The tall trees next to open country, and sedgy pool, may have been directly inspired by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, VIII, 229-237; the rest of the scene conforms generally to Ovid's account.

The figure of Meleager, which already occurs in an oil sketch formerly in the Cook collection (Fig. 117), derives in my opinion from a bronze statuette of

Meleager, probably based on a Roman sarcophagus relief, by Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi, known as Antico (c. 1460—Mantua 1528). The only copy known today of this model, which is nowhere recorded, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Fig. 116); it is 30.8 cm. high, has a dark patina and is partly gilded. Rubens reproduced it in reverse direction, with slight modification, in the oil sketch in the Cook collection (Fig. 117) and then in the Prado landscape.

To reach a full understanding of this landscape, it is necessary to discuss here at length the oil sketch, formerly in the Cook collection, which represents the same figurative elements (Fig. 117).³ In this sketch of elongated horizontal shape, the human and animal figures of a lively hunting scene are disposed in a circle around the thick trunk of a tree whose top is cut off by the upper edge of the picture. Behind the hunting scene and the single tree is a thick forest; only on the left is there a view of open country beyond, with bushes and isolated trees. Around and in front of the tree in the foreground is the last scene of the Calydonian hunt. In the centre a hound has leapt on to the boar's back, while another, wearing a leather coat, is biting him from the side. On the left Atalanta and several hounds are leaping over a fallen tree. She has just let off an arrow, and her bow and right arm are still in the shooting position. On the right Meleager waits with his spear lowered, ready to lunge. Between Atalanta and the tree other hounds are advancing on the boar from the distance and from the left. Behind them and partly hidden by the thick tree-trunk, a bare-headed man with a hunting-horn has arrived on the scene. The trunk also obscures one of two horsemen, wearing headgear and flowing cloaks, who have come from the distance on the left and are now to the

right of the tree; one of them, brandishing his spear, is turning towards the foreground to attack the boar. The colour-scheme of the sketch is not known to me, but the rhythmic circular composition points to a date in Rubens's fourth decade.

Glück wrote in 1940 with reference to the large landscape of this subject in the Prado that: 'Part of the staffage, especially the boar with the two hounds on the left, Atalanta with her bow and Meleager with his spear, are taken from an evidently older composition of Rubens's, known from a huge cartoon, probably the model for a tapestry, which was formerly in Horace Walpole's collection in Houghton Hall.' The supposition that the painting in the Cook collection was a composition sketch for a tapestry is sufficiently confirmed by the tapestry itself and by the lost, but well attested cartoon. It is thus not a preparatory work for the Prado landscape but a design to be executed in a different genre; it may, however, have given Rubens the idea of repeating the composition as a landscape painting. The more elaborate scenery of the Prado landscape seems to have been developed from the forest background of the oil sketch. A copy of the Cook sketch in a French private collection⁴ was sold in 1926 from D. Komter's collection at Amsterdam together with an oil sketch of the same dimensions, now in the Johnson collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, representing *Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Silvia*;⁵ both of these were formerly in the J. H. J. Mellaert collection in London. The Philadelphia sketch is an authentic work of Rubens's fourth decade, and its radiant quality contrasts strongly with the copy from the Komter collection.⁶

According to Smith,⁷ the large cartoon referred to above showed the composition in reverse direction to the oil sketch formerly in the Cook collection.

CATALOGUE NO. 42

1. See note 3.
2. See the exhibition catalogue *Italian Bronze Statuettes*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1961, No.29 (repr. pl.10).
3. Oil on panel, 24.7 x 51.4 cm. Enlarged by another hand at the bottom (actual measurements 34 x 51 cm). Present whereabouts unknown. PRO. Cook Collection (Cat. 1914, II, No.341); D. Komter sale, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 9 March 1926, lot 195a; Berlin, Vitale Bloch.
4. Oil on panel; 34 x 51 cm. PROV. D. Komter sale, Amsterdam (A. Mak), 9 March, 1926, lot 195a; afterwards in the possession of Vitale Bloch, Berlin.
5. See *Cat. Johnson Coll.*, 1972, p.73, No. 663, repr.
6. Cf. also *Goris-Held*, p.36, under No.69, as well as the exhibition catalogue *Antwerp-Rotterdam*, 1960, No.54.
7. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.157, No.548.

Gallerie in Wien, Vienna, 1783, p.115, No.18; *Waagen, Wien*, I, p.139, No.19; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.92, No.296; *Engerth*, II, No.1172; *Rooses*, IV, pp.376,377, No.1190; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.405,485; *Dillon*, pp.156, 164,209, pl.CCCLXV; *K.d.K.*, p.400; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.39; *Glück*, 1933, p.98; *Herrmann*, pp.18,32,39,48, 58, 71, 72,n.52; *Glück*, pp.31, 62, 63, No.21; *Van Puyvelde, L'Atelier*, II, pp.221-224, figs.1-8; *Van Puyvelde*, pp.169-171, repr.; *Thiéry*, pp.93,109, 165, n.105; *Adler, Wildens*, n.249.

42. The Park of a Castle (Fig.118)

Oil on panel; 52 x 97 cm.
Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
No.696.

PROVENANCE: First mentioned in the imperial collections at Vienna, in 1783.

COPIES: (1) Painting, partially after (2); Brussels, Gaston Duliére, on loan to the Rubenshuis, Antwerp; panel, 72 x 104 cm. PROV. W. Gomm; Marquess of Lothian; Joseph Fiévez, Brussels; sale (Fiévez), Brussels, 30 April 1930, lot 48. EXH. *London*, 1873, No.209; *Brussels*, 1926, No.250; *London*, 1927, No.259; *Brussels*, 1937, No.54; *Brussels*, 1947, not numbered; *Brussels*, 1965, No.214 (repr.). LIT. *Herrmann*, pp.18,75, n.52; G. Soyer, *Rubens inconnu*, Antwerp, 1948, p.39 (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde, L'Atelier*, II, pp.221-224, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Van Puyvelde*, pp.169-171, repr. (as *Rubens*); *Thiéry*, pp.93,109, pl.60 (as *Rubens*); (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert; 315 x 448 mm. (Fig.119; *V.S.*, p.235, No.53, 15).

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1947, No.98 (repr.); *Vienna*, 1977, No.56 (repr.).

LITERATURE: C. von Mechel, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der K. K. Bilder*

I do not agree with Glück that this picture was cut off at the bottom: the painting ends naturally. The composition is slightly modified in the engraving by Schelte a Bolswert: it is higher at the top, the trees are no longer cut off by the upper edge; it is widened on both sides and, above all, extended at the bottom so as to enlarge the foreground. The castle has been moved further off and is thus smaller; the sky is larger, with romantic cloud effects. By these improvisations Schelte a Bolswert transformed a 'garden of love' which was not strictly a landscape painting into an example of the latter genre for his series of smaller engravings after Rubens landscapes.

The picture is an elongated rectangle. In the gentle light of late afternoon, under a slightly clouded sky, a large medieval castle of the Brabant type stands in park-like grounds extending to the extremity of the middle distance. The steep Gothic walls and round towers are reflected in the moat which encircles the building, approached on the right by a long arched bridge. On the extreme right, behind the bridge, is a sharply foreshortened avenue of trees, painted with a filmy effect due to scumbling. Beyond the level ground which also extends behind the castle can

be discerned a fairly high ridge of hills covered with blue-green forest. On the left is a piece of elevated ground over which a winding, foreshortened path leads into the distance between trees at the edge of a wood. At the end nearer the spectator this path leads over a wooden footbridge to the grassy area in the centre foreground, where an elegant company, dressed in the costume of Rubens's time, are disporting themselves. In the couple standing quietly on the left we recognize Rubens and his second wife, Hélène Fourment. The man, wearing a light blue doublet, has his body turned to us and is resting his right hand on a stick; he looks to his left and is pointing an arm in that direction. His young wife stands in front of him, nonchalantly holding a closed fan; she wears a broad-brimmed hat, a bright golden silk dress and a kind of half-length black cloak, open in front. She too is looking towards the right, where the younger members of the company are at play. A youth who has thrown his bright red cloak on to the ground is bending down and trying to thrust a handful of grass under the skirts of a reluctant beauty who is standing in front of him and leaning backwards. Next to them, a cavalier with high top-boots and a broad-brimmed hat has just helped his lady to rise from the ground. Another couple are still seated on the ground; here again the man has a bunch of grass in one hand and is grasping at his companion's skirts with the other. Right in the front of the picture are the mandoline and song-book of the couple who have just stood up. Beside them is a woman, seen from the back, with a mandoline in her right hand; with her left she makes an encouraging gesture towards the seated man with the bunch of grass. At the extreme right, partly cut off by the picture-edge, three girls in pastel-coloured dresses—light blue, pale green

and golden-brown—are fleeing in joyful terror from a young man in hot pursuit. The last of the three has fallen to her knees and is looking round at the youth, who is about to seize her; he is dressed in an old-rose jacket, whitish blue-grey breeches and a sandy-coloured hat. The patch of grass surrounding this pastel-coloured group is a light yellowish green. The castle and the rather misty sky glimmer in reddish-white and light sandy pastel tones. The picture is entirely painted in a thin, fluid, *alla prima* style, almost like a *modello*, yet Rubens no doubt intended it as a finished work in its present form. The impression of a fleeting vision is not marred by undue precision such as is found, e.g., in the version in the Dulière collection, which Rooses, Van Puyvelde and Thiéry considered authentic—see above, Copy (1).¹

For the motif of young men trying to push handfuls of grass under their ladies' skirts see Glück under No. 21.

According to Burchard and myself, executed c. 1631.

1. Rooses's opinion is formulated in a certificate (in the possession of the actual owner), *d.d.* 20 March, 1914.

43. *Landscape with the Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints* (Fig. 120)

Oil on panel; 87 x 125 cm.
Madrid, Prado. No. 1640.

PROVENANCE: Spanish Royal Collections; mentioned in the Alcazar at Madrid, in 1794.

COPIES: (1) Painting (Fig. 121), London, National Gallery, No. 67; canvas, 119 x 158.5 cm. PROV. purchased with the Angerstein collection, 1824. LIT. K.d.K., p. 345; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p. 275, under No. 179 (as *A. Watteau*);

Martin, Flemish School, pp.225–227, No.67; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Narichkine, sale, Paris, 24–25 May 1872, lot 32; (3) Painting, with variations (horses instead of the religious subject) by James Ward (1769–1859); canvas, 59 × 79 cm. PROV. London, Spink and Sons, 1929; New York, Mr. and Mrs. L. Gerry. LIT. *Glück*, pp.65,66, No.27 (as *Rubens*); *Goris-Held*, p.41, No.93 (as *Rubens*); (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; canvas, 111 × 163 cm. PROV. former collection of the Prussian Crown. LIT. M. Oesterreich, *Beschreibung aller Gemälde . . . so in denen beyden Schlössern von Sans-Souci wie auch in dem Schlosse zu Potsdam und Charlottenburg enthalten sind*, Berlin, 1773, No.131 (as *Rubens*); G. Poensgen, *Die Gemälde in den preussischen Schlössern. Das Neue Palais*, Berlin, 1935; (5) Drawing, Poznan, Muzeum Narodowe; 465 × 605 mm. EXH. *Antwerp*, 1956, No.129 (repr.). LIT. *Rooses*, V, p.136, No.1318; (6) Drawing of the three Angels, the Lamb and the Landscape, by A. Watteau; whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; 347 × 246 mm. PROV. Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, before the Second World War. LIT. *Michel*, pl.XL, between pp.562 and 563; K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau*, I, Paris, 1957, No.276, repr.; (7) Drawing of the head of the Princess by A. Watteau; whereabouts unknown, presumably lost; 114 × 80 mm.; (8) Woodcut by C. Jegher after (5); 459 × 600 mm. (V.S., p.25, No.114); (9) Engraving by P. Gonord after (7), 18th century (J. Herold and A. Vuafart, *Jean de Julienne et les graveurs de Watteau au XVIIIe siècle*, I, Paris, 1929, pp.196,197, No.3, Fig.84).

LITERATURE: *Waagen, Treasures*, I, p.351; *Cruzada Villaamil*, p.346; *Rooses*,

I, pp.239,240, Nos.179,180,208; V, p.318; *Rooses, Louvre-National Gallery*, pp.197, 198; *K.d.K.*, ed. Rosenberg, p.428; *Dillon*, pp.169, 199, pl.CCCCXIV; *K.d.K.*, p.345; *Drost*, p.45; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.24; *Kieser*, 1931, pp.284–286; *Herrmann*, pp.49,84, n.154; *Evers*, 1942, pp.410–412, Fig.231; *Larsen*, p.176, pl.128; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.275–277, under No.179; *Martin, Flemish School*, under No.67; *Díaz Padrón, Catálogo*, I, pp.231,232, No.1640; II, pl.164.

The Madonna, with the sleeping Child on her lap, sits in front of a bower overgrown with vine-tendrils. Her right side is towards the spectator, and her head is turned to face him. Two cherubs hover in the air; one has grasped the other's wing in order to fan the infant Christ. On the right, in front, the boy St John, naked except for a strip of fur round his shoulder and chest, and a wingless cherub are pushing forward a lamb for Jesus to play with. Another cherub points to the sleeping Child and, with its left hand to its lips, motions them to silence. On the left is the pillared portal of a large, palace-like building. Standing in front of it and facing right is St. George in armour with his banner and the slain dragon, the princess and, half-hidden behind her, a female saint. The two women look fondly at the Christ child, the saint actually peering over the Madonna's shoulder. To the right of the Madonna and beyond the group with the lamb, the eye travels freely to a landscape with bushes and trees with twisted trunks, through which the setting sun can be seen. St Joseph, seen from behind, is asleep leaning against a tree-trunk, and the donkey is drinking from a sparkling stream at the right edge of the picture. Rubens has interpreted the *Rest on the Flight* as a *sacra conversazione*.

Burchard believed that this picture, painted about 1636, was preceded by an earlier version of about 1632, represented by a copy in the National Gallery which he ascribed to Antoine Watteau (Fig. 121). This first version is probably not concealed under the present one but was a separate painting, now lost. The composition of the woodcut by Christoffel Jegher (and the preliminary drawing at Poznań) agrees more or less with the right-hand part of both versions, especially the earlier one. A picture of this subject was bought after Rubens's death by King Philip IV of Spain,¹ who paid 880 guilders to Hélène Fourment and her children. It was on canvas and therefore cannot have been the one in the Prado now; see also a larger one also listed in the 1794 inventory of the Spanish royal collection.²

A number of copies of the Rubens *Riposo* exist, but they all reproduce the second stage, known from the version in the Prado. Only the copy in the National Gallery, London, reproduces the first stage; indeed this canvas is so far the only testimony we have to that stage. The fact that so far no other copies of the first stage have turned up may suggest that it only existed for a short time (viz. until Rubens overpainted it and made of it stage two, of which the Prado picture is probably a fair copy by Rubens himself), and consequently only a few copies could be made.

Whether the National Gallery *Riposo* is by Watteau or not, it is certain that Watteau must have known Rubens's first stage—probably from a contemporary repetition—as he made at least two detail drawings after it: the head of St Margaret, engraved by Pierre Gonord, and the three boys with the lamb and landscape, formerly in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett—see above, Copies (9) and (6).

Chronologically the first stage (a)

must be placed about 1632; then follow the drawing for the woodcut (b) and Christoffel Jegher's woodcut itself (c), and, about 1636, the second stage of the painted composition (d). In his drawing for Jegher's woodcut Rubens omitted the whole left side of his painted *Riposo* composition (including the group of Saints), but for the remainder (figure group and background of trees) he followed his earlier composition rather closely. Special note should be taken of the loose strands of hair behind Mary's neck, and her dress without jacket. Details which differ in (b) from those in (a) are: 1. the fall of the fold in Mary's dress; 2. the loose cape hangs from her shoulder instead of being folded upon her legs; 3. the position of her feet, the right on top of the left; her thighs are no longer crossed; 4. her elbow is toward the spectator; 5. of the three boys, the one motioning for silence has fair hair, not dark; 6. the same boy shows his right leg, not his left; 7. the little St John has one arm, his left, bare; 8. the little cherub has bird's wings and not butterfly wings. Before Jegher's woodcut (c) was produced in final form, Rubens made two changes in the design of Mary: 1. the strand of hair, still in the nape of her neck in (a) and (b), disappeared; 2. a short jacket was added to Mary's dress of (a) and (b). The Prado version (d) contains these two changes, which were introduced into the woodcut after the completion of the present drawing; therefore it is almost certain that the final version (d) in the Prado is not so much based on the present drawing as on the slightly later and improved woodcut, or a counterproof of the drawing on which Rubens's corrections were made.

Not all the changes enumerated above under (b, 1-8) were adopted in this last stage (d). For example: the position of Mary's feet (b, 3) returns to much the same pose as in (a), without, however,

changing the fall of the folds, reached in (b, 1); the position of Mary's bent elbow (b, 4) is also returned to the straighter position of (a); instead of leaving little St John's left arm bare (b, 7), Rubens left his right arm bare. However, in the main, all the other changes were incorporated in this final Prado *Riposo*. Further improvements, not present in either drawing (b) or woodcut (c), should be noted: the cherub on the right, who had butterfly wings in (a) and bird's wings in (b), now becomes a boy without wings. The boy motioning for silence loses most of the bit of cloth he had around body and arm in (a) and (b), so that the child with the strip of fur across his chest is now clearly marked as little St John. The woody landscape, still very close to (a) in the drawing, is changed in some details.

Several proofs of Jegher's woodcut exist: four in the Print Room of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, two in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and one in the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp. They are all worked over by Rubens, who made deletions in white on each proof. It should be observed that in the definitive version the print was produced with two blocks, the first being printed in black and white and the second in brown.

Certain supposed partial copies of Jegher's woodcut³ are in fact a different composition and represent a different subject.⁴

Drost cites this work as an example of the fact that in his last decade Rubens began to be less concerned with the Baroque unity of the picture surface that was typical of him.

1. *Antwerpsch Archievenblad*, II (1865), p.85; see also Denucé, *Konstkamers*, p.75.

2. *Catalogo de las Pinturas de S.M. en Madrid* [1794]; British Museum, Egerton Ms. 440, f° 168r, *Pieza Vestir*; *Ibidem*, f° 175v, *Pieza de la Chimenea*; viz. 208.9 x 167.18 cm.

3. Rooses, I, No.179, p.240, followed by Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No.179.
4. V.S., pp.84,85, Nos.91-95.

44. *Stormy Landscape with Three Cows* (Fig.122)

Oil on panel; 30 x 42 cm.

Knightshayes Court near Tiverton, Devon, Collection of Sir John Heathcoat Amory, Bt.

PROVENANCE: Adolphe Schloss, sale, Paris (Charpentier), 5 December 1951, lot 47.

COPY: Engraving by J. Dansaert, 18th century (V.S., p.237, No.59).

EXHIBITED: London Corporation Art Gallery, London, 1906, No.82; *London*, 1961, No.28 (repr.); Agnew's, London, 1965, No.7; The Fermoy Art Gallery, King's Lynn, Norfolk, 1965, No.7.

LITERATURE: Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.320,321, No.1200; Rooses, IV, p.384.

An excellently preserved picture, showing in the distance a large violet-grey storm-cloud from behind which reddish and yellow light breaks forth, flooding the foreground with raspberry-red tones. Behind, on the left, the sunlit landscape is light green, while the sky above the storm-clouds is a bright blue. The leftmost of the group of tall trees is dark green, and brownish-green at the edges, which are further back. The trees on the right are brownish, with yellowish and red-brown lights. There is also a reddish-brown reflection on the shaded slope to the left. The cow on the right is grey, with a touch of red on its muzzle; the recumbent cow is a warm light brown. The three animals are highlighted in white. The grey cow repeats the grey of the storm-cloud; the high-

lighting of the animals is a reflection of the bright light of the atmosphere, filtered between the two rows of trees in tones that range from intense warmth to a chalky paleness.

Burchard dated this picture c. 1630. I believe it to have been painted much later, when the influence of Titian's coloration which so dominated Rubens's work between 1628 and 1634-35 had begun to be more integrated in his craftsmanship as a whole, above all in small landscapes where the return to a Flemish atmosphere is apparent. The stronger influence of Flemish tonality and the themes, or rather theme, of his later years, viz. the 'heroic' treatment of the Brabant landscape, reflect a gradual transition that may be observed e.g. in the *Return from the Harvest*, Florence, Palazzo Pitti (No.48, Fig.127), and the *Landscape with Rainbow* in the Wallace Collection (No.55, Fig.138). The most striking example of this evolution in larger landscapes is probably *Flat Landscape with Clouds* in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts at Birmingham (No.59, Fig.142), where the style of Rubens's late landscapes is typified by the playing down of figures or the replacement of human beings by animals only: cf., besides the present work, the *Landscape with Moon and Stars* in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection in London (No.63, Fig.146). Rubens's landscapes in his last years generally became smaller and more intimate; their development as regards the use of figures and coloration is paralleled in works of the *Garden of Love* type. For instance, *The Park of a Castle* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (No.42, Fig.118), which is certainly quite late, contrasts with the *Garden of Love* in the Rothschild collection and that in the Prado by its more relaxed composition and the freer rhythm of its general movement.

45. Landscape after Storm (Fig.123)

Oil on panel; 49 x 65 cm.

London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. No. 35.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Dartmouth; London, Mrs. Otto Gutekunst.

EXHIBITED: *National Exhibition of Works of Art*, Leeds, 1868, No.826; *Brussels*, 1910, No.403; *Gainsborough Exhibition*, Ipswich, 1927, No.1 (repr.); *Winter Exhibition*, Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1936-1937, No.34.

LITERATURE: Ludwig Burchard, in W. R. Valentiner, *Das unbekannte Meisterwerk*, Berlin, 1930, No.44 (repr.); Herrmann, pp.26, 38, 41, 48, 49, 77, n.95, 84, n.159; Glück, pp.30, 31, 62, No.20; Seilern, No.35, pl. LXXVI.

In this sketchily painted work the light priming shows through in several places, and the thin, fluid brushwork takes account of it. A complete range of brown tones prevails, but the sky, just clearing after rain, also has shades of grey and greenish-grey. Over slightly undulating ground a shower of rain, falling in streaks, moves off to the right and into the distance; the dark, stormy sky of the right-hand half of the picture is, however, for the most part hidden by a grove of trees that extends somewhat to the left of centre. In the midst of this forest, on the right, is an opening lit by an unexpected ray of sunshine. The damp foliage within the grove and on the trees at its edge shimmers in the light. Elsewhere the leaves are in brown or dark green shadow, but everywhere are touches of white, yellowish and raspberry-coloured light. In front of the trees in the centre of the picture is a pond, almost hidden, showing pink reflections from a huge tree-stump with branches and tendrils, which acts as a *repoussoir*. Behind the

stump and to the left, fields and meadows with haystacks and rows of bushes and trees extend to the distant horizon, obscured in the centre of the picture by the rain falling obliquely to the left. A wide country road, entering the picture in the bottom left corner, soon bends to the left and winds off gently into the distance. The stump in the middle, with its splintered end and remaining branches, dominates both sides of the picture, so that two women advancing along the road with loads of fodder or hay on their heads appear small and distant. The one on the right, nearer the spectator, wears a raspberry-red coat and secures her burden with upraised arm. Her companion on the left is dressed in grey-green and is also heavily laden. The women are walking briskly in the direction of the receding shower. The open country, covered with vegetation, is mainly brown in the shady parts near the wood, elsewhere greenish; the more distant expanse near the horizon is bright reseda green and glimmers white in the sunlight. The stump was originally smaller and further to the left, before Rubens painted it out and moved it to its present commanding position.

Although decidedly larger than the *Stormy Landscape with Three Cows* (No.44, Fig.122)—the measurements are respectively 49×65 cm. and 30×42 cm.—the present work gives the impression of being a pendant to it in all respects: colour, handling, shapes of the trees and bushes, atmospheric effects, the use of formal devices to bring out the fleeting nature of the phenomena represented. Most probably both pictures owe their origin to the same creative impulse and were painted within a very short time of each other. For this and other reasons I do not consider this work to be a study for the *Return from the Harvest* in the Palazzo Pitti (No.48, Fig.127), as

might be suggested by the two women carrying burdens on their heads, but rather regard it as a reminiscence of that picture. The coloration, as already stated, is akin to that in our No.44, and some of the trees in the centre are dark green as in that work. The light priming shows through everywhere, and in the sky it is painted over in grey and greenish-grey. The raspberry-red of the other work appears in slight traces in the distance and in the form of dabs in the light of the straggly-looking foliage; it is also prominent in the dress of the nearer of the two women.

The distant sunlit scene is a light green. There are sparse reddish-brown lights on the tree-stump and the slope on which the trees are growing. Pastose olive-green is spread over the ground with broad strokes of the brush. The tall tree on the extreme right shows a horizontal alternation of foliage and branches, with a contrast between illumination and streaky handling. In this respect it is so reminiscent of the chalk *Study of a Large Tree* which was in the Dresden Print Room till the Second World War that the latter is included in this Catalogue as No.45a (Fig.124).

I am thus of the opinion that Burchard's proposed date of c. 1630 for the present work is too early, and that it belongs to Rubens's late years after 1635.

45a. *Study of a Large Tree:* Drawing (Fig.124)

Black and, partially, white chalk on brown paper; 485×295 mm.; below, on the left, an apocryphal inscription, with ink: *P. P. Rubbens*; below, to the right, the mark of the collection of Frederick August II, King of Saxony (L. 971). *Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.*

PROVENANCE: Collection of Frederick August II, King of Saxony (1797-1854); in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden until the Second World War.

LITERATURE: *Burchard*, 1913, pp.56, 59-61, fig.2; *Glück-Haberditzl*, p.54, No.184, repr.; *Glück*, pp.34,35, fig.12.

A tall tree, probably a hornbeam, fills the whole height of this vertical sheet; it has a very twisted trunk and forks half-way up. A similar, still more elongated tree is at the right edge of the *Landscape after Storm* (No.45, Fig.123). The sheet is evidently a study from nature, used by Rubens for the late sketch-like work. It throws an interesting light on his methods, showing that even for paintings that look like improvisations in oils he would use studies drawn carefully from nature. We do not know, on the other hand, whether the drawing was done in connection with the picture or independently; it may be some years earlier, but in any case belongs to the 1630s.

46. Deer Hunt near a Forest: Oil Sketch (Fig.125)

Oil on panel; 41.5 x 64 cm.

Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. No.766.

PROVENANCE: ? G. de Cuypers de Rymenam, sale, Brussels, 6 May 1802, lot 25; Alvin family, Brussels, from whom acquired for the Antwerp museum, in 1892.

COPY: Drawing of the hunting scene, Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Collection Drouet, No.1741; 213 x 323 mm.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1927, No.15; *Brussels*, 1937, No.57; *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No.53.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, p.348, No.1162; *Sterling*, p.187; *Herrmann*, pp.38,40,59,83, n.137; *Glück*, pp.11,35, 64,65, No.24; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, No.26; R.-A. d'Hulst, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens uit Nederlands en Belgisch openbaar bezit*, s.l., 1968, p.103, No.27, pl.10; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.633,634, No. A18, II, pl.484.

A sketch-like picture, almost exclusively brown on brown. A deer-hunt, with the huntsman on foot, has reached its culmination on high ground occupying the centre and right of the picture. Below on the left is a winding river, appearing in the distance at the left edge of the picture and disappearing at the left edge in the foreground. Left of centre, in the foreground, a fawn with mottled coat has paused in fright at the edge of the high ground. In the centre its dam is seen sideways, galloping to the left. The distant landscape is visible only on the left. On the right, some way off but still on the raised ground, a forest and one or two isolated trees extend into the picture beyond the centre, so that the whole group of deer is within its outline. Between the hind and the spectator is a male red deer which has turned to face the hounds (and the spectator) and is attacking them with its antlers. It has just knocked over three of them; a fourth, from the right, is springing at its throat. The huntsman, in reddish attire, is leaping over a fallen tree on the right and is about to strike with his spear. In the lower right corner two hounds are also jumping over the tree, while two more are pursuing the hind. The sky is a yellowish colour, and the light of sunrise or sunset seems to be breaking through between the trunks of the trees in the right background. The forest is indicated with especially sketchy brush-work; the rapid recession into depth on

the left of the picture is very effective. This would be almost the only instance of its kind in Rubens's work, viz. a composition that is somewhere between a monochrome oil sketch and a more elaborate *modello*.

Rooses in 1890 described the work as an *esquisse en grisaille*, gave a full description of the group of animals and attributed the picture to Rubens, though with caution.

Held, in 1980, remarked on the apparently illogical action of the huntsman, unlikely in Rubens's hunting-scene sketches: 'Although the stag turns to fight the attacking dogs, the hunter—in the same spatial layer—aims his lance at the hindquarters of the doe which is farther back.'

The work indeed differs in treatment from comparable depictions of mythological hunting scenes by Rubens in the 1630s, such as *Ascanius killing the Stag of Silvia* (Philadelphia, Johnson Collection)¹ and the two fine oil sketches *La Chasse de Diane* and *La mort d'Actéon changé en cerf* in the John Nieuwenhuis collection in Brussels.² True, these are sketches for paintings in which the landscape element is subsidiary and is only cursorily indicated, whereas the present work may have been a *modello* for a very large hunting scene, never painted, in which landscape was to play an important part. Glück in 1940 sought to explain the exceptional character of the work and perhaps also the absence of the final touches of red, applied with single strokes of the brush, which Rubens used as reinforcing accents and which are so typical of all his other oil sketches.

Van Puyvelde in 1937 suggested that the work was an 'esquisse pour un tableau inconnu, peut-être pour la *Grande Chasse des Cerfs* mentionnée dans la Spécification des tableaux se trouvant à la mortuaire de Rubens, No.154, achetée par Philippe IV et

detruit dans le sac de la Torre de la Parada en 1710'.³

Burchard dated it in the 1630s.

I agree with Held who rejects it as an authentic work by Rubens.

1. Cat. Johnson Coll. 1972, No.663, repr. p.197; also in *Goris-Held*, p.36, No.69, pl.82; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.308,309, No.224, II, pl.234.
2. Cf. *Brussels*, 1965, Nos.203a and 203b, with repr.; *Held, Oil Sketches*, I, pp.306–308, Nos.221,223, II, pls.231,232.
3. In Cat. Exh. *Brussels*, 1937, under No.57.

47. Harvest Scene with Rainbow

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: ? A. Champernowne, London, 1815.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.126); 239 × 455 mm. (V.S., p.234, No.51, 11).

EXHIBITED: ? London, 1815, No.8.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.234, No.1211; *Rooses*, IV, p.374, No.1186; *Herrmann*, p.63, n.5; *Glück*, pp.34,72, No.43.

Schelte a Bolswert's engraving (Fig.126) enables us to describe the lost painting. On a summer's day, the meadows of Brabant are seen in unusual lighting under an overcast, rainy sky. A ray of sunlight falls on a stretch of pasture in the centre, some distance off. On the left, the flat country in the background is spanned by a rainbow ascending to the right; less than half its arc is seen, the remainder being cut off by the upper edge of the picture. The full span of the rainbow must cover a great deal more than the area in the picture, which is seen as if in close-up or through a large magnifier. Near the right edge is a group of three tall, slender trees, standing out against the expanse of sky as far as the

top of the picture. Near the left edge are three tall, conical haystacks and, in front, a rack waggon with two horses. A farmer standing on a fourth, half-finished haystack is piling more hay on to one of the others. Near by, articles of clothing hung on a fence or spread out on the ground gleam white in the glancing light. The spectator's eye falls on the scene from an artificially high viewpoint. In the foreground are paths and more fences with a wooden gate made of boards, and a stream on the right behind the three tall trees. In this half of the picture, nearer the spectator, two young women are advancing to the right across the meadow, one with a flat basket of fruit on her head, the other with a rake over her shoulder. In the background, the broad meadows can be seen distinctly although it is twilight; between them are hedge-rows, single trees and a few houses. The engraving gives an impression of contrast and tension between the overcast rainy sky and the flood of pent-up light beneath; this effect must have been even stronger in the lost picture. The latter seems to have been related and prior to the *Return from the Harvest* in the Palazzo Pitti in Florence (No.48, Fig.127). It may have been painted between 1633 and 1635.

The two women on the left are reminiscent, by their position in relation to each other, of the two young women with a dog in the *Landscape with Antique Ruins* (No.15, Figs.46,47), which is also known only from a Bolswert engraving. But in the present composition the two slender figures could also be an addition of the engraver.

48. *Return from the Harvest* (Fig.127)

Oil on panel; 122 x 195 cm.
Florence, Palazzo Pitti. No. 14.

PROVENANCE: Duc de Richelieu, Paris, 1677; collections of the Grand-Dukes of Tuscany, Florence; temporarily removed to Paris, in 1799, but returned to Florence, in 1815.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 124 x 202 cm. EXH. Berlin, 1927, No.82 (repr.); (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 115 x 185 cm. PROV. Langton, Duns, T. G. Breadalbane Morgan Grenville-Gavin; London, Paul Larsen. LIT. Glück, p.63, under No.22; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 118 x 173 cm. PROV. Art Trade, 1932. LIT. Glück, p.63, under No.22; (4) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 49.5 x 69.5 cm. PROV. sale, London (Sotheby's), 30 July 1965, lot 392; (5) Painting, Pasadena, Jules Kievitz; (6) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, 439 x 630 mm.; inscribed on the third state: 'Temporibus certis maturam rusticus uvam Colligit et nudo sub pede musta fluunt Temporibus certis defectas affigit herbas. Et tonsam raro pectine verrit humum' (V.S., pp.231,232, No.52, 4); (7) Engraving by F. Vivares, 1775 (V.S., p.232, under No.52, 4); (8) Engraving by L. Paradisi (?-1893) (Rooses, IV, p.365, under No.1172).

EXHIBITED: *Il Seicento Europeo*, Rome, 1956, No.257; *Florence*, 1977, No.96 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *De Piles, Seconde Conversation*, pp.147,260,282; *De Piles, Dissertation*, 1681, p.60; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.144, No.508; *Rooses*, IV, pp.364,365, No.1172; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p.315; *Michel*, pp.532-534, repr.; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.427; *Dillon*, pp.186,215, pl.CCCCLXI; *Heidrich*, 1913, p.65; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.60; *K.d.K.*, p.405; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.34,36; *Sterling*, pp.196,198; G. Glück, *Bruegels Gemälde*, Vienna, 1932, under No.21; *Herrmann*, pp.23,

37, 38, 42, 43, 47, 48, 58, 76, n.78; *Raczyński*, pp.81, 82, Fig.54; *Glück*, pp.32, 33, 38, 63, No.22; *Jaffé*, 1957, p.19, fig.18; *Held*, I, pp.121, 146; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.167, 239, 273; *Müller Hofstede*, 1965, pp.176–180.

In an extensive flat landscape under a cloudy sky at the height of summer, a stream on the right near the spectator is bordered by trees reflected in its waters. In front five countrywomen, most of them young, are moving briskly across the scene. The three on the right, two young and one old, are walking to the right, carrying a pitchfork and rakes. The girl in front is looking towards the spectator. The last of the three, who is also young, looks round with animation at a man who is moving towards the spectator and pointing in the direction in which the women are going. The two other women, seen from behind, are carrying loads of hay and turnips on their heads and are stepping rapidly towards the man. A wide road leads from the lower left corner diagonally across the picture; a carter with a rack waggon and two horses, a grey and a bay, advances towards the open country which stretches out beyond the groups of trees. Mounted on the grey horse, he waves with his whip towards the women; in front of him the way into the middle distance is marked by a flock of sheep, hurried along by a sheepdog. Further off on the left are grazing horses, tall pointed haystacks, bushes and trees, and in the background the tower of a Gothic church (Roger de Piles called the picture *La veue de Malines*). A pair of hawks hover in the air, looking for prey. The long shadows show that it is late afternoon.

Gustav Glück¹ observed that Rubens's source of inspiration for his harvesters was probably Bruegel's *Hay*

Making in the National Gallery, Prague. Not only did Rubens adopt from Bruegel the general theme of returning harvesters, but he borrowed such a detail as the girl wearing a white kerchief and carrying a broad-brimmed straw hat in her left hand. The central figure of the right-hand group echoes the drawing in the Berlin-Dahlem Print Room of the housekeeper of the Rubens family.²

A study of an old peasant woman is in the *Gabinetto Stampe e Disegni degli Uffizi*, Florence.³

Burchard-d'Hulst believed, wrongly in my opinion, that a drawing in the Albertina in Vienna (No.48a, Fig.128), showing the six countryfolk on foot and one of the groups of trees on the right of this picture, was an autograph study for it. A drawing (black chalk; 190 × 295 mm.) showing a variant of the group of women on the right, probably done by Teniers the Younger, was in the Flora Koch Collection, London (see further under No.48a). For another prominent feature of the picture, the waggon drawn by two horses, Rubens made use of an earlier drawing (No.48b, Fig.129).

Goethe, who possessed Schelte a Bolswert's engraving of this picture, commented on it briefly to Eckermann on 11 April 1827, and at length to Eckermann and others on 18 April. He observed that the homeward-bound harvesters in the foreground and the clump of trees on the right were illuminated from opposite sides and thus cast their shadows towards each other; he commended this, however, as an example of Rubens's artistic freedom.⁴

I agree with Burchard's date c. 1635.

As far as can be seen from the front, a 4 cm. strip was added along the top and bottom of the original horizontal panel, and these were painted at the same time. There seems also, however, to have been an original central piece, measuring 69 by c. 104.5 cm. and placed immediately

above the bottom strip; it begins about 63.5 cm. from the left edge of the present panel, and ends about 26.5 cm. from its right edge. Held in 1959 described an alteration by Rubens in the central part of the present panel: 'This picture has a very interesting *pentimento* of a big haywain in the centre of the composition, which was replaced by a herd of sheep moving in the opposite direction'.

The style of the parts added subsequently to the right and left differs from that of the central part. In particular, the trees at the right edge are painted in a thin scumble and look very different from those in the group further to the centre, which stand close together like a palisade. The approximate impression given by examination from the front in 1974 is shown in the diagram (Fig.171).

1. Bruegels Gemälde, loc. cit.

2. Glück-Haberitzl, No.190, repr.

3. Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No.152, repr.

4. Cf. J. P. Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens 1823-1832*, ed. by Edward Castle, Berlin-Leipzig-Vienna-Stuttgart, n.d., pp.89,90.

p.257, No.24; Rooses, V, p.256, No.1495; Glück, p.63, under No.22 (as a copy); Jaffé, 1957, p.19, fig.12; Burchard-d'Hulst, 1963, No.178; Müller Hofstede, 1965, pp.176-180, repr. (as a copy); M. Jaffé, *Exhibitions for the Rubens Year, The Burlington Magazine*, CXIX, 1977, pp.622,623.

Two groups of farmhands—amongst the farmgirls there is at least one old woman—some barefooted, others wearing shoes or clogs, are returning from the fields. The three women on the right carry rakes and a fork and move towards the right. The two women on the left, seen from behind and moving towards the right background carry loads of hay and turnips on their heads. They are met by a farmer who carries a pitchfork over his right shoulder and raises his left arm to point to the right.

The time, as suggested by the long shadows to the right of the country people, is late afternoon. In the right background is a row of trees which cast shadows to the left. Apparently a larger drawing was reduced; then this portion was enlarged on the left and at the top. The trunks of the row of trees are on the original portion of the present sheet.

Burchard-d'Hulst believed the drawing to be a detail sketch for the large painting in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (No.48, Fig.127). In the painting the figures from the drawing appear to the right of centre, the women who carry hay and turnips are more widely spaced and the heads of the rakes and pitchfork are slightly more extended. I agree with Müller Hofstede, who considered the drawing to be a copy.

A drawing (black chalk; 190 x 295 mm. ex coll. Fairfax Murray?), probably by Teniers, and showing a variant of the group of women on the right, is in the collection of Mrs. Flora

48a. Return from the Harvest: Drawing (Fig.128)

Black and red chalk, wash, and oil colours; fully mounted; the sheet was first cut down to 172 x 225 mm., and then enlarged to 217 x 306 mm.; below, on the left, mark of the Albertina (L. 176).

Vienna, Albertina. Inv. No. 17.649.

PROVENANCE: Prince Charles de Ligne (Vienna, 1759-1792), sale, Vienna, 4 November 1794, lot 24.

EXHIBITED: Vienna, 1977, No.74 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. Bartsch, *Cat. . . . de feu le Prince Charles de Ligne*, Vienna, 1794,

Koch, London. Justus Müller Hofstede published it as by Rubens.¹ Comparison with the chalk drawing in the Uffizi, showing an old peasant woman with an extraordinarily impressive face² shows, in contrast to the weakly drawn faces of the figures on the London sheet, that *Burchard-d'Hulst* rightly rejected this drawing as a work of Rubens; a comparison of the garments is similarly indicative.

1. Müller Hofstede, 1965, pp.176, 177, fig.17.
2. *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No.152.

48b. Two Waggons, One Laden with Sheaves: Drawing (Fig.129)

Black chalk, heightened in white, partially reinforced with ink; 224 x 375 mm.; below, on the left, the mark of the collection of N. Hone (L. 2793).

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room. Inv. No. 3237.

PROVENANCE: N. Hone (London, 1718-1784); B. Suermondt (Aachen, 1818-1887); purchased by the Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum in 1874.

EXHIBITED: *Antwerp*, 1956, No.78.

LITERATURE: *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.41, No.95, repr.; *Bock-Rosenberg*, p.253, No.3237, pl.185; *Glück*, p.19, Fig.10; *Winkler*, p.53, fig.30; *Held*, I, p.146, No.133; II, pl.142; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.166, 167, No.102; II, pl.102; *Mielke-Winner*, pp.92, 93, No.32, repr.

A rack-waggon laden with sheaves, and a smaller cart—clearly studies from nature—are seen obliquely from behind. They are drawn independently and on different levels; the ground itself is not indicated. Evidently the large waggon was drawn first and the remaining space

used for the other, which is drawn on a smaller scale.

Many years after this drawing was made, the waggon filled with sheaves was used in *Return from the Harvest* (No.48, Fig.127) which was painted c. 1635. Rubens also used the drawing of this waggon at an earlier date. It occurs on the right of the engraving by Pieter Clouwet after Rubens's painting *Winter* (No.24, Fig.68). In the oil painting of c. 1617 at Windsor Castle (No.21, Fig.66), however, the waggon resembles that in the Chatsworth drawing (No.26a, Fig.76). The influence of the Berlin drawing on Clouwet's engraving may be seen from the way in which the front wheel is depicted. Since Clouwet's engraving shows the waggon as it appears in the present drawing, and exhibits other minor variations from *Winter* at Windsor, it is almost certain that it was done after another version of *Winter* by Rubens which is now lost. As Burchard dated the painting at Windsor c. 1617, the drawing may date from c. 1615-17.

49. Forest with Deer Hunt (Fig.130)

Oil on panel; 60.5 x 88.5 cm.

Llangedwyn Hall, North Wales, Collection of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 ('Un bois avec une chasse à l'aube du jour, sur fond de bois'; *Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p.61, No.108); Marquess of Lansdowne, Lansdowne Home, sale, London (Peter Coxe), 19 March 1806, lot 62.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; canvas, 55.5 x 79 cm. PROV. ? Lord Clanbrassil, sale, London, 5-9 June 1813, lot 49; Earl of Mulgrave, 1830; Amsterdam, J. Goudstikker, 1923; J. Lütjens, 1925; Amsterdam, Cassirer,

1927. LIT. *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.201, No.731 (as *Rubens*); *Glück*, p.66, under No.28; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.131), 307 x 444 mm. (V.S., p.235, No.53, 17).

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1835, No.151; British Institution, London, 1847, No.42; Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1888, No.151; *London*, 1950, No.38 (repr.); *London*, 1953-54, No.181.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.201, No.730; IX, p.314, No.251; *Rooses*, IV, p.378, No.1192; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p.316; *Dillon*, pp.184,234; L. Burchard, in *Kunstchronik*, 1911-1912, col.264; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.35; *Sterling*, p.204; *Herrmann*, pp.15,34,42,69,n.27; *Glück*, pp.37,38,66, under No.28.

In a forest shot through by the beams of the rising sun, a huntsman with three hounds is pursuing two hinds and a stag. Part of the light from the sun's disc is visible between the twisted branches of some trees growing on a bank to the left. The two hinds are fleeing to the right, near the right edge of the picture. A little further to the left, the stag with the hounds at its heels is running towards the right background. The huntsman and hounds are partly concealed by three trees standing close together in the centre of the picture. On either side of these trees are glimpses into the background, which on the left is flooded with morning sunlight. Above on the right the sky over the treetops is clouded, and two birds are seen flying to the right.

In the Bolswert engraving (Fig.131) the hounds and the deer are depicted differently and occupy different parts of the composition.

In the oil sketch at Munich (No.49a, Fig.132) there is only one hound, while a

hind, followed by a stag, is fleeing directly to the right. There are also important differences in the landscape. In the sketch, the bank on the left does not extend so far into the picture. Instead of the two vistas to the right and left of the three trees in the picture in Wales, in the sketch (where these trees are in the exact centre) there is a single, much more prominent central view of the distant scene; this is bordered by rows of trees with straight trunks, standing in perspective like a fence. The trees in the centre are also massively upright; but those on the bank to the left, with the sunshine playing round them, are more twisted than in the final work. In front of the bank, across the lower left corner of the picture, the half-decayed stump of a stout tree, glowing with a brownish-red colour, acts as a repoussoir. The brown leaves on a branch are here shown close-up by single dabs with the brush. This motif of the stump and branch in the immediate foreground was not repeated in the finished picture. Thus the sketch is distinguished by greater clarity and spatial simplification and by the more decisive juxtaposition of elements standing in a formal relation of mutual tension.

In the picture at Llangedwyn Hall the first hound is whitish and grey, then comes a brownish one, and a grey one is close beside the huntsman, who is also running at full speed; he wears a dark purple jacket and brown breeches. Warm brown tones, partly dark and shading into a glowing brownish-red, predominate in the interior of the forest. There is only a little pure green, especially sea-green, above right in the more distant tree-tops, and on the ground together with seaweed-like tones; but a light grey-green and yellow-green occurs here and there in the centre and on the right in the nearer foliage. Pure, thickly applied yellow appears on the left

above the bank, and in the vista there is rich yellow bordered by radiating streaks of red. In effective contrast to the rusty reddish-brown of the foliage, milky yellowish light pours in from the left background over the tender milky grey-green of the soil and some of the tree-trunks. Red, yellow and specks of intense sea-green are seen in the foliage and between the tree-trunks; the latter are painted with a few firm strokes of the brush, allowing the priming to show through. In front, on the left, the surface of a pond shows milky light green and grey tones with a yellowish admixture. The bark of the tree-trunks in the centre shows elongated bright yellowish-white streaks. The sky on the left is light blue and greenish, with a yellowish hue in its lower part. The sunlight in this area seems almost to dissolve the tree-trunks in tender pastel tones, which by contrast give full effect to the glowing light ochre and orange tints in the foliage above. The bunch of foliage at the topmost point on the right is rimmed by orange-red tones, and a streak of cloud in this area is shot through with red. A jay, startled by the hunt, is flying to the right out of the picture. The colours, as described, indicate that the work dates from Rubens's last decade.

Wilhelm Bode, who saw the picture at the Royal Academy exhibition in London in 1888, dated it c. 1630. Burchard confined himself to placing it in Rubens's last decade. I believe it was painted between 1631 and 1635.

The paint near the four corners has shrunk into more or less rectangular blobs. As far as could be seen from an examination of the paint surface in 1976 (the frame was screwed to the wall and the picture could only be examined from the front), the panel is composed of two central members and four boards surrounding it like a frame (Fig. 172). The central part measuring, 35.5×56 cm.

seems to consist of two short, wide boards joined together side by side, the grain running vertically. Of the four boards which enclose the central member, one on each side runs from the top to the bottom edge (the one on the left 16.5 cm. wide, the one on the right 16 cm.), while the other two, with horizontal grain, run part of the way along the top and bottom: the top one measures 18×56 cm. and the bottom one 7×56 cm. The whole composite panel was not the result of additions to an original composition while the work was being executed: this is proved by the fact that the preparatory oil sketch in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen at Munich (No. 49a, Fig. 132) already shows the same composition as the picture at Llangedwyn Hall. Even if the smaller panel at Munich is held to be a copy and not a preparatory sketch, the fact that the composition is only conceivable as a whole proves that it was executed on a composite panel from the outset.

The present work thus affords important evidence that, when Rubens landscapes are painted on a composite panel with a central member, it cannot always be assumed that he extended the composition in the course of working on it; although this is a correct inference as regards, e.g., the two landscapes from the former collections of the Earl of Carlisle (No. 23, Fig. 72) and the Duke of Buccleuch (No. 25, Fig. 71), now in the National Gallery, London.

49a. Forest with Deer Hunt: Oil Sketch (Fig. 132)

Oil on panel; 23×30 cm.

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Inv. No. 48.

PROVENANCE: Mannheim, Electoral Gallery; in the Hofgartengalerie,

Munich, in 1799; brought to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels*, 1965, No.215 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.87, No.280; *Parthey*, II, p.438, No.443; *Rooses*, IV, p.378 under No.1192 (as a copy); *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.35; *Herrmann*, pp.14,15,34,69, nn.27,28; *Glück*, pp.37,38,66, No.28; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.619,620, No.454, pl.440.

An oil sketch for the painting in the possession of Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn at Llangedwyn Hall, North Wales (No.49, Fig.130). It dates from the first years of Rubens's last decade.

50. Willows (Fig.133)

Oil on panel; 18.5 x 33.5 cm., a strip of 12 cm. is missing at the bottom.

Lausanne, Collection of Captain and Mrs Edward Speelman.

PROVENANCE: Charles Butler, Warren Wood.

EXHIBITED: *Helsinki*, 1952-53, No.21 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No.57.

LITERATURE: *Glück*, p.66, No.28 A; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.617,618, No.451, pl.438.

The eye falls from a near viewpoint on to a small piece of meadowland, with willow-trees in front and rows of bushes behind. At the lower edge of the small panel, which may have been cut down, the top of a rough, decaying fence can just be seen on the right. This leads obliquely to a group of willows standing very close together; they mostly have tall

trunks, and all but one are leaning in varying degrees to the left, giving a rhythmic impression. They are bathed in morning light; their foliage, cut off by the top edge of the picture, appears dissolved and shimmering owing to its closeness to the spectator. Between their trunks a shepherd can be seen sitting with his back to us, at the edge of the meadow and at the foot of the trees; he wears a light pink jacket and light brown hat and is holding a crook. Further left a few sheep are grazing on the rapidly foreshortened meadow. Through the trees, which form a kind of grille across the left-hand half of the picture, can be seen a row of tall bushes, further away on the left and nearer on the right. In the right-hand half, past the fence, the eye travels freely for a considerable distance. At the right edge of the picture a large pollard willow rises amid bushes, its leaves silvery in the morning light; it leans to the left and away from the spectator. The light catches in the rough bark of its tapering trunk. The meadow as far as the second row of trees and bushes, which is also parallel to the picture plane, is still in brownish-green shadow, contrasting with the yellowish-pink tints of the willow-tree's weather-worn surface. The misty sky with a streak of cloud, and the whole atmosphere as low as the shadowy zones near the ground, is permeated by the light brown, light orange and yellowish light of the sun, which has risen but is still concealed behind the bushes that close the view from one side of the picture to the other. Only a patch of blue sky is seen in the upper right corner through the sparse fan-like branches of the pollard willow.

The captivating colour and light effects of the invisible morning sun, and the way in which the shepherd in bright red and his sheep are just seen through the trees, produce a resemblance

between this admirable little work and the oil sketch for a *Forest with Deer Hunt* in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen (No.49a, Fig.132). It was probably painted, like the oil sketch, in Rubens's last decade.

51. Forest at Sunset (Fig.134)

Oil on canvas; 50 x 65 cm.

Cologne, Collection of Gottfried Neuerburg.

PROVENANCE: Charleston Wallis.

LITERATURE: *Glück*, pp.45-47,72, No. 39; *Müller Hofstede, Zwei Hirtenidyllen*, pp.38, 41, nn.29,30, Fig.7; *Stechow, Dutch Landscape Painting*, p.179, n.27.

The picture shows the edge of a forest on high ground to the left, with a pool on this side of it. Further off, where the ground slopes down to the right, a quiet stream/lake reflects the reddish-yellow light of the setting sun. A single, very tall pine-tree stands at the extreme right of the picture, on the upper part of the slope.

The red tones are not so strong as Glück's colour reproduction might suggest. The two water surfaces are at different levels. The large trees on the left lean over the pool which is closer to the spectator, and in which their trunks are mirrored. Beyond the lower-lying expanse of water on the right can be seen the tree-tops on a further bank. The soil, shown extensively in the foreground and middle ground, is grey and greenish-brown. Impasted yellowish-white and reddish light lies on the ground and sheets of water and clings to the trees like a soft material substance. Where the foliage is in shadow, its brownish-green tones become browner and it is hardly to be distinguished from the dark colour of

the earth. All the foliage reflects as it were clusters of yellowish-white and salmon-pink lights. Below on the right, the tonal effect is more sonorous. The trunk of the sharply inclined willow has salmon-pink lights amid large dark brown patches. The grey-blue sky, with horizontal layers of red cloud, which fills a large part of the right-hand half of the picture, gives an impression of space beyond the distant tree-tops. The spatial arrangement is much clearer than is suggested by reproductions, which stress the colour and chiaroscuro effects.

Especially effective is the alternation of red and whitish lights. At the edge of the nearer pool, almost in the centre of the picture, a tree-stump stands beside a path leading into the distance; its broken edges glow in the reddish light and contrasts with the dark patch around it. Immediately behind the stump is a fallen bough, its branches lying in the water and its thick end, bathed in whitish light, projecting sideways into the air. The two together mark a stage in the recession into depth, at a point where the forest edge curves to the right.

The light extends ribbon-like along the twisted tree-trunks, shoots forth as if in thick clusters from the leaves of the pollard willows in the left foreground, and shimmers over the foliage at the edge of the wood; in the background, immediately in front of the glowing evening sky, the leaves are as bright and silvery as those of the willows in the foreground. The alternation between warm red and brown and bright whitish light continues, on the side of the picture occupied by the forest, all the way into the background.

The complexity of the left-hand side is balanced by a few strong accents on the right. The ghostly light illuminates the trunk of the tall tree growing out of the dark patch of lower ground, and seems to flow rapidly and effortlessly through all

its branches up to the very top. As a repoussoir on the right, below the last branch, is the concentration of light indicating a downward-pointing bough, the actual outline of which the painter has omitted. This contrasts with the heavy dark motif of the head of the slanting willow, and the encounter of light and darkness takes place over the reflecting surface of the water and in front of the sky that is soon to be enveloped in night.

In the centre of the picture, the sun has just taken its dramatic leave of the earth. Yellow and red flames shoot up, and whitish-grey clouds rise into the sky; five birds follow their upward movement. In a few little glimpses around the central spectacle the light clear blue of day can still be seen, mingled with greyish-white and violet, whitish-grey tones. There are large white lights on the water in the foreground. The picture contains a surprising amount of whitish-grey, together with greenish brown, luminous golden yellow and warm, light salmon-pink made pastose with white.

The painting is to be dated about 1635.

52. Landscape with Avenue of Trees (Fig.135)

Oil on paper, pasted on panel; 55.5 x 71.5 cm.

Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts. Inv. No. 43.1332.

PROVENANCE: Everard Jabach's Estate, Paris, 17 July 1696, No.152; Clarkson Wallis, Brighton; Koetser, London, 1937; Bottenwieser, London; purchased by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1944.

EXHIBITED: *Cambridge-New York, 1956*, No.48.

LITERATURE: *Mémoire, Etats, Inventaires et Règlements de droit dans la famille de feu sieur Evrard Jabach et de dame Anne Marie de Groot, sa veuve, du 17 juillet 1696*, *Mémoires de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Isle de France*, XXI, 1894, p.2; W. G. Constable, *A Landscape by Rubens*, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, XLII, October 1944, pp.59-61; *Glück*, pp.34, 35, 63, 64, No.23; W. G. Constable, *Rubens in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, in *Miscellanea Leo Van Puyvelde*, Brussels, 1949, pp.133, 134, repr.; *Goris-Held*, pp.40, 41, No.90; *Summary Catalogue of European Paintings . . ., Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, 1955, p.57; J. S. Held, in *The Burlington Magazine*, XCVIII, 1956, pp.123, 124; Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.216, 217, under No.948.

From an artificially high viewpoint the eye looks down from a hill occupying the right and centre foreground and sloping rapidly towards the depth of the picture. The compactly shaped picture shows the flat country of Brabant with cloud masses towering above it. At the right edge, tall slender trees on the highest part of the hill give a firm support to the view. At the foot of the hill, the avenue which gives the picture its name runs from the right foreground to the left background towards the point where the level horizon, about half-way up the picture, meets its left edge; long before reaching this point, however, the avenue comes to an end among meadows. From the left edge of the picture light from the late afternoon sun (thought of as outside the picture) filters through the damp atmosphere and flows, like a material substance, across into the plain, effortlessly overcoming the barrier presented

by the avenue. In the meadows to the left the path of the light is indicated in the foreground and middle ground by dark poplars and bands of shadow parallel to the picture plane. Further back, long rows of trees with rounded tops fill the horizon from the left edge, curve to the right, embrace the distant castle and, just before the intersection by the tall trees at the edge, curve forward and left again, so that their wide curve finally points back to the foot of the hill in the lower left corner. Within this huge curve and beyond to the horizon with its creamy-yellow, luminous clouds, the warm brown and golden yellow radiance floods the fertile plain with its manifold vegetation, rows of trees and forests. Richly applied bright pink and bright ochre light is caught at the foot of the first trees in the avenue. Below on the left are haymakers, brown and whitish cattle grazing, cottages, a cart laden with hay, and peasants at work. All these figures, so small as to be scarcely noticed, involved in the pattern of light and shade, the impression of transience heightened by capricious changes of scale, are almost obliterated by the overwhelming effect of the great plain with its forests and rows of trees shot through with light. Over the large parabolic curve bathed in gentle light and open towards the left side of the picture, high over the cream-coloured banks of cloud is a big grey cloud forming a counter-diagonal to the avenue in the foreground.

The position of this work in the sequence of Rubens landscapes that Burchard intended to publish is the only indication that he thought it was probably painted c. 1635. In view of its relationship to the smaller, sketch-like paintings Nos. 45, 50, 58, 63, 68, 68a and 69, and above all its high degree of abstractness, I believe that it belongs to the last phase of Rubens's activity as a landscape painter.

53. Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt (Fig. 136)

Oil on panel; 131.5 x 229.5 cm.
London, National Gallery. No. 66.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate ('Un grand paysage au naturel avec des petites figures, sur fond de bois'; *Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p. 62, No. 135); Palazzo Balbi, Genoa, 1758; sold by Costantino Balbi to Irvine and to Arthur Champernowne, acting for and with W. Buchanan, in 1802; sold by W. Buchanan to Lady Beaumont by 25 May, 1803, and given by her to Sir George Beaumont by 23 June, 1803; presented by Sir George Beaumont to the British Museum for the proposed National Gallery, 1823; transferred to the National Gallery, 1823.

COPIES: (1) Painting by George Arnald, signed and dated 1804, whereabouts unknown; panel, 58.5 x 105.5 cm. PROV. painted for Sir George Beaumont; Sir G. A. M. Beaumont, sale, London (Sotheby's), 20 February 1952, lot 75; sale, London (Sotheby's), 9 February 1955, lot 109. LIT. *Martin, Flemish School*, p. 140; (2) Painting by John Constable, whereabouts unknown. LIT. [A. Shirley, ed.], *Memoirs of the Life of John Constable, R.A.*, by C. R. Leslie, R.A., London, 1937, pp. 156, 158; *Martin, Flemish School*, p. 140; (3) Painting with variations by L. Van Uden, whereabouts unknown; panel, 52 x 85 cm. PROV. Paris, Jules Porgès, sale, Berlin, 7 December 1925 (repr.). LIT. *Glück*, p. 67, under No. 30; *Martin, Flemish School*, p. 140; (4) Engraving by George Cooke (1781-1834); (5) Engraving by Frederick James Havell (1801-1840); (6) Engraving by James Baylie Allen (1803-1876).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1815, No. 10; British Institution, London, 1823, No. 120; *Manchester*, 1857, No. 556; *An*

Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures 1936–1947, National Gallery, London, 1947, No. 54.

LITERATURE: *Descamps, Vie*, I, p.304; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.214, 215, No.767; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, I, p.219; *Waagen, Treasures*, I, p.351, 7; *Bürger, Manchester*, pp.198–200; *Rooses*, IV, pp.392,393, No.1204; M. *Rooses*, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, V. 1897, pp.18,28,61, 95,96; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.315,316; *Michel*, pp.526–529, pl.38; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.571–574,577 (repr.); *Rooses, Louvre-National Gallery*, pp.203–209; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.407,485; *Dillon*, pp.63, 185, 196, pl.CCCCLX; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p.60; *K.d.K.*, p.404; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.37,45,n.18; *Sterling*, pp.181, 187,192,195–199, (repr.); *Herrmann*, pp.14,32,38–40,43,48,57,58,69,n.23, 80, n.125; *Evers*, 1942, pp.384–386,404,405, Figs.227,228; *Evers*, 1943, p.82; *Glück*, pp.39,40,44,67,68, No.30; N. *MacLaren*, *Peter Paul Rubens, The Chateau de Steen*, London, 1946; *Seilern*, No.63; *Held*, I, p.147, under No.137; *Gersonter Kuile*, pp.107,108,189, n.151, Fig.93; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.137–142, No.66, Appendix I.

The Brabant plain rolls majestically from the left foreground to the right background. The horizon is two-thirds of the way up the picture; in the distance, on the right, the sun has just risen behind thin whitish clouds. Its golden light catches the cloud veils, the undulations of the ground, the rows of trees and hedges, and the trees and bushes in the foreground. Between trees on the left there is a view of Het Steen, lying some distance away, with a square crenellated tower behind it. In the foreground a cart that appears to be coming from the house advances towards the spectator through a shallow stream; the two bay horses in the shafts have just turned to their right,

following the watercourse, and are moving leftwards out of the picture. The carter, mounted on one of them, is holding the whip and reins. The cart is laden with barrels, on which a young woman sits facing the spectator; she has on a brown hat, a bright red jacket and a blue skirt. On her arm, crooked at the elbow, is a round, shining brass milk-can. In front of the castle moat is the master of the house with his wife and a servant sitting on the ground with a small child on her lap. In the very front of the picture a sportsman with a dog is stalking a covey of partridges under cover of a half-uprooted tree-trunk overgrown with creepers. The birds have alighted on an apple-tree; they appear unusually large at such a distance, as if seen through a magnifying-glass, and lead the eye from the repoussoir of the stump into the depth of the picture. Some cows in the middle distance, to the right of the row of trees winding towards the horizon, are painted quite small.

Waagen paid particular attention to this picture during his first visit to London in 1835. The expression 'magic mirror', which he used to describe it, was perhaps inspired as much by the fanciful, almost unreal variation of scale as by the warm, glowing colours of earth and sky, the glitter of the rippling brook in the first light of morning, and the outlines and window-panes of the castle.

Evers's attempt in 1942 to analyse Rubens's attitude to landscape in this late painting is also of interest.

The building between the trees on the left is certainly Het Steen near Elewijt south of Mechlin, purchased by Rubens on 12 May 1635. The foundations of the square tower are said to have been still extant at the end of the 19th century, about three metres north-west of the main building.¹ Gregory Martin in 1970 described the view in some detail and discussed the question of the time of day,

which is often a matter of dispute in Rubens's landscapes:

Het Steen lies just off the road from Elewijt to Eppelgem. . . . The view of the house is that seen from the road coming from Elewijt. . . . The road runs almost due West, and the view in the distance is thus to the North, which is confirmed by Rooses' statement concerning the position of the tower. The sun is thus in the East, and the time of day is early morning, as was generally thought in the nineteenth century, rather than early evening as has been supposed more recently. . . . The town on the horizon is probably Antwerp, and the smaller town before it could have been intended as a reminiscence of Malines.²

Martin draws attention to various plants and birds, especially the two goldfinches on the branch in the right foreground and two magpies in the sky in the middle of the picture. He concludes from the species of flowers (identified by Dr. Melderis of the Natural History Museum, London) and the greenness of the leaves that the season is autumn but not yet November. As Rubens spent some months of 1636 at the Steen (whence he wrote to Peiresc on 4 September)³ and was probably back in Antwerp by 20 November of that year, Martin proposes 1636 as the date of the picture. As regards the small child, Glück suggested that it might be one of Rubens's infant offspring, e.g. Isabella Hélène (born 3 May 1635) or Peter Paul (born 1 March 1637); hence the picture might date from the autumn or late summer of 1635 or 1637. Burchard dated the work 1635.

The square tower also appears in the two sketch-like *Landscapes with a Tower* at Oxford (No.64, Fig.147) and Berlin-Dahlem (No.65, Fig.149) and in the *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre (No.65, Fig.148).

1. Rooses, IV, loc. cit.

2. Martin, *Flemish School*, p.138 and notes p.141.

3. Rooses-Ruelens, VI, pp.164 ff.

54. Landscape with Rainbow (Fig.137)

Oil on panel; 93.5 x 123 cm.—*Verso*: the brands of Antwerp and the panel maker Michiel Vriendt (MV).

Munich, Alte Pinakothek. Inv. No. 312.

PROVENANCE: Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine (Düsseldorf, 1658-1716); Hofgartengalerie, Munich, 1806; transferred to the Alte Pinakothek in 1836.

COPY: Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 110.5 x 116.5 cm. PROV. ? Wierman, sale, Amsterdam, 18 August 1762, lot 126; Brett; J. C. Robinson; Richmond, Sir Herbert Cook, 1939. LIT. Rooses, IV, p.391, under No.1202; Cat. Cook, 1914, II, p.85, No.332; Glück, p.66, under No.29.

LITERATURE: Karsch, No.175; Van Gool, II, p.544; Pigage, No.275, pl.XIX; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.80, No.249; Marggraff, p.57, No.284; Reber, p.155, No.761; Rooses, IV, pp.390,391, No.1202; Burckhardt, *Rubens*, p.315; Michel, pp.534,537 (repr.); K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, pp.408,485; Michel, *Paysage*, pp.61,66, repr.; Dillon, pp.186,203, pl.CCCCLVIII; J. W. Heinse, *Briefe aus der Düsseldorfer Gemäldegalerie*, ed. by Arnold Winkler, Leipzig-Vienna, 1914, pp.182-184; Cat. Cook, 1914, II, p.85; K.d.K., pp.396,470; Oldenbourg, 1922, p.153; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.32-34,43, 44,n.10; Sterling, pp.187, 195, 196, 198; Herrmann, p.76,n.79; Evers, 1942, pp.401,404,505, n.421; Glück, pp.38,39,66,67, No.29; Soyer, *Paysagiste*, p.58; Thiéry, pp.94,104,112; Martin, *Flemish School*, pp. 134,140; Adler, *Wildens*, p.80, n.86(3), fig.309.

The panel consists of five horizontal boards. The left edge is slightly bevelled, the right one more so. The front surface shows, under the paint, traces of guide lines in pencil.

In my opinion Rubens did not himself execute this copy after the *Landscape with Rainbow* in the Wallace Collection (No. 55, Fig. 138). The ratio of height to width is increased, while the picture is a great deal smaller and more compact, all details being carefully preserved; it measures only 94.5×123 cm. as against 135.5×233.5 cm. The copy does not show the *pentimenti* in the horses' legs which are clearly visible in the original.¹ Burchard, who believed the copy to be by Rubens's own hand, evidently overlooked this fact when he listed it as a first autograph version of the composition. Oldenbourg and Glück also believed the Munich painting to be by Rubens and to have been executed before the version in the Wallace Collection.

The foliage of the wedge of forest in the Munich picture is inky in coloration, executed with uncoordinated dabs of the brush. In Rubens's own work such dabs always form coherent patterns: they are applied with rhythmic impulses of the hand, and show an expressiveness peculiar to Rubens alone in the variations of size, direction, the amount of space between and the succession of particular lines and areas. In the Munich work the separate areas of foliage, especially in the sunlit part of the right middle ground, the sky and large parts of the foreground make a flat, coulisse-like appearance: this is true above all of the large uppermost section of foliage, which is meant to look round but is flat at the edges and appears to cave in in the centre. In the lower part of the wedge of forest, which narrows towards the centre of the picture, the oblique parallel handling betrays a copyist of De Momper's school. The cows, including their out-

lines, and all the reflections are particularly weak. The rainbow is without the full spectrum of colours, but is only yellow and blue. The faces of the rustics are doll-like, and the copyist has been especially unsuccessful with the smile of the woman carrying a jug and that of the narrow-chested man beside her with his weak, crooked shoulders. The composition, compressed into different dimensions as though by some trick with a mirror, is repeated with extreme accuracy, but the artist fails as soon as he has to portray details of landscape, space, light and reflections; he is poor at clarifying and organizing lights and cannot depict the bodies, faces, expressions and attitudes of animals and human beings. At the same time he concentrates on salient figures and physiognomies and on Rubens's manner of painting foliage. He is even less successful in depicting the earth itself, the foreshortened stretches of water with their reflections and high banks, the sky, the rainbow and its image in the water.

1. Cf. Adler, *Wildens*, figs. 307, 308.

55. *Landscape with Rainbow* (Fig. 138)

Oil on panel; 135.5×233.5 cm.
London, Wallace Collection. No. P 63.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate ('Un grand paysage avec une pluie'; *Denucé, Konstakmers*, p. 62, No. 136); Palazzo Balbi, Genoa, 1758; sold by Costantino Balbi to James Irvine and Arthur Champernowne, acting for and with William Buchanan, in 1802; in England by April, 1803; A. Champernowne, 1815; George Watson Taylor, sale, London (Christie's), 14 June 1823, lot 60; Earl of Orford, sale, London (Christie's), 26 June 1856, lot 278; left by the third Marquess of Hertford (1777–

1842) to his son, Sir Richard Wallace (1818-1890), whose collection was bequeathed to the British nation by Lady Wallace, and was opened as a national museum in June, 1900.

COPIES: (1) Painting; for further references, see No. 54; (2) Engraving by F. C. Lewis the Elder (1779-1856). LIT. *Rooses*, IV, p. 392, under No. 1203.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1815, No. 8; *Manchester*, 1857, No. 556; *Bethnal Green Museum*, London, 1872-75, No. 79; *London*, 1872, No. 125.

LITERATURE: *Cochin, Voyage d'Italie*, III, pp. 268, 269; *Buchanan, Memoirs*, II, pp. 101, 102; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p. 215, No. 768; *Waagen, Treasures*, III, p. 434; *Waagen, The Manchester Exhibition*, p. 39; *Bürger, Manchester*, pp. 198-200; *Rooses*, IV, pp. 391, 392, No. 1203; *Michel*, p. 534; *Rooses, Vie*, p. 577; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp. 408, 485; *Dillon*, pp. 63, 185, 186, 197, pl. CCCCLIX; *Oldenbourg*, 1918, p. 60; *K.d.K.*, p. 470; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, p. 153; *J. Farington, The Farington Diary*, ed. by *J. Greig*, II, London, 1923, p. 94; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp. 32-34, 43, 44, n. 10; *Sterling*, pp. 187, 195, 196, 198; *Herrmann*, pp. 11, 23, 26, 37, 38, 47, 48, 50, 52, 55, 56, 58, 76, n. 79; *Evers*, 1942, pp. 401, 404, 505, n. 421, figs. 225, 226; *Glück*, pp. 38, 39, 66, 67, No. 29; *Gersonter Kuile*, pp. 107, 108, 189, n. 151; *Wallace Collection Catalogues. Pictures and Drawings*, London, 1968, pp. 287, 288, No. P 63; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp. 137-142, under No. 66; *Adler, Wildens*, p. 80, n. 86(3), figs. 307, 308.

The original support (see the diagram, Fig. 173) seems to have consisted of four boards joined horizontally, which now occupy the centre of the panel and are less than a quarter its size. The back of the picture is completely covered with an

elaborate honeycomb cradle, and so the structure of the various wood panels cannot easily be seen; the Wallace Collection does not wish to remove the cradle at the present time.

A scene of forests and harvesting, in the misty atmosphere of a summer shower, with a high horizon and a wide expanse of foreground. The effect of strong horizontal lines in the middle distance and background is hardly diminished by the wedge-shaped diagonals of the bank and forest on the right and the road, field and clumps of trees on the left. The composition, consisting of simple geometrical elements, which might appear unwieldy by its width and profusion of scenes, is held together by the bluish-green and yellow rainbow. Thus the brightly lit bank with the ducks in the immediate right foreground contrasts with the haymaking activity on the left, and in general the human and animal groups are kept to the lower half of the picture and do not interfere with the forests and meadows in the upper half.

The composition begins with the harvest cart entering the picture in the left foreground, and achieves its greatest pictorial unity in the upper right corner. The effect of distance in that part of the picture is emphasized by the bright patch of ground with the ducks and the fan-like shrub just above them. The stretch of water in the foreground reflects the cows' bodies and faces and the hues of the rainbow. In front of the dark mass of the forest and bank, the bright patch with the ducks, and the water where it reflects the spectrum most strongly, point towards the cowherd in the centre of the picture—from the spectator's point of view, directly behind the white cow—who is urging the cattle onwards. Behind him the road and the brook, which converge in the foreground, follow divergent courses into

the picture depth. The herdsman thus stands on a tongue of land between the two, which gets rapidly broader as it recedes. Its symmetrical counterpart in the foreground is the herd of cattle fanning out towards the spectator and correlated with the group of the two women and the joking farmhand with the pitchfork. The two horses and the carter on the left, the trio, the cows and ducks in the foreground lie on a somewhat slanting line paralleled by the horizontal alignment of the middle ground with light falling from the left, and finally by the horizon visible in the left half of the painting.

The picture bears witness to Rubens's second encounter with Titian during his travels in 1628-30. The earth is mainly yellow, green and brown, the sky grey and orange. The carter is painted in indigo heightened with light cocoacolour; the horses are light brown. The herdsman in the centre is in dull brick-red, and the lights on his black jacket are also of this colour. The girl nearer the front on the left wears a bright red jacket; the man with the pitchfork is greyish-yellow. The sky is grey with touches of orange, the latter especially above right, where the rainbow meets the tree-tops. The cows are light brown (on the left) and white, and some are in part almost black. The cow in the front, seen sideways, has a coat in which the darkest brown contrasts vividly with white, and in the cows' reflections in the water the transitions of shimmering hues are still more lively. Here, as though through an opening in the foreground, the eye seems to fall into a wide area underneath the picture. Further back, the cow standing sideways is surrounded by the gleaming reflection of the rainbow, which also falls on the white one beside it.

This painting shows *pentimenti* in the horses' legs which do not appear in the Munich version (No.54, Fig.137), the

latter showing only their final position as in the present work. Burchard must have failed to notice this fact, or he would not have regarded the Munich version (which he believed to be by Rubens) as the earlier of the two.

The present work may be a kind of pendant to the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* in the National Gallery, London (No.53, Fig.136), the dimensions of which are very similar. The two paintings may have been already regarded as pendants at the time of Rubens's death. Gregory Martin suggests this in connection with the generally accepted view that the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* was No.135 in the catalogue of Rubens's posthumous sale. The fact that the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* may, as he points out, have been in the missing initial section of the *Staetmasse ende Rekeninge* of Rubens's estate lends plausibility to Martin's supposition. The complicated structure of the support of that painting makes it likely that the picture in the Wallace Collection was painted subsequently as a pendant to it. If, therefore, as Martin thinks, the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* was painted towards the end of 1636, the present work may date from 1637. Burchard, in any case, was no doubt right in dating it between 1635 and 1638.

According to Rooses a preliminary study for this landscape appeared in the sale of the collection of Count Aglie (London, 1830).

56. Open, Flat Landscape with a Peasant Couple and a Dog

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.139), 315 x 478 mm. (V.S., p.235, No.53, 16).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.323, No.1210; *Rooses*, IV, p.377, No.1191; *Herrmann*, p.63, n.5; *Glück*, pp.34,72, No.41.

A wide, marshy landscape with patches of water in the foreground stretches out towards low hills on the horizon. Bushes and trees grow everywhere; in the right foreground is a pollard willow in front of a group of tall trees. Beyond these is a view of a hexagonal church-tower on the right, and on the left a peasant's cottage and a dilapidated manor-house. A storm is coming up, and in the foreground a peasant is urging his wife to make haste; a dog leaps on in front of them. Further off, a man leading two horses is hurrying from the scene, and a sportsman with two dogs is heading in the same direction. A flock of birds are flying to the right, whence the scene is lit by the rays of the setting sun, while a bank of rain-clouds is driving up from the left.

Burchard dated the lost picture to Rubens's late period, after 1635. He recalled that Philostratus describes a painting entitled *Marshes*.

As to Burchard's doubts concerning the authenticity of the peasant couple (he suggested that Bolswert might have added them in imitation of the two maids in the foreground of the *Landscape with Antique Ruins*—No.15, Fig.47), it is to be noted that they occur, with the position of the dog slightly modified, in a landscape by Lucas van Uden, who not only copied Rubens landscapes but also frequently borrowed figures from them; I saw Van Uden's landscape in the London art market in 1967. However, the landscape is a late one and Van Uden may have modelled it on the engraving after Rubens, so that Burchard's supposition may be justified.¹

1. Actually in a private collection, London; oil on canvas, 73.5 x 104 cm.; painted during Van Uden's

late years, c. 1660; prov.: Graham Baron Ash, Esq., Wingfield Castle, Norfolk, sale, London (Christie's), 4 October 1967, lot 164.

57. Landscape with a Carriage (Fig.140)

Black chalk and oil on paper, transferred to canvas; 46.5 x 70.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. No.948.

PROVENANCE: Earl of Mulgrave, sale, London (Christie's), 12 May 1832, lot 18; bought by John Swaby; John Swaby, sale, London (Phillips), 13 March 1860, lot 927; Wynn Ellis Bequest, 1876, to the National Gallery; temporarily lent to the Free Library and Museum, Bootle (near Liverpool), 1904-1929, and to the City Art Gallery, Wakefield, Yorkshire, 1934-1935.

LITERATURE: *Rooses*, IV, pp.393,394, under No.1205 (as a copy); *Herrmann*, pp.59,60,84, n.162; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, p.332, under No.208; *Jaffé*, 1965, p.381; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.215-217, No.948; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.618,619, No.453, pl.439.

The edges of the support are ragged; there is a substantial repair in the top left-hand corner and a smaller repair in the bottom left-hand corner. There is a line of nail-holes along the bottom edge and perhaps one or two along the top. There are a few creases resulting from a faulty maroufage. The paint is in fairly good condition. There is some wearing round the waggon and the bottom left-hand corner. The paper is discoloured as a result of having absorbed varnish; but some brown areas in the sky are due to a wash put on before the white of the sky. The painting is not finished, as two areas of foliage have not been filled in. In the more finished areas the foliage goes over the sky. The trees (except at the right)

and bushes were first drawn in black chalk.

This painting, whose oblong shape contrasts with the nearly square form of the Rotterdam version (No.58, Fig.141), shows in fairly close view a broad section of the well-watered Brabant landscape of the 17th century with its plentiful forests, trees and bushes. A quiet stream extends diagonally from the right foreground towards the left background, but before reaching the edge of the picture it disappears behind its bank, which rises higher and higher on that side and on which a tall tree grows, surrounded by thick brushwood. A ford crosses the stream obliquely in the lower right corner of the picture, and a cart with a driver and two horses is descending the slope into the water. On the further side a row of willows and other tall trees extends from the right edge of the picture more than two-thirds of the way across it; the line of trees then bends sharply into the distance at the point where the road re-emerges from the stream. The curtain of trees which thus leads diagonally into the distance affords glimpses of fields and a forest on the right, while on the left there are trees and bushes on the far horizon. The sweep of the movement into depth, beginning in the right foreground and accelerating at the bend in the line of trees, is richly instrumented by the wealth of vegetation and the animation and plasticity of the scene, variegated by the shadows of trees and undulating ground.

Müller Hofstede suggested to me in 1964 that this work might have been a model for a proposed engraving. The suggestion seems to be borne out by comparison with the Rotterdam *Landscape with a Waggon at Sunset* (No.58, Fig.141), based on a similar pictorial idea. The chronological sequence of the two works might accordingly be the reverse of that supposed by

Burchard and followed in the present volume.

58. *Landscape with a Waggon at Sunset* (Fig. 141)

Oil on panel; 49.5 x 54.5 cm. *Verso*: the brands of Antwerp and of the panel maker Michiel Vriendt.

Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen. No. 2514.

PROVENANCE: ? George Villiers, Second Duke of Buckingham, 1635 ('The Evening in a small landskip, 2 f. 0:8 f. 0'; *Fairfax, Buckingham*, p.16, No.12); ? Lord Camden, sale, London (Christie's), 4 March 1809, lot 102; Marquis of Camden, sale, London (Christie's), 12 June 1841, lot 66; Samuel Rogers, sale, London (Christie's), 3 May 1856, lot 717; purchased by T. Baring; Earl of Northbrook; Frans Koenigs, Haarlem, 1928; D. G. van Beuningen, Vierhouten; with the latter collection into the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, in 1955.

COPIES: (1) Painting, Turin, Galleria Sabauda, Collezione Gualino; panel, 50 x 58 cm. **PROV.** Schönberg near Cronberg im Taunus, August de Ridder, sale, Paris (G. Petit), 24 June 1924, lot 58 (repr.), purchased by Riccardo Gualino. **LIT.** W. Bode, *The Collection of the late A. de Ridder in his villa at Schönberg near Cronberg in the Taunus*, Berlin, 1913, pl.75; *K.d.K.*, p.465; *Glück*, p.68, under No.32; (2) Painting, whereabouts unknown. **EXH.** Dowdeswell Galleries, London, 1912, No.12. **LIT.** *Glück*, p.68, under No.32; (3) Painting, whereabouts unknown. **PROV.** Reinagle, sale, London (Christie's), 29 May 1824, lot 16. **LIT.** *Glück*, p.68, under No.32.

EXHIBITED: British Institution, London, 1850, No.28; *London*, 1872,

No.51; New Gallery, London, 1899–1900, No.132; Grafton Galleries, London, 1911, No.61; Dowdeswell Galleries, London, 1912, No.12; *London*, 1927, No.267; *Düsseldorf*, 1929, No.55; *Amsterdam*, 1933, No.60 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1935, No.41; *Paris*, 1936, No.89; *Rotterdam*, 1938, No.181; *Rotterdam*, 1948–49, No.59; *Paris*, 1952, No.135; *Rotterdam*, 1953–54, No.94 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1965, No.211 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1977, No.92 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, IX, p.331, No.322; *Waagen, Galleries*, p.98; Lord Ronald Gower, *Die Northbrook-Gallerie*, Leipzig, n.d., [1885]; *Rooses*, IV, pp.393,394, No.1205; *Burckhardt, Erinnerungen aus Rubens*, p.317, n.; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.399; *Dillon*, pp.184,235, pl.CCCCXXXIV, above; *K.d.K.*, p.271; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.35; *Fry*, p.144, pl.V, B; *Sterling*, pp.185 (repr.), 192,193,195,196,200; *Norris*, 1933, p.229; *Herrmann*, pp.20, 38,41,57,59,73, n.58; *Glück*, pp.40–42, 68, No.32; *Martin, Flemish School*, pp.215–217, under No.948; *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen Rotterdam, Old Paintings 1400–1900. Illustrations*, Rotterdam, 1972, p.220, No.2514.

A portion of the wooded Brabant plain in the red-golden light of sunset. The picture is relatively small and almost square in shape. The middle distance and background are given depth by a broad stream which enters the picture in the lower left corner and runs in a gentle diagonal towards the left edge, where it disappears. On the further bank, on the left of the picture, there is an unrestricted view of the plain, broken only by single trees. In the centre and on the right, however, two thick clumps of trees tower over the scene and are cut off by the upper edge. Behind them, as far as the eye reaches, meadows and large

groves of trees extend to the horizon. The golden light pours over the countryside, and the sky is illuminated in red and gold. The sun's disc is only partly concealed by branches and leaves. Pure golden light seeps through the foliage; behind the clump of trees on the right it sinks to the ground in reddish-brown and golden hues, and through their foliage it seems to be wafted towards the spectator in vaporous clouds. The further bank, on which the tall trees stand, is in deep shadow, as is the part of the stream close to it. In the left half of the picture the banks are lower, and rich highlights convey the reflection of the golden evening sky on the water's surface. In the lower right corner, seen from behind, a carter in a red jacket, riding one of his two bay horses, is drawing a waggon with a tarpaulin covering down to a ford or path leading along the bank. A large bird, perhaps a woodpecker, is seen in the golden sunlight between the trees on the right; several other birds are circling over the open country to the left.

As Burchard rightly observed, this painting is to be listed among Rubens's landscapes of the period after 1635.

In 1964 Justus Müller Hofstede suggested to me that the London *Landscape with a Carriage* (No.57, Fig.140) might have been a model for an engraving that was never executed. In that case the chronological order of our Nos.57 and 58 may be the reverse of that supposed by Burchard.

59. Flat Landscape with Clouds (Fig.142)

Oil on panel; 90 x 134 cm.

Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts.

PROVENANCE: [Charles O'Neill], sale, London (Foster and Sons), 21 March

1839, lot 79, withdrawn; Charles O'Neill, sale, London (Foster and Sons), 5 June 1839, lot 84; Francis Edwards, London; G. H. Phillips, sale (probably on behalf of Francis Edwards or his family), Brussels (Le Roy), 23 April 1868, lot 72, purchased by Bradby or Bradbee; W. Fuller Maitland, Stansted Hall, Essex, sale, London (Christie's), 10 May 1879, lot 94, purchased by Daniel Pandeli Ralli and his family from about 1888 till about 1939; purchased by the Barber Institute from Martin B. Asscher, in 1940.

COPIES: (1) Painting with variations, whereabouts unknown; canvas. PROV. Brussels, Albert Joly; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, 310 x 455 mm. (V.S., p.234, No.53, 13).

EXHIBITED: *Manchester*, 1857, No.377; *London*, 1875, No.106; St. Jude's, Whitechapel, London, 1888, No.202; Art Gallery, Whitechapel, London, 1901, No.262; *A Loan Exhibition of Flemish Old Masters*, Milton Galleries, London, 1944-1945, No.14.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.321, No.1203; *Bürger, Manchester*, p.198; *Rooses*, IV, p.377, under No.1190; *Herrmann*, p.63, n.5; *Glück*, p.34, pl.23a; L. Van Puyvelde, 'A Landscape by Rubens', *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII, 1941, pp.188-191; T. Bodkin, *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Miniatures in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham*, Cambridge, 1952, pp.88, 89.

The only living beings in the picture, so small as to be hardly recognizable, are a shepherd in a raspberry-coloured jacket, his flock of sheep and a few birds in the air. In the foreground a wide ditch can be seen in the shadow of the clouds. To the left of it, another ditch leads the eye to the middle distance and the left edge

of the picture. In front of this ditch—but some way into the picture, and thus not a conventional *repoussoir* of the old-fashioned type—is a slender tree resembling a poplar or an ash, which Rubens treats in an unusually naturalistic style. Elongated though it is, it does not reach nearly to the top of the picture. A zigzag row of much smaller trees leads beyond it into the distance. (The engraving has here a row of large trees which are not in the picture, but were evidently inserted by Bolswert to give it a more traditional air.) The colouring is very light. On the ground, a gleaming golden-brown is toned down by an overlay of darker brown tones, and a light, tender cocoa-brown is also used. A light and a darker greyish-green occur not only in the landscape but as a reflection in the sky to the right, where it is mingled with yellow, blue, grey and orange superimposed in several layers. The raspberry colour of the shepherd's jacket also appears on the ground near him and on the right slope of the hill right of centre. Effects of contrast are obtained especially in the trees by sea-green, often heightened with white. The water surfaces are also highlighted in white and seagreen-white. The leaves of the small bush in the foreground are picked out in bright yellowish-white. Many parts of the foreground and middle ground are highlighted by rapid strokes of bright yellowish-green.

The picture is remarkably modern in style: we may understand Glück's remark at the end of the preface to *Die Landschaften des Peter Paul Rubens* that Rubens had no real successor as a landscape painter in his own century or for a long time after.¹

Burchard rightly dated this work after 1635 and connected it, as did Held, with *Trees Reflected in Water*, the British Museum drawing (No.77, Fig.165).

1. Glück, p.47.

60. Horseman at a Watering Place

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.143), 310 x 444 mm. (*V.S.*, p.234, No.53, 9).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.321, No.1202; *Rooses*, IV, p.372, No.1183; *Herrmann*, p.63, n.5; *Glück*, p.72, No.42.

In the centre foreground of a flat landscape of bushes, trees and meadows is a dam-like mound, behind which a stretch of water is visible. Through a narrow, brick-lined gap in the mound, bridged by a single log, a stream of water flows for a short distance into a pool in the right foreground (left in the engraving). A peasant, mounted on a horse, is watering it on the further side of the mound. The horse and rider are seen obliquely from behind; the horse's head and legs are concealed by the mound. Trees grow on the further banks of the two streams, to right and left of the picture. In the centre there is a view of meadowland beyond the gap in the mound, with the thatched roof of a large farm building, on the horizon.

Burchard rightly dated the lost picture c. 1636.

61. Landscape with a Hanged Man
(Fig.144)

Oil on panel; 17 x 22.5 cm. On the back the monogram CI, the cipher of Charles I, King of Great Britain.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen.
No. 1948.

PROVENANCE: ? Charles I, King of England (1600-1649); P. H. Lankrink, 1692; P. J. de Waepenaert, 1774; Duke

of Hamilton, sale, London (Christie's), 17 June 1882, lot 68; Albert Brassey, sale, London (Christie's), 15 April 1921, lot 53; donated to the former Kaiser-Friedrich-Museum by a group of Berlin art dealers, on occasion of Wilhelm von Bode's 80th birthday.

LITERATURE: H. Voss, *Die zum Geburtstage W.v. Bodes geschenkten Bilder und Skulpturen, Berliner Museen*, XLVII, 3, 1926, p.38, repr.; W. Bode, in *Der Kunstmärter*, 1926, p.182; *Herrmann*, pp.19, 38, 40, 59, 77, n.94; *Thiéry*, p.98; *Cat. Berlin*, 1975, p.375, No.1948; *Kelch*, pp.97-99, repr.

In this remarkably small panel a few pictorial elements, set down in sketch-like fashion, together achieve a monumental unity. The scene is overshadowed by a grey storm-cloud, with vivid sunlight breaking in obliquely from the right. The land in the background is bluish-green; a hill surmounted by a castle rises in the middle distance. In the foreground, on the extreme left, is a tall gallows with two uprights and a cross-piece, and behind it a couple of trees with sparse foliage, rising much higher than the castle tower. These trees, and the vaguely-indicated body of a hanged man dressed in a white shirt, are blown by the wind towards the centre of the picture. The gallows and its burden are seen obliquely, as it faces in the direction of the castle. To the right of it is a tall pole surmounted by a wheel containing human limbs. These gruesome features are separated from the remaining scene by a road which runs obliquely across the picture from the left edge to its lower border near the spectator, who is assumed to be looking down from a high viewpoint. The phantomlike figure of a traveller, walking with a stick and followed by a dog, is hurrying along the road at the point where it leaves the

picture; he is driven on by the wind and by the horrific scene of execution.

The colour basis consists of brown and grey tones and many shades of green. Brown and light cocoa-colour predominate in the foreground. Pink highlights occur in the tree-trunk on the left and the soil in the foreground and middle distance, also in a flame burning in a cottage—probably a smithy—at the foot of the hill. There are touches of crimson in the figure of the traveller, and the road in front of him is streaked with yellow and whitish-yellow; similar lights occur in the sky and the surface of the water to the right. There is much brownish-yellow and yellowish-grey paint where the light strikes the ground. The leaves of the trees on the left are picked out in pink and light brown, and a particularly bright ochre is used for the cut surface of the gallows cross-piece.

Hermann Voss in 1926 emphasized the pictorial harmony of this little work, its suggestive power and a certain Rembrandtesque quality. As Burchard proposed, it should be among Rubens's works painted after 1635.

62. **Landscape in Moonlight:** Drawing (Fig. 145)

Oil on paper; 214 x 281 mm. Fully mounted: on the left below, the imperial Russian mark (L., No. 2061).

Leningrad, Hermitage. No. 5450.

PROVENANCE: Purchased by Empress Catherine II from the collection of Count Cobenzl in Brussels, 1768.

EXHIBITED: *Drawings by Rubens in Museums of the USSR* (russ.), Leningrad—Moscow, 1965, No. 42, repr.; *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* (russ.), Hermitage, Leningrad, 1977, No. 121 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Dobroklonsky*, 1955, No. 660.

The full moon, well up in the sky to the left, shines on a section of landscape traversed in the foreground by a stream running from left to right. The nearer bank is brightly illuminated, and can be seen receding gradually between the tree-trunks at the edge of a forest which close the view on the right. The reflection of the moon in the stream forms a path of light leading towards the spectator. Beyond it a hill rises on the left, on which a largish building of southern appearance can be seen in shadow. Above it, below and to the left of the moon, are orange dots representing stars. The moon itself is reddish-yellow; its centre is light yellow, and so are the edges of the clouds around it. The open sky between the two banks of cloud gleams with a blue which has become darker in the course of time. This open patch of sky seems to slope downwards from left to right and is thus symmetrical to the rising line of the moonlit bank of the stream. This, the most prominent single feature of the painting, was only fully developed as the work proceeded. Just as the reflection of the moon was reworked and enlarged at a later stage, but evidently 'wet on wet', so the whole ridge of the bank was subsequently extended into the area of the water's surface, which originally came further into the foreground. The dark rock in the lower left corner can be seen to be original, as the brush displaced the wet edge of a thick highlight of the whitish strip of the bank.

A good deal of reddish-brown is used in the centre of the painting, from the moon's reflection up to and including the lowest part of the tree-foliation. In general, brown and brown-greenish tones predominate. The foreground is especially rich in brown-greenish and brown-black tones. The spatial relationships within the group of trees on the right are handled with clarity and assur-

ance; so too are the trunks and branches of fallen trees. The highlights of the foliage also show the group in clear perspective; above all those at the top of the foremost tree—which, as is frequent with Rubens, are almost detached from their forms—bring it right to the front of the picture and cause the other trees to recede. These highlights were applied rapidly and lavishly at a final stage of the composition.

Burchard classed this work with Rubens's landscapes painted after 1635. He evidently regarded it as a preliminary study for the *Landscape with Moon and Stars* in the Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection, in London (No.63, Fig.146), where the southern features have disappeared and the flat countryside looks typically Flemish.

The basic composition of this work may have been inspired by Elsheimer's *Tobias and the Angel ('the large Tobias')*.¹ The stream running obliquely from the foreground into the distance is similar in both, and the southern-looking building on the hill at the back (Elsheimer placed it in the centre) might also be an imitation of the German master, albeit as late as the 1630s.²

1. See Andrews, *Elsheimer*, Cat. No. 25, pls. 89, 90.

2. For more details regarding Elsheimer's work as an inspiring source for Rubens see pp.23, 24 and Nos. 14, 28, 36.

63. *Landscape with Moon and Stars* (Fig.146)

Oil on panel; 63.5 x 89 cm.

London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. No.41.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate ('Une nuit, sur fond de bois'; *Denucé, Konst-kamers*, p.63; No.173); Sir Joshua Reynolds, sale, London (Christie's), 14

March 1774, lot 85; Earl of Bessborough, sale, London (Christie's), 7 February 1801, lot 72; John W. Willett, sale, London (Peter Coxe), 1 June 1813, lot 84; Earl of Mulgrave, sale, London (Christie's), 12 May 1832, lot 70; Samuel Rogers, sale, London (Christie's), 2 May 1856, lot 593; Earl of Dudley, sale, London (Christie's), 25 June 1892, lot 30; Dr. Ludwig Mond, London; Lord Melchett.

COPY: Engraving by S. a Bolswert (*V.S.*, pp.234, 235, No.53, 14).

EXHIBITED: *London, 1815*, No.19; Royal Academy, London, 1871, No.350; New Gallery, London, 1897-1898, No.137; *London, 1927*, No.322 (repr.); Messrs. Spink & Sons, London, 1930, No.19; *London, 1953-54*, No.183.

LITERATURE: Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, 10 December 1778, ed. by Robert R. Wark, San Marino, California, 1959, p.161; Smith, *Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.197, No.707; IX, p.313, No.248; Waagen, *Kunstwerke*, I, pp.412, 413; G. F. Waagen, *Peter Paul Rubens, his Life and Genius*, London, 1840, p.103; Waagen, *Treasures*, II, p.79, No.3; Rooses, IV, pp.375, 376, No.1189; M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.216; V, 1900, p.325; Burckhardt, *Rubens*, p.317; Rooses, *Vie*, p.374; K.d.K., ed. Rosenberg, pp.403, 485, Dillon, p.234, pl. CCCCLXIII; J. P. Richter, *The Mond Collection*, II, London, 1910, pp.591-594; K.d.K., p.397; H. Kauffmann, *Die Farbenkunst des Aert van der Neer*, in *Festschrift für Adolph Goldschmidt zum 60. Geburtstag*, Leipzig, 1923, p.110; Fry, p.144, pl. V, A; Sterling, pp.184, 187, 193, 199, n.; T. Borenius, *Eine Ausstellung 'Die Entwicklung der Landschaftsmalerei in Europa'*, *Pantheon*, VI, 1930, p.352, repr.; Herrmann, pp.18, 26, 37, 39, 40, 58, 65, n.5, 71, n.51, 84, n.161; Cornette,

pp.738-740, repr.; *Raczyński*, pp.81, 94, n.172, repr.; A. G. Roth, *Die Gestirne in der Landschaftsmalerei des Abendlandes*, Berne, 1945, pp.76, 184, Fig.90; *Glück*, pp.45, 46, 71, 72, No.38; E. Maurer, *Jacob Burckhardt und Rubens*, Basle, 1951, p.110; *Gerson-ter Kuile*, p.108, pl.140; *Seilern*, No.41, pl.LXXXVIII; *Stechow*, *Dutch Landscape Painting*, pp.179, 180, 221, nn.27, 28, Fig.361.

The figures usually found in a *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* were originally to be seen in the foreground under the big tree in the middle of the picture. This group was then painted out by Rubens himself. The strips on the right side and at the top seem to have been added by him in the course of execution in order to balance the composition.

The full moon in a starry sky shines out over a bank of cloud and illuminates the flat landscape. A quiet stream winds its way into the distance on the right. It can only be seen clearly as far as the centre of the picture, where some foliage, in the foreground, projects from the right. The stars glitter between the leaves, and the moonlight, like a material emanation, flows to the right between the tree-trunks and extends some way in separate paths along the ground, until everything disappears in the forest shadows at the lower right. The stream, however, which can be seen gleaming between the trees much further to the right, shimmers in intense mineral blue and pure white tones. The moon is yellowish-white, the starry sky greyish-violet. The clouds lit by the moon are yellowish and light green, also raspberry-colour and salmon-pink. The reflection of the moon in the water forms a yellowish-white trail as far as the bank, where the radiance continues in a broad streak of white-greenish light. A bay horse, grazing, is seen obliquely from

behind; its form intersects the nearer bank and is partly silhouetted against the water, which sparkles with coloured reflections. The purest blue of the reflection of the sky close to the moon is to the right of the horse's withers. The trees on the further bank are also reflected on the water's surface in warm light brown and grey-green. In the foreground to the right of the horse, reddish-brown and red touches glimmer from the transitional area leading to the dark patch on the right. An open shed on the far side of the stream is partly obliterated by the left edge of the picture.

The distant area is greenish-brown. The leaves of the biggest tree on the further bank, on which the moon shines directly, are blue and bluish-green. The trees in the right foreground show all gradations of brown and green in dark tones. The trunks and foliage catch the yellowish-white and coloured moonlight, which seems to cling to them like a material substance.

As stated above, the figures usually found in a *Rest on the Flight* were originally under the large tree in the centre of the picture and were painted out by Rubens himself (the Bolswert engraving, which may have been done in Rubens's lifetime, shows the work in its present form). Here Rubens may still have had Elsheimer's nocturnal landscape in mind, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (cf. No.14).

Glück, comparing this picture with night landscapes by Aert van der Neer, emphasized 'how greatly Rubens surpassed that eminent and skilful specialist in the grandeur of his conception of nature and the lightness and fluidity of his painterly technique'.¹ *Stechow*, on the other hand, discussing the give and take relationship between Brouwer and Rubens, shows a deep understanding of their respective characteristics as painters of night landscapes.

The present work has always been famous for its pioneering conception of nature. Burchard dated it c. 1637.

1. *Glück*, p.46.

64. Landscape with a Tower
(Fig.147)

Oil on panel; 28 x 37 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No. 387.

PROVENANCE: Presented by Mr. Chambers Hall in 1855.

COPY: Painting with variations, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Stockholm, Louis Richter, 1959.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1953-54, No.186; *Antwerp*, 1977, No.108 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Buchanan, Memoirs*, pp.21-23; *Sterling*, pp.181, 187; *Herrmann*, pp.40, 41, 73, n.57; *Glück*, p.71, under No.36; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, No.93, repr.; *Parker, Paintings*, p.140, No.387, pl.46; G. Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer*, The Hague, 1962, p.136; Stechow, *Dutch Landscape Painting*, p.179; Renger, 1978, p.5 (as not by Rubens); Held, *Oil Sketches*, pp.620, 621, fig.51 (as not by Rubens).

The Oxford *Landscape with a Tower* (which should properly be called *Brabant Tower and Bridge at Sunset*) is the larger, and more elaborate in detail and coloration, of two sketch-like variants of the same composition (for the other, Berlin version, see No.66) which Rubens used, with considerable extensions, in the Louvre *Tournament in Front of a Castle* (No.65, Fig.148). Burchard evidently believed the Oxford version to be the model used for that picture, and regarded the sketchier painting at Berlin as a repetition executed subsequently to the *Tournament*.

Burchard's opinion seems to be correct, since we must suppose that at least one of the two sketches preceded the Louvre painting, which is of great interest iconographically. A glance at the bridge in the Oxford version (notably its two low wall-arches, followed by two less conspicuous arches towards the further side of the moat) and the tower with its less elongated shape indicates that this was the model for the Louvre picture. The Berlin version differs distinctly from the Oxford by the more pronounced curve of the bridge and its three tall arches; the tower, too, is more slender than in the other versions, though it makes a more powerful impression by its size in relation to the panel. The Berlin tower is closer to the spectator. The reflection of its shaded side in the moat is of importance here: not only does it strengthen the relation of the tower to the picture-edge, but the prolongation of the vertical coordinate to the lower border gives it a firm relationship to the horizontal.

The bridge in the Berlin picture is set more clearly in the spectator's direction and is thus more apparent as an element in the composition. It is placed further to the right, and its broken-off section on the further side is directly below the tower, so that together they form an architectonic element; in the Oxford version the bridge is near the centre of the picture and has less connection with the tower. In the foreground of the Oxford picture impasted Titianesque sparks of colour shimmer softly on the bridge, the surface of the water and the bank. The bridge is drawn into this shimmering effect and becomes part of a rich harmony of light and of warm colour; the reddish, light cocoa-coloured, sandy and clayish-brown hues seem to dissolve, layer by layer, the bridge's firm, tangible, cubic forms.

The Oxford painting shows the

Brabant plain under a cloudy afternoon sky, with the veiled sun just above the distant horizon on the left. The subdued sunlight flows from under a dark grey cloud, turning to a rusty brown colour in the right, which hangs over the sun like a curtain. There is a great deal of sandy ochre brown in the whole picture, especially in the triangular patch of sky near the sun. The whole sky shows the effect of light projected back behind the clouds. As in the Princes Gate Collection picture (No.63, Fig.146), the sky is animated by the rightward drift of the clouds. The treatment of light, the gloomy but not uncanny atmosphere, the ball of cloud with radiance shining through, and the landscape on the left, are all features which recall the *Landscape with Three Cows* in the Heathcoat Amory collection (No.44, Fig.122). White light is pent up behind the rows of trees and bushes in the middle of the left-hand side; the reflection of the subdued light in the water is yellow. As in the Princes Gate Collection picture, the mixture of brown and green in the soil and in the tree-tops in the middle and far distance.

The medieval tower that gives the picture its name stands on the right, some distance away, behind a moat which stretches diagonally across the whole foreground and which is an important element in the composition, with its reflections of the tower and of its own banks and vegetation. The bridge already mentioned leads from the centre of the picture obliquely to the right towards the tower, behind and attached to which is a two-storied building; with the trees further off on the extreme right this provides a firm conclusion to the scene; the sky above them shows a small patch of light clear blue.

It is notable that the *Tournament in Front of a Castle* in the Louvre (No.65, Fig.148) which features the composition

of the Oxford and Berlin landscapes, is clearly a sunset scene with magnificent light and colour effects, whereas the Oxford painting is often thought but incorrectly to be a moonlit scene. Stechow even thought the Berlin landscape to be a night scene.

The tower is in all probability the same as that in the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'*, London, National Gallery (No.53, Fig.136), depicting the property at Elewijt south of Mechlin, bought by Rubens on 12 May 1635. This tower was referred to in the poster announcing the sale of 'Het Steen', which took place in the Town Hall at Brussels on 13 October 1682: *met een groote Motte, ende den grooten hooghen vierkantighen Thoren in't midden van deselve Motte rontsomme syne Vyvers gheleghen.*¹

In 1980, Held rejected the Oxford version as an original work by Rubens, an opinion which I do not share. At the end of his discussion Held writes: 'not to mention the fact that such close repetitions are not known to occur in Rubens' authentic oeuvre'. A convincing example of Rubens himself repeating a design is found in the two versions of *Landscape with Rainbow*, in the Hermitage and in the Louvre (No.39, Fig.113 and No.40, Fig.114).

1. Rooses, *Plakbrief*, p.152.

65. Tournament in Front of a Castle (Fig.148)

Oil on panel; 72.5 x 106 cm.
Paris, Musée du Louvre. No.2116.

PROVENANCE: Rubens's Estate, 1640 ('Une pièce d'une Joute dans un paysage'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61, No.104); Amadée de Savoie, Prince of Carignan; purchased from the latter's bequest by Louis XV, King of France, in 1742.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 47 x 65 cm. PROV. Brussels, Baron Janssen, sale, Amsterdam (F. Muller), 26 April 1927, lot 97. EXH. Brussels, 1910, No.292. LIT. *Trésor de l'Art Belge au XVIIe Siècle, Memorial de l'Exposition d'Art Ancien à Bruxelles en 1910*, Brussels-Paris, 1912, I, p.114, No.LII [292], pl.45); (2) Etching by F. Braquemont; (3) Etching by Charles de Billy.

EXHIBITED: *Exposition des Chefs d'Oeuvre de la Peinture du Musée National du Louvre*, Paris, 1945.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.117, No.396; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, III, pp.565,566, No.688; *Louvre, Cat. Villot*, No.463; *Rooses*, IV, pp.81,82, No.845; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.314, 315; *Michel*, pp.526-529, repr.; *Louvre, C.S.*, No.2116; *Rooses, Louvre-National Gallery*, pp.91,92; *Rooses, Vie*, pp.571, 572; *Michel, Paysage*, pp.60 (repr.), 62, 63; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.449,487; *Dillon*, pp.63,179,204, pl.CCCCLXIV; *K.d.K.*, pp.398,470; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, p.4, No.2116; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.36,37; *Sterling*, pp.181, 186,187,192,195,196,199,207 (repr.); *Herrmann*, pp.27,32,38,39,41,79, n.101, 102; *Cornette*, pp.733,737; *Glück*, pp.11, 44,45,70,71, No.36.

A thin panel, cradled. No bevel. The panel was enlarged on all sides from a central member measuring 38.8 x 84.2 cm. The join on the right goes through the right half of the ridge-turret of the castle, that on the left through the neck of the white horse on the extreme left. The lower join runs between the eye and nostrils of the falling horse; the upper one is above the flagstaff, at a distance equal to the breadth of the flag. The joins can also be clearly seen between the sections of wooden battens in the cradling at the back.

In the light of a blood-red sunset in the Brabant plain, three pairs of horsemen in plate armour are fighting with lances in front of a castle moat. In the right lower corner a seventh mounted man, his horse facing diagonally into the picture, is blowing a trumpet with up-raised arm. In the left lower corner is a bareheaded young squire, holding a bundle of lances which rest on the ground and point diagonally upwards. In front of him, to our right, another youth bends to pick up lances, his diagonal position corresponding to that of the trumpeter's horse on the right. The three pairs of fighting men overlap each other from right to left and from front to rear. Over the distant horizon the orange ball of the sun sinks to its rest among majestically rolling clouds, and the atmosphere glows in warm tones of bright red. Only in the left upper corner of the picture do the clouds permit a view of clear sky. This bright triangular patch is reflected on the ground in the area occupied by the two squires and the knight charging forward from the left; his armour gleams white, and his horse is absorbed chromatically by the light patch on the verge of the middle distance. As the foreground is full of the surging tournament, so the majestic expanse of scenery beyond is dominated by the contest between evening dusk and the sonorous brown, green and red tones of sunset. Everywhere the light brightens these tones and produces transitional shades between them. In the sky, tender shades of red are interwoven with grey, yellow and a very little blue.

The combatants in the foreground, clearly separated from the others who together form a compacter group, are charging at each other in the evening dusk in the right half of the picture, their armour glinting with reflected light. The rider on the left of this pair, almost in the centre of the picture, is on a grey horse;

he is shown larger than the others, and wears a fluttering red cloak and plume. A lad in a yellow doublet and slashed breeches runs behind and alongside the horse. Directly beyond this horseman, in the middle distance on the other side of the moat (the horizon is about two-thirds of the way up the picture and rises continuously from left to right), a square medieval tower with pinnacles and a red flag stands on an island formed by the defensive moats, of which it seems to be the oldest part. The waters reflect light and darkness, buildings and vegetation. An arched stone bridge leads to the tower from the foreground area in which the tourney is taking place. This tower, with its moat and bridge and the Brabant plain to the left, also occurs in Rubens's two sketch-like pictures at Oxford (No.64, Fig.147) and Berlin-Dahlem (No.66, Fig.149). Burchard thought the Oxford picture was painted before the *Tournament* and the Berlin one after; on this, and the question of sunset and moonlight, cf. especially under No.64.

To the right of the island with the tower, and separated from it by a moat with a bridge, is the castle proper, combining medieval and Renaissance forms. The roof of a chapel with a ridge-turret can be seen within the medieval enclosure. The castle and the stone walls of the moat are reflected in the water, as is part of the square tower. The opponent of the horseman in the centre is clearly coordinated with the castle structure, of which the reflection, in extending the depth of the base, seems, as it were, to create a pedestal and enhance its importance. Behind the first pair of combatants the moat is partly overgrown with reeds; a boat lying between them can be seen over the near-side parapet. Immediately to the right of the castle is a forest which overshadows it, the tree-tops extending to the right edge of the picture. The outline of the

trees, becoming lower towards the centre, reinforces the impression of depth which is given by the moats and masonry, the arched bridge on the left and the foreshortening of the architecture. The chief vanishing point of the composition is behind the dark shadowy portion of the moat separating the tower and castle. The principal moat forms a wide arc around the two buildings, and the combatants form a further arc outside it. The stretch of water with the boat forms the boundary of a wedge-shaped area which foreshortens rapidly towards the main vanishing point. Even the fluttering flag on the square tower directs the eye towards this vanishing point, held firmly between the tower and castle.

The tower is in all probability the one which appears in the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'*, London, National Gallery (No.53, Fig.136), depicting the property at Elewijt south of Mechlin, bought by Rubens on 12 May 1635. This tower was referred to in the poster announcing the sale of 'Het Steen', which took place in the Town Hall at Brussels on 13 October 1682.¹

The castle itself, however, apart from being a Renaissance structure, bears no resemblance to 'Het Steen'. (For a drawing of a moated castle by Rubens dating from c. 1609-10, cf. No.6, Fig.25). Here too the only resemblance is the fact that it is seen slantwise and has a long side front with gate and drawbridge, beyond which there is a glimpse into the distance.

The picture was certainly painted after Rubens acquired 'Het Steen'; in Burchard's opinion, between 1638 and 1640.

The Oxford painting, which Burchard believed to be the earliest of the three related pieces, measures 28 x 37 cm.; the original, central part of the Louvre painting 38.8 x 84.2 cm., and the picture

at Berlin-Dahlem 23 x 30 cm. The iconographical expansion of the theme which accompanied the expansion of the panel is of great interest. The picture has not as yet been X-rayed.

1. See above, under No.64.

66. Landscape with a Tower (Fig.149)

Oil on panel; 23 x 30 cm.

Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen. Inv. No. 776 D.

PROVENANCE: Lady Stuart, sale, London (Christie's), 15 March 1841, lot 60, purchased by Farrar; H. T. Hope; Lord Pelham Clinton Hope, from whom purchased by the Museum, in 1899.

EXHIBITED: ? *London*, 1815, No.15; *Brussels*, 1937, No.53; *Chefs d'Oeuvre des Musées de Berlin*, Petit Palais, Paris, 1951, No.79 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.257,258, No.872; IX, pp.322,323, No.289; *Rooses*, IV, p.393, No.1204 bis; *Michel*, pp.526-529, repr.; *Bode*, 1904, p.106; *Michel, Paysage*, pp.60 (repr.), 62,63; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, pp.448,487; *K.d.K.*, p.399; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, pp.36,44, n.12; *Sterling*, pp.181,184,195,196; *Cat. Berlin*, 1931, pp.409,410, No.776 D; *Herrmann*, pp.11,20,32,38,40,41,59,73, n.57; *Glück*, pp.70,71, under No.36; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.90, No.92, repr.; *Cat. Berlin*, 1975, pp.369,370 (repr.); *Kelch*, pp.36-38, repr.; *Held, Oil Sketches*, pp.620,621, No.455, pl.441.

Like the similar painting at Oxford (No.64, Fig.147), which is only slightly larger, this sketch-like work shows the Brabant plain in the late afternoon under a sky of restlessly shifting clouds, with

the sun's disc close to the distant horizon on the left. The light filters through clouds over the countryside, which is planted with rows of trees and intersected by watercourses. In the right foreground is a tall, square, late medieval tower, with part of a lower building visible behind it. A moat extends across the whole foreground, and over it a bridge with three wall-arches leads obliquely to the ground on which the tower is standing. The waters of the moat reflect the tower, the banks with their vegetation and the sky with its contrasts of light and shade. The picture contains much sandy ochre-brown together with grey, light blue, dark green, light red and light cocoa-brown tones and yellowish-white highlights. See also under No.64, where this painting is compared with the Oxford version, and No.65, the Louvre *Tournament in Front of a Castle*. This latter work was composed by means of additions to a central nucleus consisting of a third version of the *Landscape with a Tower*.

Burchard assigned the small painting in Berlin, the somewhat larger one at Oxford and the Louvre *Tournament in Front of a Castle* to Rubens's last years, between 1638 and 1640. Kelch refers to the dendrochronological examination carried out in 1976 by J. Bauch and D. Eckstein, which does not conflict with Burchard's dating (earliest possible date of felling 1633; the wood would take about three years to dry), and suggests that the dates 1636 and 1637 are also possible. The tower stood close to the moated castle of 'Het Steen' at Elewijt south of Mechlin, '*fuori della strada maestra*',¹ i.e. off the main highway leading to Brussels. The castle with the fortified tower beside it, the surrounding lands, farms, ponds and other real estate and rights constituted the lordship of Steen which Rubens purchased on 12 May 1635, the acquisition being con-

firmed six months later by the Council of Brabant.² Rubens probably did not begin to spend summers at his country seat until 1636. He painted the tower for the fourth time, together with the castle, in *Landscape with 'Het Steen'*, in the National Gallery, London (No.53, Fig.136). In that picture he originally placed the tower nearer the centre, but then overpainted it and moved it further left, to the position it now occupies in the landscape composition. The tower, known from documents and from Rubens's four paintings, no longer exists; the castle survives, but its architecture has been altered.

Kelch observes that the tower serves to frame the central part of the picture and also to identify the landscape, though Rubens did not necessarily have any topographical intention: 'The principal motif is not the objective character of the landscape but the mood it conveys, illuminated by the setting sun which we see as a yellowish-red patch of colour above the horizon.... The coloration is determined not by the local hues of nature but by the chiaroscuro of sunlight refracted into many colours.' Kelch supposes, no doubt rightly, that the work originated as an independent composition which then served as a model for the left-hand part of the middle distance and background of *Tournament in Front of a Castle* (No.65, Fig.148). I cannot accept the view, put forward by Kelch, that the Oxford version of the tower (No.64, Fig.147) is a studio piece; on the contrary I believe it to be Rubens's own work.

The question of the sequence in which Nos.64,65 and 66 were executed is still obscure, but it may be thought that the increasingly detailed treatment of the foreground and middle distance suggests the order Berlin–Oxford–Paris. In particular the path leading from the bridge, the way it curves round in front of the

tower, and the light streaming behind the trees in front of the building on the left, are similarly treated in the Oxford and Paris versions. Burchard, according to the sequence of catalogue numbers which he originated, seems however to have thought that the Berlin version was painted last.

1. See *Rooses–Ruelens*, VI, p.164.

2. See *Evers*, 1942, pp.384–386.

67. *Landscape with Windmill and Bird-Trap* (Fig.150)

Oil on panel; 45.5 x 84.5 cm.

Paris, Musée du Louvre. No.2117.

PROVENANCE: Michel Le Blon, according to the dedication of S. a Bolswert's engraving, Copy (1); Stadhouder William V, The Hague, at least since 1770; brought to Paris by French Revolutionary troops, in 1795.

COPIES: (1) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, 310 x 459 mm., with the inscription: *Illustri viro Michaeli Blondo sacrae regiae Suecorum majestatis ad serenissimum Magnae Britanniae regem prolegato, artis sculptoriae omnisque artificiosae elegantiae amatori, archetypum possidenti hujus imaginis quam illi Aegidius Hendrickx L.M.D.C.Q. (V.S., pp.232, 233, No.53, 3); (2) Engraving by Marie Alexandre Duparc; (3) Engraving by L. E. F. Garreau (active in Paris, c. 1803).*

EXHIBITED: *Paris*, 1936, No.82.

LITERATURE: *Terwesten*, pp.38,39; *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.117, 118, No.397; *Waagen, Kunstwerke*, III, p.566, No.690; *Louvre, Cat. Villot*, No.464; *Rooses*, IV, pp.367, 368, No.1176; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, pp.318, 319; *Michel*, p.535; *Rooses, Louvre-National Gallery*, p.91; *Michel, Paysage*, p.67; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.451;

Dillon, pp.186,205, pl.CCCCLXXII; K.d.K., p.403; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, p.38; Sterling, pp.184,187,195,196,198; Herrmann, p.18,40,43,48,58,71,n.50, 83, n.137; Cornette, p.733; Evers, 1942, pp.406, 505, 506,n.423, repr.; Glück, pp.43,44,70, No.35; Thiéry, pp.104,113; F. Boyer, *Une Conquête Artistique de la Convention: Les Tableaux du Stathouder (1795)*, *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 1970, p.155.

The panel consists of two thin horizontal boards. The bevelling is distinct at the right and left, only partial at the top and bottom.

The panel is a lengthy horizontal shape (45.5 x 84.5 cm.) and depicts, from a fairly low viewpoint, a scene which appears extensive if only because of the morning mist. In the immediate foreground, almost parallel to the picture plane, a road runs from right to left, where it reaches uneven ground on which trees are growing; here it bends into the distance and disappears at the left edge of the picture, behind a large rectangular bird-trap which is stretched across it and attached to trees on either side. In the left lower corner, dissolved into specks by the morning light, are the scarcely recognizable, manneristic figures of two women (one of them seen from behind), half cut off by the lower edge of the picture, and of a man sitting with them under low bushes in sunken ground. One of the women is pointing up to the bird-trap. To the right, on the other side of the bend in the road, a man crouches on a shady concave bank; he is doing his best to be invisible, and holds the release cord of the snare in his hand. A little further right, in the centre of the picture, the roadside is flat and the eye falls directly on a river swathed in mist and overgrown with reeds near the shore, with a solitary boat resting on it.

In the middle distance a stone bridge with a semi-elliptical arch is seen through the mist. Directly above, the pale yellow disc of the sun shines through the vapours drifting to the right. A village church and some trees loom in the background through the mist, which thickens as it approaches the horizon. Nearer the spectator, on a mound to the right of the bridge, is a square Flemish windmill the curved sails of which, facing obliquely into the distance, seem to scoop up the light that flickers feebly through the mist and project it towards the spectator. To the right of the windmill is a cart drawn by a donkey and laden with sacks. A man is carrying a full sack from the mill down a flight of wooden steps.

On the road in the foreground, where it is open on the river side, two men are kneeling and sawing at a tree-trunk, the angle of which leads the eye into the distance. The foreshortened tree-trunk, the bridge and the sun are in a single vertical line. Sunlight is reflected through the arch.

The basic coloration is brown, golden-yellow, grey-yellow and a subdued green, together with the whitish tones of the mist. Accents are provided by light cocoa-coloured, pink and raspberry tones, red foliage and the red jacket of the man on the right of the couple sawing. The green in the shaded areas is inky and almost black, giving full effect to the sunlight in the mists of the morning and the warm brown and pink tones of the foreground where the light reaches it. The mists suggest autumn, and the bird-catching motif points to October.¹

In its artistic conception, as well as in its wealth of colour, this work is a particularly impressive example of Ruben's landscape painting in the very last years of his life. Burchard dated it c. 1638-40.

1. See Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia/ovvero descritione di diverse imagini cavate dall'antichità, e di propria inventione* [with an introduction by Erna Mandowsky], Hildesheim-New York, 1970 [reprint of 3rd ed., Roma, 1603], p.326, *Ottobre* (kindly remarked by Martin Warnke).

Herrmann, pp.24,25,39,40,41,58,77, n.91,83, n.136, Fig.8; *Cornette*, pp.737, 739, Fig.426; *Glück*, pp.40,42,68, No.31; *Held*, I, p.146, under No.135; *Martin, Flemish School*, No.157, repr.

68. Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock (Fig.152)

Oil on panel; 49.5 x 83.5 cm.

London, National Gallery. No.157.

PROVENANCE: ? Rubens's Estate, 1640 ('Un paysage avec des brebis, sur fond de bois'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p.61, No.112); ? J. P. Happart, Canon of the Antwerp Cathedral, 1686; ? Everard Jabach, Paris (1610-1695); ? Mme Fourment, grand-daughter of the latter, 1724; Dutartre, sale, Paris (Paillet), 19 March 1804 *et seqq.*, lot 21; in the possession of Lord Farnborough by 1810; bequeathed by the latter to the National Gallery, in 1839.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown; panel, 50 x 92.5 cm. PROV. ? Madrid, Pastrana Collection; Richmond, Cook Collection. LIT. *Glück*, p.68, under No.31; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert, 311 x 459 mm. (*V.S.*, p.235, No.53, 18).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1815, No.18; *London*, 1831, No.18; *An Exhibition of Cleaned Pictures*, National Gallery, London, 1947-1948, No.55.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, p.324, No.1212; IX, p.344, No.379; *Rooses*, IV, pp.378,379, No.1193; *Burckhardt, Rubens*, p.317; *Rooses, Louvre-National Gallery*, p.203; *Rooses, Vie*, p.575; *K.d.K.*, ed. *Rosenberg*, p.397; *Dillon*, pp.175, n.2, 185,196, pl.CCCCLXII; *K.d.K.*, p.402; *Oldenbourg*, 1922, Fig.16; *Kieser, Rubenslandschaft*, p.38; *Sterling*, pp.181, 187,195,196,198; *Kieser*, 1931, p.291;

The panel is composed of two boards fitted together in an unusual way. The left-hand one, with horizontal grain, constitutes three-quarters of the total width, while the remaining quarter consists of a board with vertical grain.

The scene is the Brabant plain with its abundance of trees, bushes and water-courses; perhaps near 'Het Steen', the country seat which Rubens acquired in May 1635, though the building does not itself appear.

A still pool extends diagonally from the lower left corner. On the right, in the middle distance, is a view between trees of a small castle with a stepped gable; its tower is surmounted by an onion spire. In front of it is a smaller farm building. A kestrel hovers high up in the air in front of a shadowy patch of cloud which leads the eye to the setting sun in the right half of the picture. A road in the middle distance extends right across the picture, crossing the pool by a footbridge. In the right foreground, on this side of the water, a flock of sheep is bathed in the golden-brown light of sunset. A shepherd, playing the flute, sits with crossed legs on the stone arch of a culvert. His dog stands close by, half-turned towards him, so that they form a single outline against the evening light. The sun, setting in the distance, is partly concealed at the top by a bank of cloud. Its last beams radiate downwards only; they reach the landscape which is already beginning to darken, like a material emanation, as though pressed out of the golden disc by the weight of the clouds on the horizon. In the distance the sun's rays illuminate woods and a Gothic spire

which shows in light ochre against the deepening blue of the horizon. Birches and willows on the left seem to sway in the evening breeze. Long shafts of light-brown radiance penetrate the thickets; phosphorescent white reflections gleam through the dark parts of the foliage. Red and reddish-brown tints are seen in the foliage of the large trees on the right, in the shepherd's clothes and on the ground. In this very late work by Rubens the influence of the later Titian is still to be seen in the use of impasto to represent the last effects of light. The warmth and glow of Rubens's palette are here seen in their greatest intensity. (For possible inspiration by a motif from Titian, cf. under No.68a.)

Burchard dated this work c. 1638-40, which seems plausible. Gregory Martin argued for autumn 1638, mentioning that on 17 August of that year Rubens wrote from 'Het Steen' asking Faid'herbe to send or bring him a picture on panel from Antwerp. However, Rubens became seriously ill in October 1638.

1. See the reproduction of the painting in *Martin, Flemish School, Appendix I*, No.157, which gives a clear idea of the structure of the wooden panel.

68a. A Landscape with Farm Buildings, at Sunset: Oil Sketch (Fig.151)

Oil on panel; 27 x 39 cm.

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No.136.

PROVENANCE: Chambers Hall Gift, 1855.

EXHIBITED: *Rotterdam*, 1953-54, No. 115; *Brussels*, 1965, No.213; *London*, 1977, No.192.

LITERATURE: W. Valentiner, *Gemälde des Rubens in Amerika*, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 1912, p.270; P.

Buschmann, *Rubens en Van Dyck in het Ashmolean Museum te Oxford*, *Onze Kunst*, XXIX, 1916, pp.22,23; K.d.K., p.414, below; W. Bode, *Adriaen Brouwer, Erweiterung seines Malerwerks*, *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIII, 1922, pp.35-46, repr.; W. Bode, *Adriaen Brouwer*, Berlin, 1924, pp.136-139; Kieser, *Rubenslandschaft*, pp.38, 44, 45,n.14; Sterling, p.184; Kieser, 1931, p.291,n.8; Herrmann, pp.24,40,77,n.91; Glück, p.68, under No.31; *Van Puyvelde, Esquisses*, p.90, No.91, repr.; Parker, *Paintings*, p.139, No.386; Martin, *Flemish School*, pp.144,145, nn.8,9; Held, *Oil Sketches*, p.621, No.456, pl.442.

The evening shadows are stealing across an idyllic corner of the Brabant plain. The landscape, thickly planted with trees and bushes, rises gently to the left, and a road slants across the picture into the distance. Light and darkness contend for mastery in the sunken parts of the undulating ground and the shadowy areas behind bushes and tree-trunks. On the distant horizon the gleaming gold ball of the sun touches the misty boundary between sky and earth. Its upper part is cut off by moving clouds, and it looks as though the light were being squeezed out of it before it disappears between them and the earth. A gentle golden radiance flows over the darkening land yet seems hardly to reach the spectator. On the right, in the near middle distance, a large farm building, its roof sloping down to a low level, is cut off by the picture edge; the ridge-turret terminates in a delicate onion shape. In the lower right corner, in the immediate foreground (the point of vision is fairly high up) a shepherd sits on a piece of masonry and plays the flute. His sheep are grazing in the centre of the picture,

their fleeces caught by the evening light. In the lower left corner is a standing pool with shimmering reflections. The last rays of sunshine—golden yellow, light brown, pinkish-brown or reddish cocoacoloured—blend with the mist to produce a warm shimmering light mingled with whitish and yellow tones. This light pervades the earthly scene, caught at a transitory moment, like a material substance; it flows over the ground and clings to the clouds and tree-trunks like a tangible, almost granular emanation of the heavenly body as it quits the earth.

This is a sketch for the small painting in the National Gallery, London (No.68, Fig.152), which Burchard rightly dated 1638–40. Gregory Martin even suggests that the finished work was painted in autumn 1638 (see No.68), in which case that would also be the date of the sketch.

Herrmann pointed out that the work may have been inspired by a motif from Titian: cf. Fig.155.

69. Landscape with a Draw-Well (Fig.153)

Oil on panel; 28.5 x 43 cm.
Paris, Musée du Louvre. No.2131.

PROVENANCE: ? Dominican Church, Antwerp before 1795.

COPIES: (1) Painting, whereabouts unknown. PROV. Newton; (2) Engraving by S. a Bolswert (Fig.154), 288 x 425 mm. (V.S., p.234, No.53, 12); (3) Engraving after (2), published by J. de Man, with the inscription: *Tempora Pastor amat: pecori fert tempore potum, Temporibus pecori fert alimonta suo. Tempora servet homo; sicut; esurit orat; Jesus Et cibus et potus tempus amantis erunt* (Herrmann, p.76, n.82).

EXHIBITED: Brussels, 1937, No.56; London, 1953–54, No.188; Paris, 1960, No.234.

LITERATURE: *Smith, Catalogue Raisonné*, II, pp.322,323, No.1207; *Rooses*, IV, pp.374,375, No.1187; *Louvre, Cat. Villot*, No.469; *Louvre, Cat. Demonts*, pp.86,87, No.2131; *Kieser, Rubens-landschaft*, pp.35,44, n.11; *Kieser*, 1931, p.284; *Herrmann*, pp.23,41,59,76, n.81, repr.; *Evers*, 1942, pp.406,505,506, n.423, Fig.229; *Glück*, pp.42,69, No.33.

The back is coated with whitewash which has flaked off in parts. The very thin panel appears to consist of two pieces: a rectangular board forming the larger part (the left and middle as seen from the front), and another piece on the right, of the same height and over 8 cm. wide (thus similar to the support of No.68). The vertical join is to the right of the tower-like part of the building and to the left of the upright of the well; it runs through the right-hand part of the stone arch by the stream.

The painting, only 43 cm. long and executed rapidly with sketch-like light and cloud effects, shows a portion of man-made scenery at sunrise; the round disc of the sun, radiating bright golden-yellow light, is immediately above the horizon, somewhat left of centre. The view is limited by rising ground in the middle distance, on the left and especially on the right, where an Italian-looking villa is surrounded by trees; these, with their slender crowns of foliage, also have a Mediterranean look and seem to sway with the breeze in the silvery morning light. The view in the centre is so flooded with bright whitish-yellow sunlight that the horizon cannot be seen there either. On the eminence to the left, slightly further off than the other, are trees of more sombre appearance with dark trunks and foliage, lit from behind by the sun's rays and standing out against a bright blue area of sky. Between their trunks can be seen,

further off, a rustic building and a church with a pointed Gothic spire. In the immediate foreground are the trunks of felled trees, also two whole pollard willows with their branches and with reddish-brown leaves. This foliage with its warm reddish-brown and light cocoabrown reflections is summarily represented by dots as it is so near the spectator. A little further back, a stream with glittering bluish-white reflections runs aslant the foreground; it is crossed by a stone bridge leading to the villa. In the shadow of the bridge on the right can be seen the hindquarters of two horses, a grey and a bay, drinking at the stream; the bay is ridden by a peasant in a red jacket. On the hill-side behind the bridge is a cylindrical stone draw-well with a sloping lever; here a woman, also in a red jacket, is pouring water into a vessel standing on the ground. The sunlight, striking horizontally across the terrain, leaves many parts of it in shadow, but wherever an elevation catches the light it is picked out with rich yellowish-white and pinkish-white highlights; pink and bright red or milky brown light spreads over the scene, and the coping of the bridge parapet looks as if it were coated with warmly glowing paint. The sky on the left is intensely blue, on the right silver-grey. Delicate veils of cloud, running slantwise, complete the impression of morning radiance, as the light dissipates the last traces of mist in the sky and the tops of trees, the last shadows in folds of the ground.

Emil Kieser drew attention to a drawing from Titian's circle, apparently only extant in the form of an engraving by an unknown artist, which he thought had served Rubens as a model for this late work.¹ For the Leningrad landscape mentioned by Kieser, cf. No. 39.

The date 1638 in the inscription of the Bolswert engraving—Copy (2), Fig.

154—shows that the painting was executed in that year at the latest.

1. *Kieser*, 1931, loc. cit.

70. Tree-Trunk and Brambles: Drawing (Fig. 156)

Pen and brown ink over preliminary work in black chalk, with touches in red chalk (on the ground) and in blue (on the left); on the left, a large blot of greyish body-colour; 352 x 298 mm.; below on the right, inscribed with the pen by Rubens, *afgevallen bladeren ende op sommige plaatzen schoon gruen grase door kijken.*

Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement. Inv. No. 1008.

PROVENANCE: ? N. A. Flinck (Rotterdam, 1646–1723); probably purchased c. 1723 by the second Duke of Devonshire.

EXHIBITED: *Van Dyck*, Antwerp, 1899, No. 116 (as *Van Dyck*); *London*, 1938, No. 599; *London*, 1949, No. 48; *London*, 1950, No. 56; *Helsinki*, 1952–53, No. 48 (repr.); *Brussels*, 1953, No. 48 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 84 (repr.); *Manchester*, 1961, No. 97; *Brussels*, 1965, No. 352 (repr.); *London*, 1977, No. 199 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Vasari Society*, 2nd Series, VI, 1925, No. 12; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p. 47, No. 135, repr.; *Glück*, p. 35, Fig. 13; *Held*, I, p. 145, under No. 131; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp. 169, 170, No. 105; II, pl. 105; *Renger*, 1978, p. 135.

A study from nature of the lower part of a twisted tree-trunk, leaning to the left, its lower part enveloped in undergrowth and creepers. Done in the same manner, and probably at the same time and place,

as the *Studies of a Fallen Tree* in the Louvre (No.18a, Fig.58) and at Chatsworth (No.28a, Fig.85).

71. Wild Cherry Tree with Brambles and Weeds: Drawing
(Fig.157)

Black, red, white and yellow chalks on light brown paper; backed; 545 x 495 mm.; various annotations in Dutch in Rubens's hand; the marks of the collections of J. Richardson Sr. (L. 2184); J. van Rijmsdijk (L. 2167) and Sir Thomas Lawrence (L. 2445).

London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection. No. 63.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson, Sr. (London, 1665-1745); J. van Rijmsdijk (c. 1770); Sir Thomas Lawrence (Bristol, 1769—London, 1830); Samuel Woodburn; Fenwick Collection.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1938*, No.580; *London, 1977*, No.198 (repr.).

LITERATURE: A. E. Popham, *Fenwick Catalogue*, London, 1935, p.193, pl.LXXXIV; *Glück*, p.35, fig.18; *Seilern*, p.101, No.63, repr.

Rubens may have used this study of a wild cherry-tree entwined with various plants for the *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* at Munich (No.27, Fig.77). Seilern also mentions in this connection the two versions of the *Landscape with Rainbow* at Munich (No.54, Fig.137) and in the Wallace Collection, London (No.55, Fig.138); while Popham thought the drawing was made for the *Landscape with 'Het Steen'* in the National Gallery, London (No.53, Fig.136), as the plant *Helicampus*, rare in other Rubens landscapes, is found in both. Probably for these reasons, Popham and Seilern dated the drawing in Rubens's last decade, but it looks as if it was made before 1620.

72. Path Through an Orchard: Drawing (Fig.158)

Traces of preliminary work in black chalk; tip of the brush and brown ink, strengthened with the pen and washed with brown, except for a strip on the right which shows a few outlines only; 313 x 403 mm.—*Verso*: inscribed with the pen: *T. Kerrich 1767./M.C.C.*

Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. Inv. No. 2178.

PROVENANCE: Rev. T. Kerrich (Cambridge, 1748-1828); Charles Ricketts (London, 1866-1931) and Charles H. Shannon (London, 1865-1937); bequeathed to the Fitzwilliam Museum by the latter, in March 1937 after it had been on loan since 1933.

EXHIBITED: *London, 1927*, No.562; *London, 1938*, No.610; *London, 1953*, No.526; *London, 1953-54*, No.270; *European Drawings from the Fitzwilliam*, The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York-Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth—The Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore—The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis—The Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1976-77, No.88 (repr.).

LITERATURE: Campbell Dodgson, in *Old Master Drawings*, II, 5, 1927, p.11, pl.12; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.47, No.137, repr.; *Popham*, 1938, p.19; *Glück*, p.35, Fig.17; *Held*, I, pp.144, 145, No.130; II, pl.143; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.329, 330, No.206; II, pl.206; *Jaffé*, 1977, pp.52, 112, n.74, pl.152.

A receding country lane, fenced on both sides with hedges and trees, is crossed in the foreground by another lane, also bordered by wooden fences.

Burchard and d'Hulst proposed a date as late as c. 1624-27. The date suggested by Glück and Haberitzl is 1620-25.

Held criticized Glück's and Haberditzl's opinion with good arguments ('a compromise solution which places the drawing unhappily "between two stools", as it were—and right at a period in which Rubens was occupied with large commissions. Not only does this time seem to have been unpropitious for such a drawing, but it was just then that Rubens developed his fluid style of composition which tried to eliminate sharp angles—a feature still particularly prominent in the drawing.'). Held was for an earlier date than that proposed by Glück and Haberditzl.

I agree with Jaffé, who recently dated the drawing about 1614 and pointed out the influence upon Rubens of studies after nature by Barocci.

73. Pollard Willow: Drawing
(Fig.159)

Black chalk on heavy brownish-grey paper; fully mounted; 392 x 264 mm. Below on the right, inscribed with the pen in an unknown, seventeenth century hand *Di Vandik* and with the pen in an eighteenth or early nineteenth century hand *Rubens 5...*

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. Inv. No. 5213-2.

PROVENANCE: Bequeathed by William Fawkener, in 1769.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, No.197 (repr.).

LITERATURE: L. Binyon, *Catalogue of Drawings by British Artists and Artists of Foreign Origin Working in Great Britain Preserved in the British Museum*, IV, London, 1907, *Van Dyck*, No.78; *Hind*, II, p.74, No.81, pl.XXXVI; *Glück*, pp.19,35, Fig.11; O. Benesch, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1946, pp.156,157 (as

Van Dyck); *Held*, I, p.146, No.134; II, pl.147.

Study from nature of an old, leafless pollard willow. The drawing is one of the numerous studies of trees, shrubs and other plants which served Rubens as a source of material and experience when he painted his landscapes filled with luxuriant vegetation: see Nos.18a (Fig.58), 28a (Fig.85), 70 (Fig.156), 71 (Fig.157), 72 (Fig.158), 74 (Fig.160), 75 (Fig.161), 77 (Fig.165). A similar leafless willow occurs on the left of the *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford*, painted c. 1617, in the Hermitage, Leningrad (No.19, Fig.62). I agree with Held, who is inclined to place this drawing with the earlier group of painted landscapes rather than the later ones. Although not listed in *Glück-Haberditzl*, the drawing was evidently accepted by Glück as being by Rubens.

74. Entrance to a Wood: Drawing
(Fig.160)

Black chalk with a few touches of red chalk and white body-colour, on stone-coloured paper; 383 x 499 mm.; marks of the collections P. H. Lankrink (L. 2090) and Chambers Hall (L. 551).

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. No.201.

PROVENANCE: P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Chambers Hall (Southampton and London, 1786-1855); presented by the latter in 1855 to the University of Oxford.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1927, No.567; *London*, 1938, No.579; *Brussels*, 1938-39, No.49 (repr.); *Rotterdam*, 1939, No.47 (repr.); *London*, 1950, No.57; *London*, 1953-54, No.518; *Antwerp*, 1956, No.138; *Antwerp*, 1977, No.171 (repr.).

LITERATURE: P. Buschmann, *Rubens en Van Dyck in het Ashmolean Museum te Oxford, Onze Kunst*, XXIX, 1916, pp.43,44; *Vasari Society*, 2nd Series, IV, 1923, pl.12; *Muchall-Viebrook*, pl.30; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.52, No.170, repr.; *Parker, Drawings*, I, No.201, pl.XLII; *Glück*, pp.35,72, fig.14; *Held*, I, p.147, No.137; II, pl.146; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.330,331, No.207; II, pl.207.

A path, with a wooden gate on the farther side, and a wooden rail on the near side, leads over a small bridge. The water is bordered, to the left, by a row of willow trees. Tall trees fill the right middle distance. A drawing of similar execution, also from the Lankrink collection, is in the British Museum (No.75, Fig.161). Buschmann's conjecture that the locality represented might be in the vicinity of 'Het Steen', Rubens's country seat, between Vilvoorde and Mechlin, cannot be proved.

I agree with Burchard-d'Hulst who dated the sheet c.1635; Held preferred c. 1635-38.

75. Landscape with a Wattle Fence: Drawing (Fig.161)

Black chalk and red chalk (chiefly on the tree at right and on the fence) on grey, foxed paper; 353 x 514 mm.

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. No. 109.

PROVENANCE: P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); J. Richardson, Sr. (London, 1665-1745); T. Hudson (London, 1701-1779).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, No.196 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. Rooses, in *Rubens-Bulletijn*, IV, 1896, p.298, No.1587³;

Vasari Society, 1st Series, II, 1906-1907, pl.25; *Hind*, II, p.34, No.109; *Glück-Haberitzl*, p.58, No.211, repr.; *Held*, I, p.146, No.136; II, pl.145.

A thicket of bushes stands in level meadowland, with a wattle fence to the left of it and pollard willows and other trees in the background.

Held dates this, no doubt rightly, c. 1635-38. He points out the stylistic resemblance to the Oxford drawing (No.74, Fig.160), which was probably also made in Rubens's last years and may depict a scene near 'Het Steen', the estate he acquired in 1635 between Mechlin and Vilvoorde.

76. A Brook and Trees: Drawing (Fig.162)

Body colour and tempera, touched up with black chalk, over preliminary work in black chalk; 435 x 590 mm. Below on the left, inscribed in black chalk by a later hand, 23, *Rubens* and 41; below on the right, mark of the Hermitage (L. 2061). Fully mounted; the upper corners cut off and restored; in the centre, traces of a vertical crease.

Leningrad, Hermitage. Inv. No. 5518.

PROVENANCE: Count Karl Cobenzl (1712-1770); purchased in 1770 by Empress Catherine II of Russia.

EXHIBITED: *Leningrad*, 1937, p.50; *Leningrad*, 1940, No.25 (repr.); Antwerp, 1956, No.138a; *Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris*, 1972-73, No.85 (repr.); *Antwerp*, 1977, No.170 (repr.); *Rubens and the Flemish Baroque* [Russ.], Hermitage, Leningrad, 1978, No.120 (repr.).

LITERATURE: M. V. Dobrokolsky, *Einige Rubenszeichnungen in der*

Eremitage, Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst, II, 1930-1931, pp.36,37; M. V. Dobroklonsky, *The Graphic Heritage of Rubens* [Russ.], *Isskoustvo*, 1935, pp.153,155; *Dobroklonsky*, 1940, No.28, (repr.); *Dobroklonsky*, 1955, p.137, No.659, pl.LXI; *Held*, I, p.147, under No.136; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, I, pp.331,332, No.208; II, pl.208; *Renger*, 1978, p.7.

A stream in the foreground disappears into the middle distance on the right, where a group of willows border the water. In the centre are a few slender trees behind a raised bank and a wooden gate. The background consists of meadows and woodland.

Yury Kuznetsov pointed out that Held disputed the attribution of this sheet to Rubens and connected it with Van Dyck's gouache drawings.¹ Kuznetsov believed Held's opinion to be based on the fact that the drawing seemed to be a studio work and not a study from nature: this was so not only because of its large size and complicated technique, but because of the elaborate composition and absence of superfluous detail.

Burchard and d'Hulst, and also Kuznetsov, compare this sheet with the *Landscape with a Carriage* in the National Gallery, London (No.57, Fig.140), drawn on paper in black chalk and oils and stuck on canvas. I believe it to be an autograph work by Rubens and agree with the proposed dating c. 1635.

1. In Cat. Exh. Brussels-Rotterdam-Paris, loc. cit.

77. Trees Reflected in Water: Drawing (Fig.165)

Black, red, and white chalk; 273 x 454 mm.; inscribed in Rubens's hand: 'de boomen wederscheyn[en] In het Waeter brynder ende veel perfecter In

het Waeter als de boomen selve'; this has been freely translated by an English eighteenth-century hand underneath: 'The Shadow of Tree is greater in ye watter and more perfect then ye trees themselves, and . . . darker'; marks of the collections J. Richardson, Sr. (L. 2184) and C. M. Cracherode (L. 606).

London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings. No. Gg. 2-229.

PROVENANCE: J. Richardson, Sr. (London, 1665-1745); C. M. Cracherode (London, 1730-1799).

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1977, No.195.

LITERATURE: *Hind*, II, pp.33,34, No.108, pl.XV; *Glück-Haberitzl*, pp.52,53, No.171, repr.; L. Van Puyvelde, *A Landscape by Rubens*, *The Burlington Magazine*, LXXVIII, 1941, pp.188,191; *Evers*, 1942, p.434; *Glück*, pp.35,72, fig.16; *Held*, I, p.146, No. 135, colour-plate facing p.80; Julius S. Held, 'Rubens and Aguilonius; New Points of Contact', *The Art Bulletin*, LXI, 1979, pp.257-264, fig. 6.

On the far side of a stretch of water, in flat country, several trees are reflected in the placid surface. The reddish light indicates sunset. The atmosphere is slightly misty. The contours of the trees are dissolved in light.

Held correctly translated Rubens's annotation: The reflection of the trees in the water is browner [darker?] and more perfect [clearer?] in the water than the trees themselves. He pointed out that this remark bears witness to Rubens's keen powers of observation and also his interest in theoretical problems. The drawing is not directly related to any of Rubens's known landscape paintings, but reflections in water occur for instance in Nos.42 (Fig.118), 48 (Fig.127), 55 (Fig. 138), 59 (Fig.142), 64-66 (Figs. 147-149) and 68 (Fig.152).

Martin Warnke has pointed out orally to the author that this type of observation and the exact noting of such phenomena is frequent in Leonardo da Vinci¹ and is referred to as a tradition by Franciscus Junius. The latter's *De Picture Veterum Libri Tres*, published in 1637, came into Rubens's hands immediately, and he wrote to Junius about it on 1 August of that year.²

The drawing may date from between 1635 and 1639.

1. Cf. T. Lücke (ed.), *Leonardo da Vinci's Tagebücher und Aufzeichnungen*, Leipzig, 1940, pp.154, 169, 720.

2. Rooses-Ruelens, VI, pp.179-182, No.DCCCXXXI. In his *De Pictura Veterum Libri Tres* (Amsterdam, 1637), p.197 Junius quotes Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, VIII, 8: 'ripae fraxino multa, multa populo vestiuntur: quas perspicuus omnis, velut versas, viridi imagine anumerat.'; see also Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, XVI, 18: 'si rectus speculum species, imago fiet tua hujusmodi, ut caput deorsum videatur, pedes sursum'.

1949, No.104; *Paris*, 1949, No.109; *Old Master Drawings (Jonathan Richardson Collection)*, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, 1952, No.59; *Antwerp*, 1956, No.102; *London*, 1977, No.193 (repr.).

LITERATURE: *Held*, 1959, Nos.59, 60; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No.154.

Studies from life of four harvesting women in varying attitudes. They are all occupied in various ways with the preparation of sheaves, presumably of wheat. Two of them have a few stalks which they twist in their hands into a primitive 'rope' with which to tie the sheaves. Beside the skirt of the woman below on the right, the colour of the material, *blauw*, was indicated by Rubens with the pen. So far it has not been possible to connect these figures with any painting by Rubens.

The study drawings Nos.78 and 79 give the impression of having been done from life, perhaps for a painting of a harvest scene. Rubens may have known Pieter Bruegel's *Corn Harvest*, Metropolitan Museum, New York,¹ where a figure rather similar to the one at the lower right of this sheet can be seen in the right middle distance, and he may have planned painting a similar picture. From the *Return from the Harvest* in the Pitti Gallery, Florence (No.48, Fig.127), it can be inferred that Rubens knew also another painting in Bruegel's series of months, viz. the latter's *Haymaking (July)*, now in the National Gallery, Prague.²

Burchard and d'Hulst in 1956 and 1963 did not pronounce definitely for a date before or after 1630. The present writer agrees with the view expressed by Held in 1959 that the two drawings date respectively from after 1630 and c. 1635-36, i.e. the years in which Rubens was working on pictures like the *Return from the Harvest* in Florence and the *Land-*

78. Four Women Harvesting: Drawing (Fig.163)

Red chalk, except the bending figure in the foreground, which is in black chalk. Touched up in places, especially in the figure below on the right, with the pen and brown ink; 181 x 207 mm. Below on the left, inscribed in pencil, *Rubens*; below on the right, mark of the Royal Scottish Academy (L. 2189); on the right, inscribed with the pen, *blauw*, this word by Rubens's hand, and above, 18. *Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland*. Inv. No. D.1490.

PROVENANCE: Paul Sandby (London, 1725-1809); David Laing (Edinburgh, 1793-1878); bequeathed by him in 1879 to the Royal Scottish Academy, which in turn presented it in 1910 to the National Gallery of Scotland.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1938, No.588; *Rotterdam*, 1948-49, No.137; *Brussels*,

CATALOGUE NOS. 79-83

scape with 'Het Steen' in the National Gallery, London (No. 53, Fig. 136).

See also No. 79.

1. Grossmann, Bruegel, pl. 99.
2. Ibid., pl. 91.

79. Eight Women Harvesting: Drawing (Fig. 164)

Red chalk, except the bent foreground figure on the left which is in black chalk. Touched up in places with the pen and brown ink; 216 x 257 mm. Below in the centre, mark of the P. H. Lankrink Collection (L. 2090) and on the right, that of the Royal Scottish Academy (L. 2189) and, inscribed with the pen by an unknown hand, *Rubens*.

Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland.
Inv. No. D.1500.

PROVENANCE: P. H. Lankrink (London, 1628-1692); Paul Sandby (London, 1725-1809); David Laing (Edinburgh, 1793-1878); bequeathed by him in 1879 to the Royal Scottish Academy, which in turn presented it in 1910 to the National Gallery of Scotland.

EXHIBITED: *London*, 1938, No. 588; *Rotterdam*, 1948-49, No. 137; *Brussels*, 1949, No. 104; *Paris*, 1949, No. 109; *Old Master Drawings (Jonathan Richardson Collection)*, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery, 1952, No. 60; *Antwerp*, 1956, No. 103; *London*, 1977, No. 193.

LITERATURE: *Held*, 1959, No. 60; *Burchard-d'Hulst*, 1963, No. 153.

Studies of eight harvesting women in varying attitudes, three of them wearing broad-brimmed straw hats. They are all occupied with the preparation of sheaves, presumably of wheat. Most of them have a few stalks which they twist in their hands into a primitive 'rope' with which to tie the sheaves. One woman,

lower right, is actually tying a sheaf, while others pick up the bundled sheaves and carry them away.

80. A Tempest at Sea

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Jeremias Wildens, Antwerp, 30 December 1653 ('Een schilderij wesen een Seetempeest, van myn Heer Rubbens, n° 69'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 156); may be identical with a painting in the estate of Jan Baptist van Zoom, Antwerp, 11 April 1699 ('Item een schilderij, schouwstuck, van Rubens, Tempeest in zee met figuren'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 377).

81. Frost Landscape

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Jan-Philip Happaert, Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Antwerp, 1686 ('Item eenen ysganck, van myn Heer Rubbens'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 334).

82. Landscape with Men Fishing (?)

Whereabouts unknown; presumably lost.

PROVENANCE: Estate of Jeremias Wildens, 30 December 1653 ('Een Visscherye vanden voorschreven Heer Rubbens, n° 13'; *Denucé, Konstkamers*, p. 155).

83. Landscape with Carriers Crossing a Ford (Fig. 166)

Oil on panel; 48 x 63 cm.

Flers-lez-Lille, Collection of Bernard Willot.

PROVENANCE: Sale, London (Christie's), 14 November 1958, lot 117 (as *Brueghel, A Catastrophe*); purchased by Appleby Brothers; Galerie A. de Heuvel, Brussels, 1965.

COPY: Painting, Bruges, Groeningemuseum; panel, 55.5 x 80.5 cm. LIT. H. Pauwels, *Groeningemuseum. Catalogue*, Bruges, 1960, No.93 (repr.).

EXHIBITED: *Tableaux anciens-Oude schilderijen*, Galerie A. de Heuvel, Brussels—P. de Boer N.V., Amsterdam, 1965, No.57 (repr. as *Rubens*).

The man struggling with the wheel in the foreground, seen from behind, is based on the farmhand on the left of Rubens's painting *The Prodigal Son* (No.26, Fig.75). The grey horse, also seen from behind, derives from models by Carel du Jardin.

Considered original by Ludwig Burchard, Leo Van Puyvelde and R.-A. d'Hulst, but in my opinion it is a pastiche.

84. Landscape with a Church on a Hill Top (Fig.167)

Oil on panel; 24 x 34 cm.

Whereabouts unknown.

PROVENANCE: C. Marshall Spink, London, 1938.

This landscape with a church on a hill rising to the left was proposed by Burchard for attribution to Rubens. It has not been possible to ascertain whether he still upheld this attribution at the end of his career.

I do not consider this to be an original.

85. Landscape with Cows, Three Maids and a Water-Mill

A landscape painting by Lucas van Uden (oil on panel, 29 x 42 cm.), known from a photograph of 1943 (Fig.168), was tentatively supposed by Burchard to be a copy of a lost work by Rubens and was therefore included by him in the list of Rubens landscapes to be published. The supposed Rubens original is not known to exist. The Van Uden landscape was in the Galerie de Jonckheere, Brussels, in 1979.¹

On the right of the picture a water-mill stands among trees on a hill-side, rising to the right and rocky in parts. In the right and centre, under a rocky cliff beneath the mill, is a dammed-up stream which drains off through a rocky shallow to the left and also towards the spectator. To the right in front of the stream are four cows, painted very small, and three maids. One of the cows is being milked, and milk-cans are standing or lying on the ground. One of the maids is standing and steadying a large basket of vegetables on her head with one arm. To the left of the stream is a tall tree leaning to the left and behind it, leaning to the right, a tall, two-headed willow. To the left, the hill permits only a glimpse of the flat country beyond, consisting of meadows with single trees and rows of bushes. The light comes from the right, pouring out on to the hillside and plain from behind the *coulisses* of the rocks and hill. The effect of light is stronger than is usually found in Van Uden's work, and this may be a main reason why Burchard supposed it to be a copy after Rubens. There is no doubt as to Van Uden's authorship of the painting in question. If it is a copy after a lost work by Rubens, this must have been a landscape dating from c. 1615-18 (cf. Nos.15,17,20,27,27b).

The composition as a whole bears a

resemblance to such early works as Cat. Nos. 15 (Figs. 46, 47), 17 (Fig. 52) and 20 (Fig. 63), an ascending path with hilly slope on one side of the picture and a glimpse of the far distance on the other. It is unlikely, however, that Rubens would have committed the implausibility of perching a mill driven by water-power up high on rocky ground. The cows and maids look as though they had been borrowed singly from such works by Rubens as those cited above; both they and the mill give the impression of having been added to the picture as afterthoughts. The rest of the landscape, especially on the left, shows signs of freer invention.

Burchard put forward two hypotheses, of which he preferred the second: the work was either composed by Lucas Van Uden using motifs from Rubens landscapes, or copied by him from a lost painting by Rubens. In my opinion, the former hypothesis is the more likely.

1. Provenance: Viscount Bolingbroke and others, sale, London (Christie's), 10 October 1943, lot 72 (anonymous part of the sale).

86. Landscape with a Carriage
(Fig. 169)

Oil on panel; 46 x 62 cm.

Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art.

PROVENANCE: Charles-Léon Cardon, sale, Brussels (Fiévez), 27 June 1921 *et seqq.*, lot 103 (repr., as *Rubens*); Malmedé, Cologne, 1942 (?); V. Modrzejewski, Amsterdam, 1954; D. A. Hoogendijk, Amsterdam; purchased from the latter for the Toledo Museum, in 1955.

EXHIBITED: *Brussels, 1910, No. 293 bis (as Rubens)*.

LITERATURE: *Trésor de l'art belge au XVII^e siècle*, I, Brussels, 1912, p. 112, No. 293 bis, pl. LI (as *Rubens*).

In all probability, Burchard never saw this picture. I had the opportunity to study the work in 1973, and I can only say that in my opinion it is a late pastiche of a late Rubens landscape.

ILLUSTRATIONS



1. Rubens, *Views of Rome: A Trattoria in the Baths of Diocletian and the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino*, drawing (No.1). Amsterdam, Coll. J. Q. van Regteren Altena



2. P. Bril, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing.
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



3. W. H. van Nieulandt, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, etching



4. J. Pynas, *The Raising of Lazarus*.
Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen



5. B. Breenbergh, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing.
Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut



6. G. Vasi, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, engraving



7. C. de Wael, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing.
Paris, Ecole Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



8. P. Bril, *View of the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino in Rome*,
drawing. Paris, Ecole Supérieure des Beaux-Arts



9. P. Stevens, *View of the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino in Rome*,
drawing. Present whereabouts unknown



10. G. Vasi, *View of the Aventine in Rome*, engraving



11. E. Du Pérac, *View of the Aventine in Rome*, engraving



12. A. Elsheimer, *The Embarkation of St. Helena*. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



13. H. Goudt, *View of the Campagna*, drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room

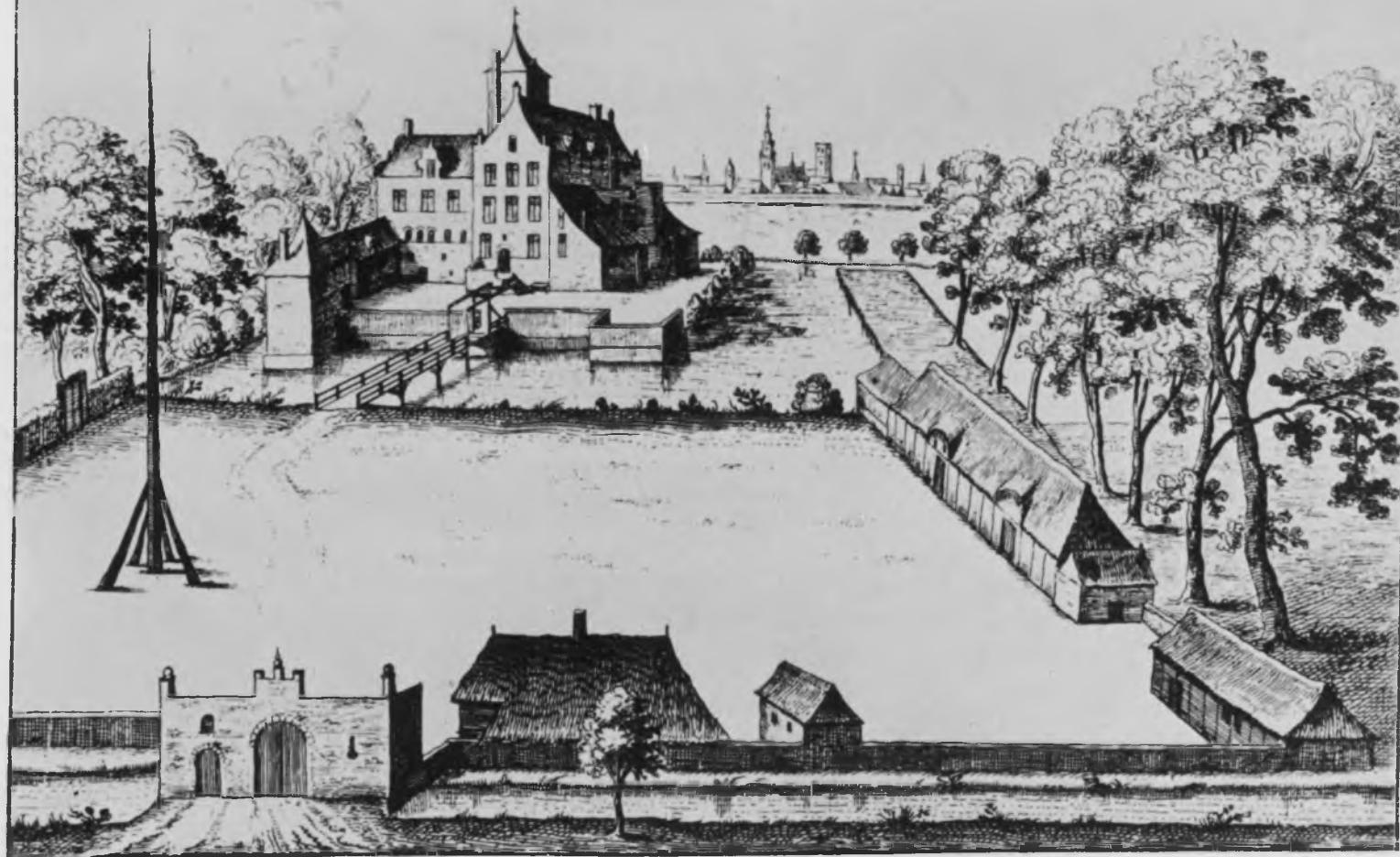


14. Anonymous German Draughtsman, 1609–1611, *View of the Tiber in Rome*, drawing. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek



15. Rubens, *The 'Crayen Hof' at Zwijndrecht*, drawing (No.2). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet

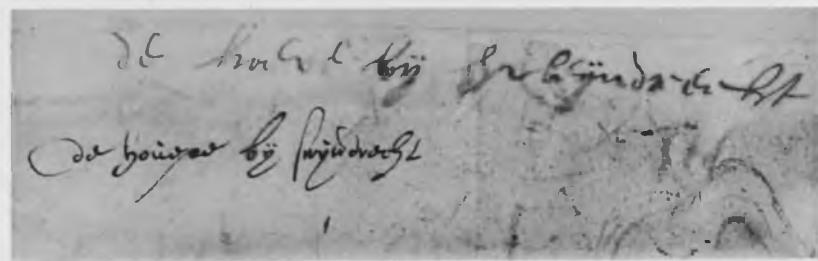
PRÆTORIVM vulgo t CRAYENHOF, in Paroecia de BVRCHT.



16. *View of the 'Crayenhof' at Zijndrecht, engraving*



17. J. Breugel the Elder, *View of the House of the Van Stralen Family at Merksem*, drawing.
Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut



18. Inscriptions at the back of Fig. 19



19. Rubens, *A Farm near Zwijndrecht*, drawing (No.3). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



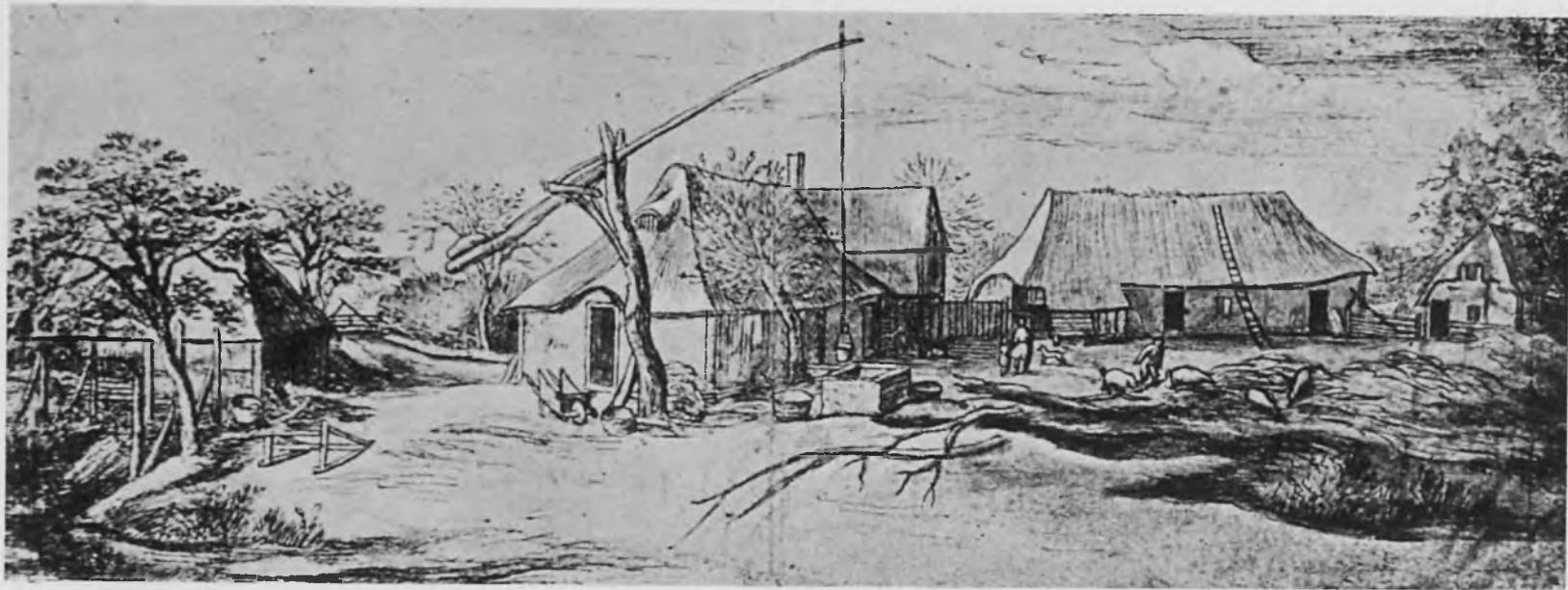
20. Rubens, *Farm with Horses at a Draw-Well*, drawing (No.4). Vienna, Albertina



21. Rubens, *Soldiers*, drawing.
Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto di Stampe e Disegni



22. Rubens, *Soldiers*, drawing.
Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto di Stampe e Disegni



23. Rubens, *Farm with a Draw-Well*, drawing (No.5). Formerly Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, now lost



24. Rubens, *Pan and Syrinx*, drawing. London, British Museum



25. Rubens, 'Het Huys Bekelaar in de Bosseleny van Iperen A° 1609', drawing (No.6). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



26. D. Vinckboons, *Landscape with Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus*, drawing. Berlin-East, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



27. Rubens, *A Moated Grange with Bridge-House*, drawing (No.7). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings



28. Rubens, *A Farm near Luihagen*, drawing (No.8). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet



29. Rubens, *The 'Baseliers Hof'*, drawing (No.9). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



30. Rubens, *The Conversion of St Paul*. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection.



31. ?After J. Breugel the Elder, *Landscape with a Castle*, drawing. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum



32. Rubens, *The 'Gastes Hoef' near Deurne*, drawing (No. 10). London, British Museum



33. Rubens, *The 'Keyzers Hof'*, drawing (No. 11). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



34. J. Hoefnagel after P. Breugel the Elder,
Landscape with Mercury Abducting Psyche, engraving



35. Master of Frankenthal, c. 1580, *View of Houses at Frankenthal*,
drawing. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum



36. Florentine Master, c. 1490, *View of Florence*, engraving



37. Rubens, *St Ignatius of Loyola in a Landscape at Night*, drawing.
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



38. Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, drawing. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library



39. D. Vinckboons, *A Farm under Trees*, drawing.
Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Prentenkabinet



40. Rubens, *The Farm near the Ruggenveld*, drawing (No. 12). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



41. After Rubens, *Farm Buildings by a Well*, drawing (No. 13). New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery



42. Rubens, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (No. 14). Paris, Musée du Louvre



43. A. Elsheimer, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek



44. Rubens, *Portrait of the Duke of Lerma on Horseback* (detail). Madrid, Prado



45. Rubens, *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No. 16). Paris, Musée du Louvre



46. After Rubens, *Landscape with Antique Ruins* (No. 15). Montpellier, Musée Fabre



47. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with Antique Ruins*, engraving (No. 15)



48. Master of the Prodigal Son, *Rebecca at the Well*.
Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland



49. ?L. Van Uden after Titian,
Pastoral Landscape with Antique Ruins, etching



50. F. Floris, *The Judgement of Paris*. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



51. M. Van Heemskerck, *Wall-Fountain with the So-Called Tigris in the Belvedere Court of the Vatican, Rome*, drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



52. Rubens, *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* (No. 17). Vaduz, Coll. Prince of Liechtenstein



53. Rubens, *Landscape with Boar Hunt* (No. 18). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



54. P. Soutman, *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, engraving (No.18)



55. *Sarcophagus of Meleager*. Woburn Abbey, Coll. Duke of Bedford



56. *Sarcophagus of Meleager*, drawing. Coburg, Veste Coburg

LA CHASSE DES 231
BESTES NOIRES.



*Tel va souuent à la chasse,
Qui ce pendant qu'il pourchasse,
Quelques animaux de prize,
Voulent surprendre il est pris.
Ce ieune homme qui tournoye,
Icy autour de sa proye,*

*Chassant à la volé pte,
Met au hazard sa beaute,
Car toutes ses mignardises,
Ce sont autant d'entreprises,
Pour l'affaillir en son fort,
Et là luy donner la mort.*

V 13



58. Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (No. 18a).
Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins



59. ?Rubens, *Figure Studies, partially for the Landscape with Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.18c).
Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



60. ?Rubens, *Figure Studies for the Landscape with Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.18d). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



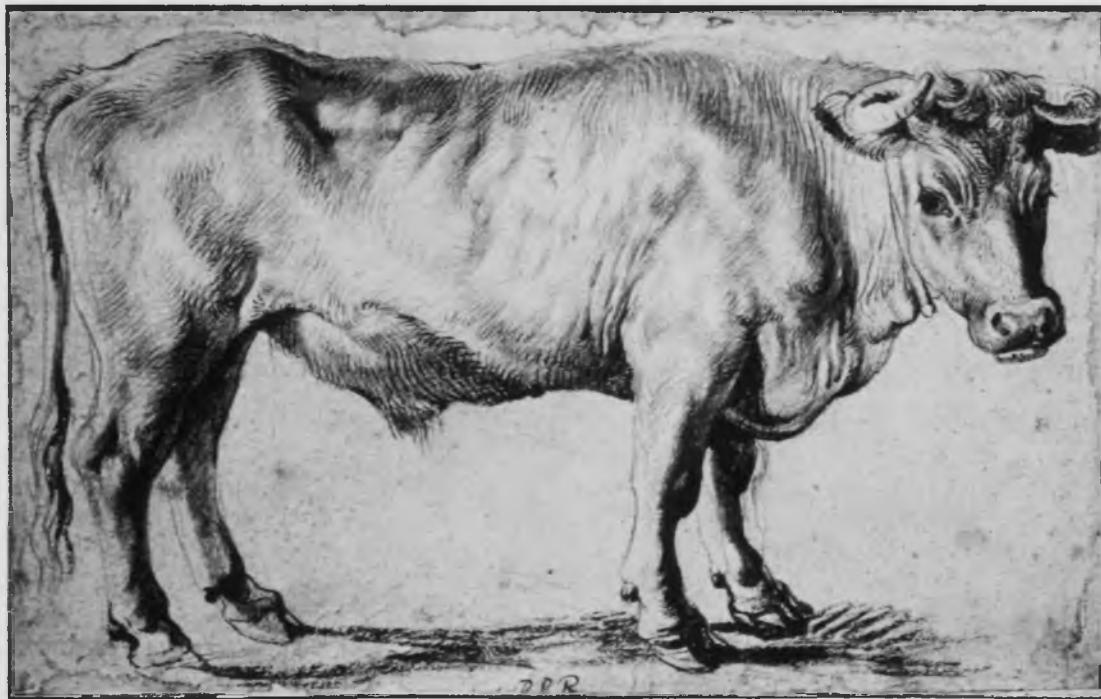
61. ?Rubens, *Boar Hunt*, drawing (No. 18b). Vienna, Albertina



62. Rubens, *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford*, 'La Charrette embourbée' (No. 19). Leningrad, Hermitage



63. Rubens, *The Farm at Laken* (No.20). London, Buckingham Palace, Coll. of H.M. the Queen



64. ?Rubens, *Study of an Ox*, drawing (No.20a). Vienna, Albertina



65. The former church of Laken (Brussels), in 1893



66. Rubens, *Winter* (No. 21). Windsor Castle, Coli. of H.M. the Queen



67. Rubens, *Summer* (No.22). Windsor Castle, Coll. of H.M. the Queen



68. P. Clouwet, *Winter*, engraving (No.21)



69. P. Pontius, *Three Horses and a Peasant Leaning on a Staff*, engraving (No. 21)



70. After P. Breugel the Elder, *Going to Market*, drawing.
Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung



71. Rubens, *The Watering-Place* (No. 25). London, National Gallery



72. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.23). London, National Gallery



73. Bolognese Artist, *Shepherds, Horses and Cows at a Watering Place*, drawing.
Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut



74. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No. 24).
Rydal, Penn., Coll. Stanley S. Wulc



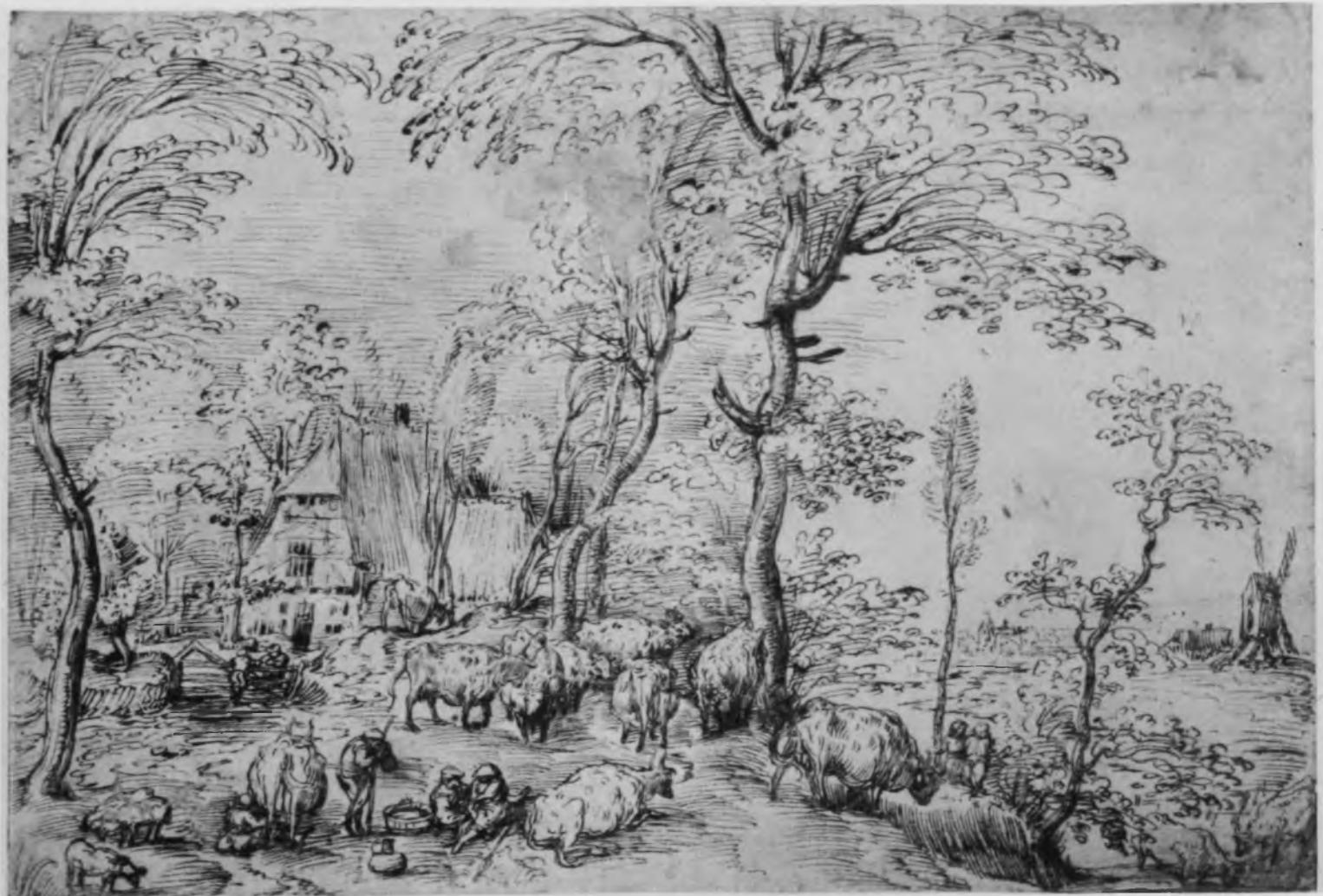
75. Rubens, *Interior of a Barn, with the Prodigal Son* (No. 26). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



76. Rubens, *A Labourer Threshing and a Waggon outside a Shed*, drawing (No.26a). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



77. Rubens, *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* (No.27). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



78. P. Bruegel the Elder, *Landscape with Cows and Trees*, drawing. Washington, National Gallery of Art



79. Rubens, *A Woman Milking a Cow*, drawing (No.27a).
Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



80. P. Pontius, *Studies of Cows*, engraving (No.27b)



81. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b).
Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



82. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b).
London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings



83. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b).
London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings



84. Rubens, *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No.28). Florence, Palazzo Pitti



85. Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (No.28a). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



86. Rubens, *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (No.29). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



87. S. a Bolswert, *Stormy Coast Landscape*, engraving (No.30)



88. After Rubens, *Stormy Coast Landscape* (No.30). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



89. Rubens, *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* (No. 31). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



90. Rubens, *The Afternoon (A Peasant Driving a Cart)* (No. 32). Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard



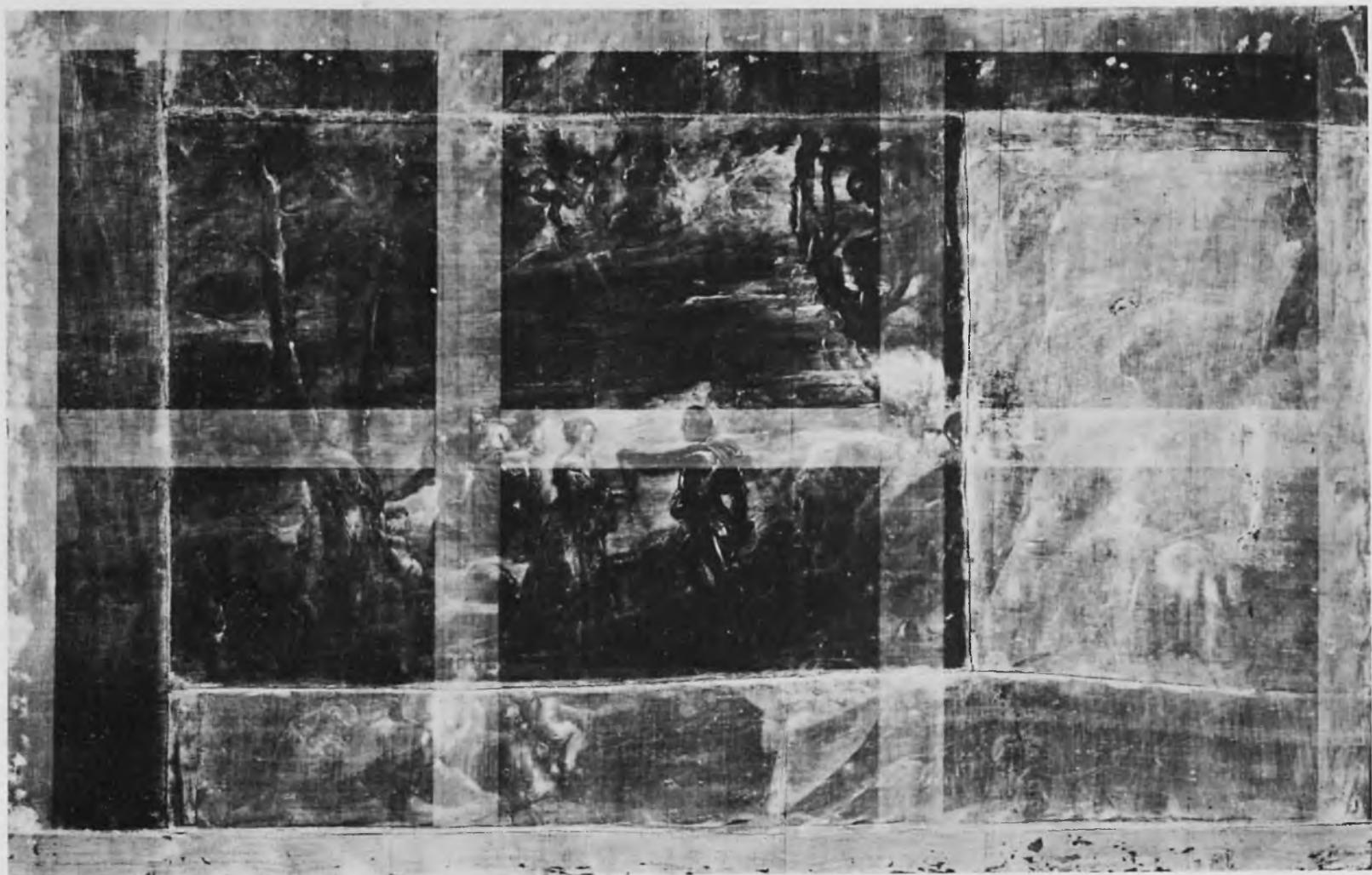
91. Rubens, *The Evening (A Countrywoman Driving a Cart)* (No.33). Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard



92. Rubens, *The Deluge (A Tempest at Night)* (No. 34). Coll. Gottfried Neuerburg



93. Rubens, *Landscape with St George* (No. 35). London, Buckingham Palace, Coll. of H.M. the Queen



94. X-ray of Fig.93



95. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Landscape with a Scene from the Life of St Mary Magdalen*.
Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale



96. L. Van Leyden, *St George Delivering the Princess*, engraving



97. Rubens, *Study of Knights and Fighting Soldiers*.
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



98. Rubens, *Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35a).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



99. Rubens, *Studies for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35a).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



100. Rubens, *Studies for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35b). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



101. Rubens, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul* (No.36). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



102. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*, engraving (No.36)



103. A. Elsheimer, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*. London, National Gallery



G. mos Part muenor Rh. sub.

Exiit hic PAULUM et socius Melite insula, salvos
Naupragio, ac flammis recreantur frustas membra. Anguis qui sic saturat Paulum non laxit. Amico
Con praesidio

104. H. Hondius, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*, engraving



105. S. a Bolswert, *Spanish Landscape with a Goat-Herd*, engraving (No. 37)



106. After Rubens, *Spanish Landscape with a Goat-Herd* (No.37). Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection



107. P. Verhulst, *A View of the Escorial* (No. 38). Longford Castle, Coll. of the Earl of Radnor



108. After Rubens, *A View of the Escorial* (No.38). Petworth House, Coll. of Lord Leconfield



109. After Rubens, *A View of the Escorial* (No. 38). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie



110. L. Van Uden, *A View of the Escorial* (No. 38). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



111. S. a Bolswert, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow*, engraving (No.39a)



112. Rubens, *Figure Studies*, drawing (No.39b). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais



113. Rubens, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* (No.39). Leningrad, Hermitage



114. Rubens, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* (No.40). Paris, Musée du Louvre



115. Rubens, *Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar* (No.41). Madrid, Prado



116. Antico, *Bronze Statuette of Meleager*.
London, Victoria and Albert Museum



117. Rubens, *Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar*,
oil sketch. Present whereabouts unknown



118. Rubens, *The Park of a Castle* (No.42). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



119. S. a Bolswert, *The Park of a Castle*, engraving (No.42)



120. Rubens, *Landscape with Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints* (No.43). Madrid, Prado



121. ?A. Watteau, *Landscape with Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints* (No.43). London, National Gallery



122. Rubens, *Stormy Landscape with Three Cows* (No.44). Knightshayes Court near Tiverton, Devon, Coll. J. Heathcoat Amory



123. Rubens, *Landscape after Storm* (No.45).
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection

124. Rubens, *Study of a Large Tree* (No.45a).
Present whereabouts unknown





125. ?Rubens, *Deer Hunt near a Forest*, oil sketch (No.46). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



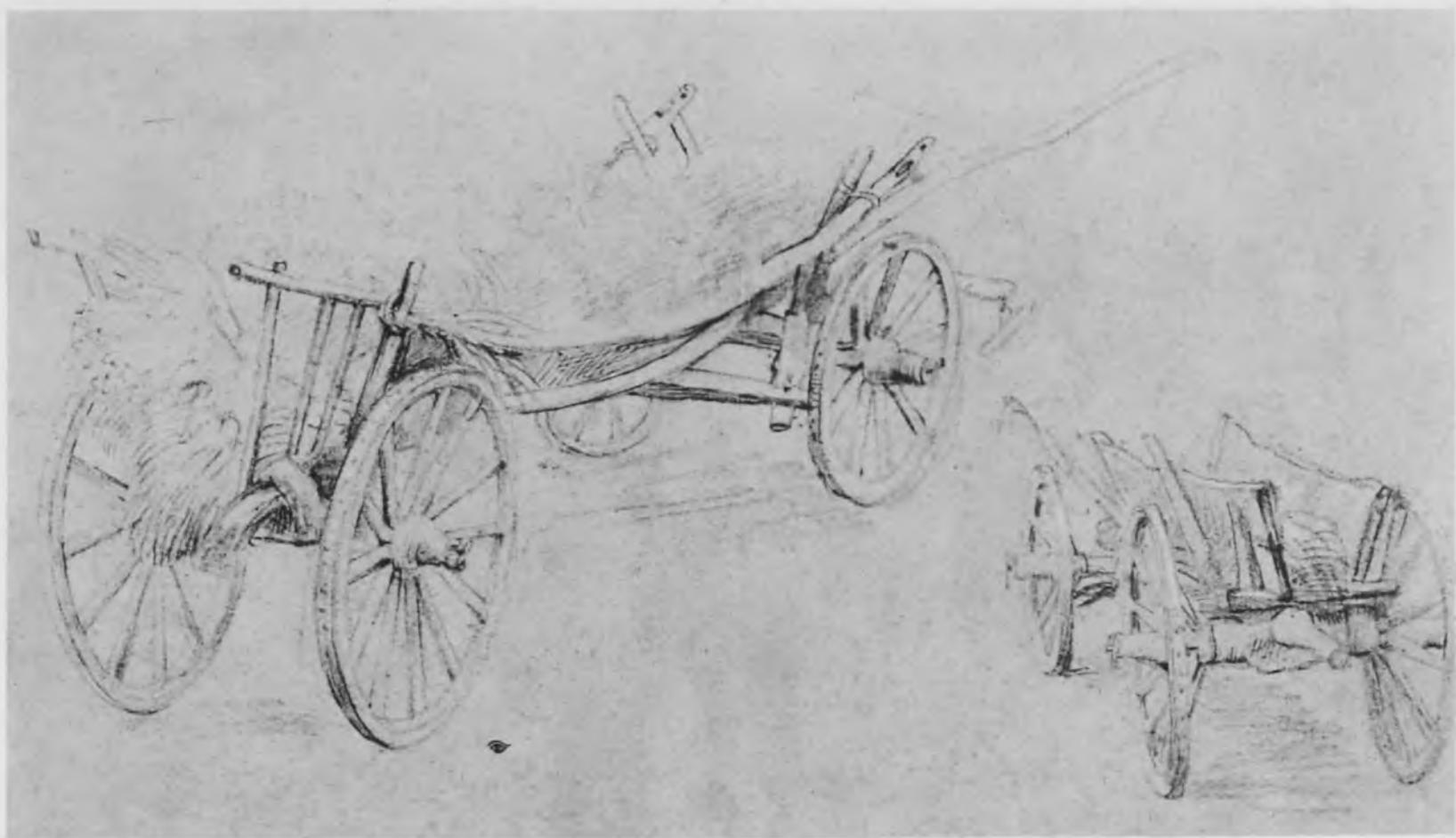
126. S. a Bolswert, *Harvest Scene with Rainbow*, engraving (No.47)



127. Rubens, *Return from the Harvest* (No.48). Florence, Palazzo Pitti



128. ?Rubens, *Return from the Harvest*, drawing (No.48a). Vienna, Albertina



129. Rubens, *Two Waggons, one Laden with Sheaves*, drawing (No.48b). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room



130. Rubens, *Forest with Deer Hunt* (No.49). Llangedwyn Hall, Coll. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn



131. S. a Bolswert, *Forest with Deer Hunt*, engraving (No.49)



132. Rubens, *Forest with Deer Hunt*, oil sketch (No.49a). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



133. Rubens, *Willows* (No. 50). Lausanne, Coll. Capt. and Mrs Edward Speelman



134. Rubens, *Forest at Sunset* (No. 51). Cologne, Coll. Gottfried Neuerburg



135. Rubens, *Landscape with Avenue of Trees* (No. 52). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts



136. Rubens, *Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt* (No.53). London, National Gallery



137. ?Rubens, *Landscape with Rainbow* (No.54). Munich, Alte Pinakothek



138. Rubens, *Landscape with Rainbow* (No.55). London, Wallace Collection



139. S. a Bolswert, *Open, Flat Landscape with a Peasant Couple and a Dog*, engraving (No.56)



140. Rubens, *Landscape with a Carriage* (No. 57). London, National Gallery



141. Rubens, *Landscape with a Waggon, at Sunset* (No. 58). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



142. Rubens, *Flat Landscape with Clouds* (No. 59). Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts



143. S. a Bolswert, *Horseman at a Watering Place*, engraving (No.60)



144. Rubens, *Landscape with a Hanged Man* (No. 61). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



145. Rubens, *Landscape in Moonlight*, drawing (No.62). Leningrad, Hermitage



146. Rubens, *Landscape with Moon and Stars* (No.63). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



147. Rubens, *Landscape with a Tower* (No.64). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



148. Rubens, *Tournament in Front of a Castle* (No.65). Paris, Musée du Louvre



149. Rubens, *Landscape with a Tower* (No.66). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen



150. Rubens, *Landscape with Windmill and Bird-Trap* (No.67). Paris, Musée du Louvre



151. Rubens, *Landscape with Farm Buildings, at Sunset*, oil sketch (No.68a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



152. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.68). London, National Gallery



153. Rubens, *Landscape with a Draw-Well* (No.69). Paris, Musée du Louvre



154. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with a Draw-Well*, engraving (No.69)



155. ?Titian, *Landscape with a Shepherd*, drawing.
Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts



156. Rubens, *Tree-Trunk and Brambles*, drawing (No.70). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement



157. Rubens, *Wild Cherry-Tree with Brambles and Weeds*, drawing (No.71).
London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection



158. Rubens, *Path Through an Orchard*, drawing (No. 72).
Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum



159. Rubens, *Pollard Willow*, drawing (No.73). London, British Museum



160. Rubens, *Entrance to a Wood*, drawing (No.74).
Oxford, Ashmolean Museum



161. Rubens, *Landscape with a Wattle Fence*, drawing (No.75). London, British Museum



162. Rubens, *A Brook and Trees*, drawing (No.76). Leningrad, Hermitage



163. Rubens, *Four Women Harvesting*, drawing (No.78).
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



164. Rubens, *Eight Women Harvesting*, drawing (No.79).
Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland



165. Rubens, *Trees Reflected in Water*, drawing (No.77). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings



166. ?Rubens, *Landscape with Carriers Crossing a Ford* (No.83). Flers-lez-Lille, Coll. Bernard Willot



167. ?Rubens, *Landscape with a Church on a Hill Top* (No.84). Present whereabouts unknown



168. ?After Rubens, *Landscape with Cows, three Maids and a Water-Mill* (No.85). Present whereabouts unknown



169. ?Rubens, *Landscape with a Carriage* (No.86). Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art



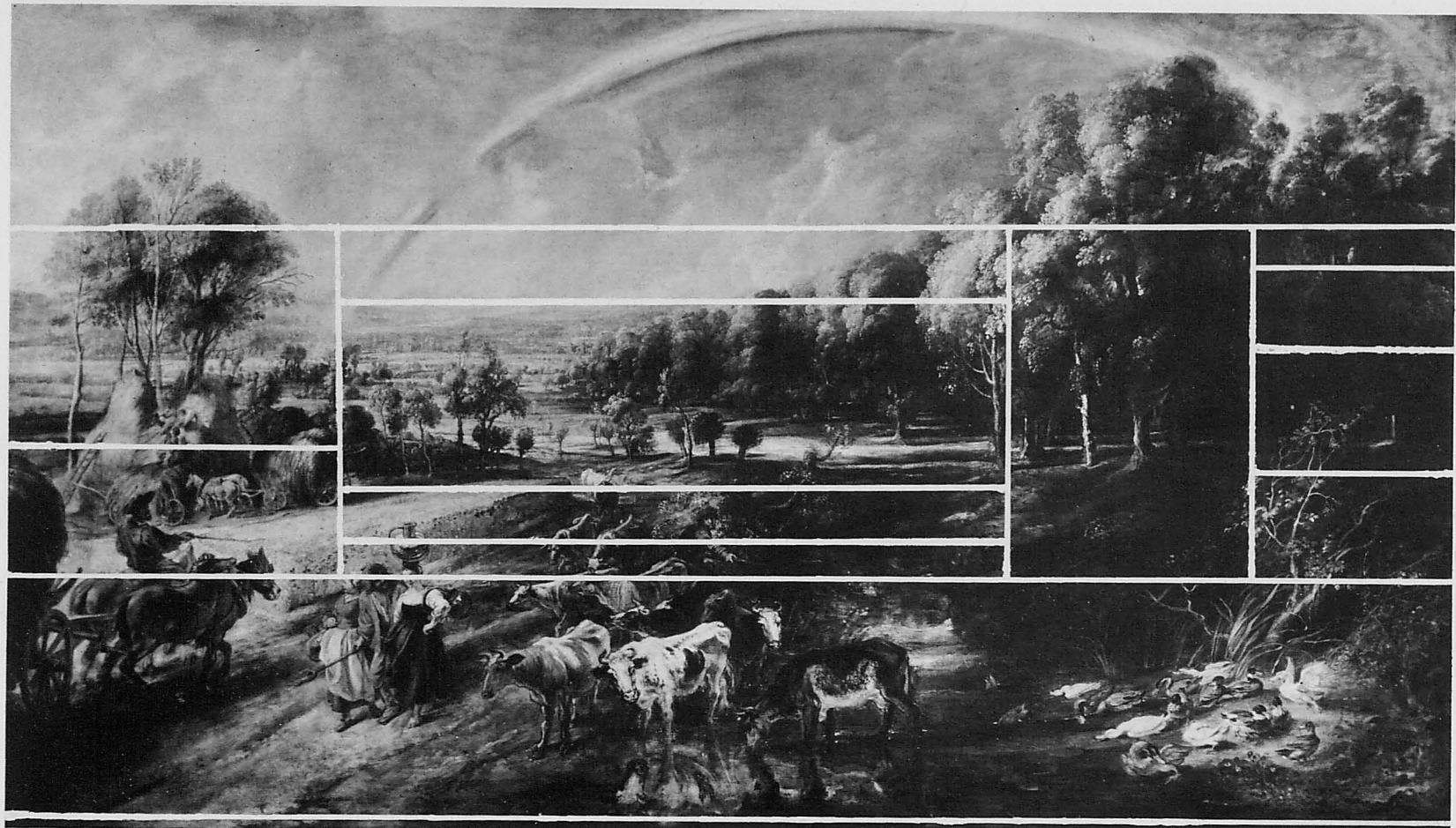
170. Diagram of the Supports of Fig. 84



171. Diagram of the Supports of Fig. 127



172. Diagram of the Supports of Fig. 130



173. Diagram of the Supports of Fig. 138

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Rubens, *Views of Rome: A Trattoria in the Baths of Diocletian and the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino*, drawing (No.1). Amsterdam, Coll. J. Q. van Regteren Altena
2. P. Bril, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
3. W. H. van Nieulandt, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, etching
4. J. Pynas, *The Raising of Lazarus*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen
5. B. Breenbergh, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing. Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut
6. G. Vasi, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, engraving
7. C. de Wael, *View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome*, drawing. Paris, École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts
8. P. Bril, *View of the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino in Rome*, drawing. Paris, École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts
9. ?P. Stevens, *View of the former Abbey of Sabina in Aventino in Rome*, drawing. Present whereabouts unknown
10. G. Vasi, *View of the Aventine in Rome*, engraving
11. E. Du Pérac, *View of the Aventine in Rome*, engraving
12. A. Elsheimer, *The Embarkation of St Helena*. Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut
13. H. Goudt, *View of the Campagna*, drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
14. Anonymous German Draughtsman, 1609–1611, *View of the Tiber in Rome*, drawing. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek
15. Rubens, *The 'Crayen Hof' at Zwijndrecht*, drawing (No.2). Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet
16. *View of the 'Crayenhof' at Zwijndrecht*, engraving
17. J. Breugel the Elder, *View of the House of the Van Stralen Family at Merksem*, drawing. Frankfurt, Städelisches Kunstinstitut
18. Inscriptions at the back of Fig.19
19. Rubens, *A Farm near Zwijndrecht*, drawing (No.3). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
20. Rubens, *Farm with Horses at a Draw-Well*, drawing (No.4). Vienna, Albertina
21. Rubens, *Soldiers*, drawing. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto di Stampe e Disegni
22. Rubens, *Soldiers*, drawing. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto di Stampe e Disegni
23. Rubens, *Farm with a Draw-Well*, drawing (No.5). Formerly Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, now lost
24. Rubens, *Pan and Syrinx*, drawing. London, British Museum
25. Rubens, 'Het Huys Bekelaar in de Bosseleny van Iperen A° 1609', drawing (No.6). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins
26. D. Vinckboons, *Landscape with Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus*, drawing. Berlin-East, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
27. Rubens, *A Moated Grange with Bridge-House*, drawing (No.7). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
28. Rubens, *A Farm near Luiithagen*, drawing (No.8). Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet
29. Rubens, *The 'Baseliers Hof'*, drawing (No.9). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
30. Rubens, *The Conversion of St Paul*. London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection
31. ?After J. Breugel the Elder, *Landscape with a Castle*, drawing. Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
32. Rubens, *The 'Gastes Hoef' near Deurne*, drawing (No.10). London, British Museum

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 33. Rubens, *The 'Keyzers Hof'*, drawing (No.11). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
- 34. J. Hoefnagel after P. Breugel the Elder, *Landscape with Mercury Abducting Psyche*, engraving
- 35. Master of Frankenthal, c. 1580, *View of Houses at Frankenthal*, drawing. Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum
- 36. Florentine Master, c. 1490, *View of Florence*, engraving
- 37. Rubens, *St Ignatius of Loyola in a Landscape at Night*, drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins
- 38. Rubens, *The Adoration of the Magi*, drawing. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
- 39. D. Vinckboons, *A Farm under Trees*, drawing. Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Prentenkabinet
- 40. Rubens, *The Farm near the Ruggenveld*, drawing (No.12). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
- 41. After Rubens, *Farm Buildings by a Well*, drawing (No.13). New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery
- 42. Rubens, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt* (No.14). Paris, Musée du Louvre
- 43. A. Elsheimer, *Landscape with the Flight into Egypt*. Munich, Alte Pinakothek
- 44. Rubens, *Portrait of the Duke of Lerma on Horseback* (detail). Madrid, Prado
- 45. Rubens, *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine* (No.16). Paris, Musée du Louvre
- 46. After Rubens, *Landscape with Antique Ruins* (No.15). Montpellier, Musée Fabre
- 47. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with Antique Ruins*, engraving (No.15)
- 48. Master of the Prodigal Son, *Rebecca at the Well*. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland
- 49. ?L. Van Uden after Titian, *Pastoral Landscape with Antique Ruins*, etching
- 50. F. Floris, *The Judgement of Paris*. Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
- 51. M. Van Heemskerck, *Wall-Fountain with the So-Called Tigris in the Belvedere Court of the Vatican, Rome*, drawing. Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
- 52. Rubens, *Pond with Cows and Milkmaids* (No.17). Vaduz, Coll. Prince of Liechtenstein
- 53. Rubens, *Landscape with Boar Hunt* (No.18). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie
- 54. P. Soutman, *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, engraving (No.18)
- 55. *Sarcophagus of Meleager*. Woburn Abbey, Coll. Duke of Bedford
- 56. *Sarcophagus of Meleager*, drawing. Coburg, Veste Coburg
- 57. J. Isaac, *Boar Hunt*, engraving
- 58. Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (No.18a). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins
- 59. ?Rubens, *Figure Studies, partially for the Landscape with Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.18c). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
- 60. ?Rubens, *Figure Studies for the Landscape with Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.18d). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room
- 61. ?Rubens, *Boar Hunt*, drawing (No.18b). Vienna, Albertina
- 62. Rubens, *Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford, 'La Charrette embourbée'* (No.19). Leningrad, Hermitage
- 63. Rubens, *The Farm at Laken* (No.20). London, Buckingham Palace, Coll. of H.M. the Queen
- 64. ?Rubens, *Study of an Ox*, drawing (No.20a). Vienna, Albertina
- 65. The former church of Laken (Brussels), in 1893
- 66. Rubens, *Winter* (No.21). Windsor Castle, Coll. of H.M. the Queen
- 67. Rubens, *Summer* (No.22). Windsor Castle, Coll. of H.M. the Queen
- 68. P. Clouwet, *Winter*, engraving (No.21)
- 69. P. Pontius, *Three Horses and a Peasant Leaning on a Staff*, engraving (No.21)
- 70. After P. Breugel the Elder, *Going to Market*, drawing. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
- 71. Rubens, *The Watering-Place* (No.25). London, National Gallery
- 72. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.23). London, National Gallery

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

73. Bolognese Artist, *Shepherds, Horses and Cows at a Watering Place*, drawing. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut

74. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.24). Rydal, Penn., Coll. Stanley S. Wulc

75. Rubens, *Interior of a Barn, with the Prodigal Son* (No.26). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

76. Rubens, *A Labourer Threshing and a Waggon outside a Shed*, drawing (No.26a). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

77. Rubens, *Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows* (No.27). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

78. P. Breugel the Elder, *Landscape with Cows and Trees*, drawing. Washington, National Gallery of Art

79. Rubens, *A Woman Milking a Cow*, drawing (No.27a). Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts

80. P. Pontius, *Studies of Cows*, engraving (No.27b)

81. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

82. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

83. After Rubens, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (No.27b). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings

84. Rubens, *Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa* (No.28). Florence, Palazzo Pitti

85. Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (No.28a). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement

86. Rubens, *Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis* (No.29), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

87. S. a Bolswert, *Stormy Coast Landscape*, engraving (No.30)

88. After Rubens, *Stormy Coast Landscape* (No.30). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

89. Rubens, *Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen* (No.31). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen

90. Rubens, *The Afternoon (A Peasant Driving a Cart)* (No.32). Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard

91. Rubens, *The Evening (A Countrywoman Driving a Cart)* (No.33). Farnham, Coll. Wolfgang Burchard

92. Rubens, *The Deluge (A Tempest at Night)* (No.34). Coll. Gottfried Neuerburg

93. Rubens, *Landscape with St George* (No.35). London, Buckingham Palace, Coll. of H.M. the Queen

94. X-ray of Fig.93

95. Polidoro da Caravaggio, *Landscape with a Scene from the Life of St. Mary Magdalen*. Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale

96. L. Van Leyden, *St George Delivering the Princess*, engraving

97. Rubens, *Study of Knights and Fighting Soldiers*. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

98. Rubens, *Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

99. Rubens, *Studies for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35a). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

100. Rubens, *Studies for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (No.35b). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room

101. Rubens, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul* (No.36). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen

102. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*, engraving (No.36)

103. A. Elsheimer, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*. London, National Gallery

104. H. Hondius, *Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul*, engraving

105. S. a Bolswert, *Spanish Landscape with a Goat-Herd*, engraving (No.37)

106. After Rubens, *Spanish Landscape with a Goat-Herd* (No.37). Philadelphia, Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection

107. P. Verhulst, *A View of the Escorial* (No.38). Longford Castle, Coll. of the Earl of Radnor

108. After Rubens, *A View of the Escorial* (No.38). Petworth House, Coll. of Lord Leconfield

109. After Rubens, *A View of the Escorial* (No.38). Dresden, Gemäldegalerie

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

110. L. Van Uden, *A View of the Escorial* (No.38). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

111. S. a Bolswert, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow*, engraving (No.39a)

112. Rubens, *Figure Studies*, drawing (No.39b). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais

113. Rubens, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* (No.39). Leningrad, Hermitage

114. Rubens, *Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow* (No.40). Paris, Musée du Louvre

115. Rubens, *Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar* (No.41). Madrid, Prado

116. Antico, *Bronze Statuette of Meleager*. London, Victoria and Albert Museum

117. Rubens, *Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar*, oil sketch. Present whereabouts unknown

118. Rubens, *The Park of a Castle* (No.42). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

119. S. a Bolswert, *The Park of a Castle*, engraving (No.42)

120. Rubens, *Landscape with Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints* (No.43). Madrid, Prado

121. ?A. Watteau, *Landscape with Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints* (No.43). London, National Gallery

122. Rubens, *Stormy Landscape with Three Cows* (No.44). Knightshayes Court near Tiverton, Devon, Coll. J. Heathcoat Amory

123. Rubens, *Landscape after Storm* (No.45). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection

124. Rubens, *Study of a Large Tree* (No.45a). Present whereabouts unknown

125. Rubens, *Deer Hunt near a Forest*, oil sketch (No.46). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

126. S. a Bolswert, *Harvest Scene with Rainbow*, engraving (No.47)

127. Rubens, *Return from the Harvest* (No.48). Florence, Palazzo Pitti

128. ?Rubens, *Return from the Harvest*, drawing (No.48a). Vienna, Albertina

129. Rubens, *Two Waggons, one Laden with Sheaves*, drawing (No.48b). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room

130. Rubens, *Forest with Deer Hunt* (No.49). Llangedwyn Hall, Coll. Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn

131. S. a Bolswert, *Forest with Deer Hunt*, engraving (No.49)

132. Rubens, *Forest with Deer Hunt*, oil sketch (No.49a). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

133. Rubens, *Willows* (No.50). Lausanne, Coll. Capt. and Mrs Edward Speelman

134. Rubens, *Forest at Sunset* (No.51). Cologne, Coll. Gottfried Neuerburg

135. Rubens, *Landscape with Avenue of Trees* (No.52). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

136. Rubens, *Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt* (No.53). London, National Gallery

137. ?Rubens, *Landscape with Rainbow* (No.54). Munich, Alte Pinakothek

138. Rubens, *Landscape with Rainbow* (No.55). London, Wallace Collection

139. S. a Bolswert, *Open, Flat Landscape with a Peasant Couple and a Dog*, engraving (No.56)

140. Rubens, *Landscape with a Carriage* (No.57). London, National Gallery

141. Rubens, *Landscape with a Waggon, at Sunset* (No.58). Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

142. Rubens, *Flat Landscape with Clouds* (No.59). Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts

143. S. a Bolswert, *Horseman at a Watering Place*, engraving (No.60)

144. Rubens, *Landscape with a Hanged Man* (No.61). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen

145. Rubens, *Landscape in Moonlight*, drawing (No.62). Leningrad, Hermitage

146. Rubens, *Landscape with Moon and Stars* (No.63). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection

147. Rubens, *Landscape with a Tower* (No.64). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

148. Rubens, *Tournament in Front of a Castle* (No.65). Paris, Musée du Louvre

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- 149. Rubens, *Landscape with a Tower* (No.66). Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen
- 150. Rubens, *Landscape with Windmill and Bird-Trap* (No.67). Paris, Musée du Louvre
- 151. Rubens, *Landscape with Farm Buildings, at Sunset*, oil sketch (No.68a). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
- 152. Rubens, *Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock* (No.68). London, National Gallery
- 153. Rubens, *Landscape with a Draw-Well* (No.69). Paris, Musée du Louvre
- 154. S. a Bolswert, *Landscape with a Draw-Well*, engraving (No.69)
- 155. ?Titian, *Landscape with a Shepherd*, drawing. Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- 156. Rubens, *Tree-Trunk and Brambles*, drawing (No.70). Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement
- 157. Rubens, *Wild Cherry-Tree with Brambles and Weeds*, drawing (No.71). London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection
- 158. Rubens, *Path Through an Orchard*, drawing (No.72). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum
- 159. Rubens, *Pollard Willow*, drawing (No.73). London, British Museum
- 160. Rubens, *Entrance to a Wood*, drawing (No.74). Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
- 161. Rubens, *Landscape with a Wattle Fence*, drawing (No.75). London, British Museum
- 162. Rubens, *A Brook and Trees*, drawing (No.76). Leningrad, Hermitage
- 163. Rubens, *Four Women Harvesting*, drawing (No.78). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
- 164. Rubens, *Eight Women Harvesting*, drawing (No.79). Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
- 165. Rubens, *Trees Reflected in Water*, drawing (No.77). London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings
- 166. ?Rubens, *Landscape with Carriers Crossing a Ford* (No.83). Flers-lez-Lille, Coll. Bernard Willot
- 167. ?Rubens, *Landscape with a Church on a Hill Top* (No.84). Present whereabouts unknown
- 168. ?After Rubens, *Landscape with Cows, three Maids and a Water-Mill* (No.85). Present whereabouts unknown
- 169. ?Rubens, *Landscape with a Carriage* (No.86). Toledo, Ohio, The Toledo Museum of Art
- 170. Diagram of the Supports of Fig.84
- 171. Diagram of the Supports of Fig.127
- 172. Diagram of the Supports of Fig.130
- 173. Diagram of the Supports of Fig.138

SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

H.M. the Queen, Figs.63, 66, 67, 93, 94
A.C.L., Brussels, Figs.65, 75, 76, 79, 85, 118, 125, 129, 156, 160, 163, 164
Albertina, Vienna, Figs.6, 20, 47, 49, 61, 64, 80, 87, 128, 139, 143
J. P. Anders, Berlin, Figs.2, 13, 29, 40, 51, 59, 60, 89, 101, 144, 149
Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Fig.147
Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Figs.4, 132, 137
The Duke of Bedford, Woburn Abbey, Fig.55
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fig.57
Bijtebier, Brussels, Figs.77, 150
British Museum, London, Figs.24, 32, 34, 82, 83, 159, 161, 165
Bulloz, Paris, Fig.148
Courtauld Institute, London, Figs.146, 157
J. De Maeyer, Antwerp, Fig.45
M. Descossy, Montpellier, Fig.46
H. Dixon, London, Fig.108
Ecole Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Paris, Fig.7
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Figs.110, 158
Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, Fig.112
H. G. Franz, Graz, Fig.104
A. Frequin, The Hague, Figs.88, 91, 96, 97, 133, 151
Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome, Fig.95
Giraudon, Paris, Fig.114
Hermitage, Leningrad, Figs.62, 113, 145, 162
Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Brunswick, Fig.31
Herzog August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Fig.14
Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt, Fig.35
John G. Johnson Art Collection, Philadelphia, Fig.106
Musées de Besançon, Besançon, Fig.155
Museo del Prado, Madrid, Figs.44, 115, 120
National Gallery, London, Figs.43, 71, 72, 74, 103, 121, 135, 136, 140, 152
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Fig.78
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, Fig.48
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Figs.98, 99
Pierpont-Morgan Library, New York, Figs.33, 38
Prentenkabinet en Kunsthistorisch Instituut der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden, Fig.39
The Earl of Radnor, Longford Castle, Fig.107
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Figs.1, 3, 15
Royal Academy of Arts, London, Fig.153
Rubenianum, Antwerp, Figs.18, 23, 27, 28, 30, 52, 54, 56, 58, 68, 69, 81, 90, 92, 105, 111, 117, 119, 122–124, 126, 130, 131, 134, 141, 142, 154, 166–169, 172
O. Savio, Rome, Figs.10, 11
Service de Documentation Photographique, Paris, Figs.8, 25, 37, 42
Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence, Figs.21, 22, 84, 127, 170, 171
Sotheby's, London, Fig.19
Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Fig.70
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Fig.53
Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Kassel, Figs.50, 109
Staatliche Museen, East-Berlin, Figs.26, 36
Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt/Main, Figs.5, 12, 17, 73
W. Steinkopf, Berlin, Fig.100
Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Fig.116
Wallace Collection, London, Figs.138, 173
Wolfrum, Vienna, Fig.86
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Fig.41

INDEXES

Index I: Collections

This index lists all the extant paintings, oil sketches and drawings catalogued in the present volume. Copies have also been included. The works are listed alphabetically according to place. References to the number of the catalogue entries are given in bold; then follow page references and finally figure numbers in italics.

AMSTERDAM, PROF. J. Q. VAN REGTEREN
ALTENA

Rubens, drawing:

Views of Rome: A Trattoria in the Baths of Diocletian and the former Abbey of Santa Sabina in Aventino, **No.1**; 22, 25, 37–41, 43, 49; *fig.1*

AMSTERDAM, RIJKSPRENTENKABINET
Rubens, drawing:

The 'Crayen Hof' at Zwijndrecht, **No.2**; 40–42, 49, 57, 83; *fig.15*

ANTWERP, KONINKLIJK MUSEUM VOOR
SCHONE KUNSTEN

Rubens, painting:

Interior of a Barn, with the Prodigal Son,
No.26; 31, 32, 48, 56, 57, 62, 82, 98–101,
191; *fig.75*

Rubens, oil sketch:

Deer Hunt near a Forest, **No.46**; 149, 150;
fig.125

ANTWERP, STEDELIJK PRENTENKABINET
Rubens, drawing:

A Farm near Luiithagen, **No.8**; 48, 50, 51, 58,
81, 84; *fig.28*

ANTWERP, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford,
'La Charrette Embourbée', **No.19**; 80

ASCHAFFENBURG, CASTLE, BAYERISCHE
STAATSGEMÄLDSESAMMLUNGEN

J. Wildens and an unidentified master,
painting after Rubens:

Landscape with Boar Hunt, **No.18**; 72

BARCELONA, JUAN ESCODA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Watering Place, **No.25**; 96

BARNARD CASTLE, THE BOWES MUSEUM

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa,
No.28; 106, 138

BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN

Rubens, paintings:

Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen, **No.31**;
32, 33, 59, 84, 100, 103–105, 108,
113–116; *fig.89*

Landscape with a Hanged Man, **No.61**; 28,
170, 171; *fig.144*

Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul,
No.36; 21, 24, 26, 32, 62, 115, 124–127;
fig.101

Landscape with a Tower, **No.66**; 34, 162,
174, 175, 177–179, 188; *fig.149*

BERLIN-DAHLEM, STAATLICHE MUSEEN,
PRINT ROOM

Rubens, drawings:

The 'Baseliers Hof', **No.9**; 51, 84; *fig.29*

The Farm near the Ruggenveld, **No.12**; 22,
41, 48, 55–59, 84; *fig.40*

Figure Studies, partially related to the *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, **No.18c–d**; 77, 79;
fig.60

*Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape
with St George*, **No.35b**; 122, 124; *fig.100*

Two Waggon, one Laden with Sheaves, **No.
48b**; 154; *fig.129*

BESANÇON, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Rubens, drawing:

A Woman Milking a Cow, **No.27a**; 102–105;
fig.79

BIRMINGHAM, BARBER INSTITUTE OF
FINE ARTS

Rubens, painting:

Flat Landscape with Clouds, **No.59**; 26, 147,
168, 169, 188; *fig.142*

BOSTON, MASS., MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS

Rubens, painting:

Landscape with Avenue of Trees, **No.52**; 33,
117, 159, 160; *fig.135*

BRUGES, GROENINGEMUSEUM

Anonymous, painting after ? Rubens:

Landscape with Carriers Crossing a Ford,
No.83; 191

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Landscape with the Shipwreck of St Paul,
No.36; 125

BRUSSELS, GASTON DULIÈRE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Park of a Castle, **No.42**; 142, 143

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

BRUSSELS, MUSÉES ROYAUX DES BEAUX-ARTS
 J. Jordaens, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar, No.41; 139

CAMBRIDGE, FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM
 Rubens, drawing:
Path Through an Orchard, No.72; 44, 185–187; fig.158

L. van Uden, painting after Rubens:
A View of the Escorial, No.38; 129–131; fig.110

CHATSWORTH, THE TRUSTEES OF THE CHATSWORTH SETTLEMENT
 Rubens, drawings:
A Labourer Threshing and a Wagon outside a Shed, No.26a; 57, 100, 101; fig.76
Study of a Fallen Tree, No.28a; 77, 108, 109, 186; fig.85
Tree-Trunk and Brambles, No.70; 184–186; fig.156

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Studies of Cows, No.27b; 104–106; fig.81

CHICAGO, J. R. DE LANEY
 W. van Herp, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar, No.41; 139

COLOGNE, GOTTFRIED NEUERBURG
 Rubens, paintings:
The Deluge (A Tempest at Night), No.34; 117, 118; fig.92
Forest at Sunset, No.51; 158, 159; fig.134

DARMSTADT, HESSISCHES LANDESMUSEUM
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Spanish Landscape with a Goatherd, No.37; 128, 129

DRESDEN, GEMÄLDEGALERIE
 Rubens, painting:
Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 22, 25, 72–79, 100; fig.53

L. van Uden and David Teniers the Younger, painting after Rubens:
Spanish Landscape with a Goatherd, No.37; 128, 129

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
A View of the Escorial, No.38; 129–131; fig.109

EDINBURGH, NATIONAL GALLERY OF SCOTLAND
 Rubens, drawings:
A Farm near Zwijndrecht, No.3; 41–44; fig.19
Four Women Harvesting, No.78; 189, 190; fig.163
Eight Women Harvesting, No.79; 189, 190; fig.164

FARNHAM, WOLFGANG BURCHARD
 Rubens, paintings:
The Afternoon (A Peasant Driving a Cart), No.32; 100, 116, 117; fig.90
The Evening (A Countrywoman Driving a Cart), No.33; 100, 117; fig.91

FLERS-LEZ-LILLE, BERNARD WILLOT
 (?) Rubens, painting:
Landscape with Carriers Crossing a Ford, No.83; 190, 191; fig.166

FLORENCE, PALAZZO PITTI
 Rubens, paintings:
Landscape with Ulysses and Nausicaa, No.28; 23, 25, 32, 35, 106–109, 127; fig.84
Return from the Harvest, No.48; 26, 33, 138, 147, 148, 151–154, 188, 189; fig.127

GLASGOW, ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM
 J. Wildens and an unidentified master, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 72

HAMBURG, KUNSTHALLE
 Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Pond, No.17; 70

KNIGHTSHAYES COURT, DEVON,
 SIR JOHN HEATHCOAT AMORY
 Rubens, painting:
Stormy Landscape with Three Cows, No.44; 33, 146–148, 175; fig.122

LAUSANNE, CAPTAIN AND MRS EDWARD SPEELMAN
 Rubens, painting:
Willows, No.50; 157, 158, 160; fig.133

LEIPZIG, MUSEUM DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE
 Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, No.23; 92

LENINGRAD, HERMITAGE
 Rubens, paintings:
Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford, 'La Charrette Embourbée', No.19; 24, 25, 31, 44, 50, 54, 56, 80–82, 101, 186; fig.62
Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow, No.39; 32, 34, 100, 131–135, 138, 175; fig.113

Rubens, drawings:
A Brook and Trees, No.76; 187, 188; fig.162
Landscape in Moonlight, No.62; 24, 171, 172; fig.145

Anonymous, drawing:
Landscape, No.22; 89

LLANGEDWYN HALL, NORTH WALES,
 SIR WATKIN WILLIAMS-WYNN
 Rubens, painting:
Forest with Deer Hunt, No.49; 154–157; fig.130

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM

Rubens, drawings:

The 'Gastes Hoef' near Deurne, No.10; 52–54, 84; fig.32
Landscape with a Wattle Fence, No.75; 186, 187; fig.161
A Moated Grange with Bridge-House, No.7; 41, 49, 50, 57; fig.27
Pollard Willow, No.73; 186; fig.159
Trees Reflected in Water, No.77; 169, 186, 188, 189; fig.165

Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:

Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 73
Studies of Cows, No.27b; 104–106; figs.82, 83

LONDON, BUCKINGHAM PALACE,

ROYAL COLLECTION

Rubens, paintings:

The Farm at Laken, No.20; 21, 31–34, 42, 43, 55, 65, 67, 68, 71, 82–85, 90, 100, 104, 115, 191, 192; fig.63
Landscape with St George, No.35; 24, 25, 108, 119–124, 138; fig.93

LONDON, COURTAULD INSTITUTE GALLERIES, PRINCES GATE COLLECTION

Rubens, paintings:

Landscape with Moon and Stars, No.63; 24, 147, 160, 172–174; fig.146
Landscape after Storm, No.45; 147–149, 160; fig.123

Rubens, drawing:

Wild Cherry Tree with Brambles and Weeds, No.71; 185, 186; fig.157

LONDON, NATIONAL GALLERY

Rubens, paintings:

Landscape with a Carriage, No.57; 48, 166–168, 188; fig.140
Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, No.23; 24, 31, 32, 50, 84, 92–94, 97, 98, 157; fig.72
Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, No.68; 100, 160, 181–183, 188; fig.152
Landscape with 'Het Steen' at Elewijt, No.53; 25, 34, 100, 111, 138, 160–162, 165, 175, 177, 179, 185, 189, 190; fig.136
The Watering-Place, No.25; 24, 26, 31, 32, 50, 82, 84, 93–98, 100, 115, 157; fig.71

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt and Several Saints, No.43; 143–146; fig.121

LONDON, WALLACE COLLECTION

Rubens, painting:

Landscape with Rainbow, No.55; 25, 98, 100, 138, 147, 188; fig.138

LONGFORD CASTLE, THE EARL OF RADNOR

P. Verhulst, painting after Rubens:

A View of the Escorial, No.38; 32, 118, 127, 129–131; fig.107

MADRID, DUQUE DE BERWICK Y DE ALBA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Summer, No.22; 88, 89

MADRID, PRADO

Rubens, paintings:

Landscape with Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar, No.41; 26, 33, 138–142; fig.115
Landscape with the Rest on the Flight to Egypt and Several Saints, No.43; 34, 143–146; fig.120

MONTPELLIER, MUSÉE FABRE

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with Antique Ruins, No.15; 22, 23, 32, 59, 63–66, 151, 192; fig.46

MOSCOW, PUSHKIN MUSEUM

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Farm Buildings by a Well, No.13; 60

MUNICH, ALTE PINAKOTHEK

Rubens, painting:

Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows, No.27; 32, 68, 84, 100–106, 115, 116, 185, 191; fig.77

(?) Rubens, painting:

Landscape with Rainbow, No.54; 98, 162–165, 185; fig.137

Rubens, oil sketch:

Forest with Deer Hunt, No.49a; 155–158; fig.132

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE

STAATSGEMÄLDESAMMLUNGEN

E. Delacroix, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 73

L. van Uden, painting after Rubens:

Stormy Coast Landscape, No.30; 112, 138

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, No.23; 92

NEW HAVEN, YALE UNIVERSITY ART GALLERY

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Farm Buildings by a Well, No.13; 59, 60, 84; fig.41

NEW YORK, METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford, 'La Charrette Embourbée', No.19; 80

NEW YORK, PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY

Rubens, drawing:

The 'Keyzers Hof', No.11; 22, 45, 47, 48, 50, 53–58, 71, 84; fig.33

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

OXFORD, ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM

Rubens, painting:

Landscape with a Tower, No.64; 34, 162, 174, 177–179, 188; fig.147

Rubens, oil sketch:

A Landscape with Farm Buildings, at Sunset, No.68a; 160, 182, 183; fig.151

Rubens, drawing:

Entrance to a Wood, No.74; 186, 187; fig.160

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Horses and Grooms, No.26; 98

PARIS, ÉCOLE NATIONALE SUPÉRIEURE DES BEAUX-ARTS, COLLECTION DROUET

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Hunting Scene, No.46; 149

PARIS, FONDATION CUSTODIA, INSTITUT NEERLANDAIS

Rubens, drawing:

Figure Studies, No.39b; 133–135, 138; fig.112

PARIS, GALERIE ALEXANDER

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with St George, No.35; 119

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

Rubens, paintings:

Landscape with a Draw-Well, No.69; 33, 34, 100, 160, 183, 184; fig.153

Landscape with the Flight into Egypt, No.14; 21, 23, 27, 60–64, 88; fig.42

Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine, No.16; 22, 24, 25, 32, 38, 55, 59, 62, 63, 65–66, 71, 83; fig.45

Landscape with Windmill and Bird-Trap, No.67; 28, 179–181; fig.150

Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow, No.40;

25, 32, 100, 120, 133–138, 175; fig.114

Tournament in Front of a Castle, No.65; 28, 34, 47, 162, 174–179, 188; fig.148

PARIS, MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, CABINET DES DESSINS

Rubens, drawings:

‘*Het Huys Bekelaar in de Bosseleny van Iperen A° 1609*’, No.6; 46–49, 57, 71, 177; fig.25

Study of a Fallen Tree, No.18a; 54, 58, 73, 76–78, 100, 109, 186; fig.58

Anonymous, drawings after Rubens:

Landscape with a Cart Crossing a Ford, ‘La Charrette Embourbée’, No.19; 80

A Wood, No.22; 89

PARIS, PETIT PALAIS, COLLECTION DUTUIT

Anonymous, drawing:

The Watering-Place, No.25; 96

PASADENA, CAL., JULES KIEVITZ

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Return from the Harvest, No.48; 151

PERM, ART GALLERY

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

The Watering-Place, No.25; 95

PETWORTH HOUSE, LORD LECONFIELD

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

A View of the Escorial, No.38; 129–131; fig.108

PHILADELPHIA, MUSEUM OF ART, JOHNSON COLLECTION

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:

Spanish Landscape with a Goatherd, No.37;

127–129, 131; fig.106

Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis, No.29; 109

POZNAN, MUZEUM NARODOWE

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Landscape with the Rest on the Flight into Egypt and Several Saints, No.43; 144

RENNES, MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS

Monogrammist ARD, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 73

ROTTERDAM, MUSEUM BOYMANSVAN BEUNINGEN

Rubens, painting:

Landscape with a Waggon at Sunset, No.58; 160, 167, 168; fig.147

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Stormy Coast Landscape, No.30; 112, 113; fig.88

RYDAL, PENN., STANLEY S. WULC

(?) Rubens, painting:

Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock, No.24; 94, 95; fig.74

STOCKHOLM, NATIONALMUSEUM

Rubens, drawing:

Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape with St George, No.35a; 121–124; figs.98, 99

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:

Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis, No.29; 109

TOLEDO, OHIO, THE TOLEDO MUSEUM OF ART

(?) Rubens, painting:

Landscape with a Carriage, No.86; 192; fig.169

TURIN, GALLERIA SABAUDA

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:

Landscape with a Waggon at Sunset, No.58; 167

INDEX I: COLLECTIONS

VADUZ, PRINCE OF LIECHTENSTEIN
Rubens, painting:
Pond with Cows and Milk-Maids, No.17; 22,
23, 25, 32, 38, 43, 44, 48, 49, 54, 63, 69–
72, 83–85, 90, 100, 191, 192; fig.52

Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Polder Landscape with Eleven Cows, No.27;
101

VIENNA, AKADEMIE DER BILDENDEN KÜNSTE
L. van Uden, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with Cows and Sportsmen, No.31;
113

VIENNA, ALBERTINA
Rubens, drawings:
Boar Hunt, No.18b; 76–79; fig.61
Farm with Horses at a Draw-Well, No.4; 44,
45, 84; fig.20

(?) Rubens, drawing:
Return from the Harvest, No.48a; 153, 154;
fig.128

Study of an Ox, No.20a; 82, 85; fig.65

Anonymous, drawing after Rubens:
Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine,
No.16; 66, 67

VIENNA, KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM
Rubens, paintings:
The Park of a Castle, No.42; 34, 55, 142,
143, 147, 188; fig.118
Stormy Landscape with Philemon and Baucis,
No.29; 25, 32, 35, 58, 109–111; fig.86

Anonymous, paintings after Rubens:
Landscape with Boar Hunt, No.18; 73
Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow, No.40;
135, 138

WARSAW, MUZEUM NARODOWE
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Pastoral Landscape after Rubens, No.39; 132

WILTON HOUSE, THE EARL OF PEMBROKE
Anonymous, painting after Rubens:
Landscape with a Shepherd and his Flock,
No.23; 92

WINDSOR CASTLE, ROYAL COLLECTION
Rubens, paintings:
Summer, No.22; 31, 59, 87–91, 100; fig.67
Winter, No.21; 31, 48, 56, 57, 82, 86–88, 93,
101, 154; fig.66

Index II: Subjects

This index lists all the subjects here catalogued.

Under each title are gathered all known representations;

these include both works by Rubens himself and copies made by other artists after them.

The number of the catalogue entry is given first, followed by page references.

THE AFTERNOON (A PEASANT DRIVING A CART), **No.32**

Rubens, painting (Farnham, Wolfgang Burchard) No.32; 100, 116, 117; *fig.90*

LANDSCAPE WITH ATALANTA AND MELEAGER PURSUING THE CALYDONIAN BOAR, **No.41**

Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.41; 26, 33, 138–142; *fig.115*

W. Van Herp, painting (Chicago, J. R. de Laney) No.41; 139

J. Jordaens, painting (Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) No.41; 139

Anonymous, painting (formerly Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum) No.41; 139

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.41; 139

LANDSCAPE WITH AVENUE OF TREES, **No.52**

Rubens, painting (Boston, Mass., Museum of Fine Arts) No.52; 33, 117, 159, 160; *fig.135*

THE 'BASELIERS HOF', **No.9**

Rubens, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.9; 51, 84; *fig.29*

LANDSCAPE WITH BOAR HUNT, **No.18**

Rubens, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) No.18; 22, 25, 72–79, 100; *fig.53*

Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.18a; 54, 58, 73, 76–78, 100, 109, 186; *fig.58*

Rubens, *Boar Hunt*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.18b; 76–79; *fig.61*

Rubens, *Figure Studies*, partially related to the *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.18c–d; 77, 79; *fig.60*

Monogrammist ARD, painting (Rennes, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.18; 73

E. Delacroix, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.18; 73

J. Wildens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.18; 72

J. Wildens and an unidentified master, painting (Aschaffenburg, Castle, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.18; 72

J. Wildens and an unidentified master, painting (Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum) No.18; 72

Anonymous, painting (formerly Dijon, G. de Salvatore) No.18; 73

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, D. Reder) No.18; 73

Anonymous, painting (Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.18; 73

Anonymous, drawing (London, British Museum) No.18; 73

F. de Roy, lithograph, No.18; 73

P. Soutman, engraving, No.18; 73

A BROOK AND TREES, **No.76**

Rubens, drawing (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.76; 187, 188; *fig.162*

LANDSCAPE WITH A CARRIAGE, **No.57**

Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.57; 48, 166–168, 188; *fig.140*

LANDSCAPE WITH A CARRIAGE, **No.86**

(?)Rubens, painting (Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art) No.86; 192; *fig.169*

LANDSCAPE WITH CARRIERS CROSSING A FORD, **No.83**

(?)Rubens, painting (Flers-Lez-Lille, Bernard Willot) No.83; 190, 191; *fig.166*

Anonymous, painting after (?)Rubens (Bruges, Groeningemuseum) No.83; 191

LANDSCAPE WITH A CART CROSSING A FORD, 'LA CHARRETTE EMBOURBÉE', **No.19**

Rubens, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.19; 24, 25, 31, 44, 50, 54, 56, 80–82, 101, 186; *fig.62*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, S. Hartveld) No.19; 80

Anonymous, painting after Rubens (Antwerp, private collection) No.19; 80

Anonymous, painting (formerly Nuneham Park, Viscount Vernon Harcourt) No.19; 80

Anonymous, painting (formerly Vienna, O. Schaetzker) No.19; 80

Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.19; 80

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.19; 80

J. Browne, engraving, No.19; 80

W. Faithorne, engraving, No.19; 80

S. W. Reynolds, engraving, No.19; 80

LANDSCAPE WITH A CHURCH ON A HILL TOP, **No.84**

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

(*Landscape with Church on Hill Top, contd.*)
 (?)Rubens, painting (formerly London, C. Marshall Spink) No.84; 191; *fig.167*

LANDSCAPE WITH COWS, THREE MAIDS AND A WATER-MILL, **No.85**
 (?)Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.85; 191, 192
 L. van Uden, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.85; 191, 192; *fig.168*

LANDSCAPE WITH COWS AND SPORTSMEN, **No.31**
 Rubens, painting (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) No.31; 32, 33, 59, 84, 100, 103–105, 108, 113–116; *fig.89*
 L. van Uden, painting (Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste) No.31; 113
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, S. Hartveld) No.31; 113
 Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.31; 113, 114
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.31; 114

THE 'CRAYEN HOF' AT ZWIJNDRECHT, **No.2**
 Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Rijksprentenkabinet) No.2; 40–42, 49, 57, 83; *fig.15*

DEER HUNT NEAR A FOREST, **No.46**
 Rubens, oil sketch (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) No.46; 149, 150; *fig.125*
 Anonymous, *Hunting Scene*, drawing after Rubens (Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Collection Drouet) No.46; 149

THE DELUGE (A TEMPEST AT NIGHT), **No.34**
 Rubens, painting (Cologne, Gottfried Neuerburg) No.34; 117, 118; *fig.92*

LANDSCAPE WITH A DRAW-WELL, **No.69**
 Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.69; 33, 34, 100, 160, 183, 184; *fig.153*
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Newton) No.69; 183
 S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.69; 183, 184; *fig.154*
 Anonymous, engraving, No.69; 183

ENTRANCE TO A WOOD, **No.74**
 Rubens, drawing (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) No.74; 186, 187; *fig.160*

A VIEW OF THE ESCORIAL, **No.38**
 L. van Uden, painting (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) No.38; 129–131; *fig.110*
 (?)L. van Uden and David Teniers the Younger, painting (formerly Amsterdam, P. de Boer) No.38; 130

P. Verhulst, painting (Longford Castle, Earl of Radnor) No.38; 32, 118, 127, 129–131; *fig.107*

Anonymous, painting (formerly E. Balme) No.38; 130

Anonymous, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) No.38; 129–131; *fig.109*

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Woodburn) No.38; 129, 130

Anonymous, painting (Petworth House, Lord Leconfield) No.38; 129–131; *fig.108*

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.38; 129–131

THE EVENING (A COUNTRY-WOMAN DRIVING A CART), **No.33**
 Rubens, painting (Farnham, Wolfgang Burchard) No.33; 100, 117; *fig.91*

FARM WITH A DRAW-WELL, **No.5**
 Rubens, drawing (formerly Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett) No.5; 45, 46; *fig.23*

FARM WITH HORSES AT A DRAW-WELL, **No.4**
 Rubens, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.4; 44, 45, 84; *fig.20*

THE FARM AT LAKEN, **No.20**
 Rubens, painting (London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection) No.20; 21, 31–34, 42, 43, 55, 65, 67, 68, 71, 82–85, 90, 100, 104, 115, 191, 192
 (?)Rubens, *Study of an Ox* (Vienna, Albertina) No.20a; 82, 85; *fig.65*

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.20; 82
 L. van Uden, etching, No.20
 A. Willmore, engraving, No.20; 82

A FARM NEAR LUITHAGEN, **No.8**
 Rubens, drawing (Antwerp, Stedelijk Prentenkabinet) No.8; 48, 50, 51, 58, 81, 84; *fig.28*

THE FARM NEAR THE RUGGENVELD, **No.12**
 Rubens, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.12; 22, 41, 48, 55–59, 84; *fig.4*

A FARM NEAR ZWIJNDRECHT, **No.3**
 Rubens, drawing (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) No.3; 41–44; *fig.19*

FARM BUILDINGS BY A WELL, **No.13**
 Rubens, drawing (present whereabouts unknown) No.13; 59, 60
 Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, De Jonckheere) No.13; 60
 Anonymous, drawing (Moscow, Pushkin Museum) No.13; 60
 Anonymous, drawing (New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery) No.13; 59, 60, 84; *fig.41*

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

FLAT LANDSCAPE WITH CLOUDS, **No.59**

Rubens, painting (Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts) No.59; 26, 147, 168, 169, 188; *fig.142*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, A. Joly) No.59; 169
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.59; 169

LANDSCAPE WITH THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, **No.14**

Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.14; 21, 23, 27, 60–64, 88; *fig.42*

FOREST WITH DEER HUNT, **No.49**

Rubens, painting (Llangedwyn Hall, North Wales, Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn) No.49; 154–157; *fig.130*

Rubens, oil sketch (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.49a; 155–158; *fig.132*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Amsterdam, Cassirer) No.49; 154, 155
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.49; 155; *fig.131*

FOREST AT SUNSET, **No.51**

Rubens, painting (Cologne, Gottfried Neuerburg) No.51; 158, 159; *fig.134*

FROST LANDSCAPE, **No.81**

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.81; 190

THE 'GASTES HOEF' NEAR DEURNE, **No.10**

Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.10; 52–54, 84; *fig.32*

LANDSCAPE WITH A HANGED MAN, **No.61**

Rubens, painting (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) No.61; 28, 170, 171; *fig.144*

HARVEST SCENE WITH RAINBOW, **No.47**

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.47; 150, 151
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.47; 150, 151; *fig.126*

HORSEMAN AT A WATERING-PLACE, **No.60**

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.60; 170
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.60; 170

'HET HUYS BEKELAAR IN DE BOSSELENY VAN IPEREN A° 1609', **No.6**

Rubens, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.6; 46–49, 57, 71, 177; *fig.25*

THE 'KEYZERS HOF', **No.11**

Rubens, drawing (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) No.11; 22, 45, 47, 48, 50, 53–58, 71, 84; *fig.33*

LANDSCAPE WITH MEN FISHING (?), **No.82**

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.82; 190

A MOATED GRANGE WITH BRIDGE-HOUSE, **No.7**

Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.7; 41, 49, 50, 57; *fig.27*

LANDSCAPE WITH MOON AND STARS, **No.63**

Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) No.63; 24, 147, 160, 172–174; *fig.146*
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.63; 172

LANDSCAPE IN MOONLIGHT, **No.62**

Rubens, drawing (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.62; 24, 171, 172; *fig.145*

OPEN, FLAT LANDSCAPE WITH A PEASANT COUPLE AND A DOG, **No.56**

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.56; 165, 166
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.56; 165, 166; *fig.139*

THE PARK OF A CASTLE, **No.42**

Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.42; 34, 55, 142, 143, 147, 188; *fig.118*

Anonymous, painting (Brussels, Gaston Duliére) No.42; 142, 143
S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.42; 142, 143; *fig.119*

PASTORAL LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW, **No.39**

Rubens, painting (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.39; 32, 34, 100, 131–135, 138, 175; *fig.113*

Rubens, *Figure Studies*, drawing (Paris, Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais) No.39b; 133–135, 138; *fig.112*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Budapest, Countess Festetics) No.39; 132

Anonymous, painting (formerly Budapest, Laszlo) No.39; 132

Anonymous, painting (formerly W. J. Goldsmith) No.39a; 133

Anonymous, painting (formerly Earl of Plymouth) No.39; 132

Anonymous, painting (Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe) No.39; 132

Anonymous, painting (formerly Zürich, Wolfsberger) No.39a; 133

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.39a; 133; *fig.111*

PASTORAL LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW, **No.40**

Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.40; 25, 32, 100, 120, 133–138, 175; *fig.114*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, J. Weil) No.40; 135

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

(*Pastoral Landscape with Rainbow, contd.*)

- Anonymous, painting (Vienna, Kunsthist. Museum) No.40; 135, 138
- L. E. F. Garreau, engraving, No.40; 135

PATH THROUGH AN ORCHARD, **No.72**

- Rubens, drawing (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum) No.72; 44, 185–187; *fig.158*

POLDER LANDSCAPE WITH ELEVEN COWS, **No.27**

- Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.27; 32, 68, 84, 100–106, 115, 116, 185, 191; *fig.77*
- Rubens, *A Woman Milking a Cow*, drawing (Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts) No.27a; 102–105; *fig.79*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Adlesberger) No.27; 101
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, L. Seyffers) No.27; 101
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Strasbourg, Wurster) No.27; 101
- Anonymous, painting (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) No.27; 101
- Anonymous, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement) No.27b; 104–106; *fig.81*
- Anonymous, *Studies of Cows*, drawings (London, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings) No.27b; 104–106; *figs.82, 83*
- Anonymous, *Studies of Cows*, drawing (formerly Lord Northwick) No.27b; 105
- J. Klaus, etching, No.27; 102
- Ostermeyer, engraving, 27; 101, 102
- P. Pontius, *Studies of Cows*, engraving, No.27b; 105; *fig.80*

POLLARD WILLOW, **No.73**

- Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.73; 186; *fig.159*

POND WITH COWS AND MILK-MAIDS, **No.17**

- Rubens, painting (Vaduz, Prince of Liechtenstein) No.17; 22, 23, 25, 32, 38, 43, 44, 48, 49, 54, 63, 69–72, 83–85, 90, 100, 191, 192; *fig.52*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Cesky Budejovice, Dr. Vlastislav Zátko) No.17; 70
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Düsseldorf, A. Leiffmann) No.17; 70
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Oberweistritz, Linnartz) No.17; 70
- Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.17; 70
- Anonymous, *Pond*, drawing (Hamburg, Kunsthalle) No.17; 70

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.17; 70

Anonymous, engraving, No.17; 70, 72

INTERIOR OF A BARN, WITH THE PRODIGAL SON, **No.26**

- Rubens, painting (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten) No.26; 31, 32, 48, 56, 57, 62, 82, 98–101, 191; *fig.75*
- Rubens, *A Labourer Threshing and a Waggon outside a Shed*, drawing (Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement) No.26a; 57, 100, 101; *fig.76*
- Anonymous, *Horses and Grooms*, drawing (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) No.26; 98
- Anonymous, *The Barn, the Three Cows and the Maid*, drawing (formerly T. Lawrence) No.26; 98
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.26; 98

LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW, **No.55**

- Rubens, painting (London, Wallace Collection) No.55; 25, 98, 100, 138, 147, 188; *fig.138*
- F. C. Lewis, engraving, No.55; 164

LANDSCAPE WITH RAINBOW, **No.54**

- (?) Rubens, painting (Munich, Alte Pinakothek) No.54; 98, 162–165, 185; *fig.137*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Richmond, H. Cook) No.54; 162

LANDSCAPE WITH THE REST ON THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT AND SEVERAL SAINTS, **No.43**

- Rubens, painting (Madrid, Prado) No.43; 34, 143–146; *fig.120*
- Anonymous, painting (London, National Gallery) No.43; 143–146; *fig.121*
- J. Ward, *Landscape with Horses*, painting (formerly New York, L. Gerry) No.43; 144
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Narichkine) No.43; 144
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Royal Collections of Prussia) No.43; 144
- A. Watteau, *Three Angels, Lamb and Landscape*, drawing (formerly Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.43; 144
- A. Watteau, *Head of the Princess*, drawing (present whereabouts unknown) No.43; 144
- Anonymous, drawing (Poznan, Muzeum Narodowe) No.43; 144
- C. Jegher, woodcut, No.43; 144–146
- P. Gonord, engraving, No.43; 144, 145

RETURN FROM THE HARVEST, **No.48**

- Rubens, painting (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) No.48; 26, 33, 138, 147, 148, 151–154, 188, 189; *fig.127*

Rubens, *Two Waggon, one Laden with Sheaves*, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem,

Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.48b; 154; *fig.129*

(?)Rubens, *Return from the Harvest*, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.48a; 153, 154; *fig.128*

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, P. Larsen) No.48; 151

Anonymous, *Return from the Harvest*, painting (Pasadena, Cal., Jules Kieft) No.48; 151

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.48; 151

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.48; 151

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.48; 151

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.48; 151, 152

L. Paradisi, engraving, No.48; 151

F. Vivares, engraving, No.48; 151

VIEWS OF ROME: A TRATTORIA IN THE BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN AND THE FORMER ABBEY OF SANTA SABINA IN AVENTINO, No.1

Rubens, drawing (Amsterdam, Prof. J. Q. van Regteren Altena) No.1; 22, 25, 37–41, 43, 49; *fig.1*

LANDSCAPE WITH ANTIQUE RUINS, No.15

Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.15; 64–66

Anonymous, painting (formerly Bad Kissingen, L. Spik) No.15; 64

Anonymous, painting (Montpellier, Musée Fabre) No.15; 22, 23, 32, 59, 63–66, 151, 192; *fig.46*

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.15; 64

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.15; 64–66; *fig.47*

LANDSCAPE WITH THE RUINS OF THE PALATINE, No.16

Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.16; 22, 24, 25, 32, 38, 55, 59, 62, 63, 65–69, 71, 83; *fig.45*

Anonymous, drawing (Vienna, Albertina) No.16; 66, 67

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.16; 66

Anonymous, engraving, No.16; 66

LANDSCAPE WITH ST GEORGE, No.35

Rubens, painting (London, Buckingham Palace, Royal Collection) No.35; 24, 25, 108, 119–124, 138; *fig.93*

Rubens, *Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.35a; 121–124; *figs.98, 99*

Rubens, *Studies for a Madonna and for a Landscape with St George*, drawing (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) No.35b; 122, 124; *fig.100*

(?)D. Teniers the Younger, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.35; 119

Anonymous, painting (formerly Laren, Van Valkenburgh) No.35; 119

Anonymous, painting (Paris, Galerie Alexander) No.35; 119

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.35; 119

J. Duplessi-Bertaux, engraving, No.35; 119

J.-C. le Vasseur, engraving, No.35; 119

LANDSCAPE WITH A SHEPHERD AND HIS FLOCK, No.23

Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.23; 24, 31, 32, 50, 84, 92–94, 97, 98, 157; *fig.72*

Anonymous, painting (Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Künste) No.23; 92

Anonymous, painting (Wilton House, The Earl of Pembroke) No.23; 92

Anonymous, drawing (Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung) No.23; 92

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.23; 92

LANDSCAPE WITH A SHEPHERD AND HIS FLOCK, No.68

Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.68; 100, 160, 181–183, 188; *fig.152*

Rubens, *A Landscape with Farm Buildings, at Sunset*, oil sketch (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) No.68a; 160, 182, 183; *fig.151*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Richmond, Cook) No.68; 181

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.68; 181

LANDSCAPE WITH A SHEPHERD AND HIS FLOCK, No.24

(?)Rubens, painting (Rydal, Penn., Stanley S. Wulc) No.24; 94, 95; *fig.74*

LANDSCAPE WITH THE SHIPWRECK OF ST PAUL, No.36

Rubens, painting (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) No.36; 21, 24, 26, 32, 62, 115, 124–127; *fig.101*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Frankfurt/Main, Stolz) No.36; 125

Anonymous, painting (formerly Munich, Lodi) No.36; 125

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.36; 125

Anonymous, drawing (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale) No.36; 125, 127

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.36; 125; *fig.102*

SPANISH LANDSCAPE WITH A GOATHERD, No.37

L. van Uden and David Teniers the Younger, painting (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) No.37; 128, 129

INDEX II: SUBJECTS

(*Spanish Landscape with Goatherd, contd.*)

- Anonymous, painting (Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum) No.37; 128, 129
- Anonymous, painting (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection) No.37; 127–129, 131; *fig. 106*
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.37; 128, 129; *fig. 105*

LANDSCAPE WITH 'HET STEEN' AT ELEWIJT, **No.53**

- Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.53; 25, 34, 100, 111, 138, 160–162, 165, 175, 177, 179, 185, 189, 190; *fig. 136*
- G. Arnald, painting (formerly G. A. M. Beaumont) No. 53; 160
- J. Constable, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.53; 160
- L. van Uden, painting (formerly Paris, J. Porgès) No.53; 160
- J. Baylie Allen, engraving, No.53; 160
- G. Cooke, engraving, No.53; 160
- F. J. Havell, engraving, No.53; 160

LANDSCAPE AFTER STORM, **No.45**

- Rubens, painting (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) No.45; 147–149, 160; *fig. 123*

STORMY COAST LANDSCAPE, **No.30**

- Rubens, painting (? formerly Dresden, Count Brühl) No.30; 112, 113
- L. van Uden, painting (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen) No.30; 112, 138
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Piquet) No.30; 112
- Anonymous, painting (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen) No.30; 112, 113; *fig. 88*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly St Petersburg, Hermitage) No.30; 112
- S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.30; 112, 113; *fig. 87*
- P. E. Moitte, etching, No.30; 112

STORMY LANDSCAPE WITH THREE COWS, **No.44**

- Rubens, painting (Knightshayes Court, Devon, Sir John Heathcoat Amory) No.44; 33, 146–148, 175; *fig. 122*
- J. Dansaert, engraving, No.44; 146

STORMY LANDSCAPE WITH PHILEMON AND BAUCIS, **No.29**

- Rubens, painting (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum) No.29; 25, 32, 35, 109–111; *fig. 86*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Harris) No.29; 109
- Anonymous, painting (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection) No.29; 109

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.29; 109

Anonymous, drawing (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) No.29; 109

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.29; 109, 111

SUMMER, **No.22**

- Rubens, painting (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection) No.22; 31, 59, 87–91, 100; *fig. 67*
- L. van Uden, painting (formerly Berlin, G. von Mallmann) No.22; 89
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Prague, P. Bächer), No.22; 89
- Anonymous, painting (Madrid, Duque de Berwick y de Alba) No.22; 88, 89
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Cardinal Valenti) No.22; 89
- Anonymous, *Landscape*, drawing (Leningrad, Hermitage) No.22; 89
- Anonymous, *A Wood*, drawing (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins) No.22; 89
- J. Browne, engraving, No.22; 89
- T. van Kessel, engraving, No.22
- A. Willmore, engraving, No.22; 89

A TEMPEST AT SEA, **No.80**

- Rubens, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.80; 190

TOURNAMENT IN FRONT OF A CASTLE, **No.65**

- Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.65; 28, 34, 47, 162, 174–179, 188; *fig. 148*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, Baron Janssen) No.65
- C. de Billy, etching, No.65; 176
- F. Braquemont, etching, No.65; 176

LANDSCAPE WITH A TOWER, **No.66**

- Rubens, painting (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) No.66; 34, 162, 174, 175, 177–179, 188; *fig. 149*

LANDSCAPE WITH A TOWER, **No.64**

- Rubens, painting (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum) No.64; 34, 162, 174, 177–179, 188; *fig. 147*
- Anonymous, painting (formerly Stockholm, L. Richter) No.64; 174

TREES REFLECTED IN WATER, **No.77**

- Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.77; 169, 186, 188, 189; *fig. 165*

TREE-TRUNK AND BRAMBLES, **No.70**

- Rubens, drawing (Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement) No.70; 184–186; *fig. 156*

LANDSCAPE WITH ULYSSES AND NAUSICAA, **No.28**

- Rubens, painting (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) No.28; 23, 25, 32, 35, 106–109, 127; *fig. 84*

Rubens, *Study of a Fallen Tree*, drawing (Chatsworth, The Trustees of the Chatsworth Settlement) No.28a; 77, 108, 109, 186; *fig.85*

Anonymous, painting (Barnard Castle, The Bowes Museum) No.28; 106, 138

Anonymous, painting (formerly Bedgebury) No.28; 106

Anonymous, painting (formerly G. M. Jefferson) No.28; 106

Anonymous, painting (formerly Paris, Marquis de las Marismas) No.28; 106

A. Parboni, engraving, No.28; 106

Anonymous, engraving, No.28; 106

LANDSCAPE WITH A WAGGON AT SUNSET, No.58

Rubens, painting (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans—van Beuningen) No.58; 160, 167, 168; *fig.147*

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Dowdeswell Galleries) No.58; 167

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Reinagle) No.58; 167

THE WATERING-PLACE, No.25

Rubens, painting (London, National Gallery) No.25; 24, 26, 31, 32, 50, 82, 84, 93–98, 100, 115, 157; *fig.71*

Anonymous, painting (formerly Antwerp, S. Hartveld) No.25; 95

L. van Uden, *Cattle*, painting (formerly Berlin, Ball and Graupe) No.25; 96

L. van Uden, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.25; 96

Anonymous, painting (Barcelona, Juan Escoda) No.25; 96

Anonymous, painting (formerly Cologne, H. Abels) No.25; 96

Anonymous, painting (formerly H. A. Day) No.25; 96

Anonymous, painting (formerly Earl Fitzwilliam & Viscount Harcourt) No.25; 95, 96

Anonymous, painting (formerly London, Leger and Son) No.25; 95

Anonymous, painting (formerly New York, Ehrich-Newhouse Galleries) No.25; 95

Anonymous, ? painting (formerly Paris, E. Jabach) No.25; 96

Anonymous, painting (Perm, Art Gallery) No.25; 95

Anonymous, painting (formerly Stockholm, C. E. Schlyter) No.25; 95

Anonymous, painting (formerly A. G. H. Ward) No. 25; 96

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.25; 95

Anonymous, painting (present whereabouts unknown) No.25; 96

Anonymous, drawing (Paris, Petit Palais, Collection Dutuit) No.25; 96

R. Brookshaw, engraving, No.25; 96

J. Browne, engraving, No.25; 96

L. van Uden, etching, No.25; 96

LANDSCAPE WITH A WATTLE FENCE, No.75

Rubens, drawing (London, British Museum) No.75; 186, 187; *fig.161*

WILD CHERRY TREE WITH BRAMBLES AND WEEDS, No.71

Rubens, drawing (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) No.71; 185, 186; *fig.157*

WILLOWS, No.50

Rubens, painting (Lausanne, Captain and Mrs E. Speelman) No.50; 157, 158, 160; *fig.133*

LANDSCAPE WITH WINDMILL AND BIRD-TRAP, No.67

Rubens, painting (Paris, Musée du Louvre) No.67; 28, 179–181; *fig.150*

S. a Bolswert, engraving, No.67; 179

M. A. Duparc, engraving, No.67; 179

L. E. F. Garreau, engraving, No.67; 179

WINTER, No.21

Rubens, painting (Windsor Castle, Royal Collection) No.21; 31, 48, 56, 57, 82, 86–88, 93, 101, 154; *fig.66*

Anonymous, painting (formerly The Hague, G. Hoet) No.21; 86

Anonymous, painting (formerly Brussels, G. Marseau) No.21; 86

P. Clouwet, engraving, No.21; 86; *fig.68*

P. Pontius, *Three Horses and a Peasant Leaning on a Staff*, engraving, No.21; 86; *fig.69*

Anonymous, *Peasant Leaning on a Staff*, engraving, No.21

FOUR WOMEN HARVESTING, No.78

Rubens, drawing (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) No.78; 189, 190; *fig.163*

EIGHT WOMEN HARVESTING, No.79

Rubens, drawing (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland) No.79; 189, 190; *fig.164*

Index III: Other Works by Rubens mentioned in the Text

The following abbreviations are used throughout this index:
D—drawing; **P**—painting; **S**—oil sketch.

OLD TESTAMENT

Susanna and the Elders **P** (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) 68

NEW TESTAMENT

The Madonna Adored by Saints **P** (Antwerp, Church of St Augustine) 123
— **D** (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) 123
The Adoration of the Shepherds **P** (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 85
The Adoration of the Magi **D** (Mechlin, Sint-Janskerk) 21, 68, 85
— **D** (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) 59; fig. 38
The Flight into Egypt **P** (Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen) 23, 63
— **S** (Lisbon, Museu Calouste Gulbenkian) 63
— **D** (London, British Museum) 63

SAINTS

St Gregory the Great Surrounded by Other Saints **P** (Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 69
— **S** (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) 25, 69
— (?) **D** (Montpellier, Musée Fabre) 69
St Ignatius of Loyola in a Landscape at Night **D** (Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre) 55–58; fig. 37
The Conversion of St Paul **P** (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) 51; fig. 30

MYTHOLOGY

Achilles among the Daughters of Lycomedes **P** (Madrid, Prado) 104
The Death of Actaeon **S** (Brussels, John Nieuwenhuis) 150
Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Silvia **S** (Philadelphia, Museum of Art, Johnson Collection) 141, 150
Atalanta and Meleager Pursuing the Calydonian Boar **S** (Present whereabouts unknown) 141; fig. 117
Diana Hunting **S** (Brussels, John Nieuwenhuis) 150
Mercury **P** (lost) 111
Pan and Syrinx **D** (London, British Museum) 48; fig. 24

HISTORY

Henry IV at the Siege of Amiens **P** (Gothenburg, Konstmuseum) 45
The Coming of Age of Louis XIII **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 66
The Reception of Maria de' Medici **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 29
The Reconciliation of Maria de' Medici with her Son **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 66

ALLEGORY

The Horrors of War **P** (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) 126
War and Peace **P** (London, National Gallery) 25, 26, 124

HUNTING SCENE

The Boar Hunt **P** (Marseilles, Musée des Beaux-Arts) 75, 78

PORTRAITS

The Duke of Lerma, on Horseback **P** (Madrid, Prado) 62
Justus Lipsius and his Pupils **P** (Florence, Palazzo Pitti) 25, 68, 69
Philip IV on Horseback **P** (lost) 129
Peter Paul Rubens in a Circle of Friends **P** (Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum) 128

GENRE

The Flemish Kermesse **P** (Paris, Musée du Louvre) 31, 88, 115
The Garden of Love **P** (Waddesdon Manor, Rothschild Collection) 147
Old Woman with a Brazier **P** (Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie) 88
Old Woman with a Candle **P** (Formerly Lord Faversham) 88

COPIES AFTER OTHER WORKS OF ART

The Entombment of Christ, after Caravaggio **P** (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada) 62
Il Contento, after A. Elsheimer **P** (London,

INDEX III: OTHER WORKS BY RUBENS

Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) 23
The Triumph of Caesar, after Mantegna P (London, National Gallery) 62
Baldassare Castiglione, after Raphael P (London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection) 62
Adam and Eve, after Titian P (Madrid, Prado) 62
The Andrians, after Titian P (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) 62
St Jerome Penitent, after Titian D (Haarlem, Teyler's Stichting) 24
The Rape of Europa, after Titian P (Madrid, Prado) 62
The Worship of Venus, after Titian P (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum) 29, 30, 62

Soldiers, after S. Vrancx D (Florence, Uffizi) 45; figs. 21, 22

Knights and Fighting Soldiers, after Hans Weyditz D (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen) 122; fig. 97

STUDIES

Four Heads of Children D (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) 124

Kneeling Woman D (Vienna, Albertina) 21

Old Peasant Woman D (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) 152

Old Peasant Woman D (Florence, Uffizi) 152

Woman Carrying a Jar D (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Print Room) 21

Index IV: Names and Places

This index lists names of artists, authors, collectors, owners and historical persons. Works of art are included, but works by Rubens and his assistants or copies after these works, are to be found in the preceding indexes.

Abels, Hermann 96
Adlesberger 101
Adriaenssen, Jan 48
Aglie, Count 165
Aguado 106
Allegory of Life and Death (painting),
Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
81
Alvin 149
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum 146
Angerstein 143
Anhalt-Dessau, Prince Franz von 64
Antico
 Meleager (bronze), London, Victoria and
 Albert Museum 141; *fig. 116*
Antin, Duc d' 60, 135
Antwerp
 Church of St Charles Borromeo 79
 Dominican Church 183
 Plantin-Moretus Museum 146
Appleby Brothers 191
ARD, monogrammist 73
Argoutinsky-Dolgoroukoff, W. 130
Aristarchus of Samos 27
Armagnac, M. de 95
Arnald, George 160
Aschaffenburg, Castle, Filialgalerie
 St Johannisburg 40n.
Ash, Graham Baron 166
Asscher, Martin B. 169
Augustus III, Elector of Saxony 72
Aynard 82

Bächer, Dr Pavel 89
Balbi 160, 163
Ball and Graupe 96
Balme, Edward 130
Baring, Sir Thomas 109, 167
Barocci, Federico 23, 24
 Stigmatization of St Francis (drawing),
 London, British Museum 24
Barrington, Viscount 116
Basch, Von 132
Baylie Allen, James 161
Beaumont, Sir George and Lady 160
Beckerath, A. 51
Bedgebury 106

Beit, Alfred 124
Berchem, Floris van 132
Berlin-Dahlem
 Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie 82, 97
 Staatliche Museen, Print Room 22, 25, 37,
 39, 69
Berlin-East
 Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett 49
Berwick y de Alba, Duque de 88
Bessborough, Earl of 172
Beuningen, D. G. van 167
Billy, Charles de 176
Bloch, Vitale 142
Bode, Wilhelm von 170
Boer, P. de 130
Bohler, Julius 127
Bolingbroke, Viscount 192
Bologna artist(s)
 Shepherds, Horses and Cows at a Watering-Place (drawing), Frankfurt, Städelsches
 Kunstinstitut 97; *fig. 73*
Bolswert, Schelte a 22, 23, 32, 63, 64, 66, 67,
70, 82, 92, 98, 100, 111–115, 128–133, 135,
139, 142, 143, 150–152, 155, 165, 169–173,
179, 181, 183, 184
Bösch, A. 101
Bottenvieser 159
Bradby (Bradbee) 169
Brant, Isabella 41, 42
Braquemont, F. 176
Breenbergh, Bartolomäus 38
 View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome
 (drawing), Frankfurt, Städelsches
 Kunstinstitut 38; *fig. 5*
Brett 162
Bril, Paul 22, 24–25
 View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome
 (drawing), Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche
 Museen 37; *fig. 5*
 View of the former Abbey of Santa Sabina
 (drawing), Paris, École Supérieure des
 Beaux-Arts 37; *fig. 8*
Brookshaw, R. 96
Brouwer, Adriaen 28, 88, 173
Browne, J. 80, 89, 96
Bruegel, Jan the Elder 41, 48, 51, 59, 98
 Rural Life (painting) Madrid, Prado 103
 View of the House of the Van Stralen Family at

Merksem (drawing), Frankfurt Städelsches Kunstinstitut 41; *fig.17*

Landscape with a Castle (drawing after ?), Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 51; *fig.31*

Bruegel, Jan the Younger 60

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder 26, 27, 30, 31, 34, 53
Conversion of St Paul (painting), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 33

Corn Harvest (painting), New York, Metropolitan Museum 189

Hay Harvest (painting), Prague, National Gallery 26, 152, 189

Heath, The or On the Way to Market (lost) 91

Landscape with Cows and Trees (drawing), Washington, National Gallery 103; *fig.78*

Return from the Harvest (painting), Prague, National Gallery 26

Sermon of St John the Baptist (painting), Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts 121

Going to Market (drawing after), Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung 91; *fig.70*

Landscape with Abduction of Psyche (engraving after) 53; *fig.34*

Brühl, Count 112, 113, 132

Bruno, Giordano 27

Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 23, 51, 108

Brussels, Church of Notre Dame, Laken 83; *fig.65*

Bruyn, Nicolas de
Prophet Elijah and the Children at Bethel devoured by Bears (engraving after G. van Coninxloo) 90

Buccleuch, Dukes of 95

Buchanan, William 160, 163

Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts 121

Burchard, Ludwig 116

Burlet, De 112

Butler, Charles 156, 157

Cadogan, Earl 80

Camden, Marquess of (Lord) 64, 167

Caravaggio, Michelangelo Merisi da 87
Martyrdom of St Matthew (painting), Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi 61, 62

Cardon, Charles-Leon 192

Carlisle, Earl of 92

Carlisle, Rosalind, Countess of 92

Carnarvon, Earl of 133

Carracci, Annibale 25

Cassirer, P. 112, 154

Catherine II, Empress of Russia 80, 132, 171, 187

Cau, John 132

Cavendish 113

Caze, La 66

Ceulen, Gisbert van 101

Champernowne, A. 150, 160, 163

Charles I, King of England 119–124, 130, 170

Clanbrassil, Lord 154

Clarkson Wallis 159

Clementi, De 37

Clouwet, P. 86, 154

Cobenzl, Count 89, 171, 187

Cock, Hieronymus 42

Codex Coburgensis (drawings), Coburg, Veste Coburg 75; *fig.56*

Coninxloo, Gillis van 31, 32, 90, 94
Judgement of Midas (painting), Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie 90
The Prophet Elijah and the Children at Bethel devoured by Bears (engraving after) 90

Constable, John 26, 35, 160

Cook Collection 141, 181, 187

Cook, Sir Herbert 162

Cooke, George 160

Copernicus, Nicholas 27

Cosway, Richard 129

Coxe, Peter 154

Cracherode, C. M. 187

Cremer, Josef 114

Crichton, J. A. 94

Crozat 98

Curtius 108

Cuypers de Rymenam, G. de 149

Daniel 169

Dansaert, J. 146

Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum 53

Dartmouth, Earl of 147

Day, H. A. 96

Defordt 86

Delacroix, E. 73

Demidoff, Prince Paul 70

Descartes 27

Devonshire, Duke of 101, 104, 184

Dresden, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie 90

Duarte, Diego 98

Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 69

Dudley, Earl of 172

Duits, W. 117

Dulière, Gaston 142, 143

Dunn Gardner 70

Duparc, Marie Alexandre 179

Duplessi-Bertaux, J. 119

Dürer, Albrecht
The Prodigal Son (engraving) 100

Dutartre 181

Dyck, Anthony van 78, 104–106

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Eckermann 152
 Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland 23, 66
 Edwards, Francis 169
 Egerton, T. F. 95
 Egmont 49, 51, 59
 Ehrich-Newhouse Galleries 95
 Elsheimer, Adam 23–25, 28, 31, 51, 63, 72, 94
Aurora (painting), Brunswick, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum 23, 108
Contento, Il (painting), Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland 23, 66
Embarkation of St Helena (painting), Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut 39, 40; *fig. 12*
Landscape with the Flight into Egypt (painting), Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 23, 61, 62, 173; *fig. 43*
Shipwreck of St Paul (painting), London, National Gallery 126; *fig. 103*
Tobias and the Angel (painting), Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 24, 172
 Emerson, Thomas 70
 Engel, Hugo 96
 Escoda, Juan 96
 Escorial, The 59

Faber, Johann 23
 Faid'herbe, Lucas 182
 Faille de Leverghem, J. de la 80
 Fairfax Murray, C. 53, 153
 Faithorne, W. 80
 Farnborough, Lord 82, 181
 Farrar 98, 178
 Faversham, Lord 88
 Fawkener, William 186
 Fell 96
 Fenwick 185
 Ferdinand III, Emperor 72
 Festetics, Countess 132
 Fiévez, Joseph 125, 142
 Fitzwilliam, Earl 95
 Florence, Palazzo Pitti 26
 Florentine Master
View of Florence (woodcut) 53; *fig. 36*
 Floris, Frans
The Judgement of Paris (painting), Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 69; *fig. 50*
 Fonson, A. 112
 Fountaine, Andrew 98
 Fourment, Hélène 41, 42 n. 10, 143
 Fourment, Mme 181
 Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut 31, 38, 39, 40 nn. 3, 9, 41, 91, 97
 Frederick, Prince of Wales 88

Frederick August II, King of Saxony 148, 149
 Fuller Maitland, W. 169

Gainsborough, Thomas 35
 Galileo 27
 Galle, Cornelis II 63
 Garreau, L. E. F. 135, 179
 Gauchez, Léon 98, 139
 Geiger, Benno 37
 Gellius, Aulius 189
 George IV, King of England 82
 Gerbier, Balthasar 129–131
 Gerry, Mr and Mrs L. 144
 Gersaint 92
 Gigoux, Jean F. 46, 101
 Gisbert, Peter 89
 Goethe 28, 152
 Goldsmith, Walter J. 133
 Gomm, W. 142
 Gonord, P. 144, 145
 Goudstikker, J. 40, 154
 Goudt, Hendrick
View of the Campagna (drawing), Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen 39; *fig. 13*
 Greco, El 28
 Grenville-Gavin, T. G. Breadalbane Morgan 151
 Griek, De 60, 109
 Gualino, Riccardo 167
 Guiche, Comte de la 80
 Gutekunst, Mrs Otto 147

Hacquin 63
 Hamilton, Duke of 82, 170
 Hante, Marquis de la 82
 Happaert, Canon J. P. 127, 128, 134, 181, 190
 Harcourt, Viscount Vernon 80, 95
 Harman, Jeremiah 70
 Harold 96
 Harris 109
 Hart-Davis 95
 Hartveld, Sam 80, 95, 113
 Havell, Frederick James 160
 Heberle 101
 Heemskerck, Martin van 68, 69
Wall-Fountain with the So-Called Tigris . . . (drawing), Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen 69; *fig. 51*
 Heinse 28
 Henrietta Maria, Queen of England 119
 Herp, Willem van 139
 Hertford, 3rd Marquess of 163
 Heuvel, A. de 191
 Higginson, Edmund 139
 Hirsch, Robert von 42

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Hoefnagel, J.
Landscape with Abduction of Psyche (engraving
 after Pieter Bruegel the Elder) 53; *fig. 34*
 Hoet, Gerard 86, 134
 Hollar, Wenzel 120
 Hondius, Hendrik the Elder
Shipwreck of St Paul (engraving after Gillis
 Mostaert) 126; *fig. 104*
 Hone, N. 154
 Hoogendijk, D. A. 192
 Hope, Adrian 72
 Hope, Lord Francis Pelham Clinton 124, 178
 Hope, Henry Thomas 109, 124, 178
 Huberti, Gaspar 66, 70, 72
 Hudson, T. 79, 187
 Hunter, John 117
 Huquier 97

 Irvine, James 160, 163
 Isaac, Jasper
Boar Hunt (engraving) 75, 76; *fig. 57*

 Jabach, Everhard 96, 132, 159, 181
 James II, King of England 64
 Janssen, Baron 177
 Jardin, Carel du 191
 Jefferson, G. M. 106
 Jegher, C. 144-146
 Johann-Wilhelm, Elector Palatine 162
 Joly, Albert 169
 Jonckheere, De 60
 Jordaeus, Jacob 139
 Juiff, Madame 46
 Junius, Franciscus 189

 Kadisch, Dr Alfred 82
 Kassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 24, 69,
 172
 Kepler, Johannes 27
 Kerrich, Rev. R. E. 129
 Kerrich, Rev. T. 185
 Kessel, T. van 89
 Kievitz, Jules 151
 Klaus, J. 102
 Koch, Flora 152, 153
 Kockox, J. M. A. 95
 Koenigs, Frans 112, 167
 Koetsier 159
 Komter, D. 141
 Koninck, Philips de 53

 Laing, David 189, 190
 Lamberg, Count 113
 Laney, J. P. de 139
 Langford 96

 Lankrink, P. H. 44, 73, 79, 134, 186, 190
 Lansdowne, Marquess of 154
 Larsen, Paul 151
 Lassay, Marquis de 80
 Lawrence, Sir Thomas 98, 104, 185
 Lazlo 132
 Leconfield, Lord 129
 Leembruggen 104
 Legatt 70
 Leger 96
 Leiden, Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit
 59; *fig. 39*
 Leiffmann, A. 70
 Leonardo da Vinci 189
 Leopold William, Archduke 72, 109
 Lewis, F. C. the Elder 164
 Liechtenstein, Prince of 23, 101
 Lienard, J.-B. 119
 Ligne, Prince Charles de 153
 Lincoln, Earl of 119
 Lodi 125
 London
 British Museum 24
 National Gallery 126
 Victoria and Albert Museum 141
 Lorrain, Claude 108
 Lothian, Marquess of 142
 Louis XIV, King of France 60, 135, 136
 Louis XV, King of France 175
 Lucas van Leyden
St George delivering the Princess (engraving)
 122; *fig. 96*
 Lucretius 29, 30
 Lugt, Frits 134
 Lumai 70
 Lunden, Arnold 82
 Lütjens, J. 154

 Madrid, Prado 62
 Malcolm, John 49, 51, 104
 Mallmann, Gaston von 89
 Malmede 192
 Man, J. de 183
 Mander, Carel van 131
 Mannheim, Electoral Gallery 156
 Mantegna, Andrea 62
 Marck, A. van der 98
 Marinus (Marin Robin van der Goes) 63
 Marismas, Marquis de 106
 Marriette, Pierre-Jean 80, 82, 89
 Marseau, G. 86
 Martin 72
 Massys, Cornelis 82, 98
Arrival of the Holy Family in Bethlehem
 (painting), Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche
 Museen 82

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Master of Frankenthal
View of Houses at Frankenthal (drawing), Darmstadt, Hessisches Landesmuseum 53; *fig.35*

Master of the Prodigal Son
Rebecca at the Well (painting), Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland 69; *fig.48*

Mautner-Markhof 82

Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria 101

Maximilian, Elector of Bavaria 75, 76, 78

Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico 132

Mazarin, Cardinal 80

Mead, Joseph 122

Melchett, Lord 172

Mellaert, J. H. J. 141

Modrzejewski, V. 192

Moitte, P. E. 112

Momper, Joos de 163

Mond, Dr Ludwig 172

Montagu, Elizabeth 95

Montagu, George, 3rd Duke of 95

Morland, W. 119

Mostaert, Gillis
Shipwreck of St Paul (engraving after) 126; *fig.104*

Mulgrave, Earl of 154, 166, 172

Muller, F. 127, 134

Munich
 Alte Pinakothek 23, 61, 115, 173
 Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen 23, 38, 61, 62
 Staatliche Graphische Sammlung 31, 91

Musson, Matthijs 131

Muziano, Girolamo 25

Myin 98

Naples, Museo Nazionale da Capodimonte 121

Narichkine 144

Nevel, Mme de 72

Newton 183

New York, Metropolitan Museum 189

Neyman 105

Nicholson, A. L. 95

Nieulandt, W. H. van
View of the Baths of Diocletian (etching), 40 n.1; *fig.3*

Norgate, Edward 130

Norris, Christopher 130

Northbrook, Earl of 167

Northwick 105

Nuneham Park 80

Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum 81

O'Neill, Charles 168, 169

Oppenheim, Albert 101

Oppenheimer, Henry 37, 50

Orford 163

Orléans, Duc de 119

Ostermeyer 102

Ovid 111, 140

Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 56

Pacheco, Francisco 131

Panné, Ph. 109

Paradisi, L. 151

Paris
 Bibliothèque Nationale 146
 École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts 37
 Musée du Louvre 62

Pastrana 181

Patinir, Joachim 30

Payne Knight 73

Peilhon 95

Peiresc, Nicolas Claude 162

Pembroke, Earl of 92

Pérac, Etienne du
View of the Aventine in Rome (engraving) 39; *fig.11*

Peters, Johann Anton de 119

Petit, G. 167

Philip IV, King of Spain 145, 150

Phillips, G. H. 169

Philostratus 75, 166

Piquet 112

Pliny the Younger 189 n.2

Plymouth, Earl of 132

Polidoro da Caravaggio
Landscape with a Scene from the Life of St Mary Magdalene (fresco), Rome, San Silvestro al Quirinale 121; *fig.95*

Procession to Calvary (painting), Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte 121

Pontius, Paulus 86, 105

Porboni, A. 106

Porgès, Jules 160

Porter, Endymion 118, 121, 123

Potter, D. 80

Powell, Sir Francis Sharp 95

Prague, National Gallery 26, 152, 189

Prussian Crown Collection 144

Pynas, Jan
Raising of Lazarus (painting), Munich, Bayerisches Staatsgemäldesammlungen 38; *fig.4*

Pypelincx, Maria 48, 49 n.8

Radnor, Earl of 129, 130

Ralli, Pendeli 169

Raphael
Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione (painting), Paris, Musée du Louvre 62

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Rasmussen, Arne Bruun 96
 Ravenell, Edward 98
 Reder, David 73
 Regteren Altena, J. Q. van 22
 Reinagle 167
 Rembrandt 28, 34, 35
 Remy 95
 Reuss, Prince 70
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua 98, 134, 178
 Reynolds, S. W. 80
 Richardson, J. 79, 134, 185, 188
 Richelieu, Duc de 106, 113, 119, 125, 127, 132, 151
 Richter, Louis 174
 Ricketts, Charles 185
 Ridder, August de 167
 Riedel 129
 Rijmsdijk, J. van 185
 Robien, Marquesses of 73
 Robinson, J. C. 53, 55, 72, 162
 Rogers, C. 79
 Rogers, Samuel 64, 167, 172
 Rome 67–69
 Galeria Doria-Pamphili 33
 Gateway of Giulio Porcaro's House 75, 76
 San Luigi dei Francesi 61, 62
 Santa Maria sopra Minerva 27
 Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) 25, 69
 Santa Sabina in Aventino 22
 San Silvestro al Quirinale 121
 San Teodoro 67, 68
 Vatican Museum 62, 69
 Rouge, N. Le 82
 Roy, F. de 73
 Rubens, Albert 41, 72
 Rubens, Isabella Hélène 162
 Rubens, Peter Paul the Younger 162
 Rubens, Philipp 22, 41, 57
 Rudolph II, Emperor 27
 Sabin, F. T. 94
 Sachsen-Teschen, Duke Albert of 44, 77, 85
 Salvatore, G. de 73
 Sandby, Paul 189, 190
 Sanderus, Antonius 40, 47
Sarcophagus of Meleager (antique sculpture), Woburn Abbey, Duke of Bedford 75; *fig. 55*
 Savery, Roelant 31 n. 39
 Savoie, Amadée de, Prince of Carignan 175
 Schatzker, Otto 80
 Schloss, Adolph 146
 Schlyter, Consul C. E. 95
 Schmit, J. 130
 Schumann, J. G. 77
 Schut, Sara 65
 Seghers, Hercules 34
 Serlachius, Brøfr 103
 Seyffers, L. 101
 Shannon, Charles S. 185
 Smith, John 98
 Snayers, Pieter 45 n.
 Soutman, Pieter 73, 76, 78
Landscape with Boar Hunt (engraving); *fig. 54*
 Spangen, Mme 86, 98
 Spanish Royal Collection 143
 Speech von Sterneburg, Freiherr 92
 Spielmeyer, Dr. 64
 Spinoza 27, 28
 Spruyt 101
 Stanley 129
 Stenman, Gösta 112
 Stevens, Pieter
View of former Abbey of S. Sabina in Aventino in Rome (drawing), present whereabouts unknown; *fig. 9*
 Stiémart, F. A. 135
 Stier d'Aertselaar 98
 Stolz 125
 Stradanus, Johannes 75
 Stuart, Lady 139, 178
 Stuteville, Sir Martin 122
 Suchet, Dr. 46
 Suermont, B. 154
 Swaby, John 166
 Tallard, Duc de 95
 Taylor, George Watson 163
 Teniers, David II (the Younger) 119, 128, 130, 152, 153
 Tessin, Count C. G. 123
 Theocritus 133
Tigris (antique sculpture), Rome, Vatican Museum 69
 Tintoretto, Jacopo 62
Ludovico II Gonzaga defeating the Venetians (painting), Munich, Alte Pinakothek 115
 Titian 24–26, 31, 32, 34, 62, 68, 69, 84, 97, 108, 111, 115, 117, 120, 136, 147, 165, 182–184
Adam and Eve (painting), Madrid, Prado 62
Andrians, The (painting), Madrid, Prado 62
Entombment (painting), Paris, Musée du Louvre 103
Pastoral Landscape with Antique Ruins (etching after); *fig. 49*
Rape of Europa (painting), Madrid, Prado 62
St Jerome Penitent (painting), Milan, Brera 24
Worship of Venus (painting), Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 62
 (?)*Landscape with Shepherd* (drawing), Besançon, Musée des Beaux-Arts 182, 183; *fig. 155*

INDEX IV: NAMES AND PLACES

Tuscany, Grand Dukes of 106, 151

Uden, Lucas van 64, 68, 82, 84, 88, 96, 106, 112, 113, 128–130, 135, 138, 160, 166, 191, 192
Pastoral Landscape with Antique Ruins (etching after Titian); fig. 49

Vadder, L. de 70

Valedan, A. L. 64

Valenti, Cardinal 89

Valkenburgh, van 119

Vasi, G. 39
View of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome (engraving); fig. 6
View of the Aventine (engraving); fig. 10

Vasseur, G. C. Le 119

Velazquez, Diego 131

Verhulst, Pieter 118, 127, 129–131

Vernon, Robert 70

Verstegh 104

Veyran, L. de 135

Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 33, 62
View of the Tiber in Rome (drawing), Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek 40 n; fig. 14

Vigenère, Blaise de 75

Villiers, George, 1st Duke of Buckingham 72, 86, 88

Villiers, George, 2nd Duke of Buckingham 167

Vinckboons, David
Moated Castle with Christ on the Way to Emmaus (drawing), Berlin-East, Staatliche Museen 48; fig. 26
Farm under Trees (drawing), Leiden, Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit 59; fig. 39

Virgil 71, 126

Vivares, F. 151

Vrancx, Sebastiaan 45, 48

Vriendt, Michiel 162, 167

Wael, Cornelis de 38
View of Baths of Diocletian (drawing), Paris, École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts; fig. 7

Waepenaert, P. J. de 170

Wallace, Lady 164

Wallace, Sir Richard 164

Wallis, Charleston 158, 159

Walpole, George, 3rd Earl of Oxford 80

Walpole, Horace 141

Walpole, Robert, 1st Earl of Oxford 80

Ward, A. G. H. 96

Ward, James 144

Washington, National Gallery of Art 103

Watteau, Antoine 144
Embarkation for Cythera (painting), Berlin, Charlottenburg Castle 34

Wauters, Emile 134

Weiditz, Hans 122

Weil, Jean 135

Wellesley, Dr. 49, 51

Wendland, Dr. 96

Wendlinger 133

Wertheimer, A. 98

Westermann, Christian 45

Wierman 162

Wildens, Jan 25, 68, 72, 101, 103, 130, 131

Wildens, Jeremias 48 n.2, 72, 118, 190

Wilkie, William 98

Willett, John W. 172

William II, King of the Netherlands 72, 104

William V, Stadhouder of Holland 179

Willmore, A. 82, 89

Woburn Abbey 75

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August Bibliothek 40 n.13

Wolfsberger Kunstsalon 133

Woodburn, Samuel 117, 129, 185

Wouters 65

Wurster 101

Wynn Ellis 166

Zátká, Dr. Vlatislav 70

Zeuxis 71

Zivy, René 135

Zoom, Jan Baptist van 190