

Профиль:

«История художественной культуры и рынок искусства»

КОД – 321

Время выполнение задания – 120 мин., язык — русский

Задание для текста на английском языке

- I. Прочсть главу «Жизнь и творчество Брейгеля и Рубенса» из книги: Wollett A. Van Suchtelen A. Rubens and Brueghel: Working Friendship. Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2006, pp. 5 – 29.
- II. Дать развернутый ответ на следующие вопросы:
 1. Итальянское путешествие Яна Брейгеля в 1589 году оказало большое влияние на его творчество и дальнейшую карьеру. Расскажите о путешествии подробнее.
 2. Какую роль сыграл в творчестве Брейгеля его патрон кардинал Борromeо?
 3. Дайте характеристику живописной манеры Яна Брейгеля. Какие сюжеты и мотивы для него наиболее характерны?
 4. Какие художники оказали влияние на формирование стиля П.П.Рубенса во время его пребывания в Италии?
 5. С какими художниками сотрудничал П.П.Рубенс? Опишите на трех примерах особенности такого сотрудничества.



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

FIGURE 3
Otto van Veen (ca. 1556–1629), *Portrait of Albert and Isabella Clara Eugenia*, 1615. Oil on panel, 160 × 81 cm (63 × 31¾ in.). Gloucestershire, England, The Earl of Wemyss and March K.T.

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

THE LIVES AND CAREERS OF BRUEGHEL AND RUBENS

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



FIGURE 4

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

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

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

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

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



FIGURE 5

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

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

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



FIGURE 6
Jan Brueghel the Elder, *The Baths of Diocletian or the Cluvius Scauri*, 1594. Pen and brown wash, 26.2 × 20.4 cm (10³/₈ × 8 in.). Paris, Fondation Custodia, Collection F. Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, inv. 7879



FIGURE 7
Jan Brueghel the Elder, *View of the Interior of the Colosseum*, ca. 1595. Pen and brown wash, 26.2 × 21 cm (10³/₈ × 8¹/₄ in.). Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Sammlungen der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik, inv. KDZ 26327

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



FIGURE 8

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

FIGURE 9

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

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



FIGURE 10

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

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

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



FIGURE 11

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

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

JAN BRUEGHEL THE ELDER

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

PETER PAUL RUBENS

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

HENDRICK VAN BALEN

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

FRANS SNYDERS

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

FIGURE 12

Hendrick van Balen (1574/75–1632) and Abel Grimmer (ca. 1570–1618/19), *View of Antwerp*, 1600. Oil on panel, 37 × 44 cm (14 ½ × 17 ¾ in.). Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. 817



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

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

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

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

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

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



FIGURE 13

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

FIGURE 14

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



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

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

FIGURE 15

Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Village Landscape with Self-Portrait*, 1614. Oil on panel, 52 × 90.5 cm (20½ × 35⅞ in.). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. 9102 (the artist and his family appear in the left foreground)



FIGURE 16

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



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

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

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

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

FIGURE 17

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



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

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

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



FIGURE 18

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

FIGURE 19

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

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

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

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

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

FIGURE 20

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



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

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

FIGURE 21

Joachim Patinir (ca. 1480–1524) and Quinten Metsys (1466–1530), *The Temptation of Saint Anthony*, ca. 1522. Oil on panel, 155 × 173 cm (61 × 68¹/₈ in.). Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado, inv. 1615



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

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





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



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

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

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

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

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



FIGURE 25

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

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



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

9B). These splendid gifts bound the artist to the court still further and constituted the “golden fetters” Rubens’s nephew famously referred to in the biography of his uncle.⁷⁴

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

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



FIGURE 27
Peter Paul Rubens, *The Recognition of Philopoemen*, ca. 1609.
Oil on panel, 50.5 × 66.5 cm
(19 7/8 × 26 1/8 in.). Paris,
Musée du Louvre, inv. M.I. 967



FIGURE 28
Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Frans Snyders*, 1621. Oil on canvas,
124.5 × 105 cm (49 × 41 3/8 in.).
New York, Frick Collection,
inv. 1909.1.39

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

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



FIGURE 29

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



FIGURE 30

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

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

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

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

THE WORKING FRIENDSHIP OF RUBENS AND BRUEGHEL

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