

THE ORIGINS AND RISE OF THE FLEMISH MADONNAS IN FLOWER GARLANDS

DECORATION AND DEVOTION

By David Freedberg



1 Rubens and Jan Brueghel, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

The Madonnas in Flower Garlands painted by Jan Brueghel in collaboration with Rubens, Hendrik van Balen, and other artists have not lacked attention in the monographs¹ and in the standard books on flower painting². The painting in Munich (Fig. 1)³ has been the subject of fairly wide-ranging discussion⁴, while the symbolic content of the flower garlands has not gone unobserved⁵. To the modern beholder such paintings may seem rather sentimental and anodyne images, little more than pretexts for the virtuoso painting of flowers and charming putti; but such an assessment begs a variety of questions about this class of images as a whole. The paintings of Madonnas in Flower Garlands have not hitherto been considered

from the point of view of their function, their status, and the kinds of response they may have evoked⁶; and this will be the burden of the essay that follows. But first an attempt should be made to account for the origins and rise of this type of image, and to outline the cultural and historical circumstances in which these paintings are to be situated.

Discussion will concentrate on five pictures, all dating from the first two decades of the century. All the other works of this type are later, or in one sense or another, derive from them. The Munich picture (Fig. 1), which differs from the others in the relative formality of the central image and in the inclusion of the putti surrounding it, may be dated to the years

around 1616 – at about the same time as works like the closely related picture in the Wallace Collection (Fig. 2) painted for the oratory of the Archduke Albert⁷. No evidence survives for the commission of the painting in Munich, but we do know of the original owner of at least two, and probably all four of the remaining pictures.

It was Federigo Borromeo, the Archbishop of Milan, the founder of the Ambrosiana, and the author of the 'De Pictura Sacra' (to mention only the best-known of his writings on art for the moment)⁸ who owned the first Flemish Madonnas in Flower Garlands, or at any rate, the first documented ones. Three pictures of this kind are mentioned in the correspondence between Jan Brueghel and Federigo (or his agent

Bianchi), which was so admirably published by Crivelli in 1868⁹.

The first letter in which a Madonna in Flower Garland is mentioned makes it clear that the idea for the picture came from Federigo himself. On 1 February 1608, Brueghel wrote to Milan in his rather clumsy Italian: "I am very busy with the little painting of the garland of flowers; and in it, *according to the instructions of your Eminence*, I am going to fit a Madonna with a landscape. I hope and trust that if any work of mine has given pleasure to your Eminence, this one will exceed all the others"¹⁰. The work referred to here is almost certainly the painting now in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 3)¹¹, with the Flower Garland painted by Jan Brueghel, and the Madonna painted by



2 Rubens, Holy Family with St Elizabeth and St John the Baptist.
London, Wallace Collection



3 Jan Brueghel and Hendrik van Balen, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Milan, Ambrosiana

Hendrik van Balen on a silver panel set into it¹². The Garland thus surrounds not the Madonna herself but a painted image of the Madonna; in this case, therefore, it is a real 'Einsatzbild', whereas in the others it is simply a feigned one¹³.

Although Jan painted other Flower Garlands in 1611/12, none of these appear to survive or to have been painted in collaboration with either van Balen or Rubens¹⁴. The next references to a picture that is of relevance here occur in a series of letters of 1618 to 1620¹⁵. Brueghel had supplied a picture for Ludovico

Melzi in Milan, but Melzi seems to have backed out of his agreement to buy it because of the high price demanded by the artist¹⁶. Brueghel thereupon wrote to Federigo's agent Bianchi in the hope of interesting the Cardinal in it, and here he specifically mentions that the Madonna was painted by Hendrik van Balen: "This is to inform you that I have made a garland of flowers by my own hand, and that I have had Signor van Balen make a Madonna with little angels and so on within it; and this work was made for Sig. Ludovico Melzi ..."¹⁷. It is tempting to identify this picture



4 Jan Brueghel (?) and Hendrik van Balen, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Milan, Ambrosiana

with the work that entered the Ambrosiana in 1825 from the Pecis collection (Fig. 4)¹⁸, but the author of the most recent monograph on Jan Brueghel has claimed that the flower garland here is from the hand of Jan Brueghel II¹⁹; we may in any event assume that it was a work of this kind (or one very like it) that is referred to in the correspondence of 1618-1620²⁰.

Here one may turn to the pictures which Jan Brueghel painted in collaboration with Rubens. The next work mentioned in the correspondence has been connected both with the picture in the Prado (Fig. 5)²¹

and with that in the Louvre (Fig. 6)²². On 5 September 1621, Brueghel wrote to Bianchi offering the Cardinal "another painting, the most beautiful and rare thing I have ever done in my life. Rubens too has well demonstrated his talent in the painting in the middle of a beautiful Madonna. The birds and animals are done after the life from some in the possession of the Archduchess. I believe that the charm and precision of this piece will please your Eminence."²³ Although it was usual to identify this work – which features on several further occasions in the correspondence before



5 Rubens and Jan Brueghel, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Madrid, Prado

Federigo finally bought it – with the painting in the Louvre²⁴, it seems fairly obvious that the reference is to the painting now in the Prado, largely on the grounds of the conspicuous variety of animals and birds it contains²⁵. It should, in any case, be observed that the execution of the Madonna in the Louvre picture is of decidedly lower quality than the painting in the Prado, and that its composition must date from 1617 at the latest; for in that year Jan Brueghel dated his painting of the 'Sense of Sight'²⁶, showing what must have been the prime version of the composition

amongst other works in the collection of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella²⁷.

Another primary source of information for the contents of Federigo's collection is the rather rare work called the 'Musaeum', which he published in 1625, the year after the publication of the 'De Pictura Sacra'²⁸. The 'Musaeum' not only makes clear Federigo's special affection for Jan Brueghel, several more of whose works he owned and referred to in glowing and enthusiastic terms²⁹; it also provides important corroborative and supplementary evidence about many



6 Rubens (?) and Jan Brueghel, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Paris, Louvre

of the works already mentioned in the correspondence. But above all it reveals a considerable amount about Federigo's attitudes towards art in general and towards the paintings he owned in particular³⁰. Certainly any reading of the 'De Pictura Sacra' should be accompanied by a careful study of the 'Musaeum', where Federigo shows himself to be more aesthetically self-conscious and more aware of purely artistic considerations than the theological treatise on painting would lead one to think³¹.

Paintings of the *Madonna in a Flower Garland* are

referred to twice in the 'Musaeum'. One reference is rather short, and is probably to be connected with the first painting by Brueghel and van Balen³², but the other reference is considerably fuller; and it is at once more illuminating and more problematic. After extolling the qualities and subtlety of some of the other works by Jan Brueghel that he owned, Federigo went on to maintain that there was nothing else in his Museum to compare with his little paintings of the 'Elements'³³ except for another work by the same artist: This was "a garland of many and varied flow-

ers, that one might sooner call a triumphal arch. Little birds sit amongst the flowers, and the flowers themselves have an exotic appearance, as the artist would certainly not have been content with our usual ones³⁴. There is no point in saying anything about the image enclosed in the garland, for like a lesser light it is outshone by all the splendours surrounding it³⁵. Once again the reference seems to be the painting now in the Prado, not the least because of the fact that of all the surviving pictures of this kind, the garland here is the one which is most likely to have called up the image of the triumphal arch³⁶. One may be surprised by Borromeo's claim that the garland outshone the painting of the Madonna by Rubens, to say nothing of his omission of Ruben's name altogether; but this is not inconsistent with the emphases in the correspondence³⁷, Borromeo's avowed admiration of the work of Brueghel, and the comparative esteem by this time of flower painting in general³⁸. All this poses a problem to which we will return, but for the time being it is sufficient simply to note the importance of the Prado picture in assessing the significance of the Madonnas in Flower Garlands which Rubens painted between 1615 and 1620³⁹.

Any attempt to account for the rise of these pictures must take into consideration the developments in Flemish flower painting at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Clearly it would not have been possible to paint these pictures at all had not the art of painting flowers reached such a degree of technical excellence, and achieved such widespread esteem. Around the same time as he was painting his first Madonnas in Flower Garlands, or possibly just a little before, Rubens painted his 'Pausias and Glycera' in collaboration with a flower painter, probably Osias Beert, (Fig. 7)⁴⁰. This work is a modern version of one of the most famous paintings of the ancient world, the 'stephaneplokos', which Pausias painted of his mistress Glycera. Glycera is supposed to have been the inventor of flower garlands, which she sold as a means of supporting herself, and it was by copying and rivaling her that Pausias "first enabled encaustic painting to represent a great variety of wreaths"⁴¹. In this painting, then, Rubens not only emulates one of the great paintings of antiquity, but also presents a visual statement of the superiority of art over nature: Glycera shyly hides her garland as she admires her lover's painting of flowers. It has been claimed that the figure

of Pausias is a self-portrait by Rubens, but it seems more likely that if it is a portrait at all, it is of a flower painter, perhaps Osias Beert himself. Furthermore, the work may be regarded not only as a recasting of the traditional art-nature theme, but also – and more significantly here – as a statement of the newly acquired status of a traditionally lowly genre, flower painting⁴².

It was at the very turn of the century that the independent flower piece came into a full existence of its own, just a few years before the first Madonnas in Flower Garlands⁴³. Apart from the works of Ludger Tom Ring and the rather nebulous Lodowyk Jansz. van den Bosch⁴⁴, flower and fruit pieces appear in Antwerp in the last decade of the sixteenth century⁴⁵, and the earliest known works of this kind by Jan Brueghel himself and by painters in Holland – almost all Flemish emigrés – date from around 1600. One has only to consider the paintings by artists like Jacob de Gheyn, Gillis van Coninxloo, and Ambrosius Bosschaert the Elder⁴⁶. Apart from the venerable and accomplished tradition of representing flower pots in religious paintings, and although the ability to paint flowers in a lifelike way is one of the great features of Flemish art from the very beginning of the fifteenth century, the developments in this field should also be seen in the light of the great botanical illustrations of



7 Rubens and Osias Beert, Pausias and Glycera. Sarasota (Florida), Ringling Museum of Art

the sixteenth century, such as those in the works by Fuchsius, Dodonaeus, Lobelius and Clusius⁴⁷. Furthermore, the painstaking technique of the illustrations of natural life by the miniature painter Joris Hoefnagel⁴⁸ may be regarded as having been an inspiration to the early flower painters; and the popularity of the genre is testified by the splendid engravings in the 'florilegia' published at the beginning of the century by artists such as Adriaen Collaert, Nicholas de Bruyn and Jan Theodoor de Bry. (Fig. 8)⁴⁹. As will be seen in the case of the Madonnas in Flower Garlands as well, developments in the field of the graphic arts provided the immediate impetus to the rise in popularity of a new genre.

The degree of skill attained in the representation of flowers may have made it possible, from a technical point of view, to paint the Madonnas in Flower Garlands, but there still remains the question of the artistic antecedents for this type of image. Apart from the typologically rather similar sculptures from the work-



9 Virgin and Child in a Rosary.
Woodcut, German, after 1478. London, British Museum



8 A. Collaert after P. Galle, Flowers in a Vase.
Engraving from 'Florilegium'

shops of the Della Robbia family⁵⁰, the answer is probably to be sought in the representation of the Rosary Madonna. Amongst the many possible examples, those from Germany in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are perhaps the best known and one of them will serve to illustrate the general point made here (Fig. 9)⁵¹. It is also not hard to find instances of works which, like the Munich picture by Rubens, show the Virgin surrounded not only by flowers but also by a variety of angels within or supporting the garland⁵². But the more immediate antecedents for the paintings under consideration here are the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century engravings (e.g. Fig. 10)⁵³ of the Madonna of the Rosary by Netherlandish artists of the Madonna of the Rosary. Although his paintings are clearly *not* Madonnas of the Rosary, it seems reasonable to speculate that Jan Brueghel's innovation consisted in the substitution of a whole variety of flowers for the more usual garland of roses. In any event, it was at this time, at the beginning of the seventeenth century that there seems to have been a great recrudescence of books on the Rosary – from the charming duodecimo booklet edited by Thomas Worthington and first published by Keerberghen in 1600, to Vincent Hensberg's larger and more comprehensive 'Viridarium Marianum' published by Gaspar Bellerus in 1615⁵⁴.

But why should the Madonnas in Flower Garlands, which were not after all Rosary Madonnas, have been painted at this time? What are the historical circumstances surrounding their origin? Before examining these questions, we should recall that the garlands enclosed not the Madonna herself, but rather of the Madonna (cf. Figs. 1 and 3); and it is to images of the Madonna that we must now turn.

The consequences of the great iconoclastic outbursts of 1566 and the early 1580's in the Netherlands have been considered elsewhere, and so has the way in which iconoclasm affected the status and validity of images and the image-making process⁵⁵. What should be stressed here is the fact that the attacks on images were in a large measure directed against the Virgin herself⁵⁶. It was the venerated popular image of the Madonna – to take one of the most notable examples – that was first assailed on the eve of the great anti-image riot in Antwerp in 1566. On that occasion she was pelted with stones and other objects after her annual procession through the streets of Antwerp, and taunted for being unable to defend herself once returned to the comparative safety of her own chapel in the Cathedral⁵⁷. This sparked off the worst case of iconoclasm yet, and it was followed by countless other examples of such attacks throughout the Netherlands⁵⁸. With the memory of these events still fresh, and in a climate of continuing controversy about images, the flower garlands – in addition to whatever other pictorial functions they may have had to fulfil – would have served to enhance the value of the images they contain⁵⁹. The paintings of Madonnas in Flower Garlands are painted statements of the preciousness and worth of images of the Virgin, pictorial equivalents, one could almost say, of the emphasis on the value of all images which had formed so fundamental an aspect of every Catholic treatise on art during the great debate about images during the sixteenth century.

Many of the theological responses to iconoclasm – and a whole spate of treatises was written in the wake of the events of 1566 – consisted of a defence not only of images in general, but also of the Virgin⁶⁰. New brotherhoods and sodalities were dedicated to her after the restoration of the Catholic faith in 1585, and there was a renewed interest in miraculous images of the Virgin⁶¹. The most famous of these in the Netherlands were those at Hal and Scherpenheuvel, to which

Lipsius devoted his two treatises of 1604 and 1605 respectively⁶². In both of them Lipsius went to some length to insist on the veracity of the miracles, which he described in elaborate detail. Even greater crowds than before began to flock to the two pilgrimage sites, and one of the first important acts of patronage by the newly installed archdukes was their commission of a new basilica at Scherpenheuvel by Wenzel Cobergher, in order to house the miraculous image in appropriate splendour⁶³. But almost immediately after their publication, the two works by Lipsius came under attack. Already in 1605 two satirical pamphlets appeared, in which the claims made by Lipsius for the Madonna at Hal were cruelly mocked⁶⁴. In 1606 the Synod of the province of Gelders made clear its disapproval of the images of Scherpenheuvel and Boxtel, and Protestant writers like Jacob Lydius, Baudius of Leiden, and even the great Scaliger made fun of the claims of such images to be miraculous⁶⁵.

But it is not only in the Netherlands that one finds a renewed interest in miraculous images of the



10 R. (?) Sadeler after M. de Vos,
 Virgin and Child in a Rosary. Engraving

Madonna. In Rome, perhaps more than anywhere else, there was a reawakening of the cult of such images – as well as of ‘acheiropoietai’, those images supposedly not painted by human hand – in the last quarter of the sixteenth century⁶⁶. In 1584, a special chapel was built in the Gesù to house the Madonna della Strada (like the Madonna della Valicella originally on an ordinary house wall in the vicinity); the Madonna della Scala inspired the building of Santa Maria della Scala; the Chiesa Nuova was built by the Oratorians as a more fitting home for the Valicella image; and Paul V had the Capella Paolina built in 1610/11⁶⁷ for the image of the Madonna reputedly painted by St Luke⁶⁸ – to take only a few examples at the heart of the period we are considering.

But there is one miraculous image of the Virgin that is of particular relevance to this discussion, and that, of course, is the Madonna della Valicella. Before

examining its relationship with the Madonnas in Flower Garlands, it may be helpful to bring to the fore certain aspects of the most important commission of Rubens’s Italian career (Figs. 11-12)⁶⁹. It will be remembered that the Oratorian Fathers had decided to move the Valicella Madonna from its relatively insignificant location at the west end of their newly built church to a position of the greatest prominence above the High Altar⁷⁰. And it was Rubens’s task to find the best way of incorporating the miraculous image in the new altarpiece. This is one of the best documented commissions of Rubens’s career, and the reasons for the decision to replace the first work he painted by a second version have been thoroughly discussed by Michael Jaffé, Martin Warnke, Justus Müller Hofstede, and – most recently – by Volker Herzner⁷¹. These reasons are more complex than has generally been assumed and it is now believed that



11 Rubens, Sts. Gregory, Domitilla, Maurus, Papianus, Nereus and Achilleus before the Madonna della Valicella. Grenoble, Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture



12 Rubens, The Adoration of the Madonna della Valicella. Rome, Chiesa Nuova

Rubens decided to replace the work not only because of the adverse light reflections which he wrote about in his letter to Chieppio of 2 February 1608⁷². Some of the church authorities seem to have had reservations about the iconography of the first version (Fig. 11), there may have been some desire to emulate Pomarancio's representations of similar subjects in *Santi Nereo ed Achilleo*⁷³, and problems arose about the "invenzione di mezzo in sopra"⁷⁴. This is a slightly puzzling phrase, but it can only refer to the way in which the image of the Madonna was displayed⁷⁵. If one looks at the final version of the altarpiece (Fig. 12), one will see that the whole conception of this aspect of the work has changed. The miraculous nature of the image is now more strongly emphasized. The saints have been relegated to the side panels, and instead of being supported by a triumphal arch – to which, it will be remembered, Federigo likened his own Madonna in a *Flower Garland*⁷⁶ – the image is supported by a veritable garland of putti (rather similar to the Munich Madonna) high above the serried ranks of the celestial hierarchy. In the first painting, the image is displayed in triumph above an arch which links it visually to the saints below; in the second, it has been wholly removed from the earthly sphere. In the changes introduced in the second version, therefore, one finds a greatly increased emphasis on the supernatural apartness of the image, and – above all – of its miraculous and *acheiropoietic* nature. Like the Madonnas in *Flower Garlands*, therefore, it is a painted rebuttal of all those critics of miraculous images who insisted, in varying tones of scepticism and mockery, on their earthbound quality. The actual image of the Madonna della Valicella is placed immediately behind the panel with the Madonna by Rubens, which can be removed on those special occasions in the year when the miraculous image itself is exposed. It is to be seen, as Martin Warnke has shown⁷⁷, as the culminating point in a whole line of Italian 'Einsatzbilder' – miraculous or especially venerated images set into larger and usually far later paintings – of which there are too many to list here⁷⁸. It is worth recalling how in all the Madonnas in *Flower Garlands* considered here the central image is either a real or feigned 'Einsatzbild'. That Rubens went to considerable effort to find the best means of incorporating the image of the Madonna della Valicella may be deduced not only from the pentimenti in the first piece now in Grenoble⁷⁹, but



13 Rubens, *The Madonna della Valicella*.
Moscow, Pushkin Museum

also form the several surviving drawings of just this part of the painting, of which there are several fine examples (Fig. 13)⁸⁰. The church authorities, however, were far more concerned about the miraculous image itself, as we tell from the records which survive from those years⁸¹. Apart from the constant haggling about whether it was to be moved from its location near the entrance door at all, a vast amount of expense was devoted to the adornment of the Madonna herself, and even though she was for most of the time to be covered by Rubens's version, she was given a refurbished dress and a new crown embedded with jewels and other gewgaws⁸². What should be stressed here is the way in which the adornment of the Madonna even further emphasized its particular preciousness.

There were, of course, various ways of adorning an image, particularly a miraculous one. One could give it a crown made of precious materials, deck it out in fancy garments, or enclose it in a splendid setting. But the standard – and perhaps the most popular – way of adorning religious images of all kinds, whether they were miraculous or not, was by draping a garland around it⁸³; and the relative richness of the garland served to enhance the preciousness of the image con-



14 The Madonna della Valicella. Engraving.
Detail from the title-page of Baronius, 'Annales Ecclesiastici' 1601

cerned. There is plenty of contemporary evidence to suggest that the garlands themselves were admired for the almost miraculous way in which they were painted, for the marvellous technical skill deployed in rendering them so lifelike. The danger, of course, was that the paintings could be admired more for the garlands themselves than the images they contained, as in the case of Federigo himself – as we have seen⁸⁴ – and probably in all the later pictures by Daniel Seghers and his epigones. There are two issues here. The first is the symbolic value of the flowers in the context of the representation of the Virgin, to which we shall return; the second is the value they bestow on the image as a whole because of their intrinsic – rather than metaphorical – significance.

The painstaking technique with which Jan Brueghel painted his flowers is self-evident, and he himself wrote of the way in which the winter months hampered his activities as a painter because of the cold and the poor light⁸⁵. He painted from life, and not from model books; he does not by and large appear to have used either drawings or sketches⁸⁶; and we know that he would make special trips to Brussels and sometimes even further afield in order to paint species which were unobtainable in Antwerp⁸⁷. Pictures of flowers on their own soon came to be valued at enormously high prices⁸⁸. Federigo himself paid substantial sums

for them⁸⁹, and, when one turns, for example, to the account books of Jan Brueghel the younger, one finds frequent references to flower pieces, as well as to flower garlands, with valuations of up to 3000 guilders⁹⁰ – considerably more, in other words, than many a large religious painting, even by Rubens, during the period⁹¹. In a very real way, therefore, the flower garlands surrounding the images of the Madonna added enormously to their value. Later on these garlands may have come to be painted for their own sake, but at this stage we are concerned with the genesis of these pictures as a whole, and with the origins of the practice of making painted garlands surround images of the Madonna.

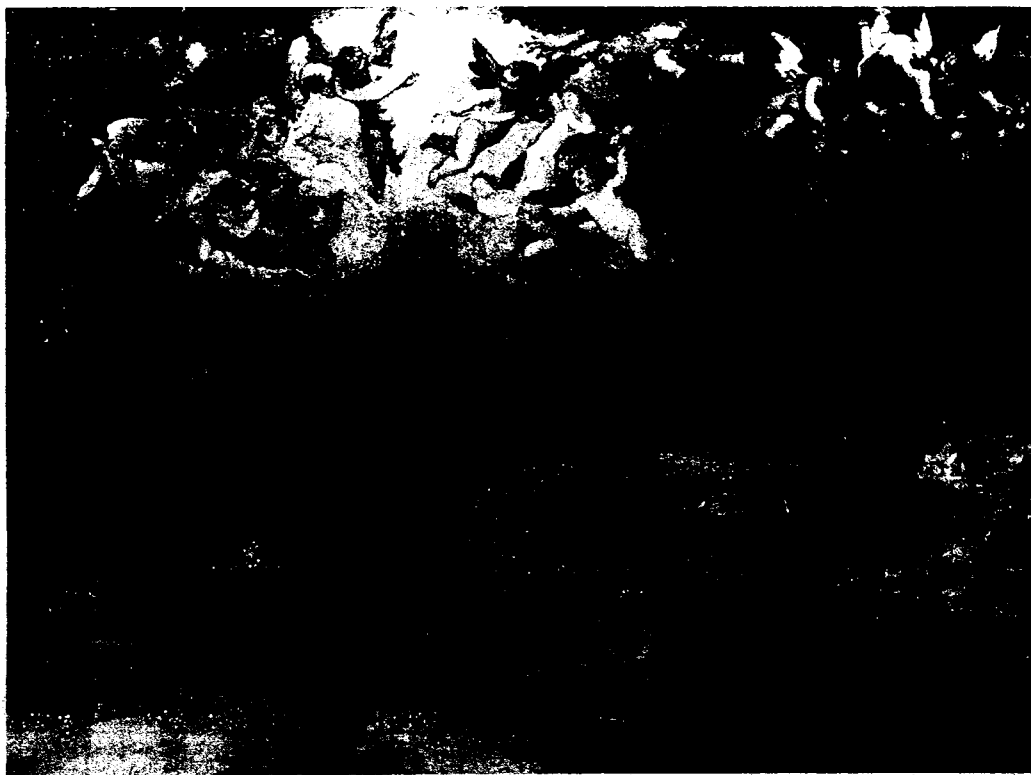
Here the symbolic and metaphorical extension of the practice of draping garlands round holy images merits some comment. One could find many examples, but there are two which are of particular relevance to the present discussion. Lipsius began his first chapter on the Madonna at Scherpenhevel with the following words: "En coronam hanc alteram ad te, Diva, adfero, e floribus tuis plexam, a vicinio horto decerpam"⁹² and the title pages of the volumes of the Plantin edition of the 'Annales Ecclesiastici' of Cardinal Baronius – who in all likelihood played an important role in the deliberations concerning Ruben's commission for the Valicella, and was certainly actively

engaged in the discussions about the miraculous image itself⁹³ – bore engravings of the Valicella Madonna enclosed in a Flower Garland (Fig. 14)⁹⁴. The practice was a very widespread one indeed; and here we may examine some of the implications it may have had for the ways in which the paintings of Madonnas in a Flower Garland were regarded.

In the course of this discussion, emphasis has been laid upon the significance not only of the miraculous images themselves, but also of the attacks on them. The act of putting a garland round them may not only enhance the preciousness of the image they contain, but also set them apart from the realm of the everyday, and reassert the validity of their supernatural function. The act is one of homage, but it is also one which stresses the warmth of feeling and devotion of those who bestow the garland⁹⁵. Implicit in it is a fusion of image and prototype, a fusion that is characteristic of the response to all the images we have been discussing. In the first place, the act implies that the image itself, rather than the Virgin, is the affective and

effective agent; while in the second, it bypasses the material nature of the image and its representational aspect and enables the bestower of the garland to enter into direct relation with the object of his devotion, in this case the Madonna herself.

This is precisely the problem which lay at the centre of the debate about images in the sixteenth century. One of the main features of all the theological treatises in defence of images in the wake of the Protestant attacks on them was the insistence that the honour paid to an image passed to its prototype⁹⁶. But specific images continued to be singled out for special veneration and adornment, and miraculous powers were held to be invested in particular physical embodiments of the Virgin (or of the saints). Indeed, there seemed to be little hesitation in using stories of images which had miraculous powers or which came alive as part of the standard justification for the use of images. An author like Blosius, for example, while insisting on the separation of image and prototype, will recount the healing powers of a bronze statue Christ and of the



15 Jan Brueghel and Johann Rottenhammer,
Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers. Milan, Ambrosiana

plant which grew its feet (the story itself comes from Eusebius's account of the bronze image in Paneas); and then conclude: "Quod si displiceret Deo usus sanctarum imaginum, profecto non fuisset illic editum tam celebre miraculum"⁹⁷.

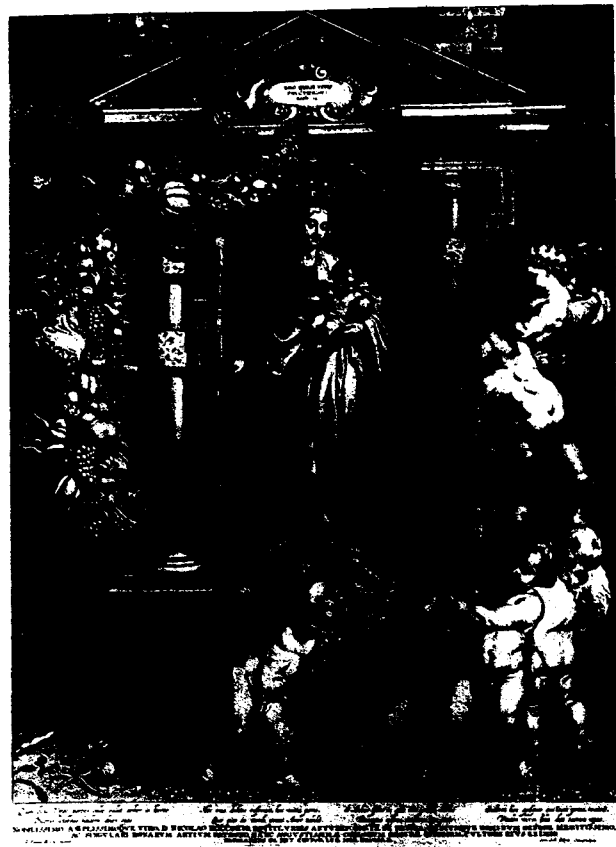
It is true that there was some debate about the miraculous nature or otherwise of several of the best known images of this kind, but on the whole they continued to form an important element in the justification for the use of images⁹⁸. The learned, like Lipsius and many others, were prepared to give credence to the claims of miraculous images⁹⁹, and their cult grew even stronger than before. Here it will be suggested that both for the learned and the unlearned all images of the Madonna – but especially miraculous or particularly venerated ones – would have retained something of the animistic and supernatural quality arising from the fusion of inanimate representation with divine prototype.

A story from Jean Mielot's mid-fifteenth century compilation of miracles of the Virgin, the 'Miracles de Nostre Dame'¹⁰⁰, will perhaps exemplify this more clearly. A young monk who was devoted to the Virgin kept a beautiful image of her in his cell. Every day he would place a garland of roses on the image, and whenever he did so, the Virgin seemed to incline her head towards him. But when the season of roses was over, he became sad and melancholy: where was he now to find the flowers to adorn his beloved image? Observing his distress, his abbot bade him say a daily prayer of twenty five Ave Marias before the work; and when he did so, he saw that at each Ave the Virgin herself produced a red rose, until, on the twenty-fifth Ave, she had completed the garland¹⁰¹.

Now this story is typical of those countless legends of the Virgin which circulated in Europe from the twelfth century onwards¹⁰², and it is remarkably similar, for example, to one of the *exempla* in Johannes



16 Rubens and Jan Brueghel, Nature Adorned by the Graces. Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum



17 C. Galle after Rubens, Madonna in a Niche. Engraving

Herolt's 'Promptuarium' on the miracles of the Virgin¹⁰³. It is also one of many which prepared the way for the rosary devotion which received its crucial formulation in the writings of Alain de la Roche and was primarily developed by the Dominicans¹⁰⁴. But it has been recounted here because it has all manner of implications for the present subject. The monk of Mielot's story partook of a widespread and common practice when he put a chaplet of roses on the Virgin's head¹⁰⁵. In his case, as in many others, the action had a palpably vivifying effect, and it is precisely traces of this effect that seems to have been inherent in the response of many of the beholders of the Madonnas in Flower Garlands.

There are obvious dangers in assessing this aspect of response, and it is clear that many would not have cast more than a passing glance at the Madonnas in Flower Garlands. But for those who did, it seems valid to begin by asking what functions such images might

have served, what responses they engendered, and what kinds of associations they were capable of arousing. In the case of Federigo, for example, the evidence is more revealing than might at first appear. If one were only to judge from passages such as the one quoted earlier, where the flowers even outshone the image of the Madonna, and where the name of the artist who painted it – in contrast to the praise bestowed on Jan Brueghel – was passed over in silence¹⁰⁶, one might conclude that Federigo's Madonnas in Flower Garlands served little more than a decorative function. But there is another quite remarkable passage in the 'Musaeum' that should serve as a warning against making easy assumptions of this kind. When he comes to a painting of a 'Winter Landscape with Angels Scattering Flowers' by Brueghel and Rottenhammer (Fig. 15)¹⁰⁷, Federigo speaks of a sacred and mysterious presence in the work ('subest Mysterium' is the way he puts it), "as if



18 A. Wierix, The Infant Christ Spreading Flowers in a Heart Surrounded by Roses. Engraving



CORDIS FLORES.

Dilectus meus descendit in hortum
suum, ut lilia colligat. Cant. 6. 1.
Hæc tibi, nata tuo de semine, consecro Sponse
Lilia, et his patrium floribus addo solum.
27.

19 B. a Bolswert, The Flowers of the Heart. Etching, from B. van Haeften, 'Schola Cordis'



20 Rubens (and F. Snyders?), *The Garland of Fruit*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

the beauty of the flowers and the icy snow are the extremes of nature, as if Earth is represented by the face of winter, and Heaven by the image of Spring. But although I see these mysteries and symbols, I did not intend them at all when I ordered the work"¹⁰⁸. Here is a statement which should caution us against taking works of this kind at their face value, and serve as a reminder of the difficulties of traditional forms of iconographic analysis, where account is not taken of

the complexity of conditions which may act as a determinant in the formation of the beholder's response to particular works of art. In the case of works such as those we have been dealing with here, the associative impulse would be strong: even apparently value-free works – as Borromeo's statement makes clear – were seen, often quite consciously, to reflect the divine and the sacred. *We* may be inclined to regard the works of Jan Brueghel, for example, as purely



21 Rubens, *The Infants Christ and St John with Two Angels*. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



22 T. van Thulden after Rubens, Frolicking Putti. Etching. Detail from Gevaerts, 'Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi', 1641-1642

decorative ones, and this is the way they may also have been regarded in the seventeenth century; but there are at least some paintings by him where it would be mistaken to regard them solely as that.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century the habit of meditating with the aid of images was well formed¹¹⁹, and reference has already been made to some of those devotional practices which came to form so important a part of the Rosary devotion¹²⁰. Many of the early Madonnas in Flower Garlands – unlike the majority of the later ones – contain central images with a fairly restricted number of figures and the Virgin shown in half-length. In these and in other respects such pictures present the appearance, to some degree at least, of devotional or votive images; while in the case of the Munich picture the central image is more austere than in the related works, and has a self-consciously formalized and iconic quality that makes its kinship with the kind of miraculous and venerated images discussed above particularly clear.

In the light of such factors, it seems difficult to regard the flower garlands simply as a distraction from the central image. By marvelling at the painting of the flowers (which we know Federigo did) the beholder's attention would have been increased. The garlands not only offset the images they contain; they would also have served to concentrate the beholder's attention on them – partially because of the qualities of the central image itself, but also because instead of being a dis-

traction the flowers actually emphasize the central image. This applies as much to the large pictures, such as the painting in Munich (Fig. 1), as to the very small ones, such as that in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 3). Just as real pictures and sculptures were adorned with garlands, so the central images within the Flower Garland paintings are placed in surrounds deliberately calculated to enhance their status; and comparison with Rubens's treatment of the miraculous image of the Valicella – surrounded by a garland of putti (Fig. 12) – points to the similarity with the calculated elevation in status of a particular and especially venerated image.

Seeing the pictures in these terms makes it possible to begin to determine not only the functions they served but also to account for some of their most characteristic features. Attention has already been paid to the actual value of the painting of flowers¹²¹ but what of the value attached to them because of the sacred and spiritual associations they roused? Flowers, especially in the context of the Virgin, had long had a rich symbolic content, which would have been instantly apparent to the seventeenth century beholder¹²². Their evocative power was enormous, even to the most unlettered beholder, to say nothing of someone like Federigo, to whom almost the whole range of symbolism would have been open. It is worth the effort to bear in mind the potential range of associations the flowers alone would have aroused, whether or not intended by the artist: from the likening of the



23 Poussin and Daniel Seghers, *Madonna in a Flower Garland*. Brighton, Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museum

Madonna to a lily, to a rose specifically without thorns when evoking her divinity, to a rose with thorns when the Passion of her Son was recalled, and to all sorts of other flowers too numerous to mention, in the mariological as well as in every conceivable christological and trinitarian context¹¹³. If the individual flowers – and birds – in these garlands carry such symbolic weight, then so do the garlands themselves. Brides wear garlands and the Virgin is the Bride of Christ. One has only to turn to one of the many seventeenth century interpretations of the Song of Songs to find a small portion of the potential bridal, flower and fruit imagery which Christian exegesis has always connected with the Virgin¹¹⁴. The very skill with which these flowers were painted would have arrested the beholder's attention, and in an age when the habit of meditation was so well formed, this is the kind of interpretation to which they would readily have been open.

Here we may turn to another pair of works by Rubens with garlands surrounding a central image. The garlands are of a different kind, but their function is in several respects not dissimilar to that of the flower garlands, and it is also one which would be seriously misjudged if it were regarded in purely decorative terms.

Between 1610 and 1615 Rubens painted two works showing antique statues adorned with garlands of fruit painted by Jan Brueghel. The first is the 'Statue of Ceres' in Leningrad¹¹⁵, while the second, the 'Nature Adorned by the Graces' in Glasgow (Fig. 16)¹¹⁶ appears to have been bought in 1625-1627 by the Duke of Buckingham and sold in 1648 for 3000 guilders¹¹⁷. In both cases the garlands serve quite clearly to concentrate attention on the central image (however much admiration may have been evoked by the actual painting of the fruit); and in both cases the garlands carry an immediate and obvious symbolic relevance to the central image. But it is the composition represented by the painting in Leningrad that is of more immediate concern in the present context. This is the work that was engraved by Cornelius Galle and dedicated by its publisher to Nicholas Rockox¹¹⁸, with one significant change: the pagan statue of Ceres was replaced by a full length image of the Madonna (Fig. 17)¹¹⁹. The inscription below reads "How well, O Virgin Mother, standing as a tree in a cultivated garden, you may be said to bring forth eternal abundance and wealth. This is the meaning of the grapes and the ripe apples which pious love has painted on the sterile panel. O blessed Tree ... whoever tastes these fruits lived again. The tree of life alone produces lifegiving abundance"¹²⁰. And on the cartouche above her is a quotation from the book of Sirach: "I brought forth fruit like the Vine"¹²¹ – precisely the verse to which contemporary commentators like Cornelius Lapide appended a discussion of the fruit as a symbol of the Virgin's fertility¹²². There is no need here to enter into the eucharistic significance of the grape and its connotations in terms of the Passion; but the adaptation of the composition does show just how easy was the transference of identical symbolic qualities – those associated with motherhood and fertility – from pagan goddess to Christian one¹²³. This is the kind of underlying symbolic identity that is perhaps best left to anthropological investigation, but it may be worth noting that here too considerable emphasis has been laid on the contrast between sterile panel and that which is invested with life – however much one may be inclined to see the opposition simply in terms of a literary trope.

Finally we come to one of the most distinctive characteristics of the Madonnas in Flower Garlands: their apparent sentimentality. It is also one of the most

problematic for the modern beholder. Such paintings may seem to us to be purely decorative images, ones which verge on the anodyne, too charming and sentimental to arouse any form of serious devotion at all. But one of the characteristics of the devotional prints and handbooks of the Counter Reformation was a reliance on the charming and on what we now rather pejoratively call sentimental¹²⁴. There are, for example, the hearts in all shapes and sizes¹²⁵, the flowers, birds, and fruit, and – above all – the widespread use of delightful putto-like children to convey a serious devotional message (Fig. 18)¹²⁶. Images such as these are to be seen as the development of the standard Cinquecento idea, derived from Horace, that one smears the cup with honey in order to make the nourishment it contains more palatable¹²⁷. Thus one reads in the foreword to Benedict van Haeften's popular and widely read *Schola Cordis*, a religious emblem book full of such charming and seemingly childish images, that the pleasurable sentiments the images arouse have a very specific value and 'utilitas'. Their usefulness (and the term in sixteenth and seventeenth century artistic and theological theory has a much more purposeful sense than it has now) derives precisely from the "sancta ac salutaris voluptas" to be gained from looking at the pictures¹²⁸. For painted images, continues van Haeften, apart from the sensual pleasure they evoke, also have a certain energy, which is capable of sweetly moving the emotions: "Habent siquidem pictae imagines, praeter delectationem quam adferunt, quamdam energiam ad hominum corda suaviter permovenda"¹²⁹.

Here we may consider more closely the role of the putti in the paintings we have been considering. In the Munich picture (Fig. 1) they are as prominent as the garland of flowers, if not more so. But the same set of problems imposes itself. While *we* may be inclined to regard the children as a charming and sentimental adornment of these works, such a conclusion would at best be only an incomplete assessment of their function. They too should be seen in terms of the expansion of the range of associations open to the beholder of these images. The beginning of the seventeenth century saw an extraordinary efflorescence of devotional emblem books, in which children and childlike figures became the symbolic carriers of the devotional message. Reference has already been made to the foreword of the work by Benedict van Haeften¹³⁰, but

there are also the enormously popular books by Otto Vaenius – the 'Amoris Emblemata' and the 'Divini Amoris Emblemata' in particular¹³¹ – and Herman Hugo's 'Pia Desideria'¹³², all of which ran into several editions, as well as the Jesuit College's 'Typus Mundi'¹³³ and countless engravings from the workshops of the Galles, the Wierixes and the Bolswertes (Figs. 18 and 19)¹³⁴. These are charming children indeed, but it was their very sweetness which, as has already been pointed out, made their serious devotional message acceptable. This is what the poet Justus de Harduijn had to say about the curly head of the child Jesus: "O that I may kiss the curly little hairs which sparkle and curve like little waves of water all over your little head"¹³⁵. We may find this a little unpalatable, but it is entirely characteristic of the images of the Christ child (often shown with the symbols of the Passion) which became such a central feature of Netherlandish piety in the post-Tridentine years¹³⁶.

It is in the light of such phenomena that it seems



24 Daniel Seghers and Cornelis Schut (?),
Madonna in a Flower Garland. Madrid, Prado

possible to consider even Rubens's well-known paintings of frolicking children in Munich and Vienna (Figs. 20 and 21)¹³⁷. And – if one thinks again of Harduinus – what better artist than Rubens to portray their lovely curls! Of course, such works have any number of precedents, from antique art through sixteenth century Italian art, and the immediate impulse for the children and putti within them may have been the growth of Rubens's own family at the same time as they were painted (Emil Kieser has already pointed out¹³⁸ the relationship between the presumed portrait of one of Rubens's own children in Berlin¹³⁹ and the putti in the upper right hand corner of the Munich Madonna in a Flower Garland); but we now know that his representation of putti in paintings such as these were not merely value-free or 'sentimental', and that even when they did not have a devotional purpose, they had a more serious specific function. In works of the 1620s and 1630s, for example, they may carry quite specific political implications, as Reinhold Baumstark has discussed so thoroughly in connection with the symbolic function of the putti in works such as the Whitehall Ceiling and the Decorations for the 'Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi' (Fig. 22)¹⁴⁰.

In the course of the preceding an attempt has been made to demonstrate the importance of the central image in the paintings of the Madonnas in Flower Garlands; but without neglecting the significance of the garlands and putti, some indication has also been given of the associations that they – the garlands and the putti – would have evoked. At the same time, it has been suggested that these images had a higher ritual status than has generally been acknowledged¹⁴¹. Be that as it may, these images were instantly and widely imitated. The second Jan Brueghel trafficked in them in Italy, Spain and America, to cater for a demand which accounts for the multitude of surviving copies and variants¹⁴²; Poussin painted his Madonna in a Flower Garland now in Brighton in collaboration with Daniel Seghers as early as 1625-1627 (Fig. 23)¹⁴³, and Seghers went on to specialise in this genre (Fig. 24 is typical of the kind of image that became popular)¹⁴⁴. There is no need to single out the other painters of Flower Garlands around religious subjects¹⁴⁵, but it should probably be observed that by the time these pictures reached the height of their popularity the ritual value of these images had become attenuated, while their decorative role increased. Not even then,

however, would one be justified in claiming that they had become mere 'adiaphora'.

To a certain extent, this essay has been concerned with the conflation of the functions of an image. This is by no means a unique phenomenon during the period: a similar kind of conflation, for example, may be observed in the case of Rubens's epitaph paintings of the years between 1612 and 1618, where the borderline between commemorative monument, altarpiece and 'Andachtsbild' is exceptionally fluid¹⁴⁶. But in all such cases it is only by acknowledging this conflation of functions and identifying the strands within it that we are able to assess the status of such images, and, at the same time, to account for their stylistic and iconographic peculiarities.

The paintings of Madonnas in Flower Garlands may simply have been a vehicle for the painter's skill in depicting flowers, and they may have been intended to be straightforwardly decorative. But the present investigation has been less concerned with what the painter intended than with the response of the beholder, with what he read into them and with what associations he made. This is not to exaggerate the importance of images in particular cultural or historical situations. Naturally, some beholders – as now – may not have taken the slightest notice of them. But the art historian's concern is presumably with those on whom images make an impact of one kind or another; and it is with such people that the present essay has been concerned¹⁴⁷. Different classes of people, it is true, may respond to particular images or particular types of images in different ways; but it would be mistaken to insist on too rigid a correspondence between class structures and the structures of response. In the case of images such as the Madonnas in Flower Garlands, for example, the response of Federigo Borromeo is in several respects the same as that of the most unlettered beholder. There is a certain fluidity of response across class boundaries; perhaps paradoxically, this fluidity also implies the kinds of constants and identities that may more appropriately be felt to fall within the scope of the psychologist. But his analysis will depend in the first instance on the identification of recoverable symptoms, such as those which emerge from the examination of the contextual significance and status of particular images and groups of images. And this task falls within the primary domain of the historian.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- Bergström, 1956 = I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, translated by C. Hedström and G. Taylor, London, 1956.
- Crivelli = G. Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel, Pittor Fiammingo o sue Lettere e Quadretti esistenti presso l'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1868.
- Ertz = K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568-1625). Die Gemälde, mit kritischem Oeuvrekatalog*, Cologne, 1979.
- Hairs = M.-L. Hairs, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1965.
- Hollstein = F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vols. 1-xx, Amsterdam, 1949-1979 (in progress).
- Jaffé = M. Jaffé, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers*, *Proporzioni*, IV, 1963, pp. 208-241.
- K.d.K. = R. Oldenburg, ed., *P.P. Rubens, Des Meisters Gemälde, (Klassiker der Kunst, v)*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig, 1921.
- Knipping = J.B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, vols. 1-II, Nieuwkoop-Leiden, 1974.
- Kronenburg = J.A.F. Kronenburg, *Marias Heerlijkheid in Nederland*, vols. 1-IX, Amsterdam, 1904-1931.
- Landwehr = J. Landwehr, *Emblem Books in the Low Countries, a Bibliography*, Utrecht, 1970.
- Mâle = E. Mâle, *L'art religieux ... après le Concile de Trente*, 2e éd., Paris, 1951.
- Mauquoy Hendricx = M. Mauquoy Hendricx, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er*, vols. 1-II, Brussels, 1978/79.
- Müller Hofstede, 1966 = J. Müller Hofstede, *Zu Rubens zweitem Altarwerk für Sta Maria in Valicella, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVII, 1966, pp. 1-78.
- Musaeum = F. Borromeo, *Musaeum (Milan, 1625)*, edited by L. Beltrami, with a translation by I. Graselli, Milan, 1909.
- Praz = M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery*, 2nd edition considerably increased, Rome, 1964.
- Rooses = M. Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens*, vols. 1-V, Antwerp, 1886-1892.
- Stilleben in Europa = (Catalogue Exhibition) *Stilleben in Europa*, Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster, and Staatliche Kunsthalle, Baden-Baden, 1979/80.
- Van Gelder = J.G. van Gelder, *Van Blompot en Blomglas, Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, XLVI, 1936, pp. 73-82 and 155-166.
- Warnke = M. Warnke, *Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, XIX, 1968, pp. 69-102.

NOTES

This paper was originally presented in lecture form at the University of East Anglia in 1977, and was subsequently given to the *Kunstgeschichtliche Gesellschaft zu Berlin* in 1978 and formed part of the 1979 Baldwin lectures at Oberlin College Ohio. Much of it was formulated in the course of a seminar on Flemish painting and patronage at the Courtauld Institute in 1976 and as a result of discussions with

Clare Coope. My greatest debts are to her and to Elizabeth McGrath, whose patient criticism of early drafts purged these speculations of their worst excesses. Fedja Anzelewsky, Michael Baxandall and Willibald Sauerländer all offered helpful comments on a number of points. Research on this paper was made possible with the aid of a grant from the British Academy.

¹ The most recent and fullest of these is K. Ertz, *Jan Brueghel der Ältere (1568-1625). Die Gemälde, mit kritischem Œuvrekatalog*, Cologne, 1979, which deals in substantial detail with all the works painted by Jan Brueghel in collaboration with other artists discussed in this paper. An extensive bibliography is given on pp. 627-636 of Ertz's book. On Hendrik van Balen, see I. Jost, *Hendrik van Balen d. Ältere, Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, xiv, 1963, pp. 83-128.

² The most relevant to the present discussion are M.-L. Hairs, *Les peintres flamands de fleurs au XVII^e siècle*, Brussels, 1965 (first edition, Paris-Brussels, 1955), and I. Bergström, *Dutch Still-Life Painting in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1956 (first edition in Swedish, 1947); but see also the pioneering article by J.G. van Gelder, *Van Blompot en Blomglas, Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift*, xlvii, 1936, pp. 73-82 and 155-166, and now the useful catalogue by Y. Morel-Deckers, *Catalogue van de "Bloemenguirlandes omheen een midden-tafereel"* bewaard in het Koninklijk Museum te Antwerpen, *Jaarboek, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen*, 1978, pp. 157-204 – which also identifies all the flowers concerned.

³ Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*, No. 331; oil on panel, 185:210 cm. M. Rooses, *L'Œuvre de P.P. Rubens, I-V*, Antwerp, 1886-1892, No. 198; R. Oldenburg, ed., *P.P. Rubens, Des Meisters Gemälde (Klassiker der Kunst, v)*, Stuttgart-Berlin-Leipzig, 1921 (henceforward K.d.K.); p. 138; Ertz, *Cat. No. 326*.

⁴ E. Kieser, *Rubens' Madonna im Blumenkranz*, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, 1, 1950, pp. 215-225 deals in greater detail than here with the formal aspects of the work and discusses all the related drawings; while C. Eisler, *Rubens' Uses of the Northern Past. The Michiels Triptych and its Sources*, *Bulletin, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 1967, pp. 73-76 has an important discussion of its possible functions as an epitaph, and at some points – especially on pp. 73-74 – anticipates the suggestions about the relationship with miraculous images put forward in the present article. Both Kieser and Eisler point to the parallels with the Valicella commission discussed at greater length on p. 125 above.

⁵ See, for example, I. Bergström, *Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' Pictures and still Life*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, pp. 303-308 and 342-349, and Ertz, pp. 322-325, as well as in several of the more general works on flower painting, such as those by Bergström and van Gelder cited in note 2. See also p. 132 above and notes 112-114 and 120-122 below.

⁶ With the possible exception of the brief discussion by Eisler in the article cited in note 4 above.

⁷ Wallace Collection, No. P81; oil on panel, 138:102 cm. Rooses, No. 233, K.d.K., pp. 69, 457. For the evidence connecting a payment of 300 guilders in 1615 with this work, see A. de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de Schilderkunst*, Brussels, 1955, pp. 116-117 and Doc. 109, p. 322. The evidence is not conclusive, but this remains a

plausible – and, indeed, the most likely – identification. Of course, the comparison is made only in terms of the central image in the Munich painting, but Ertz, p. 313 and *Cat. No. 326* has a dating of c. 1617 for the flower garland, which corresponds almost exactly with the dating suggested here.

⁸ On Federigo in general, see F. Rivola, *La Vita di Federigo Borromeo*, Milan, 1656, which forms the basis for many of the subsequent lives, including P. Bellezza, *Federico Borromeo nella Vita, nell'Opera, negli Scritti*, Milan, 1931, and C. Castiglioni, *Il Cardinale Federico Borromeo*, Turin, 1931 (a variety of other publications also appeared in the tercentenary year of 1931). On the Ambrosian library, picture gallery and Academy, see, amongst many publications, P.P. Bosca, *De Origine et Statu Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Hemidecas*, Milan, 1672; V. Ingegnoli, *Origine dell'Ambrosiana: Lelio Buzzi e Fabio Mangone, Arte Lombarda*, x, 2^o semestre, 1965, pp. 103-106; G. Nicodemi, *L'Accademia di Pittura, Scultura e Architettura fondata dal Cardinale Federigo Borromeo all'Ambrosiana*, in: *Studi in onore di Carlo Castiglioni (Fontes Ambrosiani xxxii)*, Milan, 1957, pp. 651-696; and G.A. Dell'Acqua, *L'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1967. For Federigo's writings on art, see note 28 below.

⁹ Giovanni Crivelli, *Giovanni Brueghel, Pittor Fiammingo o sue Lettere e Quadretti esistenti presso l'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1868. Although Crivelli's presentation of the documents in the course of a somewhat breathless narrative may strike one as rather too idiosyncratic, his book remains the basis for all research on Jan Brueghel – as well as for much else on artistic affairs both in Flanders and in Milan during the period. For more precise references than those given by Crivelli, see *Cardinale Federico Borromeo, Arcivescovo di Milano, Indice delle lettere a lui dirette e conservate all'Ambrosiana (Fontes Ambrosiani xxxiv)*. Appendice: *Opere manoscritte e a stampa del Cardinal Federico esistenti all'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1960; and the *Indice delle lettere da lui scritte conservate all'Ambrosiana*, Milan, 1966. The correspondence with Jan Brueghel remains to be re-examined by art historians.

¹⁰ "Non mancho d'industriarme intorno al quadretto del compartimento delli fiori: nel quale secondo l'ordine d'VS Ill.ma accomodero dentro una Madonna con paisetto. Spero et credo che, si alcuna opera mia habbia piaccuto a VS Ill.m o dato gusto, che questa habbia da supportare tutte", Crivelli, p. 92; my italics. Cf. also Crivelli, p. 99 (Brueghel writing to Bianchi on the same day – 1 February, 1608 – about the picture).

¹¹ Milan, *Ambrosiana*, Inv. No. 71. Oil on copper, 27:22 cm. Ertz, *Cat. No. 187*.

¹² It is surprising that most writers should have omitted to mention the fact – a particularly significant one in the context of the present discussion – that the Virgin and Child are painted on a silver panel set into the surround of flowers. This was noticed by Crivelli (p. 100) in 1868, but even in the recent catalogue of the Ambrosiana edited by Antonia Falchetti, *La Pinacoteca Ambrosiana (Fontes Ambrosiani XLII / Cataloghi di raccolte d'arte 10)* Milan,

1969, it is not mentioned under the relevant entry for Inv. No. 71 on pp. 132-133.

¹³ Cf. the discussion on p. 125 above, and also the references in notes 77 and 78.

¹⁴ See the references to such works in the correspondence between Brueghel and Federigo Borromeo of 3 February, 1612, and in a set of payments dating from around this time or possibly a little later (Crivelli, pp. 189 and 208). Ertz, p. 304, has a brief summary.

¹⁵ Crivelli, pp. 248-259, with discussion by Crivelli on pp. 259-265.

¹⁶ "Servira questa per avvisar VS, come io ho fatto una ghirlanda di fiori di mia mano, e fattovi far dentro per il sig. Van Balen la Madonna con angeletti ecc. oltrecchè ho speso nella cornice d'ebano cinquanta fiorini; e quest'opera si fece per il sig. Lodovico Melzi, con ordine e commissione del sig. Lavelli. Ed essendo nata differenza sopra il prezzo..." etc. Crivelli, pp. 248-249.

¹⁷ Text in the above note. In the event Borromeo seems to have declined to buy the picture, and it remained in the hands of Bianchi. See Ertz, p. 304, and Crivelli, p. 259, who suggests that work may be identifiable with the painting from the Pecis collection now in the Ambrosiana referred to in the following note (Fig. 4).

¹⁸ Milan, Ambrosiana, Inv. No. 57; oil on copper, 63:49 cm.

¹⁹ Ertz, pp. 311-312.

²⁰ One other work that should also be taken into consideration here is the painting now in the Artcor collection in Geneva (Ertz, Cat. No. 188, reproduced in colour on plate 378). Here the Virgin is seated, with St Elizabeth behind her to the right, a lamb at her feet, and the Infant Christ stretching out to the young St John. One of the three putti in the picture descends to place a garland on the head of the Virgin. All the figures are shown in full length. Ertz, p. 589, however, dates the work to around 1608, largely on the basis of the similarity with the earliest of the Brueghel-van Balen Madonnas in Flower Garlands discussed above (Fig. 3) and cited in note 11.

²¹ Madrid, Prado, Inv. No. 1418; oil on panel, 79:65. Rooses, No. 200; Ertz, Cat. No. 368.

²² Paris, Louvre, Inv. No. 1764; oil on panel, 83.5:65 cm. Rooses, No. 199; K.d.K., pp. 226 and 426; Ertz, Cat. No. 325.

²³ "Un altro quadro, il più bello et rara cosa che habbia fatta in vita mia. Ancho sig. Rubens ha fatta ben mostrande sua virtu in el quadro de megio, essend una Madonna bell.ma. Li oitcelli, et animali son fatto ad vivo de alcuni delli seren.ma Enfanto. Io credo per la vagagessa et diligenza usata in questa che su sig. Ill.m aura gusto" (Crivelli, p. 272). The work features on several other occasions in the correspondence of 1621/22 before Federigo finally bought it at the end of June or the beginning of July, 1622. See Crivelli, pp. 272-275, 282-283, 293-300, and Ertz, p. 304, for a full account of the negotiations and Federigo's final payment of 300 scudi to Jan Brueghel and his gift of a gold coin to Rubens (Crivelli, pp. 296-300).

²⁴ This view was chiefly espoused – and elaborated at some length – by Mme Hairs, in Hairs, pp. 44-45 and 295-297

(in note 123). One of her main arguments in favour of the identification of the Louvre picture with the one which Federigo bought in 1622 depended on the fact that the Louvre picture was taken from the Ambrosiana by the French in 1796, while the Madrid painting is already recorded in Spanish inventories of 1680, 1700, and 1772 (Hairs, p. 296). In fact, a still earlier Spanish reference occurs in an inventory of 1666 (as recorded by M. Díaz Padrón, Museo del Prado, Catálogo de Pinturas, Madrid, 1975, p. 314, sub No. 1418); but this is still not material to the issue. There does not seem to be any strong reason why the Borromeo picture should not have entered the Spanish royal collections even before that date.

²⁵ It is true that the Louvre picture (Fig. 6) also contains birds and animals, but they are neither as numerous nor as conspicuous as those in and around the Prado Flower Garland (Fig. 5). For a full discussion of the arguments in favour of the identification with the Prado picture (an identification first proposed by A. Ratti – later Pius XI – in *Rassegna d'Arte* x, 1910, No. 1, pp. 1-5) see Ertz, pp. 304-306. See also p. 121 above and note 35 below for what are probably references to this work in Federigo's *Musaeum* of 1625.

²⁶ Madrid, Prado, Inv. No. 1394; oil on panel, 65:109. Díaz Padrón, 1, pp. 41-43; Ertz, Cat. No. 327.

²⁷ See especially De Maeyer (note 7) pp. 43, 112, 114, 118. De Maeyer was also the first to observe (on p. 150) that the painting in the Louvre was a reduced replica of a painting presumably in the collection of the Archdukes – although he mistakenly associated that work with the references in the correspondence of 1621 (note 23 above).

²⁸ F. Borromeo, *De Pictura Sacra*, Milan, 1624, reprinted in *Symbolae Litterariae. Opuscula Varia*, VII, Rome, 1754, and edited and translated by C. Castiglioni, with an introduction by G. Nicodemi, Sora, 1932 (this is the edition that will be cited in the following notes). F. Borromeo, *Musaeum*, Milan, 1625, reprinted in *Symbolae Litterariae. Opuscula Varia*, VII, Rome, 1754, and edited by L. Beltrami, with a translation by L. Graselli, Milan, 1909 (the edition to be cited in the following notes).

On Federigo's views on art and the evidence provided by both these treatises, see now S. Coppa, *Federico Borromeo Teorico d'arte, Annotazioni in margine al De Pictura Sacra ed al Musaeum*, *Arte Lombarda*, xv, 1970, pp. 65-70. The *Musaeum* has been studied by A. J. Diamond, *Cardinal Federico Borromeo as a Patron and Critic of the Arts and his Musaeum of 1625*, Ph. D. Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1974, and (with greater care and a considerable amount of ancillary information) by C. Coope, *Federico Borromeo's Musaeum*, *Diss. Courtauld Inst. of Art, Univ. of London*, 1977.

²⁹ Eg. Milan, Ambrosiana, Inv. Nos. 58 (*Vase of Flowers*), 62 (*Daniel in the Lions' Den*), 66 (*Vase of Flowers with a Jewel, Coins, and Shells*), 65 and 68 (*the Elements of Water and Fire*), 74 (six small landscapes), 75 (another six small landscapes) and 271 (four of the six miniatures in the *Acquasantiera*) – to mention only some of the works produced by Brueghel alone still in the Ambrosiana. Cf.

the references to these works in the *Musaeum* on pp. 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, and so on.

³⁰ This emerges with great clarity from the study by C. Coope cited in note 28 above, and to a lesser extent from the thesis by Diamond.

³¹ In this respect Federigo differs considerably from the majority of the writers of theological treatises on the arts. In the *Musaeum* the paintings themselves are the *raison d'être* of the work, rather than some preconceived theoretical stance or a more general polemical or doctrinal point. And for all the literary conventionality of the work, Federigo's affection for the specific works he names emerges on almost every page.

³² "Corolla alia Brugueli suum hinc elogium haberet, nisi prior, et maior illa iam laudata esset". *Musaeum*, p. 20; cf. the longer quotation in note 34 below.

³³ Referring to the paintings of Water and Fire now in the Ambrosiana, Inv. Nos. 68 and 65, and of Earth and Air now in the Louvre, Inv. Nos. 1092 and 1093 (oil on copper, 46:66 cm. each, Ertz, Cat. Nos. 190, 132, 342 and 372 respectively). The only problem with this identification is that the Louvre 'Air' appears to be dated 1621, although the other pictures in this series were commissioned at earlier dates. Perhaps other series, such as that the Doria-Pamphili Gallery (Ertz, Cat. Nos. 248-251) should be taken into consideration in considering the problems of identification. The Louvre paintings were not returned to the Ambrosiana after their removal by the Napoleonic forces (see note 17 in Beltrami's edition of the *Musaeum*).

³⁴ Compare Brueghel's own letter of 14 April, 1606 about the vase of flowers he painted for Federigo – he speaks of the "rarita de vario fiori in questa parto alcuni inconita et non peiu visto: per quella io son stata a Brussella per ritrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non si trove in Anversa" (Crivelli, p. 63; cf. the similar sentiments expressed in the letter of three days later reproduced in Crivelli, p. 64).

³⁵ "Plane nihil in Musaeo erat, quod cum opusculis hisce compararemus, nisi numerosissimam florum varietatem amplexa corona, quam potius arcum triumphalem dicas, pari staret gradu. Insident floribus avicula, floresque ipsi peregrina cernuntur facie, cum nostratibus haud quaquam Artifex contentus fuerit. De Imagine, qua serto includitur, dixisse nihil attinet, quia minorem lucem tot circumfusa lumina extingunt" (*Musaeum*, p. 18).

³⁶ "Quam potius arcum triumphalem dicas", as Federigo puts it in the passage cited in the preceding note. See also my remarks on the first version of Rubens's altarpiece for Santa Maria in Valicella on p. 125 above.

³⁷ Indeed, in the correspondence of 1621/22 about the work here identified with the Prado Madonna in a Flower Garland (Fig. 5), one of Brueghel's letters seems to suggest that it was because of Rubens's contribution to the picture that Borromeo was slow to purchase it: "Si detta Madonna non e seconde il gusto de su Sig.ia. Ill.ma, prega di trovar comodita in qualche Monasterio, o a qualche Principio, perche me pare una cosa raro ..." (Crivelli, p. 283, letter of 11 February, 1622).

³⁸ See p. 126 above and notes 88-90 below.

³⁹ Amongst the other paintings of Madonnas in Flower Garlands not discussed here but which should nonetheless be noted, are the following problematic works:

1) The painting formerly belonging to the American Art Association in New York (Ertz, Cat. No. 189). Ertz, p. 589 rightly queries the attribution to Brueghel and Rubens.

2) The painting in the Prado with a remarkable group of Madonna, Child, and two angels, formerly attributed to Procaccini (Madrid, Prado, Inv. No. 1417; Ertz, Cat. No. 211).

3) The painting also in the Prado by Jan Brueghel and a follower of Rubens, said by Ertz to be Hendrik van Balen (Madrid, Prado, Inv. No. 1417; Ertz, Cat. No. 367). This work is of some interest in the present context not only because it demonstrates the use of a Rubens prototype, but also because the central image – as in the case of most of the pictures discussed here – gives the impression of being a separate painting whose devotional status would have been enhanced by the flower garland (cf. the observations on p. 127 above). The phenomenon was not to be an unusual one.

There is no need to mention here the Holy Families surrounded by flower garlands painted by Jan Brueghel in collaboration with Hendrik van Balen in the years between 1609 and 1616 (Ertz, Cat. Nos. 212-213), where the devotional value seems self-evidently lower. The same applies to the work by Jan II Brueghel and Rubens (?) in the de Bousies collection in Brussels (Ertz, pp. 309-311, plate 382).

For other interesting examples see B. Krasnowolski, *Madonna w Girlandzie – Obraz Jan Brueghla Starszego w Klasztorze Ss Norbertanek w Imbramowicach*, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, xxxviii, 1976, pp. 11-22.

See also the comments at the end of note 113 below on the painting in Berlin (Cat. No. 917) of a Madonna and Child with flowers painted by Jan Brueghel, probably dating from a time close to the end of his life.

⁴⁰ Sarasota, Ringling Museum of Art, State No. 219; oil on canvas, 204:194 cm. The flowers were generally attributed to Jan Brueghel until I. Bergström, *Osias Beert the Elder as a collaborator of Rubens*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcix, 1957, pp. 120-124 convincingly reattributed them to Osias Beert. As noted by van Gelder, p. 159, the subject of Pausias and Glycera is referred to in van Mander's *Grondt* in connection with the judicious and varied selection of colours (exemplified by the work of Pausias resulting from his 'imitation' of Glycera's flower garlands). See K. van Mander, *Het Schilderboeck*, Haarlem, 1604, *Den Grondt der Edel Vry Schilderconst*, Cap. xi, fols. 45v-r (stanzas 2 and 3). On Osias Beert, see also Hairs, pp. 234-240 and 347-349. In the new Catalogue of the Flemish and Dutch Paintings 1400-1900, *The John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida*, No. 40, W.H. Wilson makes a sustained attack on the traditional identification of the subject as Pausias and Glycera. He maintains that the painting is of

'A Scholar Inspired by Nature' and considers the couple to be "an idealized double portrait of Rubens's brother Philip and his wife Maria de Moy". Neither case seems adequately proven, although the entry should be consulted for fresh information on the condition of the work.

⁴¹ "Amavit in iuventa Glyceram municipem suam, inventricem coronarum, certoque imitatione eius ad numerosissimam florum varietatem perduxit artem illam (sc. encausticam)", Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxv, 125.

⁴² In the context of the emphasis placed in this paper on not underestimating the value or significance of the paintings within the flower garlands, the reference to a Pamphilus by Franciscus Junius in his *De Pictura Veterum* may seem to be relevant: "Nos itaque sinamus Pamphilum, nescio quem in infulis magnas res, tamquam puerileis deliciis aliquas depingere, ut loquitur Tullius lib. III de Oratore" (F. Junius, *De Pictura Veterum*, Cap. v, 11, ed. Rotterdam, 1964, p. 194). However Cicero seems to have been referring to a rhetorician of that name, and although Junius took him to be a painter, it was not Pamphilus the master of Apelles whom he alludes to here, but rather some 'pictor ineptus', as the 'Catalogus' appended to the 1694 edition of *De Pictura Veterum* makes clear (p. 140). On the other hand, it may be suggested that Junius was aware of the passage in Cicero and simply conflated the Pamphilus referred to there with the artist who was the master of Apelles; but this seems unlikely to be the case. A further problem is posed by the difficulty of establishing the precise meaning of an 'infula' in the Ciceronian passage; but this cannot be entered into here.

An interesting use of Pliny's account of Pausias and Glyceria – particularly in the context of the present discussion – is made by St François de Sales in the Preface of 1609 to the *Introduction à la vie devote*: "ainsi le Saint Esprit dispose et arrange avec tant de variété les enseignements de devotion, qu'il donne par les langues et les plumes de ses serviteurs, que la doctrine étant toujours un même, les discours néanmoins qui s'en font sont bien différents selon les diverses façons desquelles ils sont composés..." (St François de Sales, *Introduction à la vie devote*, introduction by H. Bordeaux, Paris, 1943, text of the edition of 1619).

⁴³ As discussed at length by Bergström, 1956, pp. 42-68; see also van Gelder, pp. 159-161. It is perhaps worth noting here that the first flower piece painted by Jan Brueghel was for Federigo; it dates from 1606 and thus precedes the first Madonna in a Flower Garland by two years (Ertz, p. 252 and Cat. No. 143).

⁴⁴ On these painters see the brief discussion by van Gelder, pp. 155-156 and Bergström, 1956, pp. 38-40. On Ludger Tom Ring, see K. Boström, *De Oorspronkelijke Bestemming van Ludger Tom Rings Stillebens*, Oud Holland, Lxviii, 1952, pp. 51-55; P. Pieper, *Ludger Tom Ring d. J. und die Anfänge des Stillebens*, Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst, N.F. xv, 1964, pp. 113-122; and now P. Pieper in (Cat. Exhib.) *Stilleben in Europa*, Münster-Baden-Baden, 1979-1980, pp. 314-318, with further bibliographic references.

⁴⁵ Bergström, 1956, p. 42. The importance of Pieter Aertsen and Joachim Beuckelaer as precursors of this development has often been commented upon; see Bergström, 1956, pp. 16-24, and now the good discussion by C. Grimm in: *Stilleben in Europa*, pp. 360-364.

⁴⁶ See the useful summary of their activity in Bergström, 1956, Chapter 1, pp. 42-68. On Bosschaert see L.J. Bol, *The Bosschaert Dynasty, Painters of Flowers and Fruit*, Leigh on Sea, 1960; on Coninxloo, see van Gelder, pp. 159-160, and Bergström, 1956, pp. 52-53 (but for the suggestion that the flower piece signed *EU CL OO* – illustrated in Bergström, 1956, p. 53, plate 42 – comes from the hand of his father and should thus be dated much earlier than suggested by van Gelder and Bergström, see Hairs, p. 21).

⁴⁷ On their books, and the relevance of the illustrations in them, see van Gelder, p. 81, who also makes clear the influence of the illustrations of Fuchsius' *De Historia Stirpium*, Basle, 1542, on subsequent botanical illustration, as well as on the great series of editions of Dodonaeus, Clusius and Lobelius published by Plantin from the 1560s onwards, with illustrations largely after designs by P. van der Borcht. See also W. Blunt, *The Art of Botanical Illustration*, London, 1950, pp. 45-56 and 63 to 74, and C. Nissen, *Die Botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1951, 1, pp. 37-63, and the appropriate bibliographic references in volume II; and now N. Schneider, in: *Stilleben in Europa*, p. 300 and notes, for these and other major sixteenth century botanical works whose illustrations should be considered in terms of the development of the independent flower piece.

⁴⁸ On Hoefnagel's influence, see Bergström, 1956, pp. 33-38 (on p. 299, note 99, Bergström points out the indebtedness of Mme Hairs discussion of Hoefnagel in Hairs, p. 16, to his own). The important works are the decorations for the Missal of the Archduke Ferdinand of 1582-1590 now in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek No. 1784; and the Prayer Book of Albert of Bavaria of 1574, now in Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23640, which provided the models for the *Archetypa Studiaque Patris Georgi Hoefnagelii*, published by Jacob Hoefnagel in Frankfurt in 1592. See also E. Kris, *Georg Hoefnagel und der wissenschaftliche Naturalismus*, in: *Festschrift für Julius Schlosser, Leipzig-Vienna-Zurich*, 1927, pp. 243 to 253; and Th. A.G. Wilberg Vignau-Schuurman, *Die Emblematischen Elemente im Werke Joris Hoefnagels*, 2 vols, Leiden, 1969 – although flowers do not receive particular emphasis here.

⁴⁹ A. Collaert after Ph. Galle, plate 3 from the *Florilegium* published by Th. Galle in Antwerp (s.d.; but see further details below), engravings, 179:130 mm and 179:128 mm, respectively. See van Gelder, p. 160, and Hairs, pp. 24-28 for further details of the relevant work of the engravers mentioned here. Flowers appear interspersed amongst the plates of N. de Bruyn, *Volatilium Varii Generis Effigies* of 1594 (Hollstein, 224-236), but the important works here are the *Florilegium* engraved by A. Collaert after Ph.

Galle and published by Th. Galle with a dedication to Giovanni de' Medici (Hollstein, 679-702; see also Hollstein, 703), from which the splendid bouquet of flowers here reproduced as Fig. 8 comes, and J. Th. de Bry's six plates after Jacobus Kempener (Hollstein, 451-456). By the time de Bry's *Florilegium Novum* appeared in 1612 (Hollstein, 370-450), the genre was well under way; for examples by Crispin de Passe and others from this date on, see Hairs, p. 25.

Here it should be noted that the technical skill displayed in these engraved works is paralleled by those numerous borders of flowers which were used to surround religious subjects from the late sixteenth century on (in the manner of the late fifteenth century Flemish Books of Hours). This use of flower surrounds provides a broadly similar formal antecedent for the surrounds of the paintings under discussion here, but it should also be noted that the flowers often carry a pointed symbolic relation to the subjects they enclose, as in the case of most of the engravings by the Wierixes listed at the end of this note. Examples will be found in the work of a great number of engravers from the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth – the Sadeliers, the Galles, and above all the Wierixes. For examples by the latter, see M. Mauquoy Hendrix, *Les estampes des Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1^{er}*, 1, 1978, Nos. 128-143, 284, 342, 501, 693, etc.

¹³ Probably the best known example is the work by Andrea (?) della Robbia, *Madonna and Child with Angels in a Garland of Flowers*, Florence, Museo Nazionale; enamelled terracotta, 100 cm. diameter. J. Pope Hennessy, *Luca della Robbia*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 267-268, Cat. No. 267, ascribes the work to Andrea (rather than to Luca) and states that "there is no reason to suppose that the frame is not integral with the relief", thus broaching an issue that is obviously relevant to the present discussion – though the issues raised here in no way necessitate the contemporaneity of garland and image, neither in this case nor in the following ones. For other examples, see A. Marquand, *Andrea della Robbia and his Atelier* (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, XI), Princeton, 1922, 1, Nos. 50 (the Foulc Madonna, Nîmes), 135 (Fiesole), 138 (Louvre), 149 (Prague), 150 (Messina), 291 a (New York), 324 (Florence), etc., with appropriate listing of replicas in each case; and Giovanni della Robbia (Princeton Monographs in Art and Archaeology, VIII), Princeton, 1920, No. 147 (Florence), and several more examples of other Marian subjects in flower garlands. This listing leaves out of consideration the many round-headed reliefs and lunettes which show madonnas either enclosed in or surrounded by flower garlands. Here it may perhaps be remarked that as in the case of most of the images discussed in this paper (as well as the fourteenth and fifteenth century Madonnas in Rose Gardens), art historical study has yet to clarify the distinction between the decorative status and the ritual value of the Della Robbia roundels.

¹⁴ Woodcut, 185:124 mm. London, British Museum. W.L.

Schreiber, *Handbuch der Holz- und Metallschnitte des xv. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1926-1929, II, p. 155, No. 1133 (as shortly after 1475).

¹⁵ Although in many cases the Madonna is represented as the Virgo in Sole, and the prime reference is to the Immaculate Conception (for the importance of the connection of this subject with the Rosary, see the article by Ringbom cited in note 104 below). A good example is the Virgin in a Rosary in the Pilgrimage Church Maria im Weingarten, Kirchberg bei Volkach, commissioned from Riemenschneider in 1521 (see J. Bier, *Tilman Riemenschneider, Die Späten Werke in Holz*, Vienna, 1978, plate 251 and pp. 83-85). In several respects, however, a closer parallel is provided by the Virgin in a Rosary formerly in the Jakobskirche in Nürnberg and now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (see G.P. Fehring and Anton Röss, *Die Stadt Nürnberg*, 2. Auflage bearbeitet von W. Schwemmer, Munich, 1977, p. 59, No. 38, and E. Lütze, *Katalog der Veit Stoß Ausstellung im Germanisches Museum*, 2. Auflage, Nürnberg, 1933, Cat. Nos. 42-43 and plate 15), where the angels are actually set amidst the garland rather in the manner of the painting by Rubens and Jan Brueghel in Munich (Fig. 1). See the reproduction in F.H.A. Oudendijk Pieterse, *Dürers Rozenkransgroepen van de xv^e en het begin der xvii^e Eeuw*, Amsterdam-Antwerp, n.d. (ca. 1940), plate 34a. Many other examples in painting, prints and sculpture will be found illustrated in this book. It should not be forgotten that many sculpted images of this kind have not been preserved in their original form, as a result of the loss or the separation of the flower garland.

An interesting symptom of the renewed interest in Rosary images at the end of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century (as discussed on p. 122 above and in the following notes) is provided by the fortunes of Veit Stoß's famous *Englischer Gruß* in the Lorenzkirche in Nürnberg from 1590 on. In 1590, it was taken down to be shown to a distinguished visitor and repainted; in 1611 it was cleaned; and in 1612 again taken down to be displayed at closer quarters. Perhaps more significantly, a chronicle of the church compiled in 1614 contains, in the entry for 1579, a long poem on the subject of the *Englischen Gruß*, extolling its beauty, but also containing the following lines on the garland, "Ein kranz, auf plossem haupt geneigt, / Welcher ir jungfrauschaft anzeigt". All this information in F.J. Schulz, *Ein Lied auf den 'Englischen Gruß' des Veit Stoß in der Lorenzkirche aus einer Nürnberger Chronik*, Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg, xv, 1902, pp. 188-191. I am grateful to Michael Baxandall for this valuable reference.

¹⁶ R. (?) Sadeler after M. de Vos, engraving, 200:145 mm.; see also the engraving by B. a Bolswert after A. Bloemaert of 1611, 172:150 mm. (Hollstein, 90). See the following note for further references to rosary prints and to illustrated books related to the rosary devotion.

¹⁷ *Rosarium sive psalterium Beatæ Virginis Mariæ. Cum alijs pijs exercitijs, ut in Præfatione notatur a T.W.A.*

editum, Antwerp (Keerberghen), 1600, 12^{mo}. An English edition was published by Keerberghen in the same year, and was followed by reprints in 1602, 1604, and 1613 of the first edition. Each of three parts of Rosary is here preceded by an appropriate vignette surrounded by five roses. V. Hensbergius, O.P., *Viridarium Marianum septemplici Rosario, variis exercitiis, Exemplis ut Plantationibus peramoenum. In gratiam et usum cultorum Deiparae Virginis Mariae concinnatum*, Antwerp (Bellerus), 1615 (Praz, p. 366).

See also the 32-plate series of the *Miracula et Beneficia Ss. Rosario Virginis Matris Devotis a Deo Opt. Max. Collata*, published by Th. Galle in 1610 and dedicated to the Archduchess Isabella (Hollstein, 180-212). A year later Galle published a series entitled *Vita et Miracula S.P. Dominici Praedicatorii Ordinis Primi Institutoris* (Hollstein, 127-138), which provides further testimony to the interest in the subject around the turn of the first decade of the seventeenth century. Another group of works which are related to the interest in the Rosary are several series of prints by the Wierixes, from A. Wierix's 1598 *Salve Regina* series, dedicated to Guillaume de Berghe, Bishop of Antwerp (Mauquoy Hendricx, II, Nos. 1321 to 1330) through a variety of other *Salve Regina* and Rosary prints (Mauquoy Hendricx, II, Nos. 1330-1337 and - especially - 1338-1340).

Many of the Rosary books which appeared at the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries contained the Loretan litanies as well; for the connection with the Rosary devotion, see E. Campana, *Maria nel Culto Cattolico*, I, Rome, 1933, pp. 707-727, following a useful general section (pp. 589-695) on the Rosary devotion as a whole (but see also note 104 for further references on this).

⁵⁵ D. Freedberg, *The Problem of Images in Northern Europe and its Repercussions in the Netherlands*, Hafnia, Copenhagen Papers in the History of Art, 1976, pp. 25 to 45; Idem, *The Representation of Martyrdoms during the Early Counter Reformation in Antwerp*, *The Burlington Magazine*, cxviii, 1976, pp. 128-138.

⁵⁶ See J. A. F. Kronenburg, *Marias Heerlijkheid in Nederland*, VII, Amsterdam, 1911, especially pp. 75-124, 135 to 152, and S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Verehrung Marias im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg im Breisgau, 1910, Chapter 6, pp. 100-117 for a great deal of relevant information, as well as E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux ... après le Concile de Trente*, 2^e ed., Paris, 1951, pp. 29-30 for a brief but pertinent summary. Protestant antipathy to Catholic devotion to the Virgin emerges in almost every tract of the century - especially in connection with the much mocked question of hyperdulia - but typical examples of the kind of satire that could be directed against her will be found in the famous and much reprinted work by Philips Marnix van Sant Aldegonde, *De Bienkorf der H. Roomscher Kerk*, which first appears to have been published in 1569 (subsequent editions in Dutch alone appeared in 1572, 1574, 1577, 1593, 1597, 1600, 1611, etc.; for these and the German and English editions, see J. J.

van Toorenenberghen, *Philips van Marnix van St Aldegonde, Godsdiensstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften*, I-II, The Hague, 1871-1878, Aanhangel, pp. 197-212). An entirely typical passage will be found in *De Werken van Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, De Byenkorf der H. Roomsche Kerke*, Brussels, 1858, II, pp. 51-56, with acerbic remarks like "Hare Liefvrouwe is seer eergierich, ende verleckert op alsulcke devotien". The fact that the attacks on images were in large measure directed against the Virgin also emerges from St Peter Canisius' great defence of her cult, which consists almost entirely of a rebuttal of the iconoclasts and their arguments. See note 60 below for full reference.

⁵⁷ There are many accounts: graphic ones will be found in F. G. V. (= G. V. van Loon and F. G. Ullens), *Antwerpsch Chronykje sedert den jare 1500 tot het jaar 1574*, Leiden, 1743, pp. 82-85, and in the *Chronicle of Godevaert van Haecht*, ed. R. van Roosbroeck, Antwerp, 1929. A full bibliography of the sources in R. van Roosbroek, *Het Wonderjaar te Antwerpen (1566-1567)*, Antwerp-Louvain, 1930.

⁵⁸ See my dissertation, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Netherlands 1566-1609*, Oxford, 1972, especially pp. 10 to 30 for a brief account, and now J. Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm*, Bussum, 1974, especially, pp. 18-96.

⁵⁹ That they did so in real terms as well will be apparent to anyone with access to the documentary information about the prices of flower paintings, of whatever kind, during the period. See p. 126 above and notes 89-91 below for some sources.

⁶⁰ The great work is St Peter Canisius, *De Maria Virgine Incomparabili, et Dei Genitrice Sacrosancta, Libri Quinque: Atque hic Secundus Liber est Commentariorum de Verbi Dei Corruptelis, adversus novos & veteres sectariorum errores nunc primum editus*, Ingolstadt, 1577. The fifth book is devoted to a defence of the cult of the Virgin, but is largely given over to a rebuttal of the iconoclasts and the opponents of her cult, especially Chapters 8-26 (with much in defence of miraculous images as well). Many further treatises will be found in the notes and bibliography of Kronenburg, VII, but see also J. B. Knipping, *Iconography of the Counter Reformation in the Netherlands*, Nieuwkoop-Leiden, 1974, II, pp. 245-284 for still further references.

⁶¹ See Kronenburg, VII, pp. 344-369 for a general summary and for an account of the shrines of Hal, Scherpenheuvel and Foy, which are of particular importance for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Several engravings by the Wierix brothers testify to the interest in miraculous images, including those of Hal and Scherpenheuvel, as well as Santa Maria Maggiore and a variety of other well known European images (Mauquoy Hendricx, I, Nos. 797-811).

The great seventeenth century compilations are F. Astolfi, *Historia Universale delle Imagini miracolose della Gran Madre di Dio riverite in tutte le parti del Mondo*, Venice, 1624; W. Gumpfenberg, *Atlas Marianus, sive de Imaginibus Deiparae per Orbem*

Christianum Miraculosis, I-IV, Ingolstadt, 1657-1659; and – for Brabant alone! – A. Wichmans, *Brabantia Mariana Tripartita*, Antwerp, 1632. Astolfi is chronologically arranged with clear marginal indications of the localities concerned, and is in most respects fuller than Gumpenberg where the images are arranged according to country. Astolfi, p. 663, comments on Carlo Borromeo's devotion to the Virgin (in connection with the latter's arguments in support of the Madonna del Nunziata): "Era ... tanto geloso dell'honore di Nostra Donna, che dovunque si stese la sua autorità, la qual fu pur molta, alzo bellissime Chiese, Capelle, Altari, & di ricchi ornamenti abbelli ogni luogo à lei consagrato. Ardentissimo era ... circa il colto di Maria" (Astolfi, p. 663).

See also p. 127 above and note 97 for polemical interest in miraculous images during the period.

⁶² J. Lipsius, *Diva Virgo Hallensis. Beneficia ejus et miracula fide atque ordine descripta*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 1604; and *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis. Nova ejus beneficia et admiranda*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 1605.

⁶³ On the commission for and building of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, see J.H. Plantenga, *L'Architecture religieuse dans l'ancien Duché de Brabant ...*, The Hague, 1926, pp. 32-43 and accompanying documents.

⁶⁴ (A. van Oosterwijck), *I. Lipsii Heylige Maghet van Halle, Hare weldaden ende Miraculen ghetrouwelick ende ordentlick uitgeschreven ... tot bespottinghe der Pauselicke Roomsche Afgoderije. Tot welcken eynde cleyne annotatien den text Lipsij in zijn geheel blijvende op de kant gesteld zijn: een ghetrouwe Vermaninghe en Voorreden tot den Christenen voor aen ende een Appendix ofte Behangsel van Miraculen die wel spots waert zijn achter aen*, Delft (Bruyn Harmansz. Schinkel), 1605. To all extents and purposes the title page of this book looks the same as that in Lipsius's own treatise, and I have given the title in full here because it so well conveys the flavour of the book; though the author's sarcasm becomes considerably more biting. One has only to consider the verso of the title page, where one reads: "Comt leest dit Wonder-Boeck, daer zult ghij wonder vinnen, / So menich soete clucht van onse Vrou van Hall"; P. Denaise, *Dissertatio de idolo hallensi Justii Lipsii mangonio et phaleris exornato atque producto*, s.l., 1605, immediately translated into Dutch as the *Verclaringhe des halschen afgodts, van Justus Lipsius, wonder veyl ende cierlijk opgherpronct ende voorts ghedaen*, s.l., 1605. The Dutch title, with its appropriately opprobrious pun, is therefore even more vigorously pointed.

⁶⁵ See Kronenburg, VII, pp. 356 and 430-431 on Scaliger, as well as on the criticism of Lipsius's treatise on the Scherpenheuvel shrine, criticism which began to appear in the very year of its publication (thus at the same time as the works cited in the preceding note). Scaliger, of course, had much else against Lipsius – see the brief appendix on this subject in: A. Grafton, *Rhetoric, Philology and Egyptomania in the 1570s*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XLII, 1979, pp. 193-194.

⁶⁶ In addition to the relevant pages in the compilations cited in note 61 above, see the brief account in C. Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, Rome, 1961, pp. 24-27, which lays some emphasis on the interest of Carlo Borromeo, the Cardinal of Santa Prassede and uncle of Federigo, in miraculous and ancient images (see note 61 for further evidence of this interest of Carlo's). The pontificate of Gregory XIII (1572-1585) is therefore of considerable importance in the development of two of the main phenomena discussed in this paper: the cult of miraculous images (Bertelli, pp. 24-26 has more specific information about Gregory's role in its expansion), and the devotion to the Rosary (on his institution of the Feast of the Rosary in 1573 – to commemorate the victory at Lepanto – and its consequences for the growth of the Rosary devotion, see Kronenburg, VII, p. 329, and Campana (note 54, end), pp. 407-413). At the very end of the period surveyed by this paper the practice of crowning the miraculous Virgins of Rome began, as a result of the bequest of Alessandro Sforza Pallavicini of 3 July, 1636: see M. Dejonghe, *Les Madones Couronnées de Rome* (Orbis Marianus 1), Paris, 1967.

⁶⁷ For these and other examples, together with pertinent bibliographic references, see the article by Müller Hofstede cited in note 71 below, pp. 52-54.

⁶⁸ Here it should perhaps be observed that by this time the matter of whether or not St Luke actually painted the Virgin had become a matter of some debate, on which see the brief summary and useful notes in D. Klein, *St Lukas als Maler der Maria. Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 7 and 93; but see above all E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, Leipzig, 1899, II, Beilage VII, pp. 267-292. Although most of the theological writers on images still asserted the validity of the tradition of St Luke as a painter, some doubts arose about the large number of images attributed to him, as in the passage by Canisius cited in note 98 below. Molanus, Bellarmine and Paleotti all emphasized the authority of the fragment by Theodorus Lector, and so did Federigo Borromeo, who used the traditional view to support his affirmation of the miraculous nature of certain images of Christ (in the page from the manuscript draft of the *De Pictura Sacra* reproduced as plate 1 in Castiglioni's 1932 edition of the work, Federigo seems to show some doubt about the validity of other miraculous traditions: cf. note 99 below). For a full account of the arguments, *pro* and *con*, see: *Acta Sanctorum*, October, VIII (17-20 October), Vol. 56, Brussels, 1866, entry for October 18, pp. 296-298. The work which set forth most clearly the connection between the images attributed to St Luke and the 'acheiropoietai', J. Gretser's *Syntagma de imaginibus manu non factis deque aliis a Sancta Luca pictis*, appeared in the Appendix to his edition of Codinus, Paris, 1625, pp. 354-365. Although the tradition was still generally accepted, amongst the last Netherlandish examples were Martin de Vos's painting of 1602 in Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, No. 88, and Abraham Janssens's painting of 1606 in St Romuald in Mechlin (see J. Müller Hofstede, *Abraham*

Janssens. Zur Problematik der flämischen Caravaggismus, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, XIII, 1971, pp. 257 to 258, and Fig. XI). In Italy, on the other hand, St Luke continued to be represented in his role as painter, and of the Virgin in particular.

⁶⁹ Grenoble, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Inv. No. 97; oil on canvas, 477:288 cm. Rooses, No. 441; K.d.K., p. 23; H. Vlieghe, *Saints II* (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, VIII), London-New York, 1973, No. 109; Rome, Sta Maria in Valicella, oil on slate, 425:250 cm. Rooses, No. 205; K.d.K., p. 24. Both works receive full attention in the articles cited in note 71 below.

⁷⁰ See the article by Jaffé cited in the following note, p. 211.

⁷¹ The pioneering article was M. Jaffé, *Peter Paul Rubens and the Oratorian Fathers*, *Proporzioni* IV, 1963, pp. 208 to 241 (reprinted with small modifications in *Rubens in Italy*, Oxford, 1977, pp. 84-99); J. Müller Hofstede, *Zu Rubens zweitem Altarwerk für Sta Maria in Valicella*, *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek*, XVII, 1966, pp. 1-78; M. Warnke, *Italienische Bildtabernakel bis zum Frühbarock*, *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, 3. Folge, XIX, 1968, pp. 77-90 and notes; V. Herzner, *Honor refertur ad prototypa. Noch einmal zu Rubens' Altarwerken für die Chiesa Nuova in Rom*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLII, 1979, pp. 117-133. Jaffé's transcriptions were corrected by G. Incisa della Rocchetta, *Documenti editi e inediti sui quadri del Rubens nella Chiesa Nuova*, *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, III, 1962/63, pp. 161-183.

⁷² "Ma perche li Padri non vogliono chel quadro sia tolto, senza ch'io m'oblighi di farli di mia mano una copia di quello, sopra l'istesso altare depignendola in pietra o materia che sorba li colori a fine che non ricevano lustro da quei perversi lumi, non giudico perciò conveniente al honor mio che in Roma siano due tavole simili di mia mano", Ch. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens*, I, Antwerp, 1887, No. 108, p. 403.

⁷³ For the possibility of iconographic objections – and possibly by Baronius as well – see J. Hess, *Contributi alla storia della Chiesa Nuova*, in: *Scritti di Storia dell'Arte in Onore di Mario Salmi*, II, Rome, 1963, pp. 215-238, and – to a lesser extent – Jaffé and Incisa della Rocchetta (note 71); for the relationship with Pomarancio's paintings in *Santi Nereo ed Achilleo*, see Müller Hofstede, 1966, pp. 26-44. Most recently, Herzner has argued that the problems arose because the first version actually covered the miraculous image, and that the death of Baronius on 30 June, 1607 meant that there no longer remained any major objections to allowing the image to be directly exposed to the public.

⁷⁴ The phrase occurs in the *Decreti* of the Congregation of the Oratory for 30 January, 1608, published in Jaffé, p. 220.

⁷⁵ This is the view of all the writers cited in note 71 above, but for the closest analysis, see Warnke, pp. 84-90; and now Herzner, pp. 120-128, suggesting that the problem lay in the fact that Rubens's first version would have

obscured the actual image of the Madonna della Valicella.

⁷⁶ See p. 121 and note 35 above.

⁷⁷ Warnke, pp. 61-70.

⁷⁸ In addition to Warnke's discussion, see also K.-A. Wirth, *Einsatzbild, Reallexikon zur Deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, IV, Stuttgart, 1958, cols. 1006-1020.

⁷⁹ The relevant pentimenti here are those at the "base of the simulated stone frame, just to the left of the keystone in the arch", where a volute has been painted out. "This suggests that the enframing was first intended to be larger" (Jaffé p. 231). Cf. Herzner, pp. 120ff. for a discussion of the implications of Rubens's representation of the image as smaller than it actually was.

⁸⁰ Moscow, Pushkin Museum, Inv. No. 7098; red and black chalk heightened with white, on 440:370 mm. Cf. Vienna, Albertina, Inv. 8.231; pen and brown ink and wash, heightened with white on a preliminary pencil drawing, 266:155 mm. The role and significance of these drawings in the evolution of the design of the second version of the altarpiece was discussed at length in Müller Hofstede, 1966, pp. 9-13, and Warnke, pp. 89-91.

⁸¹ Jaffé, pp. 215, 218-219.

⁸² See Jaffé, p. 219, and the illustration in Müller Hofstede, 1966, p. 48, plate 22.

⁸³ The practice is reflected in the discussions – and justifications – of the adornment of images in almost every treatise on images of the sixteenth and early seventeenth century. An entirely characteristic and succinct example from the very end of the sixteenth century – with remarks that are also relevant to the adornment of images like the Madonna della Valicella – occurs in the little known theological disputation by F. Hamilton, *Disputatio theologica de legitimo sanctorum cultu per sacras imagines, Deque imaginum earundem multiplici usu, fructu & cultu ... Wurzburg* (Fleischmann), 1587, p. 34 (in the section headed "De Honore Imaginum Sanctorum per ornatum qui ipsis adhibetur"): "Ad imaginum cultum facit etiam studium, quod fideles in ijs orandis ponunt. Multiplex hoc est. Nunc ornat veste sumptuosa; nunc auro, argento & pretiosis lapidibus: nunc impositis sertis & corollis: nunc datis floribus & rosis. Summa quaecunque in hoc genere Sanctorum Reliquijs, eadem fere ipsorum imaginibus deferuntur. Receptissima est haec ratio colendi Imagines nostris temporibus". One wonders what Paleotti would have put into *Lib v*, II, "Che nelle pitture sacre vi convengono ornamenti d'oro e preziosi e altre cose per maggiore venerazione" had he written it.

A visual parallel to this practice is provided by the way in which putti or angels place a garland, wreath, or chaplet of flowers either on the Virgin herself or on images of her in many of the pictures that are themselves the subject of this paper (cf. Figs. 5, 6, and 1). See also p. 128 above and notes 95 and 103 below for examples of literary accounts of the practice of draping garlands round or placing chaplets on images of the Virgin.

Needless to say, further evidence is provided by the frequent satirization of the practice, as in Marnix's acid comment that "die de alderdevootste is om dese Santen te

leren, met bernende wassen keerssen, met roose cranskens, met schoone rocken ende met goede vette offerhanden, die is onse I. Moeder der h. Kercken de alderliefste" (Marnix van Sint Aldegonde, ed. 1858 (note 56), II, p. 59).

⁸⁴ See p. 121 above on Federigo's omission of Rubens's name in the course of praising a Madonna in a Flower Garland painted by Jan Brueghel in collaboration with Rubens.

⁸⁵ In 1608, for example, he had to postpone sending the Madonna in a Flower Garland now in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 3) because of the 'gran freddo' (Crivelli, p. 99); in 1616, he expressed the need for just four days of 'bel sole' to complete four small paintings on copper, including one of flowers (Crivelli, p. 224); and in the middle of December 1619 he made the following entirely typical complaint: "E frattanto avendo l'inverno per le mani, che per la brevità e scurezza de' giorni non e propriò punto per far lavori così minuti, supplico VS sia servita di pazientar sino alla primavera" (Crivelli, p. 255). See also Crivelli, pp. 92, 148 and 162, for further remarks of this kind.

⁸⁶ Cf. Brueghel's letter of 22 April, 1611 to Bianchi: after referring to the flower pieces for Federigo and the Archduke Albert – the first and second works of this kind – he says: "Gli fiori bisogno fare all e prima senza disegni o boitssaturo: tutti fiori vengeno in quatra mesi, et sense invencioni bisogno giungere in seime con gran discretcion" (Crivelli, p. 168). For further comments on the question of drawing 'del naturale' as Brueghel himself puts it (see following note), and on the relationship with the finished paintings, see the pioneering article by M. Winner, *Zeichnungen des älteren Jan Brueghel*, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, III, 1961, pp. 220 ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. the letter of 14 April, 1606, in which he says "ho principiata et destinato a VS Ill.mo una Massa de vario fiori gli quali reucerani molto bello: tanta per la naturalezza come anco delle bellezza et rarita de vario fiori in questa parto alcuni inconita et non peiu visto: per quella io son stata a Brussella per ritrare alcuni fiori del natural, che non si trova in Anversa" (Crivelli, p. 63); and on 17 June, 1606, the reference to "alcuni che non son piu vista in questa paesi" (Crivelli, p. 64).

⁸⁸ Already in 1606, the States General paid 600 guilders for a vase of flowers by Jacob de Gheyn to be presented to Marie de Medici (cited in van Gelder, p. 158, with several other appropriate examples). For the relationship between the high prices paid for flower pieces and the extraordinary rise in the price of bulbs – especially tulip bulbs – see the illuminating discussion in Bergström, 1956, pp. 48-50, and now N. Schneider, *Vom Klostergarten zur Tulpenmanie. Hinweise zur materiellen Vorgeschichte des Blumenstillbens*, in: *Stilleben in Europa*, pp. 304 to 312, with an outline of the rise in number of independent representations of tulips themselves, as well as a part of bouquets. The flower pieces painted by Jan Brueghel invariably contain several of the particularly highly prized striped tulips. See also the following three notes for more examples of high prices.

⁸⁹ For the Madonna in a Flower Garland referred to in the correspondence of 1621/22 and here identified with the picture in the Prado (Fig. 5, note 21) Federigo finally paid 300 scudi and two gold medals – presumably a lower price than Jan Brueghel had hoped for. Melzi had declined to buy the painting mentioned in the correspondence of 1618-1620 for a price of 1450 florins (Crivelli, p. 249). The *Musaeum* provides some incidental evidence of just how highly the flower pieces were valued. In a passage which admittedly contains a strong element of the conceit, Federigo relates that his vase of flowers by Brueghel was worth as much as the diamond painted at the bottom of the vase: "At florum pugna non minor spectatur, quorum pretium Artifex ipse Bruguelus lepidissimo commento indicavit. Pinxit enim in imo vase adamantem, quo inspecto intelleximus id, quod etiam alioqui statuissimus: gemmarum scilicet aestimationi indicaturum par esse operis huius pretium; quod Artifici est a nobis ita persolutum" (*Musaeum*, p. 26). The reference is presumably to the *Bouquet of Flowers* in the Ambrosiana, Inv. No. 66, Ertz, Cat. No. 143 (rather than to Inv. No. 58, Ertz, Cat. No. 178).

⁹⁰ J. Denucé, *Letters and Documents Concerning Jan Brueghel I and II*, Antwerp, 1934. A note at the end of a list of paintings offered by Jan Brueghel II to Chrysostomos van Immerzeel mentions that "daer is noch eenen Crans van bloemen, maer die wort ghehouden 1800 gulden; soo hooch ic reyken kan den hertoch van Buckingham heeft de voerge gekocht 3000 gul." (Denucé, *Jan Brueghel*, p. 70). A more run-of-the-mill valuation – but still high! – occurs in the Immerzeel inventory of 1620, where the purchase price of "Den bloemcorf met de tulpas" (cf. note 88 above) is recorded as 200 guilders. See also the *Diary of Jan Brueghel II*, published by M. Vaes, *Le Journal de Jean Brueghel II*, *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, VI-VII, Rome, 1926/27, p. 210, No. 10, where a *copy* of 'een grooten bloemcrans' by Jan Brueghel the Elder was listed as being worth 400 guilders. For the later period – where more modest prices are recorded as well – see J. Denucé, *Na Peter Pauwel Rubens, Documenten uit den Kunsthandel te Antwerpen in de XVII^e Eeuw van Matthijs Musson*, Antwerp, 1939, as well as the other compilations by Denucé listed in note 142 below.

⁹¹ The Archdukes, for example, paid Rubens 300 guilders for the painting of the Virgin and Child with St John here identified with the painting now in the Wallace collection (Fig. 2 and note 7). For the Adoration of the Magi, Nativity, and Descent of the Holy Spirit which the Archduchess commissioned for her private oratory, she seems to have paid 400, 300, and 300 florins respectively (De Maeyer, pp. 116 and 119, and Docs. 109 and 255, Nos. 25-27).

⁹² Lipsius, *Diva Sicheiensis* (note 62), p. 1.

⁹³ See Müller Hofstede, 1966, pp. 49-52, and now Herzner (note 71), pp. 125-129. Warnke, pp. 77-78 has a full discussion of Baronius's influence not only on the negotiations about the housing of the miraculous image, but also

on the actual composition of the first version; and in his note 80 documents various stages in Baronius's friendship with Federigo, largely on the basis of the evidence provided by G. Calenzio, *La Vita e gli Scritti del Cardinale Cesare Baronio*, Rome, 1907.

⁹⁴ C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 12 vols, 1597-1609. Detail from the title page of volume IX. In each volume the garland surrounding the Madonna is supported by two angels. For further visual testimony to Baronius's devotion to the Madonna della Valicella, see the well-known engraving of 1602 by F. Villamena, showing the Cardinal seated at his desk with a devotional image of Sts. Gregory, Maurus and Papius adoring the Madonna della Valicella in front of him (reproduced in Müller Hofstede, 1966, p. 34, Fig. 18).

⁹⁵ This is exemplified not only by the story taken from Mielot recounted on p. 128 above, and in the parallel story from Herolt's *Promptuarium* (note 103), but also – and most attractively – by Heinrich Suso's account in Chapter xxxvi of his 'Life'. In his youth, when Spring approached, he gathered together some flowers in order to make a garland for the image of the Virgin in his cell (to which she could not object at all, as she was herself the most beautiful flower of all). In the young man's subsequent vision of a celestial Magnificat, the Virgin commanded him to sing the verse "O vernalis rosa". Cited in Mâle, pp. 215-216, with somewhat inaccurate references. See Heinrich Seuse, *Deutsche Schriften*, ed. K. Bihlmeyer, Stuttgart, 1907, Cap. xxxvi, *Von kintlichem andaht eins jungen anvahenden menschen*, especially pp. 109-111.

I have not been able to find a copy of Johannes van Horenbeeck, O.P., *Het Leven van den Salighen Henricus Suso*, Antwerp, 1627, but it should in any case be noted in the present context.

⁹⁶ The source of this recurrent formula is St Basil, *De Spiritu Sancto*, 18, 45, in P.G., xxxii, col. 149. It recurs in almost every argument about images up to and including the seventeenth century – despite the fact that it was taken out of context from a passage originally intended as a clarificatory illustration of the relationship of the Son to the Father in the Trinity (rather than as a statement about images as such). See G.B. Ladner, *The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, vii, 1953, pp. 3-34. In their discussion of Rubens and the Madonna della Valicella, both Müller Hofstede, 1966 and Herzner (note 71) seriously misinterpret this passage. Warnke, p. 97, note 97 already pointed out the incorrect interpretation of the formulaic "Honor refertur ad prototypa" in Müller Hofstede, 1966, p. 54; but it should perhaps be stressed here that the formula refers to the relation between material object and the figure of Christ, the Virgin, or the Saint represented on it, not between one material object and another. The contrast is indeed between sign and signified, as observed by Herzner on p. 126, but only in this restricted sense. It cannot be a contrast between one material object and another, or between one material

object and the material object – even a miraculous one – represented on it. The phrase can therefore not be used to explain the nature of the arguments amongst the Oratorian fathers about Rubens's altarpiece for the Valicella.

⁹⁷ L. Blossius, *Defensio Verae Fidei, adversus sanctae Ecclesiae Catholicae Hostes*, in *Opera Omnia*, ed. A. de Winghe, Ingolstadt, 1726, p. 634 (on the story of the Paneas group, see Eusebius, E.H., vii, 18, 2, in the edition by E. Schwartz and Th. Mommsen, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, ix, 2, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 672 to 673, which also reproduces Rufinus's important and historiographically significant reworking). The whole of the rest of this section, entitled *De Sacris Imaginibus*, casts a great deal of light on many of the issues raised here (see, for example, the twelfth passage on p. 636, clarifying the Basilian formula discussed in the above note). Bellarmine, in discussing the question of why some images are more popular and more frequented than others, suggests that the first reason for this phenomenon is "quia Deus per unam operatur miracula & non per aliam" – a terse but somewhat less rigorous view than that offered by Blossius above, although in this case Bellarmine was somewhat wandering from the point, interesting for the modern reader though it may be (*Disputationum Roberti Bellarmini ... De Controversiis Christianae Fidei, Adversus huius temporis Haereticos*, II, Ingolstadt, 1605, Lib. II, Cap. 10, p. 1317).

⁹⁸ This emerges most clearly and most thoroughly from the long discussion of miraculous images – and of the miraculous powers of the Virgin in general – in Canisius (note 60), pp. 696ff. Nevertheless, even Canisius is capable of taking a pragmatic line on the subject which is not very different from the attitude of Federigo Borromeo outlined in the following note. Thus, in his discussion of the problem posed by the fact that images of the Virgin said to painted by St Luke were to be found not in one but in many places, Canisius concludes that "Certam fidem de his rebus nec docet nect exigit Ecclesia: communi autem & receptae bonorum opinionum contradicere, aut nimium est arrogantis, aut praepostere sapientis, vel alioqui vane & infulse curiosi" (Canisius, p. 698).

⁹⁹ Even though in certain cases credence may have been granted more on the grounds of polemical necessity than of belief. Warnke, p. 77, noted the passage in Borromeo's *De Pictura Sacra* where he makes it clear that his concern is primarily "pios tradere mores" (rather than to make fine dogmatic points). The passage occurs in Cap. xii 'De vario imaginum usu apud Christianos': "Caeterum, quia sermo nobis est universis cum hominibus Catholicis quibus non dogmata Fidei, sed pios tradere mores volumus ..." (*De Pictura Sacra*, p. 51). This aim results, not infrequently, in a certain vagueness, as in his prefatory remark to a discussion of the earliest acheiropoietic images of Christ, such as the famous one sent to Abgar: "Ac praeter symbola, et figuras, antiquitas eadem fecit etiam sudaria, vultusque sanctos, et sacrum linteam, eique praecipuam sic haberi religionem, et honorem voluit, tum ob vetustatem ipasam, tum ob graves alias causas" (*De*

Pictura Sacra, p. 29), and he does go on to air some doubt about this particular image. Real scepticism emerges briefly in the page from the early draft reproduced in Castiglioni's edition of the *De Pictura Sacra* opposite p. 16 (plate 1).

¹⁰⁰ Two editions of Mielot's work are particularly useful: the Roxburghe Club volume, *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, collected by Jean Mielot ... reproduced in facsimile from Douce Manuscript 374 ... for John Malcolm of Potalloch, with text, introduction and annotated analysis by G. F. Warner, London, 1885; and *Les miracles de Nostre Dame*, compilés par Jehan Mielot ... Etude concernant trois manuscrits du xv^e siècle ornés de grisailles par le Comte A. De Laborde, Paris, 1928/29. The three manuscripts here referred to are Paris, Bibl. Nat., fonds français 9198, 9199, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 374.

¹⁰¹ Mielot, ed. De Laborde, pp. 185-186 (text from BN fonds français 9199, fols 61 r-v).

¹⁰² The classic studies of these legends - from a purely philological point of view - are those by A. Mussafia, which appeared as *Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden*, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Phil.-hist. Classe der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*, CXIII, pp. 917-994; CXV, pp. 5-92; CXIX, Abh. 9; CXXIII, Abh. 8; and CXXXIX, Abh. 8; Vienna, 1886-1896. See also the same author's *Über die von Gautier de Coincy benützten Quellen*, *Denkschriften der K. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Classe*, XLIV, Vienna, 1896, on another writer whose works provide numerous instances of the place of images in medieval devotion and of the powers attributed to them. I hope in the future to deal at greater length with the art historical significance of the miracle legends.

¹⁰³ See J. Herolt, *Promptuarium discipuli de miraculis beatae Mariae virginis* (usually included at the end of the many editions, especially fifteenth century ones, of the *Sermones de tempore et de sanctis*), *exemplum lxx*, where the young man "videret alios pueros crinalia de rosis et floribus habere, similiter faciebat et ad ecclesiam deportabat ubi imaginem gloriose invenit et ei crinalia offerebat ac eius capite devote imponebat".

¹⁰⁴ For the latest state of research on the origins of the Rosary, see now the critique of the traditional views in the useful chapters by K. J. Klinkhamer and G. Ritz in (*Cat. Exhib.*) *500 Jahre Rosenkranz, 1475 Köln 1975*, Cologne, Erzbischöfliches Diözesan-Museum, 1975/76 (Klinkhamer prefers to stress the importance of the Trier Carthusian Adolf von Essen and the years around 1400). See also T. Esser, O.P., *Unserer Lieben Frauen Rosenkranz*, Paderborn, 1889.

On the relationship between images and devotional practices associated with the Rosary, see the two important articles by S. Ringbom, *Maria in Sole and the Virgin of the Rosary*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, xxv, 1962, pp. 326-330, and *Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions, Notes on the Place of Art in Late Medieval Piety*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LXXIII, 1969, pp. 159-170.

¹⁰⁵ In addition to the examples from Suso and Herolt cited in notes 95 and 103 above, the compendia of miracle legends by Gautier de Coincy and Caesarius von Heisterbach provide many further instances of the adornment of images with wreaths, garlands, chaplets, or fillets of flowers. Cf. note 83.

¹⁰⁶ See p. 121 and note 35 above.

¹⁰⁷ Milan, Ambrosiana, Inv. No. 75-26; oil on copper, 25:35 cm. Ertz, *Cat. No. 121* (cf. the identically sized painting of Music-making Angels with Putti spreading Flowers, also painted in collaboration with Rottenhammer; Ambrosiana Inv. No. 70, Ertz, *Cat. No. 124*).

¹⁰⁸ "Subest Mysterium, tamquam florum amoenitas, et nives adstrictae gelu, sunt extrema naturae, et tamquam hiemis facie tellus, Veris imagine caelum representatur. Sed nihil ego symbola, mysteriaque ista respiciens, rem sic depingi iussi" (*Musaeum*, p. 25). Diamond (note 28) also observed that this remark might serve as a warning to iconographers, as she put it.

¹⁰⁹ See D. Freedberg, *A Source for Rubens's Modello of the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin: a Case Study in the Response to Images*, *The Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, pp. 433-441 for some specific examples.

¹¹⁰ See also the articles by Ringbom cited in note 104 above.

¹¹¹ P. 126 and notes 88-90 above.

¹¹² Ertz, pp. 322-325 briefly discusses the symbolic relationship of the flowers in the Flower Garland pictures to the central images, and criticizes Mme Hairs - justifiably in my view - for her insistence that "nous nous refusons à déchiffrer des rebus dans les bouquets de nos artistes" (Hairs, pp. 34-35). A characteristic example of the expansion of the symbolic content and thereby the associational range of individual flowers is provided by M. Sandaeus, *Maria Flos Mysticus snte (sic) Orationes ad Sodales in festivitibus Deiparae Habitaes desumpta materia a floribus*, Mainz (Schonwetter), 1629 (Praz, p. 488), where the Virgin is compared to five flowers - rose, lily, pansy, heliotrope and hyacinth.

¹¹³ (a) Although based on the literary use of flower symbolism, A. Salzer, *Die Sinnbilder und Beiworte Mariens in der deutschen Literatur und lateinischen Hymnenpoesie des Mittelalters*, Linz, 1893, provides an extraordinary mine of information on the subject; for painting, see L. Behling, *Die Pflanze in der mittelalterlichen Tafelmalerei*, 1957 ('1967), especially chapters I and II. These works provide a vast amount of material on flower symbolism, but R. A. Koch, *Flower Symbolism in the Portinari Altar*, *Art Bulletin*, XLVI, 1964, pp. 70-77 remains a useful summary. Fuller bibliographical references will be found in E. Wolffhardt, *Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik, Über die Pflanzen des Frankfurter 'Paradiesgärtleins'*, *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, VIII, 1954, pp. 177-196. Much information is also provided by individual articles in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, such as that by M. Pfister Burkhalter, *Lilie*, *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, hg. von E. Kirschbaum u.a., III, Rome-Freiburg, 1971, pp. 100-192. For other possible symbolic elements in still life paintings and in paintings of the Vir-

gin, see I. Bergström, *Disguised Symbolism in 'Madonna' pictures and Still-Life*, *The Burlington Magazine*, xcvi, 1955, pp. 303-308 and 342-349.

(b) The symbolism of the flowers in both literary and artistic depictions of the Virgin would often have been made yet more pointed by the awareness of the fact that the Virgin was the most beautiful flower of all. Cf. the story from Suso cited in note 95 above, as well as the following entirely typical passage in Blossius' *Margaritum Spirituale*: "Maria omnium est speciosissima. Maria sole clarior est ... Grata fragrantia superat myrrham, thus, balsamum, superat violas, lilia, rosas" (L. Blossius, *Opera*, Ingolstadt, 1726, ed. A. de Winghe, p. 431). Examples of this kind of symbolism are legion; but see also the reference to the book by Sandaeus in note 112. Needless to say, flower – and in particular, rose – symbolism also plays a significant part in the Loretan Litanies.

(c) An important related picture by Rubens and Jan Brueghel is the *Virgin and Child in Berlin*, Cat. No. 917 (K.d.K., p. 270 right) where the symbolism of the flowers and the fruit seems very obvious indeed. See now the full discussion in J. Kelch, *Peter Paul Rubens, Kritischer Katalog der Gemälde im Besitz der Gemäldegalerie Berlin, Berlin-Dahlem, 1978*, pp. 91-96. Knipping, II, p. 259, justifiably emphasizes that the purely aesthetic impulse in the creation of the religious flower pieces, as he put it, may have as great as the wish to symbolize. But – as has been suggested in the present paper – it would be wrong to underestimate the range of associations that all flowers were capable of evoking, whether or not intended by the artist. Cf. my remarks on p. 134 above about proceeding from the point of view of the beholder rather than from that of the artist.

¹¹⁴ See for example, Cornelius a Lapide, *Commentaria in Canticum Canticorum*, in *Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram*, IV, Lyons-Paris, 1864, especially such passages as those on pp. 454-486 on the first three chapters of the Song of Solomon.

¹¹⁵ Leningrad, Hermitage, No. 504; oil on panel, 90.5:65.5 cm. Rooses, No. 582; K.d.K., p. 83.

¹¹⁶ Glasgow Art Gallery, Inv. No. 609; oil on panel, 106.7:72.4 cm, Rooses, No. 821; K.d.K., p. 61.

¹¹⁷ The work is perhaps to be identified with 'The Three Graces with fruit' referred to in the Catalogue of the Curious Collection of Pictures of George Villiers Duke of Buckingham, in which is included the valuable collection of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, written by Brian Fairfax, London (W. Bathoe), 1758, No. 11. See also (H. Miles), *Catalogue of Dutch and Flemish, Netherlandish and German Paintings in the Glasgow Art Gallery, Glasgow, 1961*, I, No. 609, pp. 117-119 for further important references.

¹¹⁸ The dedication reads thus: "Nobilissimo amplissimoque viro, D. Nicolao Roccoxio, equiti, urbis Antverp. cos. IX de patria, omniumque hominum genere meritissimo, ac singulari bonarum artium patrono, hanc augustissimae coelorum reginae effigiem, cultori eius eximio Hermanus de Neyt, Editor Lub. Mer. Dedicab."

¹¹⁹ Engraving, 56.3:41 cm. C.G. Voorhelm Schneevooft, *Catalogue des estampes gravées d'après P.P. Rubens*, Haarlem, 1873, p. 92, No. 156. For an important discussion of this print and some of its implications, see K. Renger, in (Cat. Exhib.), *Rubens in der Grafik, Göttingen-Hannover-Nürnberg, 1977*, No. 23, pp. 48-50.

¹²⁰ "Quam bene, Virgo parens, culto velut arbor in horto / Diceris aeternas fundere opes / Hoc vuae (recte uvae) dulces referunt, hoc mitia poma, / Quae pius in sterili pinxit Amor tabula. / O Arbor felix! in qua non pabula mortis / Deceptus misero carperet ore pater: / Scilicet haec quisquis gustavit poma, revixit / Vitales VITAE sola dat ARBOR opes."

¹²¹ "Ego quasi vitis fructificavi" (*Ecclesiasticus* XXIV, 23).

¹²² As pointed out by Renger (note 119), p. 50. See C. a Lapide *Commentaria in Ecclesiasticum*, in: *Commentarii in Scripturam Sacram*, v, Lyons-Paris, 1865, p. 563.

¹²³ 'Fertility' used here as much in the sense of abundance as in that of life-giving virtue. It is perhaps worth noting that in the engraving by C. van Dalen the Younger based on the painting in Glasgow (note 116), the statue of Nature is addressed in terms that are just as applicable to the Virgin: "Tu sola creatorum merito appellanda Regina" etc. – thus providing further evidence, if evidence were needed, of the way in which the mythic identities of Mother Nature ("Magna[e Mat]ri Terrae O[m]nis Pa]renti" on the pedestal of the Glasgow picture) and Mother Mary were capable of emerging even in the context of apparent polarities.

¹²⁴ The question of sentimentality is discussed, in a somewhat prejudiced fashion, in Knipping, I, pp. 105/106. See also my 'Prints and the Status of Images in Flanders', in the forthcoming *Proceedings of the xxiv International Congress of the History of Art, Bologna, 1979*.

¹²⁵ Such as those which appear in the series *Cor Iesu Amanti Sacrum* by A. Wierix (Mauquoy Hendricx, I, Nos. 429-446; No. 442 here reproduced as Fig. 28) and in *Benedictus van Haeften, Schola Cordis, sive aversi a Deo Cordis ... Antwerp (Verdussen), 1629*, with plates by B. a Bolswert (Praz, pp. 361-362, and J. Landwehr, *Emblem Books in the Low Countries, a Bibliography*, Utrecht, 1970, Nos. 182-185 give further editions). For a discussion of the works in which the Wierix series was used or adapted, see Mauquoy Hendricx, I, pp. 68-69. This series also exemplifies the observations made here about the use of charming images of children being used to convey devotional messages. Amongst the other 'heart' images in the work of the Wierix brothers are Mauquoy Hendricx, I, Nos. 478-481 and 544-545 (which show Christ on the Cross within the heart). See Knipping, I, pp. 98-105 and 119 for a brief summary of the Devotion to Christ's Heart in the seventeenth century, with further references and a few additional examples.

¹²⁶ Engraving by A. Wierix, 91:60 mm, from the series *Cor Iesu Amanti Sacrum* (Mauquoy Hendricx, I, No. 442). The verse below reads: "Euge puer, rosis pinge, / Latus hoc et illud cinge / Totum cinge circum. / Sparge foetus verni roris / Sparge totum messem Chloris: / Sternis tibi

- lectulum." See also the further examples cited in notes 131-136 below.
- ¹²⁷ See Praz, chapter IV, 'The Pleasing and the Useful', pp. 169-203, for a rich store of further information, and now, on the medieval and renaissance 'Nachleben' of the Horatian formula that a poem should instruct and delight, see P. Salmon, *Instruction and Delight in Medieval and Renaissance Criticism*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, xxxii, 1979, pp. 303-332.
- ¹²⁸ B. van Haeften, *Schola Cordis*, Antwerp (Meursius and Verdussen), 1635, p. 8: "Ut ita utilitati sancta quaedam ac salutaris voluptas, quae ex imaginum aspectu capi posset sociaretur". The sentiment is, of course, not particularly novel, but it is perhaps worth noting that it comes in the midst of a clearly expressed statement of the complementary use of Painting and Poetry (in which the usual Horatian equivalence is revealingly modified): "Cum vero ea sit inter Poesin & Picturam societas, ut quod illa verbis, tropis, aliisque dictionum luminibus praestat: haec coloribus, lineamentis atque umbris repraesentare conetur" (*Ibidem*, p. 7).
- ¹²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 8, immediately following the first quotation in the preceding note.
- ¹³⁰ See note 125.
- ¹³¹ The first editions were O. Vaenius, *Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerp (apud Auctorem), 1608, and *Amoris Divini Emblemata* (Nutius and Meursius), 1615. For these and subsequent editions, with further references, see Praz, pp. 524-526, and Landwehr, pp. 693-702.
- ¹³² H. Hugo, *Pia Desideria Emblematis Elegiis & Affectibus SS. Patrum illustrata*, Antwerp (Aertssen), 1624. Subsequent editions and adaptations are listed in Landwehr, Nos. 238-242, and A. and A. De Backer and C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Brussels-Paris, 12 vols., 1890-1932, iv, cols. 513-520. The engravings in the first edition were by Boetius a Bolswert and were copied in the second edition by woodcuts by Ch. van Sichem.
- ¹³³ *Typus Mundi, in quo eius Calamitates et Pericula nec non Divini, humanique Amoris Antipathia, Emblematicè proponuntur a R.R.C.S.I.A.*, Antwerp (J. Cnobbaert), 1627 (Praz, p. 519, and Landwehr, Nos. 673-675).
- ¹³⁴ For Fig. 18, see the reference in note 126; Fig. 19 is plate 27 facing p. 369 in the edition of van Haeften cited in note 128 above; etching by B. a Bolswert, 98:63 mm. In addition to Herman Hugo's *Pia Desideria* (note 132), Bolswert also illustrated the charming and much reprinted *Duyfkens ende Willemynkens Pelgrimage tot haren Beminden binnen Ierusalem*, which first appeared in Antwerp (Verdussen) in 1627 (Hollstein, 286-312).
- ¹³⁵ "Ach! dat ick kuss' die crollend' hairkens, / Die flichelen dweersch, ende crom, / Ghelijck of doen cleyn waeterbaerkens / U hoofdeken heel om end' om", (J. de Harduijn, *Goddelicke Lofsanghen. Tot vermaeckinghe van alle gheestrijckē Liefhebbers*, Ghent, 1620, p. 27, also cited in Knipping, II, p. 413). The sentiments are not very different from those expressed by Aelred of Rievaulx in his *Tractatus de Jesu puero duodenni*: "Sentio, fili mi (i.e. the novice), sentio ea ipsa quam familiariter, quam affectuose, cum quibus lacrymis in orationibus tuis sanctis ab ipso Jesu soleas sciscitari, cum ante oculos cordis hic illa dulcis Pueri dulcis versatur imago: cum illum speciosissimum vultum spiritali quadam imaginatione depingis, cum oculos illos suavissimos simul et mitissimos in te jucundius radiare persentis" (*Cœuvres complètes de Saint Bernard*, I-VII, Paris, 1865-1867, VI, pp. 369-440; also cited in S. Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative, The Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting*, Abo, 1965, p. 16).
- ¹³⁶ See Knipping, I, pp. 111-119 (with references to images showing the Christ Child with the symbols of the Passion on pp. 112-114). The proliferation of charming images of the Infant Christ (and here too the Wierixes played an important role - see, out of many possible examples, the altogether winsome series devoted to the Infancy of Christ, *Mauquoy Hendricx*, I, Nos. 407-418) are to be related to the seventeenth century Devotion to the Christ Child, which appears to have taken greatest hold in France. See the full discussions in *Mâle*, pp. 325-332 (with additional material on reflections of the Devotion in painting), and H. Bremond, *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France depuis la fin des guerres de religion jusqu'à nos jours*, III, Paris, 1925, pp. 511-582.
- ¹³⁷ Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*, No. 330; oil on canvas, 120:203 cm. *Roses*, No. 865; K.d.K., p. 132; and Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*, Inv. No. 680; oil on panel, 76.5:112.3 cm. Cf. *Roses* 186; K.d.K., p. 103.
- ¹³⁸ Kieser (note 3), p. 222, where he also discusses the relationship and identification of the children in several other related works by Rubens, including the *Garland of Fruit* in Munich and the *Infants Christ and St John with Two Angels* in Vienna (references in the preceding note) of 1615/16.
- ¹³⁹ *Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Cat. No. 763*; oil on panel, 50.8:40.5 cm. *Roses*, No. 1038; K.d.K., p. 102 right. See now the extremely informative entry by Jan Kelch in the *Katalog der Gemälde ... Berlin* (note 113), 1978, pp. 20-29, dealing not only with the problems of attribution and condition, but also with the identification of the child and the relationship with other works by Rubens, including the *Munich Madonna in a Flower Garland*.
- ¹⁴⁰ R. Baumstark, *Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien*, *Aachener Kunstblätter*, XLV, 1974, pp. 143-146. The putti on the side panels of the *Whitehall Ceiling*, for example, explicitly symbolize the benefits of peace and abundance in the reign of James I. That is obvious to anyone who sees the cornucopias and fruit garlands they bear, while others sport with the now tamed wolf, lion, and bear. But in addition Rubens knew of the many antique coins and reliefs where playful putti are signs of 'Felicia tempora' (examples in Baumstark, pp. 144-146). Rubens himself explained the imagery of a group of frolicking children he had represented on the title page of F. de Marselaer's *Legatus* in terms of prosperity and the 'Felicitas Temporum'. See the explanation

opposite the title page of F. de Marselaer, Legatus, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 1666. Further discussion in J. R. Judson and C. van de Velde, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard* XXI, Book Illustrations and Title Pages, London-Philadelphia, 1978, I, pp. 345-348; II, pp. 500 to 501. The same concomitant qualities of peace and prosperity for which Rubens strove so assiduously in the course of his diplomatic career and which he came increasingly to represent in paint in the last decade of his life are indicated by the putti in the London 'War and Peace' (K. d. K., p. 312). And when he came to design the Stage of Welcome for the *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* he showed frolicking putti holding up a garland in which was inscribed *SPERATA TEMPORUM FELICITAS*. It is this detail from the Stage of Welcome in C. Gevartius, *Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Antwerp (Plantin-Moretus), 1642 that is illustrated here (Etching by T. van Thulden after Rubens, detail, 41:96 mm).

¹⁴¹ "Ritual status" is not used here in the narrow sense of specific religious rites, but rather to denote the status of a material object in terms of its religious function. The most illuminating proposals for the analysis of the relations between rite and social function remain, in my view, those outlined by A. R. Radcliffe Brown in his Henry Myers Lecture for 1945 at the Royal Anthropological Institute entitled 'Religion and Society' and reprinted in: *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London, 1952 (many subsequent reprintings), pp. 153-177. By and large I take the recommendations there – *pace* the latest anthropological modifications – to be exemplary. Cf. note 147 below.

¹⁴² See, for example, the many pictures of this and related kinds referred to in the letters to and from Ch. van Immerzeel, the merchant of paintings in Seville, in Denucé, Jan Brueghel (note 90), especially pp. 68-71, 92 to 93 et passim; as well as the references in Vaes (note 90), pp. 207-209, 210 ("een grooten bloemcrans naer mijn vaders"), 218-219 etc.; and J. Denucé, *Exportation d'œuvres d'art au 17e siècle à Anvers, La firme Forchoudt*, Antwerp, 1931, pp. 31, 41, 98 etc. Many further references to Flower Garlands – both originals and copies – in local collections are to be found in J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche Konstkamers in de 16de en de 17de Eeuw*, 1932, pp. 246, No. 347, 252-257, No. 354 (apparently originals). In certain cases, however, the references are simply to a "crans" – which could have contained any number of subjects, including secular ones.

¹⁴³ Brighton, Royal Pavilion Art Gallery and Museums (Preston Manor); canvas, 58.5:49.5 (cut down). Published by Christopher Wright in *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, pp. 755-756. Presumably a companion piece to the *Pieta* in a Flower Garland by Poussin and Seghers now in Cherbourg, Musée Thomas-Henry. Here, as in the flower borders referred to in the second part of note 49 the flowers bear a specific symbolic relation to the central image – thistles and thorns around the *Pietà*, roses, violets and hyacinths around the Virgin and Child. On these works, see (Cat. Exhib.), Nicholas Pous-

sin (1594-1665), Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1978, Nos. 7-8, with the earlier literature. Both works have been considerably reduced from their original size, with the result that little of Segher's contribution now remains.

¹⁴⁴ On Seghers, see Hairs, chapter III, pp. 79-150, and pp. 402-411, with the earlier literature in note 215, as well as the important article by W. Couvreur, *Daniel Seghers' Inventaris van door hem Geschilderde Bloemstukken, Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, xx, 1967, pp. 87-158. Fig. 24 is now attributed to Daniel Seghers and Cornelis Schut (Madrid, Prado, Inv. No. 1905; oil on canvas, 86:62 cm), although some doubt has been expressed about both these attributions in the past (cf. M. Díaz Padrón in the most recent catalogue of the Flemish Paintings in the Prado cited in note 24 above, p. 345).

¹⁴⁵ Painters who produced Madonnas in Flower Garlands in the manner of (or more directly adapted from) Jan Brueghel and Rubens, include André Daniels, Philippe de Marlier, and Alexandre Adriaenssen, as well as various younger members of the Brueghel family; those whose works reflect the lessons of Daniel Seghers more closely include J. P. van Thielen, F. Ykens, Jan van Kessel and Jan Davidsz. de Heem, as well as several lesser figures discussed in the useful account in Hairs, chapter IV, section III ('Dans le sillage de Daniel Seghers'), pp. 204-234. In the works of these artists the central image is often copied or adapted from prototypes not only by Rubens but also by several other Flemish artists. See – to take only one out of any number of possible examples – the painting attributed to Jan van Kessel illustrated in Hairs, colour plate VI (on the Brussels Art Market), where the central image is copied from an engraving after van Dyck's *Mocking of Christ* (K. d. K. ed. Glück, p. 215), or possibly after van Dyck's own etching of the composition (see M. Mauquoy Hendricx, *L'Iconographie d'Antoine van Dyck: catalogue raisonné*, Brussels, 1956, I, pp. 177 to 178, No. A1).

¹⁴⁶ See D. Freedberg, *Rubens as a Painter of Epitaphs*, 1612 to 1618, *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis*, XXIV, 1976-1978, pp. 51-71, as well as the discussion by Eisler (note 3), p. 46.

¹⁴⁷ In his Frazer Lecture for 1939 on *Taboo*, Radcliffe-Brown outlined an approach to the study of rites that may seem pertinent here: "We can study the effects of the rite – not the effects that it is supposed to produce by the people who practise it, but the effects that it does actually produce". (Radcliffe-Brown – see note 141 – p. 143). At the same time a study along the lines proposed here would be based not simply on the consideration of the ostensible purpose and the psychological function of these images, or on an analysis of the motives of the individuals who perform the rites associated with them (although it should certainly begin with these), but on the recovery of their social function (cf. Radcliffe-Brown, pp. 143-144).

In the course of this paper it may seem that insufficient attention has been paid to the question of size: the painting in Munich, for example (Fig. 1 and note 3) is almost

nine times larger than very small painting in the Ambrosiana (Fig. 3, note 11). Naturally this is an issue that is of some significance for the ostensible function of such images, as well as for some of the psychological issues raised here, such as the amount of attention be-

stowed on individual physical objects. But the basic premise of this paper remains that it would be wrong to underestimate the devotional status of these images at the expense of their decorative function – whatever the scale of the individual objects concerned.