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**RUBENS AND TITIAN:
ART AND POLITICS**

I. ITALY

When Peter Paul Rubens (b. 1577) died in 1640, his estate—according to the inventory of pictures taken at the time of his death—included eight paintings and two sketches by Titian (ca. 1488–1576). It also contained thirty-three copies painted by Rubens after works by the Venetian master. Two of these were not even listed as copies but as works by Rubens himself.

By the end of his life, Rubens loved Titian more than any other artist. One might have predicted this. Both were arguably the greatest painters, and certainly the most favored portraitists of the potentates, of their time. They painted kings, dukes, and princes and moved with easy familiarity among them. They loved painting the sensual forms of women and, perhaps better than any other, knew how to translate the rustic charms of the countryside into lyrical pictorial form. And while Rubens was by far a more learned man than Titian, both were steeped in classical mythology, above all in Ovid and Philostratus, and were able to transform the stories of the ancients into some of the most poetic pictures ever painted.

It comes as no surprise, then, to discover that Rubens wanted to emulate Titian. Particularly in the last dozen years of his life, he did so with all the ease, intensity, and fervor that we have come to expect from his paintings. But it was not always so.

When Rubens went to Italy in 1600 at the age of twenty-three, Titian was not the artist from whom he most wanted to learn. There were others, he seems to have felt, who had more important things to teach him. Although he stopped in Venice on his way south—and even copied some of Titian's works there—his first efforts were devoted to the copying of ancient sculpture and the work of Michelangelo, chiefly his paintings. From the outset, Rubens strove to perfect his representation of the human body; and if there were any artistic thread that ran through his life, it was his conviction that the prime and most noble task of the painter was to bring the great works of ancient sculpture to life by recasting them in pictorial form.

At the same time, Rubens did what any other ambitious Northern artist traveling to Italy did at the time: he learned by copying. But he accomplished more than that. By assiduously making copies not only of ancient works but of the greatest masters of sixteenth-century Italy, he set the foundations for one of the most extensive repertoire of forms that any painter ever had. For the rest of his life, Rubens would draw on the sources that he knew either from engravings or that he had encountered in the course of his travels—particularly in the eight years of his youthful trip to Italy.

But Rubens copied and studied many other artists as well. In Venice, he seems to have been particularly taken with Veronese, whose influence, both coloristically and formally, may be detected throughout his career. Nor was he immune to the dramatic and mysterious lighting of Tintoretto, and his intense exaggerations of human form. In Mantua, he studied Mantegna and the extravagant inventions of Giulio Romano in the Palazzo del Té. In Florence, and then finally in Rome, he devoted himself to the study of Michelangelo and Raphael above all. These were the greatest masters of sixteenth-century art, the *ne plus ultra*, it must then have seemed to him, of what painting could achieve. In those days, Titian was much less in the picture.

But Rubens was indefatigable in his consumption of the art around him. From North to South, his appetite for learning was insatiable, and we find him studying a host of other artists too: Pordenone in the Veneto; Correggio and Parmigianino in Parma; Barocci in Urbino and Rome; the Carracci; the Zuccari; Salviati; and as much of Leonardo as he could find. The list goes on and on. It even includes Galileo's friend, Ludovico Cardi il Cigoli, and his contemporary Caravaggio. Rubens's spirit was open and inexhaustible.

But it was not indiscriminating. If one studies the early works produced in Italy and the many copies he made after other masters, Rubens's art at that time appeared more predicated on line than on color, more on the *disegno*, in other words, of artists like Raphael, than on the *colore* of Titian. By this time, such a distinction had been canonized in the writing of the great art historian-painter of the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari, whom Rubens much admired. For all of Rubens's coloristic flair, one always detects in the works of his Italian days an insistence on precision of contour and line that is much more characteristic of the school of Raphael than on the deli-

cate obfuscations of outline and softening of atmosphere so typical of the works of Titian. This choice, if choice it was, has as much to do with Rubens's natural inclination as it does with the prestige of *disegno* in the art theory of the time; but above all, it has to do with his commitment to the study and understanding of ancient Greek sculpture.

In the last dozen years or so of Rubens's life, however, there came a sea change in his style, a change entirely attributable to one of the most catalytic of all encounters in the history of painting: his encounter—or rather reencounter—with the works of Titian in Madrid in 1628. Scholars might argue that by then Rubens's painting had already begun to tend toward broken contours, loose brushwork, and shimmering coloristic effects. Even so, what he saw of the works of Titian in that year represents a turning point in his approach to the fundamentals of his art.

There is hardly a writer on Rubens who has not commented on the effects of this encounter both on Rubens's late style and on his choice and treatment of subjects. But while the artistic consequences for Rubens's painting are undeniable and have not wanted for analysis, the political dimensions of almost every aspect of his exchange with Titian have not yet been fully appreciated. They emerge with brilliant and paradigmatic clarity in the works on display in the present exhibition.

Rubens's role in the political and diplomatic life of his time has received almost as much attention as his relationship with Titian. But with no other artist who influenced Rubens is the nexus between painting and politics so clear. Indeed, it is hard to think of another example in the history of art where the artistic relationship between one artist and another is so constantly and inextricably bound up with affairs of state. At almost every stage of Rubens's long series of exchanges with Titian, there is some political motivation or another; and yet, contrary to our fondest fantasies about the way in which perfect art ought somehow to be above or better than the quotidian messiness of life, there can be no question that Rubens's art benefited profoundly from what was forced upon him by the exigencies of political circumstance.

This relationship between the two artists began at the outset of Rubens's career; even then, it is impossible to separate out its political dimensions. Before moving on to the events of 1628, and the brief and glittering period in which both paintings by him in the exhibition were produced, it is necessary to examine the first steps in the relationship. We often think of first steps as being tentative and halting; but in this particular case, they were both brilliant and decisive.

Soon after Rubens arrived in Italy, he found employment at the Mantuan court of Vincenzo Gonzaga, first cousin of the archduke Albert, regent of the Netherlands. Duke Vincenzo presided over a splendid court and a magnificent collection of art, including a number of famous paintings by Mantegna, Titian, and Raphael. Mantegna's *Camera degli Sposi* was part of the collection, as well as the series of the *Triumph of Caesar*, renowned as one of the splendid recreations of antiquity during the

Renaissance. Titian's famous *Eleven Roman Emperors* were included there too, as was Raphael's *Madonna della Perla*, to name only a very few of the great works then in the Mantuan collections. Evidently the young Rubens must have impressed the duke not only with his art but with his naturally aristocratic demeanor and with his skills as a scholar and a courtier. Thus, in the spring of 1603, Rubens was sent on the first of the many diplomatic missions that would punctuate his life from then on.

Duke Vincenzo wanted to curry favor with the king of Spain and his powerful and influential favorite, the duke of Lerma. He wanted to be made admiral of the Fleet, in succession to the disgraced Giovanni Andrea Doria of Genoa; and so he sent his young painter to accompany a large gift—of horses, a coach, vases, and a set of paintings (among other things)—to Philip III and his minister. On the way to Valladolid, where the court had been temporarily transferred, the pictures were seriously damaged by unseasonal torrents of rain. This was just the opportunity Rubens felt he needed; and he showed his mettle.

Vincenzo had thought that he could pass off several of the paintings in the gift as originals (some even supposedly by Raphael and Titian). But now they were damaged, and Rubens realized that they had to be repainted. He did so with resounding success. "I went to the Duke's and took part in the presentation," he wrote to Annibale Chieppio, Vincenzo's secretary in Mantua.

He showed great satisfaction at the fine quality and the number of the paintings which (thanks to good retouching) had acquired a certain authority and appearance of antiquity, from the very damage they had suffered. Thus they were, for the most part, accepted as originals, with no suspicion to the contrary, or effort on our part to have them taken as such. The King and Queen also saw and admired them, and many nobles and a few painters.¹

No wonder Rubens was pleased. Despite the strenuous efforts of Duke Vincenzo's agent in Spain, Iberti, to marginalize Rubens at every stage of the negotiations, Rubens swiftly outmaneuvered him. The duke of Lerma could hardly have been more taken with the talents of the young painter.

Rubens then did something spectacular. Arriving in Madrid and visiting the Escorial, he was finally able to see one of the most famous monuments of sixteenth-century Venetian art in Spain: the masterful portrait of Philip III's grandfather, *Charles V at Mühlberg* of 1548 (Goldfarb, fig. 9). Rubens was clearly fascinated by this picture, with which Titian had revitalized the whole tradition of European equestrian portraiture. But it was not only its artistic quality and status that led him to thoughts of emulation. On September 15, 1603, he wrote to Chieppio declaring his intention of "satisfying the taste and demand of the Duke of Lerma, and the honor

1. Rubens to Chieppio, July 17, 1603, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, trans. and ed. R. S. Magurn (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 36.

of his Highness, with the hope of proving to Spain, by a great equestrian portrait, that the Duke is not less well served than His Majesty."²

And so, bearing in mind *Charles V at Mühlberg* (Goldfarb, fig. 9), but recalling pictures both by Pordenone and by the one Spanish painter he admired, El Greco (1541–1614), Rubens produced his own response to Titian's equestrian portrait of the Hapsburg emperor. In his painting of the *Duke of Lerma on Horseback*, Rubens turned the steed into a stunning grey-white horse, on which the duke seems to ride out majestically towards the viewer; and he placed the duke in an even more dramatically lit setting, with the clash of arms in the background. Less than fifty years after Titian painted his picture, Rubens, at the age of twenty-six, changed the course of European equestrian portraiture yet again and set a new standard by which all subsequent portraiture of this kind would be measured. Lerma was delighted, gave Rubens several more commissions, and suggested that he stay in Spain.

But Duke Vincenzo, now realizing Rubens's true worth, would not hear of it. Rubens himself must have known that his future lay more in Italy than in Spain—at least for the moment. Aside from the abundant prospects for further commissions in Italy, there was still much to see and to learn there. It is true that there were some important earlier works to see in Spain—notably Philip II's great collection of Titians, including a magnificent series of dynastic portraits, the stupendous *Adam and Eve* (fig. 7), and the famous late mythological paintings known as the *poesie* done for Philip in the late 1550s and culminating in the *Europa* (plate 3). "As for the moderns," wrote Rubens to Chieppio, "there is nothing of any worth." The local painters, he felt, showed "incredible incompetence and carelessness. . . . God keep me from resembling them in any way."³

The confident young painter certainly knew his own mind. Although at first he does not seem to have been averse to going to France to paint the court ladies there to add to the Mantuan Gallery of Beauties, he somehow managed to avoid this potentially thankless task. He knew where his future lay; and it did not lie in hack portraiture (though he did make a number of copies of Titian's portraits of Charles V and Philip II). "I should like to suggest," he wrote to Chieppio, "that in my opinion it would be a saving both of time and money, to have this work done by one of the painters active at that Court. . . . Then I should not have to waste more time, travel, expenses, salaries (even the munificence of His Highness will not pay for all this) upon works unworthy of me, and which anyone can do to the Duke's taste."⁴ Rubens would never be a painter to underestimate his own talents.

This is not the place to recount his successes in Italy, both in and out of Vincenzo Gonzaga's service, or his efforts to extricate himself from the increasingly stifling employ of the duke. Time and again, one finds reflections of Titian in his work of these years, but less often than those of other artists—Raphael, Giulio Romano, Leonardo, and Michelangelo chief among them. Even before he had gone to Spain, he had adapted Titian's great *Crowning of Thorns* for his own composition of this subject

2. Rubens to Chieppio, September 15, 1603, *ibid.*, 37.

3. Rubens to Chieppio, May 24, 1603, *ibid.*, 33.

4. Rubens to Chieppio, n.d. 1603, *ibid.*, 38.

in Santa Croce in Gerusalemme in Rome, and he continued to make drawn copies of some of Titian's grandest religious and secular compositions, from the great *St. Peter Martyr to the Pentecost* and the *Ecce Homo*. The famous mythological paintings for Philip II, which Rubens had seen when he went to Spain in 1603, attracted him much less in those years.

II. SPAIN

When Rubens finally left Italy in 1608 to rush to his dying mother in Antwerp (though she passed away just before his arrival), he cannot have thought that he would never return to Italy. But he came back to Antwerp with a stock of pictorial ideas (and a monumental painting of Caravaggio's to place over his mother's tomb) that would fuel and replenish his art for the rest of his life. At that point, Titian still did not feature as significantly as other artists in his influence on the instantly successful young artist, now overwhelmed with commissions. In terms of style and handling of paint, the two painters remained very different for many years. If one thinks of the art of Venice, it is easier to point to the influence, in the next two decades, of Veronese, and even Tintoretto. But Rubens never entirely forgot Titian, and he continued to draw on his firsthand recollections of the greatest of all Venetian artists, on Titian's painted and drawn copies, and on the many engravings after Titian that were then available to him in Flanders.

In fact, it is easy enough to find direct references, copies, and adaptations in Rubens's work. Occasionally, he made a copy or ingenious adaptation of one of Titian's more sensual works, such as the famous *Venus at a Mirror*, which seems to have fascinated Rubens and inspired him to produce not only the copy now in Washington but also the marvelous picture of the same subject with a Black attendant now in Liechtenstein. The latter would in its turn inspire Velázquez in the *Rokeby Venus*.

But such excursions toward the sensual or poetic Titian were rare. Much more common was the way in which he turned to the master for his grand religious inventions, such as the *Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, the *Pentecost*, or the more obscure *Christ Appearing to His Mother* (adapted from Titian's altarpiece in Medole near Mantua). Even immensely complex works such as Titian's *Gloria* (Mena, fig. 5) or the famous *Assunta*, which he painted in 1518 for the High Altar of the Frari in Venice, left their mark on Rubens (and particularly on his many representations of the *Last Judgment* and the *Assumption of the Virgin*).

In 1628–29, everything changed. In that year, Rubens visited Spain again, and his reacquaintance with the great mythological paintings that Titian had done for

Philip II could not have had a more profound effect on all his subsequent work. After this, his painting changed course in almost every respect; and even more than in the case of his visit to Spain in 1603 can it be said that politics and diplomacy were bound up with his art. The mature Rubens is unimaginable without the influence of Titian, as we shall see, and if ever politics lay behind a shift in both style and subject, it was now.

Perhaps Rubens still had Titian fresh in his mind when he set out for Spain in 1628 at the behest of Albert's widow, Archduchess Isabella, the aunt of Philip IV. He had only recently completed the High Altarpiece for the Augustinian Church in Antwerp, with its many clear gestures both to the great ceiling paintings for Santo Spirito in Venice and to the monumental Pesaro Altarpiece also in the Church of the Frari. And he had barely laid down his brushes after finishing the very beautiful *Assumption of the Virgin* for the High Altar of Antwerp Cathedral, with its multifold recollections of the Frari *Assunta*. His first wife had just died, and Rubens was only too keen to accept a new diplomatic mission that would take him abroad and his mind off his most recent loss.

III. ENGLAND, SPAIN, AND THE UNITY OF THE NETHERLANDS

England and its king, Charles I (1600–1649), lay at the center of the events, both diplomatic and artistic, that now unfolded. Each of the pictures in this exhibition is strangely bound up with English history and in particular with the life of that sad king, Charles I. The story is a complex one. In it, painting and politics are constantly intertwined, and the relationship between Rubens and Titian stands at its heart. Titian's paintings and Rubens's responses to them, particularly in 1628–29, play a critical role in a sequence of intricate and sometimes dramatic political negotiations that were set in motion by the outbreak of the Thirty Years War in 1618. Anyone taking the pulse of European politics in the decade that followed must also listen to the underlying murmurs of art.

When the archduke Albert died in 1621, the reins of power in the Southern Netherlands passed into the sole hands of his widow, Archduchess Isabella. She, depressed by her loss, took the sombre habit of the Poor Clares and withdrew from the worldly affairs of the court. Within no time, Rubens became one of her closest confidantes; she seems to have trusted him more deeply than perhaps any other of her courtiers. He appeared to have none of the pretensions or political and personal ambitions of the nobles who surrounded her. It was not that he had no political ambitions, merely that they were not self-serving. If Rubens had any dream beyond that for his art alone, it was the fond and ultimately unrealistic one of seeing his beloved Netherlands united again.

Ever since the Twelve-Year Truce of 1609, the Netherlands had been divided into two: the Catholic South (roughly the area we now call Belgium), which remained Spanish, and the Protestant North, the so-called United Provinces of the Netherlands (the area we now call Holland), which became independent. Proud of its newly acquired autonomy from Spain, the Northern Provinces swiftly became a major political and economic power in its own right. Amsterdam was set to replace Antwerp as the economic center of the whole region. But Rubens cherished the dream of seeing the Dutch-speaking lands reunited once more under the Spanish Crown. In him, Isabella thus found not only a sympathetic ear but one who shared the central political aim of her life as well. In Rubens, she also found someone who could be trusted with the most delicate matters, someone who could put aside his own ambitions (by and large, one might perhaps add), in the interests of serving her.

Swiftly she realized the usefulness of having the most renowned painter in all of Europe as an agent of diplomatic negotiation. He could be sent almost anywhere—the United Provinces, Germany, France, England, and, of course, Spain itself—on real and ostensible artistic missions; and in his guise as a painter, Rubens could conduct policy with the most powerful statesmen and military. And so it would be; indeed, some of the meetings he set up were so covert that we still do not know the details of all his movements in the ten years that followed. But what we do know is sufficient to deduce something of the extraordinary extent to which his work as a painter was intertwined with his life as a diplomatic negotiator, covert intermediary, and spy. In him, as Sir Henry Wotton (himself a peripheral figure in many of the intense diplomatic negotiations in which Rubens would be involved) said of the monuments of classical antiquity, “ART became a piece of *State*.”⁵

But how did England feature in all this? For a start, the archduchess, like Rubens, knew that England had a pivotal role to play in the securing of Netherlandish unity. If England, Holland’s ally, could be pressured to make peace with Spain, then the way to a broader peace within Europe would be secured. This became especially crucial after the expiration of the Twelve-Year Truce in 1621. But there were constant complications. For one thing, France—ever the archrival of Spain on the European stage—did everything it could to prevent the cessation of hostility between Spain and the North Netherlands. Then, in 1623, an alliance was formed between Britain, France, and the United Provinces (and Denmark as well) *against* Spain. The task before Rubens could hardly have seemed more overwhelming at that particular juncture.

But things had already begun to go wrong. In 1623, King James (1566–1625) of England had sent his son Charles to Madrid to win the hand of the Infanta of Spain, the sister of Philip IV. The young prince was accompanied by the royal favorite George Villiers, recently created First Duke of Buckingham. Despite the opposition of his Protestant subjects, James needed the dowry the Infanta would bring with her,

5. H. Wotton, *The Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624), 106–07.

and he was anxious to salve the deep wounds caused by the invasion by the Spanish of his son-in-law Frederick's realms in the Palatinate three years earlier. But the Spanish made impossible conditions, such as freedom of private worship for the English Catholics, and they refused to go to war with the emperor to help Frederick reclaim the Palatinate. Nor had they—or the English—forgotten the humiliating defeat of the Armada in 1588. And so when Prince Charles and the duke of Buckingham returned home without the Infanta, there was general rejoicing. For the time being, the British thought they were safe from a Catholic queen.

But Charles and Buckingham did not return entirely empty-handed. At one point in the negotiations, as a token of Spanish goodwill, the king presented Charles with two great paintings by Titian—*Portrait of Charles V with a Hound* (Mena, fig. 4) and the painting known as *Venus del Pardo*. Himself a great lover of art, he knew that such presents would be well received by the art-loving prince. Three of the late *poesie* were boxed and ready to go when negotiations broke down completely. These were the beautiful *Diana and Callisto*, *Diana and Actaeon*—and the *Europa*.

The Spanish were all too well aware of the prince's growing passion for art. Inspired by the sophisticated taste and collecting activities of his late brother Henry, and encouraged by men like Buckingham and the austere and learned earl of Arundel, Charles began looking all over Europe for good paintings to acquire, especially Venetian ones. As Oliver Millar once put it, "The Prince stands at the heart of that group of collectors and patrons whose activities up to the outbreak of the Civil War constitute the most spectacular moment in the history of English taste."⁶ And Rubens had dealings, both artistic and diplomatic, with all of them.

IV. ARUNDEL AND BUCKINGHAM: ART AND POLITICS

Already in 1616, Rubens had opened a discussion with Sir Dudley Carleton, English ambassador in The Hague, regarding the acquisition of Carleton's collection of antique sculptures. In exchange, Carleton was to receive a group of paintings by Rubens—or allegedly by him, as we know from a famous exchange of letters between the two men in 1618, in which it is clear that Rubens was not entirely in good faith about the autograph status of the works he planned to sell to Carleton.

But if Rubens thought that Carleton could have the wool pulled over his inexperienced eyes, he would not have risked doing the same with the man whom in 1620 he called "one of the four evangelists and supporters of our art," Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel. Arundel had helped the late Prince Henry (1594–1612) form his own taste, and despite the fact that for a while he fell into royal disfavor, he

6. O. Millar, *The Age of Charles I: Painting in England, 1620–1649* (exh. cat.) (London: Tate Gallery, 1972), 21.

remained one of the two most influential figures in English artistic patronage in the halcyon days of the 1620s.

By 1620, Arundel had visited Venice and the rest of Italy, had put together a rather formidable collection of ancient sculptures, and had begun to acquire drawings by Leonardo, Parmigianino, and Holbein and paintings by Holbein, Veronese, Titian, and many others, works that contributed to the stature of his collections. Like his notorious Italian contemporary, Scipione Borghese, Arundel sent his agents everywhere in search of paintings and antiquities and stopped at little in his attempts to acquire objects he wanted.⁷

The other major force during this era was the duke of Buckingham. How Arundel and Buckingham competed with each other, not only in the amassing of works of art, but also for royal favor! Arundel came from a distinguished Catholic line, the dukes of Norfolk. His grandfather had been executed in 1572; his father died in the Tower in 1595. But Henry loved him, and in due course Charles would as well. During the reign of their father, James, however, Arundel remained largely in disfavor. In these years, the very years in which his archrival rose to power, he assembled the collections of antiquities and paintings that graced Arundel House in the Strand. We can still imagine something of their setting from the pictures that Daniel Mytens painted of the gaunt and severe duke (fig. 1) and his wife seated before the two main galleries of their house sometime before 1618.

But soon Villiers was outdoing Arundel. By 1621, his agent, Balthasar Gerbier, whom Rubens knew well, had had a large consignment of Venetian pictures sent to him, including Titian's enormous *Ecce Homo*. In the course of the marriage expedition to Madrid, he bought Giovanni da Bologna's *Samson and the Philistine*, and in 1624, the newly created duke was granted York House in the Strand, just down the road from the Arundels. Here he could display his rapidly expanding collection in all its emulous splendor.

No wonder, then, that their common love of art provided Buckingham and Rubens with appropriate cover when the two of them first began to negotiate a peace between England and Spain in the years between 1622 and 1625. And how critically they must have needed that cover when they finally met in Paris in the latter year. The stakes were high and involved the greatest powers in Europe.

In 1622, Rubens was invited to Paris to paint a cycle of paintings glorifying the Queen Mother of France, Marie de Médici (1573–1642). In that year, he met up with Gerbier and they no doubt discussed his master Buckingham's own project for peace with Spain. The ever more powerful Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) had serious doubts about the painter from Flanders from the very beginning. This was not simply because Rubens went on to produce one of the greatest cycles of propagandistic painting ever made as a means of honoring the very queen whose influence on her son, the future Louis XIII, Richelieu constantly sought to counterbalance; he also sus-

7. In this, he was helped by his rich wife, Alethea Talbot (granddaughter of Bess of Hardwick). When she passed through Antwerp on her travels in Europe in 1620, Rubens painted her in the company of a gentleman who is probably Dudley Carleton, her dwarf Robin, and her magnificent hound, all in a sumptuous, though strangely wooden, painting now in Munich. In Venice in 1622, her interest in Titian was so great that Tizianello, the son of the great painter's cousin and assistant Marco Vecellio, dedicated his *Short compendium of the life of the famous painter Titian* to her; and she tried in vain to bring Tizianello over to England.

pected (rightly, of course) that Rubens was too caught up with the interest of Spain.

By now, however, Rubens was nothing if not shrewd; and he knew exactly how to exploit the circumstances that surrounded his completion of the Médicis cycle in March 1625. By this time, Charles of England and his advisors had conceived of a new plan to take the place of the previously sought Spanish marriage. If he could not marry the Infanta of Spain, Charles would marry the daughter of the queen of France, Henriette-Marie (1609–1669). Like the Infanta, she too was Catholic; but at least an alliance with France would offset the power of Spain. The match was encouraged by Richelieu as much as it was favored by the English (and Buckingham, in particular), though nothing could have been further from the interests either of Rubens or the archduchess Isabella.

The irony of it all was that Rubens was instructed to have his canvases completed by the time of the wedding in Paris on May 1, 1625, only several months after Charles had ascended to the throne of England and Scotland. Never easily thwarted, Rubens knew how to turn this difficult set of circumstances to his advantage. He seized the opportunity of setting up a meeting with none other than the duke of Buckingham, who naturally attended the wedding in Paris. There they could begin, treacherously enough, perhaps, to discuss the possibility of a peace between England and Spain. It is likely that not even they would have been able to tell whether the main topic of their conversation was high political matters or their mutual love of art and interest in it. Aside from the obvious fact that they both enjoyed simply talking about art, Buckingham remained at least as concerned as he had always been with expanding his collection; and Rubens did not let an opportunity go by either to make money from the sale of art, or to make propaganda in favor of his own work.

In the spring of 1625, then, Rubens and Buckingham began to talk not only about the practical side of making peace with Spain, but also about three further matters in the realm of art: first, the possibility, probably already mooted in England, of Rubens's painting the ceiling of the new Banqueting House in London in honor of James I; second, the commission of a monumental equestrian portrait of Buckingham and a ceiling painting for York House; and third, the sale to Buckingham (for the enormous sum of 100,000 florins) of Rubens's huge collection of antiquities (part of which he had bought from Sir Dudley Carleton less than seven years earlier) and some paintings. At every stage, Buckingham was spurred on by his rivalry with Arundel. Now he looked poised to deal the earl, already excluded from the most intimate circles of power and authority, the final blow.

Thereafter, things moved ahead with extraordinary speed. On June 5, 1625, Ambrogio Spinola defeated the Dutch forces at Breda (the event commemorated by the painting that first assured Velázquez of his fame). The possibility of reestablishing a truce between the United Provinces and Spain could hardly have seemed more

remote, and Isabella and Rubens were worried indeed. Not even Philip himself seemed to care about the peace for which they so longed. But did not some hope lie with the new king of England, Charles I, whose love of art often seemed to his subjects to be greater than his control over his courtiers? After all, Rubens was already in touch with Charles and with his two closest advisors over artistic as well as diplomatic matters. But Buckingham remained headstrong, even against the best interests of the kingdom. He raided the Iberian peninsula but was pushed back from Cádiz. He encouraged the Protestant invasion of the Palatinate and then concluded a peace with the United Provinces and with Denmark.

All this was too much for Philip IV (1605–1665). Up until this time, he had been more than patient with England, and he had never been very enthusiastic about the prospects for peace in the Netherlands—let alone about the reunion of North and South so desired by his aunt and her painter-confidante. Now, in exasperation, Philip withdrew his ambassador from England and threatened reprisals. He knew too well that if he wanted to, he could form an alliance with Richelieu and thereby ruin Buckingham's carefully laid plans for a similar alliance with France. In January 1627, therefore, Buckingham sent a conciliatory mission to Madrid to express his regrets to Philip's favorite, the count duke of Olivares. But to little avail. On March 20, Philip concluded a treaty with France envisaging the invasion of England and the restoration of Catholicism there. But since Isabella had for some time been pleading for the reopening of peace negotiations with England (on the grounds that Charles might be forced into the arms of Richelieu), he kept the signing of this treaty secret from her and from Rubens. He even antedated an authorization for an armistice between England and Spain to February of the same year.

The situation, in short, was a mess. On top of it all, Philip had already expressed his dissatisfaction with Isabella's choice of a mere painter as an intermediary in the proposed negotiations between Spain, England, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands. "I am displeased at your mixing up a painter in affairs of such importance. You can easily understand how gravely it compromises the dignity of my kingdom," he wrote irritably to his aunt.⁸ Isabella observed that if Charles could have an even lowlier painter as his advisor, then Rubens might at least be able to carry on negotiations with Philip.

The next step was to send Rubens to Holland to open discussions with Gerbier, as a preliminary to negotiations at a higher level. The Flemish painter had completed some of the most important commissions of his career (including the High Altar of Antwerp Cathedral) and had just lost his beloved wife Isabella. Now, as he wrote in a famous and touching letter to his friend the French antiquarian Claude Fabri de Peiresc, he was ready to travel, if only to distract himself from her death. He had no wish to stay at home and brood.

8. Philip IV to Isabella, June 15, 1627, *Correspondance de Rubens et documents epistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres* ("Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus"), ed. M. Rooses and C. Ruelens, 6 vols. (Antwerp: Veuve de Backer, 1887–1909), 4:82–83.

But he needed a passport; and it was provided by none other than Sir Dudley Carleton in The Hague—not of course on the basis of the proposed negotiations, but “under pretence [sic] of a treaty betwixt him and Gerbier about pictures and other rarities.”⁹ The planned sale of Rubens’s collection to Buckingham provided convenient cover. When they finally got together in Delft, they proceeded to travel around under the perfectly acceptable pretext of looking at pictures and meeting the most well-known Dutch painters. Craftily enough, Rubens did not go to The Hague, or even meet with Sir Dudley Carleton. Circumspection about his real motives was of the highest necessity—and once again his status as an artist provided the ideal cover for his diplomatic discussions. Alas, they were not a success. Philip could not keep his agreement with Richelieu a secret any longer, and once it became known in the summer of 1627, both Rubens and Gerbier were amazed to discover that he had so cunningly stolen a march on them. They must both have felt particularly discouraged at that juncture and retired home.

Yet Rubens knew that an alliance between the aggressively ambitious Olivares and the wily Richelieu stood about as much chance, as he put it, as “a union of fire and water.” To read his letters during this period, especially to his new friend in Paris, Pierre Dupuy, librarian to Louis XIII (who could thus provide him with much useful information about the internal rivalries at the court of the very young king), inspires admiration for Rubens’s insight into the political complexities of the day. The two men discussed art and antiquities endlessly and reflected on the declining economy of Spain and the machinations of Richelieu.

Left to his own devices, Rubens might well have been able to get his way; but he was still no match for those who held the real reins of power. At the end of 1627, his cause must have seemed more hopeless than ever. Not even he was able to keep up with the rapidly shifting alliances of those hectic months. Then, suddenly, the always impetuous and ever clumsier Buckingham did something quite unexpected—foolish, certainly, from the English point of view, but excellent news, it must have seemed, to Rubens. He sent the English fleet to the aid of the Huguenots besieged by Louis XIII in La Rochelle; but, just as at Cádiz, the raid failed ignominiously. Having alienated Philip and Olivares, the duke had now destroyed any hopes of a reconciliation with France.

Suddenly the road to Isabella’s project of peace between England, Spain, and the United Provinces seemed clearer than it had for many a long year. Local discontent in England with the way Buckingham had been handling things forced the duke to instruct Gerbier to reopen negotiations with Rubens about the possibility of peace with Spain. In Spain itself, Marquis Spinola, the hero of Breda, was concurrently recommending peace with the Netherlands. This was the moment to pull all the strands together; and finally, despite Philip’s continuing reservations both about Rubens’s status as a painter and his competence as a negotiator, Isabella managed to convince the king to have Rubens appointed as an extraordinary envoy of the Spanish crown, to go

9. Carleton to Lord Conway, July 3, 1627. *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens, as an Artist and a Diplomat*, ed. W. N. Sainsbury (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1859), 86–87.

to England to ratify the peace negotiations and to prepare the way for the arrival of the official Spanish ambassadors who would then sign the much-hoped-for truce.

V. MADRID

But first Rubens had to go to Spain. "He says," wrote his friend Philippe Chifflet, "that he is summoned to paint the King; but from what I hear on good authority, he is engaged by Her Highness for the affairs which he is negotiating with England."¹⁰ By mid-September 1628, Rubens was already in Madrid. His arrival did not go unnoticed by the representatives of the great powers. The papal nuncio, Giovanni Battista Pamphili, wrote back to Rome that

*It is considered certain that Rubens, the Flemish painter, is the bearer of some negotiation, for we hear that he often confers in secret with the Count Duke [of Olivares], and in a manner very different from that which his profession permits. They say that he left England a short time ago; and since he is said to be a great friend of Buckingham, it is believed that he comes with some peace treaty between the two crowns. Others think his main object is the truce of Flanders, and that he has received the commission as one who enjoys the confidence of all that country.*¹¹

The Venetian ambassador conveyed almost the identical intelligence back to the Doge. Aside from their belief that Rubens had just come from England (whence he was yet to go), their reports were largely on the mark.

In the course of the six months he spent in Madrid, Rubens can hardly have had a spare moment, so busy was he with his representations on behalf of the English and their willingness to accept ambassadors from Spain. It was not always easy going. Scarcely had he begun his work when news arrived of the assassination of Buckingham in August 1628. As well, the Dutch defeated the Spanish navy off the coast of Cuba. As we have seen, Philip initially regarded him with suspicion, but within a few months Rubens had won over not only the king himself but also Olivares and the chief minister Don Diego de Messia, who until then had been an especially keen promoter of the alliance with France. Within no time at all, they came to recognize in Rubens not only a great painter but also an able and distinguished negotiator. All were impressed with his poise and courtesy, to say nothing of the astonishing energy with which he worked as a painter, in whatever short intervals he could manage between his political assignments.

10. Rooses and Ruelens, op. cit., 4:456.

11. Rooses and Ruelens, op. cit., 4:233.

Who is to say to what degree Philip was won over by the works Rubens then produced for him? Rubens must have worked at his art in every spare moment. Isabella had asked him to paint a set of royal portraits and to send them back to her in Brussels. For the king himself, he painted portraits of the royal *enfants*, of his aunt Isabella, and of a number of other members of his family. There were portraits of private citizens, but also a few religious pictures for noblemen. That enthusiastic collector, the marquis de Leganes (who already owned a number of paintings by Rubens), ordered an *Immaculate Conception* from him, and Don Jaime de Cárdenas a *St. John the Evangelist*. No longer in danger of being exploited as a hack portraitist, he painted at least one portrait of Spinola. Among the five portraits Rubens painted of Philip himself, there was also an equestrian portrait, commissioned by the king and intended as a pendant to Titian's great equestrian portrait of his great grandfather—the very same *Charles V at Mühlberg* (Goldfarb, fig. 9) that had so fired Rubens's imagination a quarter of a century earlier. Who could claim that all this was simply a matter of providing convincing cover for his diplomatic activity? Whatever his responsibilities in other domains, Rubens never forgot that he was first and foremost a painter. It was with evident pleasure that he wrote to his friend Peiresc that

*here I keep to painting, as I do everywhere, and already I have done the equestrian portrait of His Majesty, to his great pleasure and satisfaction. He really takes an extreme delight in painting, and in my opinion is endowed with excellent qualities. I know him already by personal contact, for since I have rooms in the palace he comes to see me almost every day.*¹²

That king and painter were evidently drawing much closer to each other is apparent from a wonderfully erudite letter at the end of the same month to his learned friend in Antwerp, Caspar Gevartius. In it, Rubens describes in some detail a number of ancient manuscripts in the library of the Escorial, as well as a subtle if slightly despairing analysis of the progress of the negotiations:

*As for public affairs, I can tell you nothing certain or good; I see no ray of light as yet. The Marquis [Spinola] does not move, nor does he show any inclination to return to the Netherlands, in spite of the Infanta's urgent requests to the King. . . . But the Marquis, with firm conscience, fosters some kind of plan in secret (please interpret this in the good sense) and remains fixed in his purpose. . . . The King alone arouses my sympathy. He is endowed by nature with all the gifts of body and spirit, for in my daily intercourse with him I have learned to know him thoroughly.*¹³

12. Rubens to Peiresc, December 2, 1628, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 292.

13. Rubens to Gevartius, December 29, 1628, *ibid.*, 295.

No one who reads this letter could fail to be moved by Rubens's postscript to it, for it gives some sense of the man himself, even as he was occupied by the quotidian whirl of politics and painting: "I beg you to take my little Albert [Rubens's eldest son, now aged fourteen]. . . . And it is to you, the best of my friends and high priest of the Muses that I commend him, so that you, along with my father-in-law and brother Brant, may care for him, whether I live or die."

The growing sympathy between Philip and Rubens is easy enough to understand. It was not just a matter of Philip's appreciation of the style and discretion with which Rubens conducted his negotiations. There also existed personal affinities between the two men, such as their deep affection for their children and, perhaps above all, their mutual love of painting. Philip clearly admired the work Rubens produced for him and for others in Madrid, and it is not hard to imagine them talking often about the painter who now occupied Rubens's attention more than any other: Titian, whose works had occupied so central a place in the Spanish royal collections ever since the days of Philip II.

Indeed, from the moment Rubens arrived in Spain, he seems to have been carried away by the beauty of Titian's art as never before. From then on, his own work would hardly ever be without some reflection or another of the Venetian master, in subject matter as well as in style. In his *Arte de la Pintura* (finished around 1638 but only published in 1649), Velázquez's father-in-law, Francisco Pacheco, wrote that Rubens copied every one of the paintings by Titian in the royal collections. This is hardly likely to be true, but the number of works by Rubens after Titian that are recorded in the documents or actually survive is still remarkable. Pacheco himself specifically mentions twelve, and several copies that almost certainly date from this period survive, including those of *Adam and Eve* (fig. 8), *Venus and Cupid with a Mirror*, *Diana and Callisto*, the *Worship of Venus* (fig. 4), the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (fig. 10), and of course, the *Europa* (plate 4). Just as he had in 1603–04, he painted copies of not one or two but several of Titian's portraits of Philip II and Charles V, including, now, the half-length double portrait of Charles V and the empress Isabella. Unlike the portraits of other European potentates (such as Johann-Friedrich, elector of Saxony; the duke of Alba; Alfonso d'Este, duke of Ferrara; and so on) mentioned by Pacheco, these copies by Rubens all survive. So do a number of others after Titian's pictures of unknown Venetian noblewomen and courtesans, which seem to have held a special appeal for Rubens. Twenty-one portraits after Titian are mentioned in the inventory made after Rubens's death in 1640, though not all of them refer to the copies he made in Madrid in 1628–29.

Rubens was now a painter who, like Titian, could see in portraiture not only an opportunity to flatter the rich and powerful with his skills, but also an opportunity to show his own powers of invention, flair, and psychological insight. Even so, with a few notable exceptions, it was the encounter once more with Titian's mythological

paintings (and to a less extent those of the Venetian courtesans) that made the greatest impression on Rubens in those years. From then on, his art was impregnated with the rich and sensual pastoral lyricism that is characteristic of almost every mythological subject Titian ever painted. Thus began a new and hitherto unimaginable engagement with the art of Titian that would continue to flourish, and even be encouraged, upon his next encounter with Titian, not in Italy, as he had so fondly hoped—and for so long—but in England.

VI. LONDON

On April 29, 1629, Philip wrote to Isabella telling her of his decision to send Rubens to London. On the same day, he appointed the painter Secretary to the Privy Council of the Netherlands, a post that provided him with sufficient authority to conduct negotiations in England on behalf of the Spanish king. Two days later, Philip gave him a ring worth 2000 ducats and sent him off—first to Brussels with a present of paintings for Isabella, and then on to London, where he arrived on June 3.

The situation was even more complicated there than in Madrid. Though warmly welcomed by the English king, many were jealous of him, particularly the ambassadors of foreign powers. The king might have wished “to meet a person of such merit,” but the Venetian ambassador thought that he was not much more than a “greedy and ambitious man who wants only to be talked about, and is obviously seeking some favor.”¹⁴ Since Buckingham had been assassinated, Rubens’s old friend Gerbier was completely marginalized and had no role to play other than to provide the painter with lodgings. Parliament was at odds with the king over almost every important matter of policy. The court itself was divided, and Rubens, with typical acuity, summed up the situation succinctly:

*In this court there are several factions. The first . . . wants peace with Spain and war with France; the second is much larger and wants peace with all. The third is the worst; it wants war with Spain and an offensive league with France against her.*¹⁵

On top of it all, Richelieu sent his own agents to England to do everything they could to sabotage the proposed treaty with Spain. As Rubens himself was only too well aware, in a country where “public and private interests are sold for ready money,”¹⁶ the cardinal did not hesitate to stoop to bribery.

No one who reads Rubens’s letters to Olivares (from which both the above passages are extracts) during his stay in England could fail to be impressed by the

14. Rooses and Ruelens, op. cit., 5:72.

15. Rubens to Olivares, June 30, 1629, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 304.

16. Rubens to Olivares, July 22, 1629, *ibid.*, 314.

painter's command of the intricacies of that delicate situation and by his extraordinary combination of tact and wiliness—fine qualities in any diplomat. Furthermore, Rubens was able to express himself with precision and insight—equally valuable skills. So it comes as no surprise at all to find that within six months, despite all the obstacles in his way, Rubens had successfully paved the way for the arrival of the high-ranking ambassadors from Spain who would officially sign the proposed treaty. Both Philip and Charles could hardly have been more satisfied with him.

For all his initial concerns about what he called the “instability of the English temperament,” Rubens was delighted with what he found in England. As he wrote in a letter to Dupuy in Paris on August 8, 1629 (uncannily echoing John of Gaunt's elegiac words about England in Shakespeare's *Richard*),

*This island seems to me to be a spectacle worthy of the interest of every gentleman, not only for the beauty of the countryside and the charm of the nation; not only for the splendor of the outward culture, which seems to be extreme, as of a people rich and happy in the lap of peace, but also for the incredible quantity of excellent pictures, statues and ancient inscriptions to be found in this court.*¹⁷

“Certainly in this island I find none of the crudeness which one might expect from a place so remote from Italian elegance,” he wrote to Peiresc a day later. “And I must admit that when it comes to pictures by the hands of first-class masters, I have never seen such a large number in one place as in the royal palace and the gallery of the late Duke of Buckingham. The Earl of Arundel possesses a countless number of ancient statues and Greek and Latin inscriptions too.”¹⁸

It was indeed a glittering place. From his mother Anne of Denmark, and his lamented elder brother Henry, Charles had inherited a love of art that would soon become second to none in Europe. Before the end of his unhappy reign, Charles had assembled what was probably the greatest collection of old master paintings in all of Europe, with several by Rubens among them, and many paintings by Titian—to say nothing of the Raphaels, Mantegnas, Correggios, Giulio Romanos, and a quantity of works by the greatest old and modern masters.

Already by 1621, the twenty-one-year-old prince owned a *Judith and Holofernes* by Rubens and had received a *Lion Hunt* by him through the mediation of Carleton. The first painting Rubens himself dismissed as a piece of juvenilia, and the second he admitted was not up to his usual standards (probably because it was a studio production). In a letter of September of the same year to James I's agent in Brussels, William Trumbull, Rubens offered to paint a bigger and better version of the *Hunt* for the Prince of Wales, on the grounds that “the large size of a picture gives one

17. Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, August 8, 1629, *ibid.*, 320.

18. Rubens to Peiresc, August 9, 1629, *ibid.*, 322.

much more courage to express one's ideas clearly and realistically." Indeed, it seems that these beginnings of his relationship with Charles brought out something of the grandiose in Rubens, for in the same letter he refers to what would become his most important English commission, the painting of the ceiling of the Banqueting House in the new palace of Whitehall:

*and regarding the hall in the New Palace I confess that I am, by natural instinct, better fitted to execute very large works than small curiosities. Everyone according to his gifts; my talent is such that no undertaking, however vast in size or diversified in subject, has ever surpassed my courage.*¹⁹

For all the grandiloquence of this much-cited letter, it would be hard to disagree with Rubens's confidence in himself at this point. The art-loving prince soon commissioned a self-portrait from the Flemish artist to adorn his burgeoning collection; and in January 1625, three months before Charles came to the throne, Rubens himself commented that Charles was "more devoted to painting than any other prince in the world" ("le prince le plus amateur de la peinture que soit au monde").²⁰

But Charles, like Buckingham, was keener on Venetian painting than on anything else—and on Titian in particular. In 1622, the Venetian ambassador in London wrote of the young Prince of Wales that "he loves old paintings, especially those of our province and city."²¹ It is true that there were not nearly as many Titians in London when Rubens arrived as there had been in Madrid and that he had much less time to copy them than he had had in Spain. But there were more than enough to engage his attention. As we have seen, Charles came back from his abortive marriage negotiations in Madrid in 1623 with Titian's *Venus del Pardo* and the imperious *Portrait of Charles V with a Hound*. At that time, he also managed to purchase the lovely *Girl in a Fur Wrap* (fig. 5) from the Conde de Villamediana, which he hung in his Privy Lodging Rooms and which subsequently inspired Rubens to produce one of the most famous and most personal of all his works, "*Het Pelsken*" (fig. 6), discussed later in this essay. On the same trip, Charles commissioned a set of copies of a number of the Titians in the Escorial and the Alcázar, and these he brought back to London with him. From then on, he never stopped negotiating for the acquisition of more paintings by Titian. Just before Rubens arrived in London, he acquired the dramatic *Rape of Lucretia* now in Bordeaux from Arundel and another of the same subject from Buckingham. Charles also owned the *Lady with a Fan*, another of the pictures of Venetian courtesans by Titian and other Venetians that seem to have cast a particular charm on Rubens.

Of course, there were also other pictures by Italian masters for Rubens to see in the royal collections. By 1628, Charles had already acquired famous works by Raphael and Correggio among the old masters, and Guercino and Gentileschi among the mod-

19. Rubens to Trumbull, September 13, 1621, *ibid.*, 77.

20. Rubens to Valavez, January 10, 1625, *ibid.*, 60.

21. Millar, *op. cit.*, 21.

erns. Such was Charles's enthusiasm to have a notable Italian artist in his employ that one of the first things he did as king was to try to persuade Guercino to come and paint for him in London; but the brilliant young painter from Cento seemed not to have much liked the idea of working for Protestant heretics in a cold climate—and so he refused. With Gentileschi, however, his and Buckingham's efforts were more successful. At the end of 1626, the painter arrived from Paris, where he had been in the employ of Marie de Médicis (by then, Charles's mother-in-law), and where Rubens must also have met him. He too went on to serve in the double capacity of painter and diplomat for Charles, producing both easel and ceiling paintings.

[This picture of Charles's patronage would be incomplete without reference to his collection of pictures by German and Netherlandish artists as well—Dürer and Cranach, in particular. But he was much less devoted to them than to the Italians. His great collection of drawings and paintings by Holbein, for example, was gradually dismembered, with most passing by sale, exchange, or gift to the earl of Arundel.]

From the moment of his accession to the throne, Charles knew that he had much to buy before his collection would indeed become one of the greatest in Europe. To the dismay and resentment of many of his subjects, he was prepared to spend what it took to do so; and too often it seemed that the refined and all-too-distant king preferred art to the general welfare of his people.

In 1627, an extraordinary opportunity presented itself. Vincenzo II Gonzaga, the son of the same Vincenzo who had been Rubens's Mantuan employer a quarter of a century earlier, was deeply and desperately in debt. He needed cash and so was prepared to sell the fabulous collection of pictures he had inherited from his ancestors. Charles did not hesitate for a moment and immediately instructed his agents in Venice to open negotiations with Vincenzo (and then, after Vincenzo died, with his relatives).

Within a short span of time, the agents were successful, and in this manner there arrived in England one of the most spectacular cargo of paintings ever. It included works such as Raphael's *Virgin and St. Elizabeth with the Christ Child and the Infant St. John*, Mantegna's *Parnassus* and *Expulsion of the Virtues and Vices*, Correggio's *Education of Cupid*, Andrea del Sarto's *Madonna della Scala*, paintings by Giulio Romano and Domenico Fetti, Reni's *Labors of Hercules*, and the *Death of the Virgin* by Caravaggio. This last had been purchased twenty years earlier by Duke Vincenzo I upon the recommendation of a prescient and discerning young Rubens, after it had been rejected by the Carmelite Fathers of Santa Maria della Scala in Rome on the grounds of its indecorousness. But above all were the Titians: the *Entombment*, the *Allocution of the Marqués del Vasto*, *Venus and Cupid with an Organist*, and the famous set of *Eleven Roman Emperors* that would soon adorn St. James's Palace but that were destroyed by fire in 1734.

Most of these paintings arrived in London after a hair-raising voyage in April 1628. Another cargo with Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*, then perhaps the most

famous works in the collection (along with a group of ancient statues), was the subject of still more complicated negotiations and arrived in London a few years later.

At a stroke, then, the already burgeoning London collections were transformed. Truly it could be said that never again would the likes of such a group of pictures be seen.²² Even the Spanish were amazed and jealous. The paymasters, of course, were not happy at all. The king's coffers were by no means full, and from the start the purchase seemed a reckless extravagance. When his moneylender Filippo Burlamachi heard that he would have to disburse £15,000 for the Mantuan pictures in 1628, he complained that he would no longer be able to equip Buckingham's army to raise the continuing siege by Richelieu of the Huguenot stronghold in La Rochelle.²³ The Mantuan collection may indeed have raised the international prestige of Charles ("they are truly worthy of so great a king as His Majesty of England" wrote Daniel Nys in 1629);²⁴ but local resentment of the king's frivolous diversion of his rapidly dwindling resources grew and played a not insignificant role in the rising chorus of opposition to him. From the very beginning, then, a shadow hung over the Mantuan purchase, and even before the king stepped onto the scaffold on January 30, 1649, Parliament had made arrangements to sell his collection. But this is not the place to rehearse the oft-told story of the sad and pathetic dispersal of his pictures; they now hang among the foremost ornaments of the great museums of the world, from Paris and Vienna to New York and back again, once more, to Madrid.

When Rubens visited London, then, the artistic situation could hardly have been more brilliant. The first of the Mantuan pictures had arrived. He had easy access not only to the king's collections but also to those of men like Buckingham and Arundel. At the house of the recently widowed duchess of Buckingham, works such as Titian's *Ecce Homo* were still hanging, as well as the splendid set of ceiling paintings by Veronese (one Venetian painter whom Charles seems never to have enjoyed very much). There was also a group of modern works by artists such as Reni, Manfredi, and Baglione that Buckingham had begun acquiring by 1621; as early as 1625, Gerbier flattered him by saying, with some justice, that of "all the amateurs and princes and kings, there is not one who has collected in forty years as many pictures as Your Excellency has in five." No wonder that he was eager to have Rubens paint for him, too!

But with Buckingham out of the way, Arundel rose both in favor and in confidence. Once excluded by the court, he now grew closer to the king and was appointed to positions of unexpected authority. At his house in the Strand, Rubens spent time not only with the antique statues that so enthralled him ("I confess I have never seen anything more rare, from the point of view of antiquity," he wrote to Dupuy)²⁵ but also with German and Italian Renaissance paintings. By then, Arundel had almost certainly acquired the most moving, arguably, of all of Titian's late paintings, the *Flaying of Marsyas* (now in Kroměříž in Poland). In this work, Rubens could study to perfection the late style of the Venetian painter, with its marvelously loose and free

22. Daniel Nys to Endymion Porter, May 12, 1629, *Original Unpublished Papers*, 326.

23. Filippo Burlamachi to Endymion Porter, October 17, 1627, *ibid.*, 323.

24. Daniel Nys to Endymion Porter, May 12, 1629, *ibid.*, 326.

25. Rubens to Pierre Dupuy, August 8, 1629, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 321.

handling of the brush, its swift and scintillating highlights, its shimmering treatment of silvery nuances, and its elegiac integration of nature and ancient mythology. All of these elements would become hallmarks of Rubens's own late style, in the ten or so years that still remained of his life. The hard contours and tight modeling of the great paintings by Holbein that adorned Arundel's collection (and which the earl himself perhaps favored over all others) made far less of an impression on him.

Holbein might indeed have offered a model for the commission that Rubens now received from Arundel. After all, had he not been the chosen painter of Henry VIII and his court a century earlier? But Rubens was now in the thrall of the Venetian. The latter's much more painterly approach to portraiture had revolutionized that genre and must have seemed at once more modern and more suitable a model for emulation—especially to one whose own brushwork had become increasingly free. The portrait, *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (plate 7), that the earl now commissioned thus offers testimony not only to Rubens's newly recovered authority but also to the painter's devotion to Titian. In this painting, Rubens's handling is incomparably loose and light, except for the decisive and broad strokes that bring a brilliant gleam to the armor. In places such as these, the brush can be both stiff and coarse, but in the props surrounding the duke—the table covering, the curtain, the plumed helmet, and the architectural setting—Rubens seems to have painted with a kind of light fire. There are patches of paint here, delicate washes there, applied in such a way that in many places the ground shows through, lending an overall transparency and luminosity to the very air that surrounds the earl. The vigor of the armor and the nuanced modeling of the face, and in particular the astonishing skill with which Rubens paints the liquid but acute eyes of the earl, all seem to match those qualities of vigor, acuity, and above all dignity with which proud Arundel now looks down on his imagined beholder.

There is nothing like this pride or dignity in any other portrait of Arundel except, perhaps, in the magnificently fiery and confident preparatory study from Williamstown (plate 6), or in the vigorous and penetrating drawing in Oxford. Rubens's preparatory rehearsal (or is it a repetition?) in the National Portrait Gallery in London (fig. 2) is more firmly painted but seems almost pedantic in comparison. It even shows the warts on the earl's face, which have been omitted in the Gardner painting. The slightly later half-length picture in the National Gallery in London shows him as a scholar rather than as a man of arms.

But the painting in the Gardner shows the earl at the height of his influence and authority. Carrying the gold baton of the Earl Marshal of England, he reveals no trace of the deliberately unpretentious appearance he had once affected. "While others flocked to court," writes David Howarth of earlier, more isolated times, "Arundel would remain alone like some solitary cormorant, dishevelled and scraggy in appearance and dressed in those old-fashioned black clothes affected because he

thought they gave the impression of primitive nobility."²⁶ Except for the impression of nobility, there is no vestige of this in the Gardner painting. "Here comes the Earl of Arundel in his plain Stuff and trunk Hose, and his Beard in his Teeth," the earl of Carlisle is supposed to have said; but then he added, "That looks more like a Noble Man than any of us."²⁷ It is indeed hard to imagine a nobler representation of Arundel than that in Rubens's picture. "He was a man supercilious and proud, who lived always within himself and to himself,"²⁸ wrote the earl of Clarendon in his famous history of the English Rebellion, as if describing the Gardner portrait. "His Countenance was Majestical and grave, his Visage long, his Eyes large black and piercing; . . . He was of a stately Presence and Gate, so that any Man that saw him, though in never so ordinary Habit, could not but conclude him to be a great Person,"²⁹ wrote Sir Edward Walker in his early biography of the earl; and, looking at the painting, it would be impossible not to agree.

Rubens accomplished such an affecting representation not only with the sheer skill of his brush, but by alluding to at least three different works of relevant subjects by Titian. The first reference is the 1536–37 portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere, duke of Urbino and husband of Eleonora Gonzaga, daughter of Federigo, duke of Mantua (the grandfather of Rubens's patron Vincenzo). Second, in broad compositional terms, the three-quarter-length view of a military commander with a baton goes back to the now-lost series of *Eleven Roman Emperors*, which Rubens would have remembered from Mantua many years earlier and which he had already used as the basis for his portraits of Burgundian dukes earlier in the 1620s. The series, of course, had just arrived in England as part of the Mantuan purchase, at the very time he must have been busy with the Arundel painting. And third, the cast of the head, even the expression, might also have reminded viewers of one of Titian's portraits of Charles V, which Rubens copied. Certainly Arundel himself would have appreciated these multiple pictorial references so typical of Rubens's work.

But the chief model was unquestionably the della Rovere portrait. In 1537, Titian's friend Pietro Aretino had praised the work for its lifelikeness, down to

*every wrinkle, every hair, every mark; and the colors he painted show not only the boldness of his body, but also the virility of his soul. And in the gleam of his armor one may see reflected the vermilion of the velvet stretched out behind him as an ornament. How beautiful is the effect of the plume of the helmet, so vividly reflected in the shining cuirass of the Duke!*³⁰

The words seem to apply as much to the portrait of Arundel as to its illustrious antecedent. Aretino had also commented on the batons in the della Rovere picture, even more a sign of military distinction than the sole baton in the Arundel painting.

26. D. Howarth, introduction to *Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel* (exh. cat.) (Oxford: The Ashmolean Museum, 1985–86), 6.

27. Howarth, *ibid.*, 221.

28. Howarth, *ibid.*, 219.

29. Howarth, *ibid.*, 221.

30. Aretino to Veronica Gamba, November 7, 1537, *Lettere sull'Arte di Pietro Aretino*, ed. E. Camesasca I, 3 vols. (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957–60), 77.

And it was precisely this aspect of the work that had particular resonance for Arundel, as Rubens well knew, for Francesco Maria had been as much courtier as *condottiere*. He featured significantly in that marvelous sixteenth-century treatise on courtly behavior, Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortiere*, and had begun his fiery military career as captain-general of the forces of Pope Julius II, before moving on to other impulsive and bellicose exploits (on behalf of Florence and Venice as well). Although Arundel had not yet embarked on the ill-fated missions that Charles would later assign to him, it is clear, from his bearing and the armor he wears, that the military allusion was important to him.

The choice of Titian's portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere as a model for the portrait of Arundel was thus by no means haphazard—especially if one takes into account the unremarked fact that Arundel himself owned a copy (listed in his work as an original) of the painting by Titian. Whatever the quality of this copy, however, Rubens took a great work of Titian's maturity and transformed it to reflect not only his own distinctive approach to portraiture, but also the stylistic lessons he had learned from other, much later, works by him.

Of the several portraits of Arundel that survive by other artists, there is none that matches the Gardner painting and none that shows the qualities of dignity, self-confidence, and pride that would finally come to the fore in the very period in which Rubens painted the earl. In contrast, the well-known portrait by Daniel Mytens, court painter to both James and Charles, of Arundel before his gallery of antiquities painted about a dozen years earlier (fig. 1) shows the earl looking prematurely old and strangely diffident (though we may assume that the woodenness of the sitter has as much to do with the painter's relative lack of flair as with anything else). Van Dyck's portrait of 1621 also reveals an equally tired and pensive earl; while his touching portrait of the earl with his grandson painted six or seven years after Rubens's picture shows a more thoughtful Arundel, perhaps anticipating his failure to accomplish everything he had hoped for in the service of the king and seeming to carry within himself some presentiment of the hopeless time that lay ahead.

The tasks that Charles entrusted to him were mostly doomed to failure. Sent as ambassador to the Hapsburg emperor in 1636, he failed to persuade him to restore the Palatinate to Charles's nephew; appointed captain-general of the army against the Scots in 1638, he proved ineffective and inexperienced in military matters (ironically enough when we think of the martial picture in the Gardner!); and as Lord High Steward, he was made to preside over the awful and wrenching trial of his and Charles's close friend, the earl of Strafford. With all soon in ruins, there was nothing for him to do but to retreat again to the continent, where he died in sad and lonely neglect in Padua in 1646.

By then, of course, the English monarchy lay in shambles, too. Throughout the 1630s, both Charles and Arundel had continued to make spectacular acquisitions of

art, and a number of other notable patrons had followed suit. Chief among these was Charles's friend, James, third marquess of Hamilton, who acquired a group of very notable Venetian paintings by Palma Vecchio, Giovanni Bellini, Titian, and Giorgione. To Arundel (for the competitive spirit when it came to paintings remained very high), he lost Raphael's famous *St. Margaret*. In 1632, van Dyck finally settled in London, swiftly to become the favored portraitist both of Charles and of much of the English nobility (and of some distinguished parliamentarians as well). His portraits—and even more the few subject-pictures he did for Charles—are unimaginable without the influence of Titian, whose works he too collected at his house in Blackfriars. By the time van Dyck died in 1641, the landscape had utterly changed. In 1642, Charles retired from London, Buckingham was dead, and Arundel, now utterly disconsolate, had left; and there were more pressing matters to attend to than the assembling of Venetian pictures—or any other kinds of art, for that matter.

But Rubens was not present during this swan song of English collecting. He had left in March 1630, taking with him as a record of his stay the lovely painting of *St. George and the Dragon in a Landscape*. In it, Charles is shown as St. George, Henrietta Maria as the saved princess, and the landscape a misty and poetic evocation of the banks of the Thames. For Gerbier, he painted a delightful picture of his friend's wife and children; and to Charles, he presented an extraordinary painted plea for peace, the highly allegorical *Venus as Peace Protected by Minerva from War*. Before he left, he must also have shown to Charles one of the grandest and loveliest oil sketches he ever made, the outline of his ideas for the ceiling of the Banqueting House. The actual canvases for the ceiling he painted when he returned to Antwerp. They celebrate the reign of Charles's father James and together constitute a vast paean to the benefits of the peace and prosperity of the English monarchy. As paintings, they could hardly have been more brilliant and inventive; but by the time they were finally installed in the mid-1630s, the message they conveyed must have seemed both futile and hopeless.

VII. THE LAST DECADE

Rubens had left just in time. The artistic scene in London would never again be as promising or optimistic as in the nine months he had stayed there. By the beginning of 1630, he felt ready to go home. He had been successful in preparing the way for the arrival of the Spanish ambassadors. He missed Antwerp. Peace had still not been established between the North and South Netherlands; and he was beginning to grow tired of politics. Just before he left England on March 5, 1630, the king bestowed a knighthood on Rubens in honor of his work toward the restoration of "good understanding between the crowns of England and Spain"; in additional thanks, he gave

him a ring from his **own finger**, a **diamond-studded hat cord**, and the sword used for the accolade itself.

England may **have duly honored** him; but Spain was to let him down. Despite repeated applications, **he failed** to receive any payment or reimbursement for his efforts in Spain and England on behalf of peace. The Spanish government appeared to lose interest in **establishing** peace in the Netherlands and soon seemed to abandon the **Southern Netherlands** to its own fate. Weary with the ways of the world, Rubens retired to **his castle** in the countryside. And with him, he took a new wife.

Before Rubens had left England, his brother-in-law had written, only half-**frivolously**, that "it distresses him to be so long deprived of the society of the girls of **Antwerp**. Probably in the meantime they will all have been snatched away from him." **But they** had not. With characteristic wisdom, resourcefulness, and charm, he found **the ideal** wife. Writing to Peiresc after a lapse of several years, he confessed to his friend that

I made up my mind to marry again, since I was not yet inclined to live the abstinent life of the celibate. . . . I have taken a young wife of honest but middle-class family, although everyone tried to persuade me to make a Court marriage. But I feared pride, that common fault of the nobility, especially in that sex, and that is why I chose one who would not blush to see me take my brushes in hand. And to tell the truth, it would have been hard for me to exchange the priceless treasure of liberty for the embraces of an old woman.³¹

And so, on December 9, 1630, nine months after his return to England, Rubens married sixteen-year-old H el ene Fourment, daughter of one of the foremost art dealers in Antwerp. With her, he spent the last, ever-energetic ten years of his life, producing two more sons and three more daughters (the last born eight months after his death), and enjoying the pleasures of peace and domesticity amid the quiet charms of the Flemish countryside. Although he continued to receive major commissions (not least from Philip IV, who continued to hold him in the highest esteem, both as a painter and as a person), the hallmark works of these years are his landscapes and mythological paintings. Often they are peopled by sensual female figures who in one way or another seem to bear the features of his wife. It is in these pictures that we may detect, more strongly than ever before, the influence of Titian. The loose and scumbled brushwork; the broad contours; and the tender, pastoral settings, often shown at sunset or dawn—all these come directly from the paintings of the Venetian master, whose work he could recall from his incomparable pictorial memory, or from the over twenty-five copies he had brought

31. Rubens to Peiresc, December 18, 1634, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 393.

home with him from his travels. In every respect, Titian remained for him the *ne plus ultra* of painting.

But in art as in life (as always with Rubens). When the archduchess Isabella wrote to Philip in July 1631 supporting his application for a Spanish knighthood, "in consideration of his services in important matters," she assured the king that he need not worry that this would "have the consequence of encouraging others of his profession to seek a similar favor." But, she added, since the emperor Charles V had made Titian a Knight of Santiago, it only made sense for Philip, his grandson, to honor Rubens for his services by bestowing a similar accolade on him.³²

From then on, there were no other worldly honors Rubens felt he needed to receive. What mattered to him was his painting. And in one painting after another, he paid homage to Titian. His landscapes and landscape settings are inconceivable without a deep absorption in Titian's pastoral mode; from him, Rubens derived his own vision of the relationship between the lushness and fertility of nature on the one hand and the sensuality of women on the other. His art now adjusted perfectly to his life. He studied his copies of Titian and made new ones. Some themes were such that, not content with merely copying, he devised his own variations on Titian, in paintings such as *Venus and Adonis* in the Metropolitan Museum, *Diana and Callisto* in the Prado, and the *Shepherd and Shepherdess* in Munich. The choice of such themes, as well as all the other mythological ones involving satyrs chasing nymphs, or the *Judgment of Paris* or the *Three Graces*, was by no means fortuitous. In one way or another, they illustrate the inherent tensions between continence and desire. There can be no doubt that, for Rubens, such themes were invested with a powerful subliminal resonance; it seems that almost every mythological and pastoral subject he painted in these years is infused with the love and desire of the aging painter for his young wife. It is impossible not to recall here the additional justification he offered to Peiresc for taking a young wife and for renouncing celibacy: "Thinking that," as he wrote of himself, "we may at least enjoy licit pleasures with gratitude."³³

It is in precisely this context that we must understand the attraction Rubens now felt to Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* and the *Worship of Venus* (fig. 3). These are not works he had seen in Madrid or in London, for they were still in Rome, where Rubens must have seen them in the Aldobrandini collection some thirty years earlier. But now, both from memory and from other copies of these works, he painted his own distinctively lush and lyrical repetitions of these works by Titian. They show only a few small changes, but they are significant enough. None is more revealing of Rubens himself than the way in which he transformed the amorous masculine putti in Titian's *Worship of Venus* to female ones (figs. 3 and 4). And within a year or two, Rubens took this same painting to form the basis of one of the greatest (and most complex) paeans to female love in the history of art, the incomparable *Feast of Venus Verticordia* now in Vienna.

32. Supreme Council of Flanders to Philip IV, July 16, 1631, *Correspondance de Rubens*, 5:392.

33. Rubens to Peiresc, December 18, 1634, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, 393.

Hélène was the inspiration for all this. She strengthened him in his declining years and added to the warmth of his retreat, not only from his worldly labors, but also from the work of the Antwerp studio, which he continued to frequent. For years, Rubens had been fascinated by Titian's paintings of Venetian courtesans, and now one of the most sensual and beautiful of them all, the *Girl in a Fur Wrap* (fig. 5), served as the model for his daring picture of Hélène also in fur wrap, the painting known as "*Het Pelsken*" ("The Fur Wrap") (fig. 6). Unlike the Titian, it shows the full length of her body—thighs, feet, and almost all; and while Titian's courtesan reveals one breast as she demurely holds the fur to her body, Hélène seems almost to show off her two much fuller breasts, to hold them up for display, as her hand reaches across her body in what would traditionally have been a gesture of modesty. With her other hand, she holds on to the fur in an almost indifferent way, as if she were about to allow it to fall and reveal the fullness of her nudity. Rubens was never one to shy away from the frank expression of desire. Even in 1628, when he copied Titian's *Adam and Eve* (fig. 7 and 8) in the Escorial, he made one more of his subtle but significant changes to what would otherwise have been a very close copy. Whereas Titian shows Adam starting away, almost apprehensively, as he reaches out to touch Eve's breast, Rubens makes him bend forward to enact the same gesture, as if aware of the intimation of fertility and abundance in that most primal of moments.

A similar sort of pleasure informs Rubens's representation of the Flemish countryside. Although he was in the habit of showing it as much grander than it ever actually was, for him it still remained distinctively Flemish. Over and over, he emphasized the Flemishness of his versions of the Venetian and the classical pastoral as he had learned them from Titian. The figures of classical mythology became local ones. His particular acknowledgment of the power of sensual love had something in it that he felt to be as robust and as frank as the enjoyment his fellow countrymen, even the peasants, took in their native countryside. Thus it was that he turned back again to one of the lodestones of these last years, Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, which inspired him to produce his two great celebrations of coarse but fruitful and spontaneous country pleasures, the *Kermesse Flamande* in the Louvre and the marvelous *Dance of Peasants* in the Prado. Indeed, the very poses and rhythm of his dancers are taken from the principal dancers of the *Andrians*, and, while as lyrical as they, are made even more robust. Perhaps it was the recollection of the original Titian that made the inventorizer of his estate call this painting, quite misleadingly, "a dance of Italian peasants."

And so, like the dancers in the picture, we come full circle. When Rubens died in 1640, Philip IV bought the best of Rubens's copies after Titian, and for the highest prices. It was as if he were paying homage to the very relationship described in this essay. He bought the *Dance of Peasants* for 800 florins, and for a while it hung near the painting that inspired it; in 1637, the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (fig. 9) and the *Worship*

of *Venus* (fig. 3) had been presented to Philip by Nicolò Ludovisi, prince of Piombino, into whose family the pictures had passed a few years earlier. How could Philip have resisted buying Rubens's copies of these works as well (fig. 4 and 10)? These were the pictures in his inventory not as copies after Titian but as originals in the manner of Philostratus. Philip could not resist and purchased them for 1,800 florins each. What an extraordinary sight this group of pictures must once have presented!

But Philip did not stop there, and he paid the same price (no other paintings went for more) for Rubens's copies after Titian's *Diana and Actaeon* and *Diana and Callisto* as well. Here the ironies multiply. A few years later, he decided to present these works to his rival in both politics and love of art, Charles I, as if recalling Rubens's own role in establishing peace between them and their common devotion to Titian. It would be a short-lived token, however, since on May 30, 1650, these pictures were sold to Jan Baptist Gaspars for the wretched sum of £30 each. If ever there was an indication of how swiftly the artistic situation in England declined after the death of Charles I, it was this.

Rubens had kept in his collection a group of portraits of a number of the men and women who had meant something to him and had played a role in his life, including his own paintings of Spinola, Buckingham, and Arundel (though not the one now in the Gardner). But we can safely assume that the portrait that meant the most to him (aside, presumably, from those of his wives and children) was the moving profile self-portrait of the aged Titian. In it, Titian showed himself as severe, introspective, pale, and every bit as worn by age as Rubens portrayed himself in the great self-portrait that now hangs alongside the portrait of his beloved Héléne in a fur wrap in Vienna. Philip bought the Titian too, and it remains in the Prado to this day.

And Rubens's copy of the *Europa* (plate 4)? Philip had no choice but to purchase it as well, for 1,450 florins. But nothing could be more emblematic of the story told here than the vicissitudes of Titian's original. If, in 1623, it had actually been sent to England, who knows whether Rubens would have had the time to copy it when he was there? Instead, Velázquez was inspired to use it in the background of *Las Hilanderas*, and Rubens would copy it along with the other *poesie* painted for Philip II. Now, for the first time, original and copy have been brought together again, and visitors to this exhibition may gauge for themselves the pictorial relationship between two of the most profound and most poetic painters of mythologies in the history of art.

There was one picture inspired by Titian that Rubens kept till his dying day and that he declared in his will should not be put up for sale. This, of course, was "*Het Pelsken*." It was the only painting he left to Héléne, as if in silent acknowledgment that it was too intimate a work to be sold to another. But it remains, perhaps, as one of the most moving records of that moment in Rubens's life, when, like Zeus carrying off Europa to Crete, he took Héléne back to his home in the Flemish countryside,

there to produce his finest realizations of the pictorial integration of love, sensuality, fertility, and nature that he had learned from Titian.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

In addition to the indispensable works cited in the footnotes, I have drawn on my knowledge of the existing literature on Rubens. Several books and articles may be singled out for further consultation. Information about Rubens's estate is excellently supplied by Jeffrey Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989). The best overall summary of the relationship between Rubens and Titian is provided by Julius Held, "Rubens and Titian," in *Titian: His World and His Legacy*, ed. David Rosand (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), 283-339. For more specific details, see also Michael Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977). David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and His Circle* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) (though sometimes slightly optimistic about the specific contents of Arundel's collection) offers a serviceable account of Arundel's collecting activities; on Charles I and the collectors around him, see Francis Haskell, "Charles I's Collection of Pictures," in *The Late King's Goods: Collections, Possessions and Patronage of Charles I in the Light of the Commonwealth Sale Inventories*, ed. Arthur MacGregor (London and Oxford: Alistair McAlpine in association with Oxford University Press, 1989), 203-31.

Much useful information about the relationship between Titian and Rubens (particularly relating to the *Bacchanal of the Andrians* and the *Worship of Venus*) is provided by Görel Cavalli-Björkman, ed., *Bacchanals by Titian and Rubens: Papers Given at a Symposium in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, March 18-19, 1987* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1987, Nationalmusei Skriftserie N.S. 10).

See also *Rubens Copista de Tiziano* (exh. cat.) (Madrid: Museo del Prado, 1987) for further details on the relationship between Rubens and the works still in the Prado. Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens: Man and Artist* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987) offers a full and engaging account of Rubens's life, paying good attention to both the Spanish and the English sojourns. Alexander Vergara's Ph.D. dissertation on Rubens in Spain contains much valuable material on the subject, and I am grateful to him for having let me read it while writing this essay.
