

Rubens & son

Nils Büttner

In 1562, when his son was born, the genealogical continuation of his family appeared to be assured.¹ The first child of Jan Rubens and Maria Pypelincx, who had been married the previous year, was named Jan Baptist. Whether the choice of the name Jan indicates the parents' hopes for a worthy heir and successor of his father remains an open question. We do know that in 1562 Jan Rubens senior not only experienced the birth of his first son but also a high point of his political career: on May 7 he was named alderman for the first time and thus became a member of the administrative elite of his native town Antwerp.² The position opened career paths for his sons since lawyers in the service of the city – corresponding to the aristocratic model – tended to form dynasties in which the sons followed their fathers in office and distinction. In most cases, aldermen as well as councilmen, secretaries and *griffiers* (registrars) belonged for generations to the same, mostly aristocratic but in any case, wealthy families of lawyers, offering assurance of political stability through nepotism.³ Since the politically influential families also were related to each other, politics in Antwerp was something close to a family affair.⁴ In that matter, Antwerp's elite modelled itself in its lifestyle on the standards of the aristocracy. Thus a steadily growing number of wealthy patricians acquired country estates and castles, while strengthening the close connections to the local aristocracy through marriage.⁵ In imitating the aristocratic lifestyle, Antwerp's upper class established art collections, furnished libraries and used galleries with painted portraits of a preferably long line of ancestors to generate the quality of an aristocratic standard of living.⁶ We know that this was the case with Rubens who in his testament reserved the portraits of himself and his wives for his children:⁷

'Aengaende de contrefeytsels van desselffs heer afflyvigens huysvrouwen ende van hem selven daerop corresponderende, alsoo hy by synen voors. Testamente begeert ende geordonneert heeft, dat die sullen volgen aen henne respectie kinderen' ('Concerning the portraits of the wives of the deceased and the corresponding self-portraits, he desired and ordered in the present testament that they should go to his children').⁸

Painted portraits were a component of everyday memorial practice with the objective of visualising the quality of class, an objective that may be described as entitlement to nobility, as nobility rests on *memoria* and remembrance. Nobility originates with the preservation of memory since it is entirely based on the conviction of nobles – and those who attribute nobility to them – that an individual or the group to which he or she belongs, the nobility, is accorded exceptional physical, moral or intellectual properties through birth, ancestry and lineage. Thus the nobility holds the underlying belief that even acquired talents can be passed on to future generations. Based on this notion, the children of the aristocracy are considered more noble than their parents. The further back an individual's ancestors reach and the longer their memory is preserved, the more exceptional is his aristocratic status.⁹ It is the remembrance of the dead and their deeds as thought and practice that constitutes nobility. The establishment of *memoria* through texts, rituals, but especially through images, monuments and buildings stands in direct relation to the quality of nobility. This abstract quality is brought into the consciousness of the living through images, visual manifestations of cultural memory. At the same time, the practice of *memoria* implied a responsibility from the living to be passed on to their descendants, with the result that the life

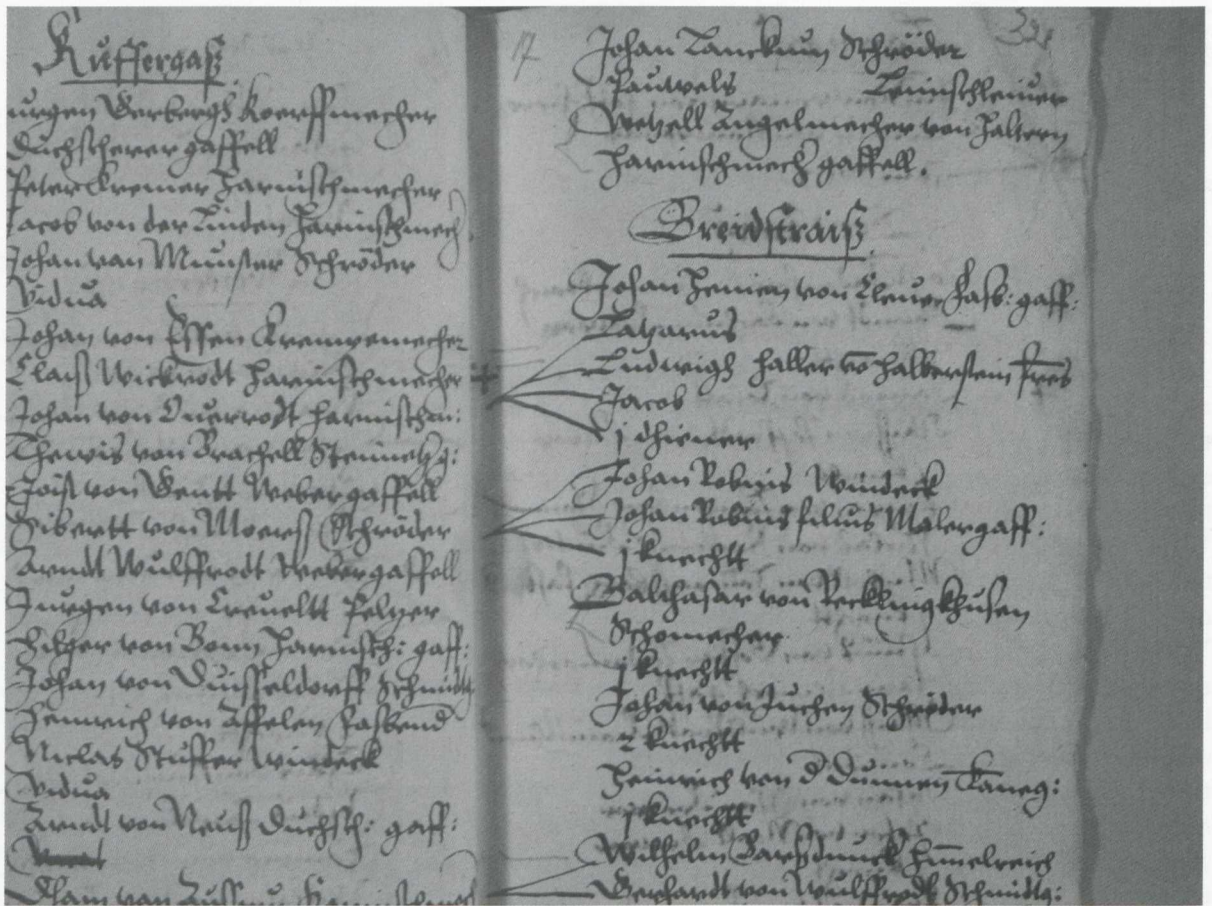


Fig. 1. List of the citizens fit for military service in the 6th district (St Columba) in the Breitstraße in Cologne, 1583. Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt.

and career choices of the children were determined by those of their parents.

The meagre surviving sources concerning Jan Baptist Rubens do not inform us if the custom of following in one's father's footsteps was anticipated for him; for example, we do not know which school he visited. However, he seems to have shown some talent in painting, which may have convinced his parents to send him to a painter's workshop. Such training is documented in the Cologne archives after the Rubens family had moved there. In 1583 Jan Baptist is mentioned among the citizens fit for military service in the 6th district (St Columba), in the Breitstraße, where besides the head of the family, Jan Rubens, were registered 'Johan Robins filius Malergaff:[el]' ('Jan Rubens's son, painter's apprentice') and a servant (Fig. 1).¹⁰ Unfortunately, as of yet no document has been found as to where Jan Baptist underwent his training, and my research in this matter came to an end for the time being due to the terrible collapse of the Cologne city archive. It is pos-

sible that research in Italian archives might be more fruitful since Maria Pypelincx recorded in Antwerp on 24 November 1589, 'dat den outsten sone, namentlijck Jan Baptista, meer als drij jaren ende een halff, van Colen vorseyt, naer Italien is getrocken' ('that the oldest son, Jan Baptist, moved from Cologne to Italy more than three and a half years ago').¹¹ Where he travelled in Italy and what he did there remains unknown. That he continued to be active as a painter may be documented by a letter of 2 March 1609 by Andreas Hoyus to Valerius Andreas, stating that he intended his son Filips to have drawing lessons with Jan Baptist, 'Ik heb hier an Baptist Rubens gedacht' ('I thought here of Baptist Rubens').¹² However, it is not certain if Jan Baptist was still alive at this date. Ever since the nineteenth century rumour has it that he died in 1600,¹³ although he is mentioned in a document of the Antwerp aldermen's court of 6 September 1601, which states that his brother Philip and his mother arranged in his name the sale of the house Sint Jan from the

estate of Jan de Lantmeter to Alexandrina Balbani.¹⁴

Unfortunately we do not have a single work that can be attributed to Jan Baptist Rubens, although there appear to have been paintings by him which were quite expensive. An indication of this can be found in a letter of 5 October 1611 sent by the elders of the Nuremberg city council to Johann Löw, the city's agent in Prague,¹⁵ which states that the Nuremberg burgher Friedrich von Falkenburg has a painting in safekeeping that seems to be of interest to the people in Prague. It follows that

‘das berürte tafel, so Jan Rubens zu Antorff gemahlet, ihme vor disem zukommen und bei ihme achthundert thaler darauf entlehenet, dagegen das gemehl eingesetzt worden; wellichs stuck er biss dato ungeöffnet, wie es ihme zukommen, gelassen und seiner bezahlung erwartet, so aber noch nit ervolgt’ (‘the touched upon panel, painted by Jan Rubens of Antwerp and sent to him [von Falkenburg] by the latter who borrowed 800 Taler against it; [von Falkenburg] has left the piece unopened until now, as he received it, and is waiting for his payment which however has not happened yet’) (Fig. 2).¹⁶

At some point the picture must have been unpacked and changed ownership but unfortunately all traces are lost.

Jan Baptist Rubens left for Italy while his father was still alive. His younger brother Hendrik (1567–1583) had died three years earlier; on 1 March 1587 Jan Rubens also died.¹⁷ It now was up to Philip Rubens (1574–1611) to continue his father's legacy, for the saying that everyone has before him the image of what he will be one day was of much greater significance at that time than today. Indeed, as to be expected, Philip pursued the career determined by his parentage. He studied with and lived in the house of the eminent philosopher Justus Lipsius and later followed his father's example as a lawyer in the service of the city of Antwerp. The education of Philip's younger brother Peter Paul initially also prepared him for a political career. His progress from Latin school to courtly service as a page does not need to be discussed here. Suffice it to say that Rubens's contemporary Joachim von Sandrart reliably affirms that ‘seine

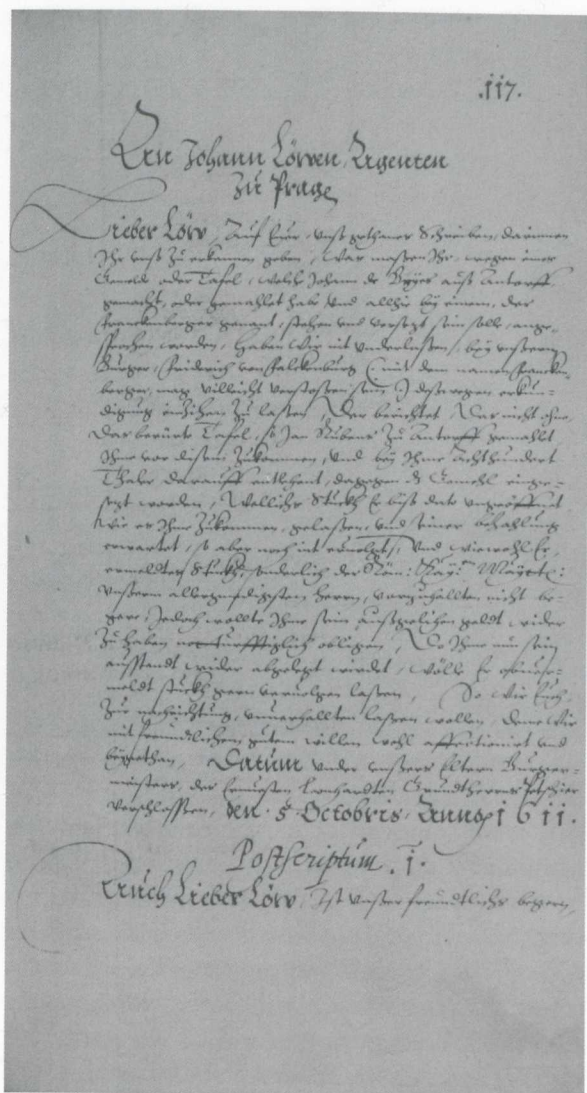


Fig. 2. Letter sent by the elders of the Nuremberg city council to Johann Löw in Prague, 5 October 1611. Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv.

Lehrmeister ihn [Rubens] zu einer Advocatur auf künftige Zeit tauglich geschätzt/ nicht ohne große Freude seiner Eltern’ (‘his teachers recommended him [Rubens] for the law, which pleased his parents greatly’).¹⁸ However, as we know, Peter Paul chose a different career, whereby the fact that Jan Baptist had already become a painter might have alleviated Maria Pypelincx's decision to let his younger brother choose the same path. The reasons for this choice of profession though not known must have carried much weight since for a young man of Rubens's parentage, the painter's craft was not quite befitting his rank. It was a craft far below the social level of the Rubens family and its circle. His parents' connections, his education and finally his

experiences in courtly etiquette gained during his time as a page predestined young Peter Paul for a public position. If, in spite of everything, he learned a craft, and not any craft but that of a painter then there must have been early proof of his artistic abilities, convincing his mother to allow him to pursue this career.¹⁹ Indeed, already his earliest biographers stress the fact that he showed extraordinary talent as a boy.²⁰ Even if paintings from this early time have not survived, we may assume in view of his later oeuvre that his earliest works were of superior quality.²¹ However his painterly beginnings may have appeared, Rubens, who had been born into a family of Antwerp's patrician upper class with extensive contacts to European courts, in time became the most sought-after painter of his age.

The training in the workshops of distinguished painters where Rubens not only learned the essential technical foundations but also could meet important buyers and clients, broadened already familiar connections by several new relationships. Above all it was the humanistic circle to which he was introduced by his brother Philip and the ensuing relationships – besides his painterly abilities already recognized by his contemporaries – constituted the most important factors in the early rise of his career. Appointed court painter to Isabella and Albert, Rubens established himself after his return from Italy as a member of Antwerp's upper class. His status as court painter and his marriage to the daughter of the city alderman Jan Brant were infinitely more appropriate to his parentage than the practice of painting. Surviving sources and documents clearly show Rubens's efforts at taking part in social activities, witnessed by his membership in the guild of St Luke or in religious brotherhoods as well as in his business dealings. His parents had already lived on the proceeds from their properties, and Rubens too observed the century old rights and obligations towards neighbours and fellow citizens through tenancy and leasing of houses and property. Exempt from all taxes and civil burdens, he led a life according to aristocratic ideals. Conscious of his background, he knew what he owed his position. One has to understand Rubens as a member of a specific social order, governed by members of Antwerp's politically ambitious aristocratic elite to which he was connected

through his ancestry. Comparison with the life forms of this group shows that Rubens's modes of representation were not biographically specific, as has been assumed. Rather his striving for prestige was specific to his class, as witnessed in the lifestyle of Balthasar Moretus or Nicolaas Rockox. Even the man elevated to knighthood remained the son of the distinguished family of an Antwerp alderman. In the ability in his public life to adapt readily to the customs of his social surroundings, he proved himself, despite his position as the most praised painter of his time, to be a typical member of Antwerp's upper class. Against this background we should ask ourselves how Rubens dealt with the responsibility of his social position in regard to his sons and what life he envisioned for them.

We may find a reference to this question in the provision in Rubens's testament regarding the fate of the drawings left in his 'cantoor' after his death. A large number of pupils' works and copies was listed in the inventory compiled after the artist's death and apparently sold shortly thereafter;²² Rubens's own drawings were not among them, as we learn from an entry in the inventory of the estate drawn up in 1645 by the notary Toussaint Guyot. In one testament Rubens had decreed that the drawings, those he had collected and made, should be kept, either for one of his sons, in case he would become a painter, or for a daughter, in case she would marry a famous painter – 'oft by gebreke van dyen, tot behoeve van eenre synder dochteren, dewelcke soude mogen comen te trouwen met eenen vermaerden schilder'.²³ The drawings were supposed to remain together until the youngest of his children had turned eighteen. Only then, if none of his sons had become a painter and none of his daughters had married one, they should be sold and the proceeds divided into three equal parts between, respectively, the children from Rubens's two marriages and Helena Fourment. It must have been this collection of drawings that was sold in 1657 for the amount of 6,557 guilders.²⁴ In the event, the terms attached to the bequest to keep Rubens's drawings collection in the family for a possible future workshop were not met. The importance for Rubens of sketches and preliminary designs in workshop procedures can also be witnessed in the contract of 1620 for the 39 ceiling paint-

ings for the Antwerp Jesuit church, which states that the paintings should be executed within nine months by 'Van Dyck or some other pupil' after Rubens's own designs.²⁵ The sketches were supposed to go to the Jesuits afterwards unless Rubens supplied an additional painting for one of the side altars. Rubens decided to keep the oil sketches and delivered the altarpiece.²⁶

After this last large project together, Van Dyck ended his collaboration in the Rubens workshop, leaving for Italy in October 1621. This is already reported by the art critic André Félibien who writes in his *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellens peintres anciens et modernes* (1666–68) that Van Dyck was an extraordinarily talented portraitist. Having painted many likenesses while working with Rubens, he bequeathed three paintings to the latter out of gratitude: 'One was a portrait of his [Rubens's] wife, the other an *Ecce Homo*, and the third represented how the Jews captured Our Lord at the Mount of Olives'.²⁷ Without question, the portrait of Rubens's wife mentioned by Félibien is the painting now in Washington (Fig. 3).²⁸ The impressive portrait shows Rubens's first wife, Isabella Brant, enthroned beneath a flowing red curtain. Her sumptuous gown seems to contrast with the almost informal décolletage, decorated with a pearl necklace instead of the at the time obligatory millstone collar. In the background at the right we see the portico that separates the courtyard of Rubens's house from its garden. The architectural element, like the red curtain, are *formulae* endowing the portrait with an aristocratic imprint. Although the lively brushwork reveals the painting process, at the same time the representation of the materiality of the different fabrics is highly differentiated.

Rubens himself never painted his first wife in such an opulent setting, with the exception of the famous double portrait in a honeysuckle bower, which hung in the house of his father-in-law Jan Brant.²⁹ Admittedly, he recorded her features in a red chalk portrait that may have served Van Dyck as a model for his – reversed – painting.³⁰ The drawing has generally been dated 1621, a date which corresponds stylistically with Van Dyck's portrait. We may doubt Félibien's statement that the painting was meant to be a gift of gratitude, but it indeed seems to

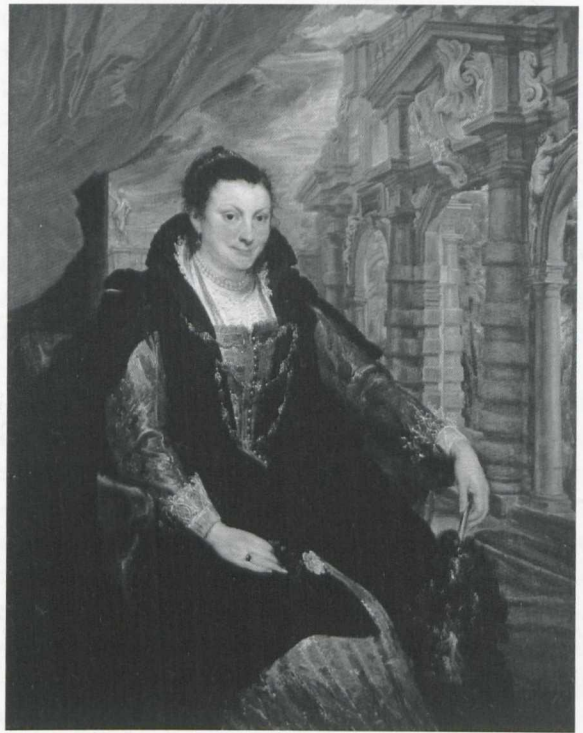


Fig. 3. Anthony van Dyck, *Portrait of Isabella Brant*, 1621, canvas 153 x 120 cm. Washington, National Gallery of Art.

originate from the time Van Dyck left Rubens's studio. The painting, with which the young artist recommended himself as portraitist, is the first in the series of large-scale portraits that even today account for his fame. Left behind in the house of the older master, the *Portrait of Isabella Brant*, especially together with the history paintings also left behind, would serve to document Van Dyck's talents as well as the high standard of training in the Rubens workshop. At the same time, they would contribute to the young artist's fame since they were displayed in Rubens's house, which at that time had already become a tourist attraction for local as well as foreign visitors. Indeed, the extraordinary portrait became widely known, described by the earliest biographers as an outstanding testimony to Van Dyck's art. Isaac Bullart, for example, who like Félibien appreciated Van Dyck's special talent for portraiture, declared in 1682 that he considered the portrait one of the best in the Netherlands.³¹ Thus we may well assume that the young Van Dyck, with the later much praised portrait, indeed intended to prove his painterly talents before leaving the Rubens workshop, at the same time presenting his master with a very personal memento.

It is possible that a painting known in two versions may have originated in very similar circumstances. Identical in size to the *Portrait of Isabella Brant*, it has sometimes been considered its counterpart (Fig. 4).³² The work shows Peter Paul Rubens with his first-born son, Albert, who appears to be about seven years old.³³ Albert was baptised on June 5, 1614, on which occasion Archduke Albert accorded his painter the honour of becoming the godparent of his son and heir even if at the actual ceremony he was represented by a Spanish courtier by the name of Johan de Silva.³⁴ The social rank of Albert's father, also expressed in the noble god-parenthood, legitimizes the pictorial formula of the double portrait, a formula Rubens himself used in the context of courtly portraits, as for example the one in the Staatsgalerie in Stuttgart.³⁵ Moreover, the portrait of Rubens and his son includes two pieces from the artist's collection: a pitcher with a Gorgon's head, which Rubens sent to Peiresc in 1635, and the marble statue *Hecate Triformis*, still preserved today.³⁶

Various ancient sources point to the cult of Hecate, also documented on coins and other objects, such as the painting in Rubens's collection.³⁷ From Pausanias (2, 30, 2) we know of the Hecate image of Alcámenes, already famous in antiquity.³⁸ Beyond that, Franciscus Junius in his *De pictura veterum libri tres* (1637), cites a whole series of references to Hecate, and Justus Lipsius in his commentary to a place in Tacitus refers to the ancient cult of Hecate.³⁹ The reason for the great interest in Hecate not least was inspired by its form, the triform being viewed as a fundamental aspect of religious beliefs and a prefiguration of the Holy Trinity.⁴⁰ This is why Boccaccio in his *Genealogiae deorum gentium*, Book 4, Chapter 16, devotes himself extensively to Hecate and her sobriquet Trivia: 'Triuiam nonnulli, esto Seneca poeta triformem dicat in tragoedia Hippolyti, a triplici suo nomine principali dictam volunt. Vocatur enim Luna, Diana et Proserpina'.⁴¹ Independent of the repeatedly elucidated meaning of the trinity by humanist writers, Boccaccio cites the tragedies by Seneca, which were read and discussed in Rubens's circle. Seneca invokes the goddess Hecate in the opening lines of his *Medea*:⁴²

'Ye gods of wedlock, and thou, Lucina,



Fig. 4. Anonymous artist, *Peter Paul Rubens with his son Albert*, c. 1623–1626, canvas 134 x 115 cm. Göttingen, Kunstsammlung der Universität.

guardian of the nuptial couch, and thou who didst teach Tiphys to guide his new barque to the conquest of the seas, and thou, grim ruler of the deeps of Ocean, and Titan, who dost portion out bright day unto the world, and thou who doest show thy bright face as witness of the silent mysteries, O three-formed Hecate, and ye gods by whose divinity Jason swore to me, to whom Medea may more lawfully appeal – thou chaos of endless night, ye realms remote from heaven, ye unhallowed ghosts, thou lord of the realm of gloom, and thou, his queen, won by violence but with better faith, will ill-omened speech I make my prayer to you. Be present, be present, ye goddesses who avenge crime, your hair foul with writhing snakes, grasping the smoking torch with your bloody hands, be present now, such as once ye stood in dread array beside my marriage couch'.⁴³

In the *Portrait of Rubens and His Son Albert*, the nocturnal scene with the statue of *Hecate Triformis* together with the pitcher with the Medusa's head, 'crinem solutis squalidae serpentes', directly invokes Medea's monologue from Seneca's tragedy. The allusion to the myth may be read as commentary on the idea of fam-



Fig. 5. Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of Albert and Nicolas Rubens*, c. 1626–1627, panel 158 x 92 cm. Vaduz, Sammlung des Fürsten von Liechtenstein.

ily. One of Medea's fundamental pronouncements in Seneca's play is the belief that a man's, or rather woman's, decisions are influenced by his or her past, manifestly determined by his or her origin, for each human being is embedded in the indissoluble succession of generations, a factor stronger than love or anger. Thus Medea succeeds in repressing the betrayal of her father and the murder of her brother as long as she is in love with Jason, but after Jason's betrayal and in view of his love relationship with Creusa, she starts to contemplate her origins. This is exactly the moment Seneca chooses for the opening of his tragedy, during whose course Medea cannot but avenge Jason's betrayal of trust by measures as drastic as they are ambivalent. On the one hand, it is a *restitutio ad integrum*, as she avenges crime after crime with a new crime, trying to make it invisible to prove herself, at

least post facto as a loyal daughter and sister. Ultimately however Medea kills her children with Jason to negate their joint history. Jason, utterly destroyed, stays behind alone, while Medea though not returning to a state of innocence, is able to flee Corinth on the chariot of her grandfather Helios.

But Hecate carried other images as well: in Aristophanes's comedies, she is represented as the goddess of women, completely integrated into their daily lives as doorkeeper and protector of roads (Lys. 63f.), or as a benevolent spirit who at night shares with the poor the *Ἐκάτης δεῖπνον* offered to her by the rich (Plut. 594f.).⁴⁴ Regardless of how one wants to interpret the image of Hecate in the portrait of Rubens and his son – as reference to Seneca's cruel tragedies or Aristophanes's comedies –, it remains an allusion to the culture of classical antiquity so admired by the artist.⁴⁵ By sending his son Albert to the school of the Antwerp Augustinians, Rubens made sure early on that he would have access to this ancient world.⁴⁶ That his father had a scholarly career in mind for his son when Albert was still young may be supported, in addition to the documents, by a portrait of Albert and his younger brother Nicolas (Fig. 5).⁴⁷ The painting, which exists in a second version of the same size, also on panel, probably was executed after 1626 since it is not listed in the inventory drawn up after the death of Isabella Brant.⁴⁸ Instead, in 1657 it is mentioned in the possession of Albert Rubens who probably received it as a gift directly from his father.⁴⁹ What is particularly striking is the difference in poses of the two boys. The older one, with a book under his arm, appears as the sensible one; the younger, with a bird on a string, is devoted to his game. Although Rubens may have looked upon his boys with equal affection, their poses and attributes nevertheless betray a certain emphasis, which already is documented in a famous picture by the ancient painter Parrhasius of whom Pliny the Elder writes in his *Naturalis Historia* that he painted two boys, one embodying self-assurance, the other childish innocence.⁵⁰ Indeed, Albert seems ready to fulfil the responsibilities that come with the rights of the first born and to assume the position as his father's heir. No one would deny the older boy as he appears in the double portrait this right, already legitimized by the biblical par-

able of the Prodigal Son where the younger son squanders the parental inheritance.⁵¹

Destined by his father to be a scholar, Albert's further education was entrusted to the admirable and widely respected Jan Gaspar Gevaerts, who in 1621, after having refused a chair at the university in Paris, had taken on the office of *griffier* in his native town Antwerp.⁵² We know about his position in regard to Albert from a postscript in a letter of 29 December 1628, in which Rubens asks his friend to attend to his son:

'This letter is full of erasures and more carelessly written than it ought to be, to you. But you must excuse me because of my illness. I beg you to take my little Albert, my other self, not into your sanctuary but into your study. I love this boy, 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'.⁵³

The duration and success of Albert's humanistic education are documented in further letters, as in one to Gevaerts of 15 September 1629, in which Rubens writes that Albert owes the friend the better part of his education:

'You make it a practice of always anticipating my desires, and surpassing me in courtesy [...] I hope that my son will be my successor in this, at least, and will acquit himself of all my obligations to you; for he also has had a large share in your favor, and owes to your good instruction the best part of himself. The higher you esteem him, the more I shall care for him, for your judgment has more weight than mine. But I have always observed in him a very good disposition. I am very glad to learn that he is now feeling better, thank God; I sincerely thank you for this good news, and for the honor and consolation which you gave him by your visits during his illness. He is too young (if Nature runs her course) to go before us. God grant that he live, in order to live honorably! *Neque enim quam diu, sed quam bene agatur fabula refert*'.⁵⁴

In this context a letter by Rubens to Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc of 10 August 1630 is also of interest, documenting Albert's progress:

'The passages from Ancient authors have been added by my son Albert, who is seriously engaged in the study of Antiquities, and is making progress in Greek letters. He honors your name above all, and reveres your noble genius. Pray accept his work done in this spirit, and admit him to the number of your servants'.⁵⁵

In due course, Albert's early successes, so diligently watched over by his father, led to a general acknowledgement of his philological talents, as seen in the signed dedication poem that the then thirteen-year old contributed in 1627 to the second edition of Jan Hemelaer's publication of Roman coins from the collection of Charles de Croy, whose title-page had been designed by Peter Paul Rubens in 1615.⁵⁶ In the same year the course was to be set for Albert Rubens's further career when his father before his departure on his diplomatic mission to the English court was promoted to an important courtly office. Conscious of his dubious social status, Philip IV appointed him secretary to the Privy Council, 'pour donner plus de réputation à sa négociation'.⁵⁷ As a letter by the king of 27 April 1627 to Isabella informs us, this office would later be passed on to his son.⁵⁸ According to this royal directive, Albert Rubens was appointed 'secrétaire du conseil privé du roi' in Brussels on 15 June 1630.⁵⁹ Ten years later he officially succeeded his father in that function.⁶⁰ His professional future as determined by his birth thus was secured, and this much earlier than if he had followed his father as a famous painter.

The prospect of a secure future allowed Albert to continue dedicating himself to his philological and historical studies, whereby he started already early on to write on the most diverse scholarly subjects.⁶¹ The educational culmination of a young man of standing at the time was the obligatory journey to Italy, and Albert Rubens travelled to Venice in 1634.⁶² His marriage seven years later too was befitting his rank. On 3 January 1641 Albert Rubens married the 24-year old Clara Delmonte, the daughter of Raymond Delmonte and Suzanne Fourment. As his father before him, with this

marriage he remained true to his hereditary status and the familial responsibilities associated with it. He and his wife died young, he on 1 October 1657, she on 25 November 1657. Both were buried in Sint-Jacobskerk. Albert's scholarly work was praised far beyond his death; both Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Johann Friedrich Gronovius (1611–1671) in their editions, respectively, of Claudius, Seneca and Titus Livius refer to Albert Rubens's valuable annotations.⁶³ That we hardly remember him today partly is due to the fact that the scholarly discourse in which he participated was exclusively conducted in Latin.⁶⁴ Only when, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Latin was increasingly replaced in the scholarly literature by the respective national languages, Albert Rubens's name was forgotten. His treatise, *De re vestiaria*, posthumously edited by Johannes Graevius in 1665, still was avidly received in the eighteenth century.⁶⁵ In addition, the numerous contributions Graevius included in his *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanorum*, published since 1694, testify to Albert Rubens's importance as philologist and historian.⁶⁶ Besides the treatises *De urbibus Neocoris diatribe* and *Dissertatio de Nummo Augusti cuius epigraphe: Asia recepta*, these counted among them the *Dissertatio de Natali die Caesaris Augusti* and *Epistolae tres ad Clarissimum virum Gothifredum Wendelinum*. Moreover, in 1694 Graevius published Albert Rubens's *Dissertatio de Vita Flavii Mallii Theodori*, enthusiastically received by

experts. The small booklet supplied many details of the life of Emperor Theodosius the Great and his sons as well as textual sources. Among them are the laws of these princes with philological and historical annotations considered so important that the book came out in a new edition in 1754 to a very positive review in the *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*.⁶⁷

The career of Peter Paul Rubens found an honourable continuation in the dignified remembrance of Albert Rubens – albeit with a different emphasis.⁶⁸ We find an expression of this on the title-page of the posthumously edited treatise *De re vestiaria veterum*, which explicitly states that the author is the son of the famous painter.⁶⁹ In his preface, Graevius honours Albert's accomplishments, praising the learnedness of the beloved who has faded. This is immediately followed by references to his uncle Philip Rubens, the outstanding pupil of the immortal Justus Lipsius, learned beyond all measures, and the father Peter Paul, favoured by the Muses and Graces in the art of politics as well as painting. Against this background then Graevius asks the question: what else is to be expected of the scion of such a flourishing family?⁷⁰ The succinct question 'poterat aliud expectari?' clearly articulates the attitude in regard to expectations determined by the genealogical concept valid in Rubens's time. These expectations seem to have been successfully fulfilled over three generations of the Rubens family.

- ¹ The date of birth is mentioned for the first time in F. Verachter, *Généalogie de Pierre Paul Rubens et de sa famille*, Antwerp, 1840, p. 11, who however does not cite the source of this date. – I thank Kristin Belkin for her critical reading and translating my text. I also thank Katlijne Van der Stighelen for the invitation and Teresa Esposito for giving me access to inspiring Masterproef *Het portret van Rubens met zijn zoon Albert voor een beeld van 'Hecate Triformis'* after my lecture in Leuven.
- ² Antwerp, Stadsarchief (Felixarchief) (cited hereafter as SAA), *Wethouderenboek der stad Antwerpen, 1200–1601*, PK1347, fol. 495v. Cf. *Juristen en rechtsleven ten tijde van Rubens*, exh.cat., Antwerp, Gerechtsgebouw, Antwerp, 1977, p. 230, nr. 87.
- ³ J. Vanroelen, 'Het stadsbestuur', *Antwerpen in de XVIde eeuw*, Genootschap voor Antwerpse Geschiedenis (ed.), Antwerp, 1975, pp. 37–54, especially p. 47; R. Boumans, *Het Antwerps stadsbestuur voor en tijdens de Franse overheersing*, Bruges, 1965, pp. 12 and 50.
- ⁴ H. Soly, 'Ökonomische & soziokulturelle Strukturen: Kontinuität im Wandel', *Stadtbilder in Flandern. Spuren bürgerlicher Kultur 1477–1787*, J. Van der Stock (ed.), exh.cat., Schallaburg, Renaissanceschloss, Brussels, 1991, pp. 31–44, here p. 38: 'Zu jedem nur denkbaren Zeitpunkt zwischen 1500 und 1800 hatten 10% bis 15% der Städter mehr als die Hälfte der städtischen Besitztümer in Händen, und dieser kleine Kreis hatte immer auch seine Finger an den wichtigen Schaltstellen des politischen Systems' ('At every conceivable moment between 1500 and 1800, 10% to 15% of city dwellers owned more than half of the city property, and this small circle also had its fingers in the important corridors of political power').
- ⁵ H. Soly, 'Social Relations in Antwerp in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Antwerp. Story of a Metropolis*, J. Van der Stock (ed.), exh.cat., Antwerp, Museum Hessenhuis, Ghent, 1993, pp. 37–47, here p. 43; R. Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart. De diaspora van het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw*, Historische uitgaven Pro Civitate, reeks in-8°, 45, 1, Brussels, 1976, pp. 281–287, 304–316. Generally on the creation and structure of family networks strengthened through marriage, see T. Zwaan, 'Families, huwelijken en gezinnen', *Familie, huwelijken en gezin in West-Europa. Van Middeleeuwen tot moderne tijd*, T. Zwaan (ed.), Amsterdam–Heerlen, 1993, pp. 11–37.
- ⁶ K. Van der Stighelen, 'Bürger und ihre Porträts', Van der Stock 1991 (see note 4), pp. 141–156, here p. 143; Idem, *Hoofd- en bijzaak: Portretkunst in Vlaanderen van 1420 tot nu*, Louvain–Zwolle, 2008, especially pp. 11–30.
- ⁷ J.M. Muller, *Rubens: The Artist as Collector*, Princeton, 1989, p. 148, nr. 6.
- ⁸ SAA, *Notariaatsarchief*, N1894: Notaris Toussaint Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen (1645), nr. CVI. P. Génard, 'De Nalatenschap van P.P. Rubens: Staetmasse ende rekeninge van alle ende jegelycke de goeden, ruerende ende onruerende, competerende den sterffhuysse van wylen heer Pietro Paulo Rubens', *Antwerpsch Archivenblad*, 2 (1865), pp. 69–179, here pp. 93–94.
- ⁹ O.G. Oexle, 'Aspekte der Geschichte des Adels im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit', *Europäischer Adel 1750–1950*, H.-U. Wehler (ed.), Göttingen, 1990, pp. 19–56; O.G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur*, Göttingen, 1995; O.G. Oexle, 'Adel, Memoria und kulturelles Gedächtnis. Bemerkungen zur Memorialkapelle der Fugger in Augsburg', *Les princes et l'histoire du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle*, C. Grell, W. Paravicini and J. Voss (ed.), Bonn, 1998, pp. 339–357, especially pp. 350–351.
- ¹⁰ Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt (HASTK), Best. 30 (Verfassung und Verwaltung), nr. N 1463, fol. 32r. L. Ennen, *Ueber den Geburtsort des Peter Paul Rubens*, Cologne, 1861, p. 24.
- ¹¹ SAA, *Schepenregister 1589/II: Moy & Neesen*, SR 397, fol. 585r; F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schiederschool*, Antwerp, 1883, p. 380.
- ¹² M. Rooses and C. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus, 1, Antwerp, 1887, p. XII; the Flemish translation in M. Rooses, *Rubens' Leven en Werken*, Amsterdam–Antwerp–Ghent, 1903, p. 14.
- ¹³ Verachter 1840 (see note 1), p. 11; Rooses 1903 (see note 12), p. 14.
- ¹⁴ SAA, *Schepenregister 1601/I: Kieffelt & Bogge*, SR 440, fol. 295r; P. Génard, *P.P. Rubens. Aantekeningen over den grooten Meester en zijne bloedverwanten*, Antwerp, 1877, pp. 344ff: 'Philips Rubens, voor hem selven; deselve Philips Ruebens ende jouffrouwe Maria Pypelincx, zijn moeder, met eenen momboor heur gegeven metten rechte, inden name van Janne ende jouffrouwe Blandina Ruebens, oic derselver jouffrouwe Marie ende wijlen Meesters Jans Ruebens wettich soon ende dochter, ende Symeon du Parcq, derselver jouffrouwe Blandina man ende momboor'. Génard writes (p. 365): 'Van Jan-Baptist Rubens wordt, in de stedelijke bescheiden, geene melding meer gemaakt, eene bijzonderheid waaruit wij denken mogen opmaken dat hij omstreeks het Jaar 1601 was overleden'.
- ¹⁵ H. Petz, 'Urkunden und Regesten aus dem königlichen Kreisarchiv zu Nürnberg', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, 10 (1889), pp. XX–LXII, nr. 5915.
- ¹⁶ Nuremberg, Staatsarchiv, *Bestand Reichsstadt Nürnberg: Briefbücher der Herrn Älteren nr. 3*, fol. 117T80.
- ¹⁷ Doc. 1 March 1587. Epitaph in St Peter's, Cologne: 'DENATUS COLONIAE CALEND. MARTII. ANNO 1587'. Rooses 1903 (see note 12), p. 14.
- ¹⁸ [J. von Sandrart], *L'Academia Todeca della Architectura, Scultura & Pittura: Oder Teutsche Academie der Edlen Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste*, Nuremberg 1675 [II, 3], p. 290.
- ¹⁹ M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977, p. 8, and C. Norris, 'Rubens before Italy', *The Burlington Magazine*, 26

(1940), pp. 184–194, here pp. 184–185, emphasize that lack of money influenced Rubens's choice of profession. The lack of parental wealth, already stressed by the author of the Latin *Vita*, may have been sufficient reason for him to have left his mother's house and to assume a profession, but that he became a painter and not a merchant, which would have been closer to his family's background, indeed speaks for the fact that he showed signs of talent early on.

²⁰ G.P. Bellori, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni, parte prima*, Rome, 1672, p. 222; [Von Sandart] 1675 (see note 18), p. 290; A. Houbraken, *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, I, Amsterdam, 1718, p. 62, with reference to older literature. On the topos of artistic accolade, see N. Büttner, *Herr P.P. Rubens: Von der Kunst, berühmt zu werden*, Göttingen, 2006, pp. 34–41.

²¹ His abilities as a draftsman are proven by his early drawings. K.L. Belkin and C. Depauw (eds.), *Images of Death: Rubens copies Holbein*, exh.cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Ghent, 2000; K.L. Belkin, *Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and later Artists*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 16/1, London, 2009.

²² J.S. Held, *Rubens. Selected Drawings*, 1, London, 1959, p. 16; Idem, rev. ed., Oxford, 1986, pp. 16, 25.

²³ SAA, *Notariaatsarchief*, N 1894: Notaris Toussaint Guyot: Protocollen, staten en rekeningen, 1645, nr. CVII: 'Maer de teekeningen by hem vergaert ende gemaect, heeft hy by synen voors. testamente bevolen op gehouden ende bewaert te worden, tot behoeve van iemant synder sonen die hem souden mogen willen oeffenen in de conste van schilderen, oft by gebreke van dyen, tot behoeve van eenre synder dochteren, dewelcke soude mogen comen te trouwen met eenen vermaerden schilder, ende dat soo lange tot dat de joncxste synder kinderen sal gecomen wesen tot ouderdom van achthien jaeren, als wanneer soo verre nyemant vande sonen, hem totte voors. conste begeven en heeft, oft geene vande dochteren met eenen vermaerden schilder gehout en sy, de voors. teekeningen mede sullen moeten vercocht worden, ende den prys, daervan te procederene, gedeylt als syne andere goeden, welcken aengaende by den voorgeruerten accorde, vanden 28 Augusti lestleden, oick geconditionneert is, ingevalle de conditie, by den voors. testamente gestelt, gheen effect en sorteert, deselve teekeningen alsdan, oft den prys daervan commende, sullen gedeylt worden, in dry gelycke deelen, te wetene, een derden deel voorde voors. voorkinderen en dat soo voor hen moederlyck als vaderlyck deel; een ander derdendeel voorde voors. vrouw Rendante, ende tresterende derdendeel voorde minderjaerige kinderen, dienende insgelycx hier. ... p. memorie'. Génard 1865 (see note 8), pp. 93–94.

²⁴ Held 1959 (see note 22), p. 16.

²⁵ 'Door Van Dyck mitsgaders sommige andere syne discipelen'. Cf. J.R. Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 1, London–New York, 1968, pp. 213–217.

²⁶ Martin 1968 (see note 25), p. 216.

²⁷ 'l'un estoit le portrait de sa femme, l'autre un *Ecce homo*, & le troisième représentoit comme les Juifs se faisant de nostre Seigneur dans les jardin des Olives'. A. Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, 3, Paris, 1668, p. 439.

²⁸ Muller 1989 (see note 7), p. 148, nr. 6; N. de Poorter, 'Isabella Brant (1591–1626)', *Van Dyck. A Complete Catalogue of the Paintings*, S.J. Barnes, N. De Poorter and O. Millar (eds.), New Haven–London, 2004, p. 93ff, nr. I.100; K.L. Belkin, 'Portrait of Isabella Brant', *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*, K.L. Belkin and F. Healy (eds.), exh.cat., Antwerp, Rubenshuis, Wommelgem, 2004, pp. 238–240, nr. 56; A.K.

Wheelock Jr., *Flemish Paintings of the Seventeenth Century (The Collection of the National Gallery of Art, Systematic Catalogue)*, mus.cat., Washington, 2005, pp. 35–39.

²⁹ Peter Paul Rubens, *The artist and his wife in a honeysuckle bower*, canvas 178 x 136 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek, inv. nr. 334. Cf. H. Vlieghe, *Rubens: Portraits of Identified Sitters Painted in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 19/2, London, 1987, pp. 162–164, nr. 138; K. Renger and C. Denk, *Flämische Malerei des Barock in der Alten Pinakothek*, Munich–Cologne, 2002, pp. 253–255, nr. 334.

³⁰ See most recently A.-M. Logan, "'Isabella Brant', recto, ca. 1621; 'Rubens, Helena Fourment, and Their Son', verso, ca. 1638', *Peter Paul Rubens – The Drawings*, A.-M. Logan and M.C. Plomp (eds.), exh.cat., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2005, pp. 239–241, nr. 82.

³¹ 'Il fit une grande quantité de portraits estant encore chez Rubens: entre autres celui de sa femme; que l'on estime l'un des meilleurs qu'il y ait au Pays-bas': I. Bullart, *Académie des Sciences et des Arts contenant les vies et les éloges historiques des hommes illustres*, 2, Paris, 1682, p. 476.

³² On this picture and the second version, see F. Healy, 'Portrait of Rubens and His Son Albert before a Statue of "Hecate Triformis"', Belkin–Healy 2004 (see note 28), pp. 241–243, nr. 57.

³³ On Albert Rubens, cf. M. Rooses, 'Rubens (Albert)', *Biographie Nationale. Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, 20, Brussels, 1908, cols. 309–313; Idem, 'Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuys van Mynheer Albertus Rubens ende vrouwe Clara Del Monte', *Rubens-Bulletijn – Bulletin-Rubens*, 5 (1910), pp. 11–17.

³⁴ Doc. of June 5, 1614. SAA, *Parochieregister Sint-Andries*, PR 102: Doopregister 1613–1618, fol. 22r: 'Albert Rubens, gedoopt in St. Andrieskerk, den 5^{en} Juni 1614; peter: S^r Johan de Silva, nomine *Serenissimi Principis* Alberti Ducis Brabantiae; meter: Clara Brant'. Also preserved is an order of payment for 250 guilders from Archduke Albert to Juan de Elorde y Silva, who purchased a chalice for that amount dedicated in Archduke Albert's name to the parents on the occasion of Albert Rubens's baptism. Cf. Doc. of July 17, 1614, Brussels, Algemeen Rijksarchief, *Rekenkamer*, nr. 1837, fol. 288r, reproduced in M. De Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, klasse der schone kunsten, 9, Brussels, 1955, p. 311, nr. 97.

³⁵ Peter Paul Rubens, *Marchesa Bianca Spinola Imperiale and her niece Maddalena Imperiale* (?), canvas 208 x 132 cm, Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie. Cf. F. Huemer, *Rubens: Portraits*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 19/1, Brussels, 1977, pp. 174–175, nr. 45.

³⁶ *Hecate Triformis*, marble, 75.8 x 25.8 cm, Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. nr. Pb. 136. Cf. F. Healy, 'Hecate Triformis', Belkin–Healy 2004 (see note 28), pp. 264–265, nr. 63. Cf. Healy 2004 (see note 32), p. 243, note 3, with reference to David Jaffé, in D. Jaffé (ed.), *Rubens' Self-Portrait in Focus*, exhibition booklet, Canberra, Australian National Gallery, Brisbane, 1988, pp. 27–28. The letter to Peiresc is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. 9532, fol. 185. In a letter to Peiresc of August 16, 1635, Rubens announced in return for the gems he had received from the Frenchman that he would fill a box of the same size for him: 'e frà tanto tanto andarò mettendo insieme qualche bagatelle per empire una cassetta simile a quella che V. S. servita d'inviarmi di grandezza ma non in qualità d'ingredienti'. M. Rooses and C. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus, 5, Antwerp, 1907, p. 128.

³⁷ On Hecate, see N. Werth, *Hekate: Untersuchungen zur dreigestaltigen Göttin, Schriftenreihe Antiquitates*, 37, Hamburg, 2006; K. Zelený, *Die Göttin Hekate in den Historiae deorum gentilium des Lilius Gregorius Gyraldus (Basel 1548). Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Rezeption Hekates in humanistischen Handbüchern und Kommentaren des 16. Jahrhunderts*, diploma thesis, Universität Wien, 1999, <http://www.oew.ac.at/kal/mythos/zeleny1999.pdf>, [21.12.2009].

³⁸ F. Junius, *Catalogus, adhuc ineditus, architectorum, mechanicorum, sed praecipue pictorum, statuariorum, caelestium, tornatorum aliorumque artificum et operum quae fecerunt, secundum seriem litteratum digestus*, Rotterdam, 1694, p. 10.

³⁹ F. Junius, *De Pictura veterum libri tres*, Amsterdam, 1637 [II, 8], p. 95. Cf. Tac. an. III, 62: 'Sed Aphrodisiensium ciuitas, Veneris,¹⁴² Stratonicensium, Iouis & Triuæ religionem tuebantur' ('Aphrodisias maintained the worship of Venus; Stratonicea that of Jupiter and of Diana of the Cross Ways'), as well as Lipsius's commentary: 142. STRATONICENSIVM. *Stratonicea cariae urbs est, & templa duo in suburbano agro habet, Iouis Chrysaori, & Hecates (sive Triuiae) in Laginis. Strabonem vide lib. XIII. Notat & Pausanias, quod olim ea vrbs & regio Chrysaoris fuerit, nimirum ab hoc templo'. C. Cornelii Taciti opera quae exstant, ex Ivsti Lipsii[i] editione vltima: cum eiusdem Commentariis*, Antwerp, 1668, p. 98.

⁴⁰ E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance*, rev. ed., New York–London, 1968, pp. 248–253.

⁴¹ [G. Boccaccio], *Ioannis Bocatii peri genealogias deorum, libri quindecim, cum annotationibus Iacobi Micylli, eiusdem de montium, sylvarum, fontium, lacuum, fluuiorum, stagnorum, & marium nominibus. Liber I. Huc accessit rerum, & fabularum scitu dignarum copiosus index*, Basel, 1532, p. 89. The allusion to Seneca is to Sen. Phaed. 412: 'Hecate triformis, en ades coeptis fauens'.

⁴² This specific form of the trimorphic Hecate, identified with other goddesses, can be found for the first time in late antiquity. Successive scholars brought her into close contact with her trinity, recorded since the 5th century BC (for the first time in the statue of Hecate Epipyrgidia of Alcámenes on the Acropolis in Athens, c. 430 BC). Servius, on the locus classicus, Aen. 4, 511 'tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae', refers to the same three goddesses who were equated with Hecate – Luna, Diana and Proserpina – alluded to by Prudentius c. Symm. 1, 363ff: 'Denique cum luna est, sublustris splendet amictu, Cum succincta iacit calamos, Latonia uirgo est, Cum subnixae sedet solio, Plutonia coniunx'.

⁴³ Sen. Med. 1–12: 'Di coniugales tuque genialis tori, | Lucina, custos quaeque domituram freta | Tiphyn nouam frenare docuisti ratem, | et tu, profundi saeue dominator maris, | clarumque Titan diuidens orbi diem, | tacitisque praebens conscium sacris iubar | Hecate triformis, quosque iurauit mihi | deos Iason, quosque Medae magis | fas est precari: noctis aeternae chaos, | auersa superis regna manesque impios | dominumque regni tristis et dominam fide | meliore raptam, uoce non fausta precor. | nunc, nunc adeste sceleris ultrices deae, | crinem solutis squalidae serpentibus, | atram cruentis manibus amplexae facem, | adeste, thalamis horridae quondam meis | quales stetitistis': *L. Annaei Senecae Cordubensis tragoediae*, Antwerp, 1588, p. 130. English translation by F.J. Miller, www.theol.com/Text/SenecaMedea.html, [21.12.2010].

⁴⁴ See Zelený 1999 (see note 37), p. 13.

⁴⁵ Hecate as 'doorkeeper of women' also appears in *Natalis Comitibus Mythologiae, sive Explicationum fabularum libri decem in quibus omnia prope naturalis & moralis philosophiae dogmata sub antiquorum fabulis contenta fuisse demonstratur*, Venice, 1581 [III, 14], p. 160f, a copy of which was in Rubens's library. For further evidence of this interpretation, see B. Hederich, *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum*, Leipzig, 1724, pp. 976–979.

⁴⁶ Albert's attendance at that school is documented in the 'Staet van den sterffhuuse van Jouffrouwe Isabella Brant', dated August 28, 1628, where it states under payments made: 'Item betaelt aen een gelas by Albertus Rubens ten Augustynen daer hy scholen gegaen heeft gegeven ... guld. XX'. Published by M. Rooses, 'Staet van den sterffhuuse van jouffrouwe Isabella Brant', *Rubens-Bulletijn – Bulletin-Rubens*, 4 (1896), pp. 156–188, here p. 187.

⁴⁷ See Vlieghe 1987 (see note 29), pp. 175–176, nr. 14. See also Van der Stighelen 2008 (see note 6), pp. 104–105.

⁴⁸ Vlieghe 1987 (see note 29), p. 177, nr. 142.

⁴⁹ In the 'Staet ende inventaris van den sterffhuuse van Mynheer Albertus Rubens' of December 6, 1657, are mentioned among numerous other portraits of members of the family 'Op de groote Caemer boven de salette' ('in the large room above the small hall') also 'Item eene andere [contrefeytsel, N.B.] representerende de contrefeytsels van Mynheer den overleden ende synen broeder' ('Item another portrait with the image of the deceased master and his brother'). Cf. Rooses 1910 (see note 33), p. 29.

⁵⁰ Plin. nat. XXXV, 70: 'et pueros duos, in quibus spectatur securitas aetatis et simplicitas'. Cf. Vlieghe 1987 (see note 29), p. 177; Van der Stighelen 2008 (see note 6), p. 104.

⁵¹ Without meaning to deny Rubens's reference to the ancient topos or to excessively psychoanalyze, we may however recognize in the different characterisation of the boys a phenomenon quite common among brothers. Indeed, the first born quite often is of a more balanced disposition while the younger one has a more happy-go-lucky nature. On these connections, see F.J. Sulloway, *Der Rebell der Familie: Geschwisterivalität, kreatives Denken und Geschichte*, Berlin, 1997, especially pp. 73–98. I thank Christoph Kregel, Stuttgart, for this reference.

⁵² On Jan Caspar Gevaerts (1593–1666), who among others, was to develop the elaborate program for the 1634 entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Austria (1609–1641), see *Rubens Diplomaat*, exh. cat., Elewijt, Rubenskasteel, Brussels, 1962, p. 59; J.R. Martin, *The Decoration for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 16, London, 1972.

⁵³ R. Saunders Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1955, p. 295; Rooses–Ruelens 1907 (see note 36), pp. 14–17, nr. DLXVI: 'Desen brief is seer gheclat ende negligentius quam ad te geschreven; maer UE moet my excuseren met myn sieckte. Albertulum meum, ut imaginem meam non in sacrario vel larario sed sed musæo tuo habeas rogo. Amo pueram et serio tibi, amicorum principi et musarum antistiti, commendo, ut curam ejus vivo me vel motuo iuxta cum socero et fratre Brantiis suscipias'.

⁵⁴ Saunders Magurn 1955 (see note 53), pp. 336–337; Rooses–Ruelens 1907 (see note 36), pp. 196–198, nr. DCXXXI: 'UE. maectt professie van my altyt te prevenieren ende te overwinnen met courtoysie [...] Ick hope dat mynen sone te minsten in dese myne obligatie tot UE. waerts sal mynen erfghenaem wesen, ghelyck hy oock een groote part deelachtich is in UE. faueur ende sculdich is aen UE. goede instructie het beste deel van hem selven. Ick sal hem te meer achten om dat UE. hem estimeert, wyens jugement ghewichtigher is als het myne; toch ick hebbe altyt in hem ghemerckt seer goede wille. My is seer lief dat hy nu beter is Godt lof ende ick bedancke UE. grootelycx voor de goede tydinghe ende voor de eere ende consolatie, die UE. hem ghegeven heeft met syne visites, gheduerende syn sieckte. Hy is jonck (*si natura ordinem servet*) om voor ons te gaan, Godt gheve hem leven om wel te leven, *neque enim quam diu, sed quam bene agatur fabula refert*'.

⁵⁵ Saunders Magurn 1955 (see note 53), p. 367; Rooses–Ruelens 1907 (see note 36), pp. 309–313, nr. DCLXXXI: ‘Hos locos, pro sentential mea firmanda, subministravit mihi filius Albertus, qui rei antiquariae graviter operam dat, et in literis graecis mediocriter profecit et in primis nomen di V. S. venerator, et nobilem genium devotus adorat, in qua humanitate et in clientelam accipe et fave’.

⁵⁶ J. de Bie and J. Hemelarius, *Imperatorum Romanorum a Ivlio Casare ad Heraclium vsque Nymismata Avrea Excellentissimi nuper dum viueret Caroli Ducis Croyi et Arschotani, &c. magno & sumptuoso studio collecta - Editio altera priore auctior*, Antwerp, 1627, n.pag. On Albert’s preface, see Rooses 1908 (see note 33), col. 310. On the title-page, see J.R. Judson and C. Van de Velde, *Rubens. Book Illustrations and Title-Pages*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, 21/1, Brussels–London, 1977, pp. 167–169, nr. 33; Idem, 21/2, Brussels–London, 1977, Fig. 114.

⁵⁷ Cf. Rooses–Ruelens 1907 (see note 36), pp. 39–40.

⁵⁸ ‘Madame ma bonne tante, Les services et bonnes parties de Pierre–Paul Rubens me font prier V. A. de faire dépêcher à son proffit patente de l’office de secrétaire de mon conseil privé par delà, à condition de ne le desservir et qu’ayant son filz aîné l’eage et souffisance pour exercer ledict estat, et s’en déportant ledict Rubens, luy en serons données lettres patentes de commission, afin de par effect le desservir et en estre mis en possession. Je prie Dieu, madame ma bonne tante, conserver V. A. en parfaite santé, à longues années. De Madrid, le 27^e d’avril 1629. M^s Leg^s v^s. Vostre bon nepveu, Philippe’. The original was in the State Archive in Simancas in the 19th century [reg. nr. 2625, fól. 146v]. Cf. L.P. Gachard, *Histoire politique et diplomatique de Pierre-Paul Rubens*, Brussels, 1877, pp. 293–294.

⁵⁹ Rooses 1908 (see note 33), col. 311.

⁶⁰ Rooses–Ruelens 1907 (see note 36), p. 21.

⁶¹ A reference to this activity can be found in the introduction by Joannes Georgius Graevius to the introduction in [A. Rubens], *Alberti Rubeni Petri Pauli f. filii De re vestiaria veterum, praecipue de Lato Clavo libri duo*, Antwerp, 1665.

⁶² Albert’s stay in Venice is recorded in a letter Rubens wrote to Peiresc on 18 December 1634: ‘De figliuoli del mio presente matrimonio veggo V. S. essere informata per il S^r Picquery e perciò dico solam^{te} ch’il mio Alberto si trova a Venetia et ha da fare per tutto quest anno una giravolta per Italia et al ritorno piaccendo a Dio *venira* a bacciar le mani a V. S. ma di questo

tratteremo piu particular^{te} a suo tempo’ (‘I see that you have been informed by M. Picquery about the children of my present marriage, and therefore I shall only tell you that my Albert is now in Venice. He will devote all this year to a tour of Italy, and on his return, please God, will go to pay his respects to you. But we shall discuss this more in detail when the time comes’); M. Rooses and C. Ruelens, *Correspondance de Rubens et Documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*, Codex Diplomaticus Rubenianus, 6, Antwerp, 1909, pp. 81–86, nr. DCCLXXXV; Saunders Magurn 1955 (see note 53), p. 393.

⁶³ Heinsius also wrote an elegy and Gronovius an eulogy on Albert; cf. Rooses 1908 (see note 33), col. 311.

⁶⁴ A later testimony to Albert’s critical acclaim can be found in H. Walpole’s *Anecdotes of Painting in England, collected by the late George Vertue, digested and publ. from his original mss. by Horace Walpole*, 5, London, 1828, p. 186.

⁶⁵ Cf. [B. Baudouin], *B. Balduini calceus antiquus et mysticus; et Jul. Nigronus de caliga veterum. Acc. ex Cl. Salmatii notis ad librum Tertulliani de pallio et Alb. Rubenii libris de re vestiaria excerpta ejusdem argumenti. Praefatus est Christ. Gottl. Joehens*, Leipzig, 1733.

⁶⁶ J.G. Graevius, *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum: In quo continentur Lectissimi quique scriptores, qui superiori aut nostro seculo Romanae reipublicae rationem, disciplinam, leges, instituta, sacra, artesque togatas ac sagatas explicarunt & illustrarunt*, Utrecht, 1694–1699.

⁶⁷ F. Platner (ed.), *Alberti Rubenii de vita Fl. Mallii Theodori: Dissertatio post Ioh. Georgium Graevium iterum edita ac de his qui litterarum principatum affectant*, Leipzig, 1754. Reviewed in *Göttingische Anzeigen von gelehrten Sachen*, Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften (ed.), Göttingen, 35th piece, 22 March 1755, p. 328.

⁶⁸ This idea is also proven by the Latin vita of Peter Paul Rubens: ‘Alberto filio ejus, ... se dignum hoc parente praebuerit’. See F. Baron de Reiffenberg, ‘Nouvelles Recherches sur Pierre–Paul Rubens, contenant une vie inédite de ce grand peintre par Philippe Rubens, son neveu. Présenté à la séance du 17 janvier 1835’, *Nouveaux mémoires de l’Académie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*, 10 (1837), pp. 4–13, here p. 12.

⁶⁹ [Rubens] 1665 (see note 61).

⁷⁰ ‘Et quid ab eo, quem vestra doctrinae & ingenij laude florentissima familia edidit, poterat aliud expectari?’; Joannes Georgius Graevius in the introduction to [Rubens] 1665 (see note 61), n.pag.

Barbara Arents, gen. Speirinck
?-1564

x 1 1529
Bartholomeus Rubens
1501-1538

x 2 1539
Jan de Landmeter

————— **Jan Rubens**
1530-1587

x 1561
Maria Pypelincx

————— **Katharina de Landmeter**

x
Jan van Mockenborch

Jan Baptist
1562-1601

Blandina
1564-1606

Clara
1565-1580

Hendrik
1567-1583

Philipp
1574-1611

x
Maria de Moy

Peter Paul
1577-1640

x
Isabella Brant

Bartholomeus
1580-15??

————— **Susanne van Mockenborch**
?-1595

x
Tobias Verhaecht