



FIG. 1. – Luca GIORDANO. *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace*. Madrid, Museo del Prado. Photo museum.

PICTURING RUBENS PICTURING. SOME OBSERVATIONS ON GIORDANO'S *ALLEGORY OF PEACE* IN THE PRADO

BY

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ART-historians have always accepted as self-evident that Luca Giordano's Prado picture *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace* (fig. 1) reveals a thorough knowledge of Rubens's art, especially of the *Horrors*

of War in the Galleria Palatina¹. But did Giordano even know this picture?

Judging from stylistic evidence, Giordano's Prado allegory cannot be dated much later than the first years of the 1660's. Ferrari and Scavizzi²

located it about 1660. The picture's bombastic composition shows the enormous talent of the young painter, yet it looks a little unbalanced and – even for Giordano's standards – overloaded. The Prado allegory (and a related picture without the figure of Rubens in Genova³) is in fact closer in style to Giordano's "Saint Nicolas" altarpiece in Santa Brigida of 1655 than to his Frankfurt *Allegory of the Temptations of Youth*⁴, which is signed and dated "1664". Assuming a date of around or shortly before 1660 for the Prado picture, we will turn to the question of Giordano's sources: Rubens painted his *Allegory of War* in 1638. He sent the picture to his painter colleague Justus Sustermans in Florence, who may have acted as intermediary for the Medici; but the picture appears to have remained in the property of Sustermans until the 1690's, when it finally entered the collections of Ferdinando de' Medici. Wherever Rubens's picture was kept before the last years of the Seicento: it must have been virtually inaccessible for a long time; no graphic reproduction of it was available. Jaffé⁵ rightly asks: "What picture by a Florentine offers even a pale reflection of the heady lessons to be learned from *The Horrors of War*?"

Our main source for Giordano's early career is the sometimes not very reliable Bernardo de

Dominici⁶. He reports a journey that the young Luca made to Venice in the early 1650's, which – according to De Dominici – turned out to be an enormous success and resulted in a great number of commissions. Recent scholarship⁷ has cast serious doubts on this voyage; it may never have taken place. De Dominici appears to have confounded it with later stays of Giordano in Venice, using the young painter's way back from the north to account for all the artistic influences Giordano underwent in these years. It is in the context of this otherwise undocumented early journey that De Dominici mentions Giordano having come to Florence for the first time⁸. But the question is: did he really arrive there so early, that is: before his first stay in Florence in 1665 mentioned by Francesco Saverio Baldinucci? And if he did so, could he have had an opportunity to see Rubens's *Horrors of War* at all?

Considering these circumstances, it is by no means sure that Giordano had any personal knowledge of the Pitti-Allegory when he painted *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace*. It is moreover absolutely impossible that he could have studied Rubens's London *Allegory of War* that has never left England⁹ – there was, as is also the case with the Pitti painting, no graphic reproduction of this



FIG. 2. – After RUBENS.
The Horrors of War. London,
National Gallery. Photo-
museum.



FIG. 3. – Luca GIORDANO. *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace* (detail). Madrid, Museo del Prado. Photo museum.

allegory available. As far as pictures by Rubens are concerned, Giordano may have had no other source for his Prado painting than a small workshop copy of one of these two *Allegories of Peace* (fig. 2) or a related allegory by one of Rubens's pupils¹⁰. Nevertheless, Giordano has managed to

give his picture the unmistakable air of a "Rubens" both in composition and style – he had certainly seen a number of genuine paintings by the great Flemish master¹¹. On a closer inspection, however, we find that in composing this work Giordano used a pictorial source that was much

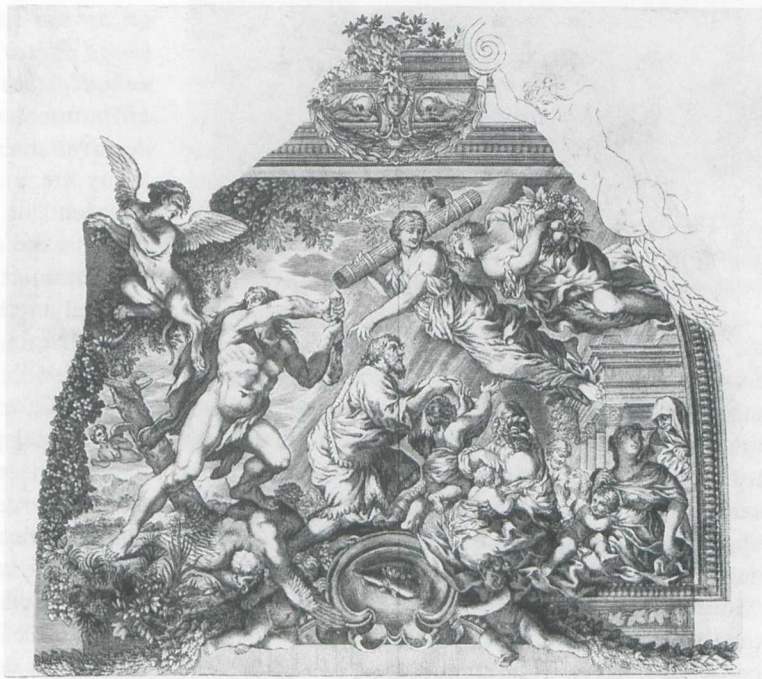


FIG. 4. – Giovanni Federico GREUTER after Pietro da CORTONA. *Hercules* (from G. Teti, *Aedes Barberinae*, Rome, 1642). Cologne, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek. Photo library.

closer at hand : the ceiling paintings by Pietro da Cortona for the Salone Barberini in Rome (1633-39).

It is worthwhile tracing these (so far unrecognized) quotations from Cortona in Luca Giordano's Prado painting. Since 1642, graphic reproductions¹² of the Barberini ceiling existed, but, judging from the colours of the Prado painting, Giordano may well have studied the original. His two stays in Rome (1650 and 1654) that



FIG. 5. — Cornelis BLOEMAERT after Pietro da CORTONA. *Allegory of Peace* (from G. Teti, *Aedes Barberinae*, Rome, 1642). Cologne, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek. Photo library.

Francesco Saverio Baldinucci mentions are much more in line with a biography one should expect than De Dominici's story about the 'triumphal entry' of the young genius in Venice at about the same time. The two flying female figures on the upper part of the Prado painting (fig. 3) quote a detail of Cortona's "Hercules"-fresco (fig. 4) Giordano took over the postures, but turned Cortona's "Felicita" into a Minerva, whose features he could borrow from another part of the Barber-

ini ceiling. Cortona's woman with a child who turns her head to these two figures probably inspired the posture of Giordano's Venus who tries to avert Mars; the painter has merely changed the gesture of her right arm¹³. The captured 'barbarian' who lies on the ground between weapons and firing canons in Giordano's painting is an inverted copy of Cortona's chained "Furore" (fig. 5) whom "Mansuetudine", sitting amidst a comparable accumulation of weapons, holds on a string¹⁴. Even the personification of peace on the Barberini ceiling, who tries to close the doors of the temple of war, may have influenced the figure on the extreme right of Giordano's picture; this woman who stretches out her hand to hold back Mars looks very much like "Pace".

But Giordano was of course too excellent a painter to exhaust his art in merely copying Cortona's inventions, whose way of painting he, no doubt, greatly admired. Giordano has based certain characteristics of his Prado-painting on Cortona's art, but he wanted (as we shall see) to achieve something else. One of Giordano's pupils, Paolo de Matteis, has brought the artistic attitude of his master to the point: "*In his natural style, or as we say: manner, [Giordano] always followed Pietro da Cortona. But when he wanted to enhance that manner, he imitated the greatest of all painters with such an ease, that he has often deceived even the most renowned connoisseurs*"¹⁵. Many are the anecdotes in De Dominici's vita of Giordano in which self-declared experts in painting mistake a Giordano for a Raphael or a Dürer. De Dominici even mentions a picture by Giordano painted in the manner of the "bizzarro maestro della Scuola Fiammenga" in the possession of the Marchese del Carpio¹⁶, the Spanish vice-king of Naples since 1683. Even if that painting may not be identical with the Prado allegory, whose provenance can only be traced back to 1711, this reference gives us an idea of what impressions Giordano could provoke. Most of these works "alla maniera di...", however, were very probably not intended to be understood as forgeries¹⁷. Giordano, one of the great painters of his time, simply longed to demonstrate his enormous abilities in

imitating and emulating the masters of the past. But Giordano stayed Giordano even in his imitations; in most of the cases he has made it very clear whose 'brushwork' the beholder is looking at.

We have registred the influence that Cortona's Barberini fresco exerted on the Prado picture. But where does the art of Rubens come in, what role do his *Allegories of Peace* play? A closer comparison between Giordano's painting and Rubens's *Horror of War* at the Palazzo Pitti (fig. 2) reveals a striking difference in the relation between Venus and Mars. While Rubens, as he explains in his famous letter to Sustermans¹⁸, shows Venus trying to keep Mars from going to war, Giordano makes his voluptuously seated Venus hold up her hand to keep Mars from coming closer. Neither Rubens's concentration on a foreground action oriented to the right nor his choice of figures and attributes is closely imitated by Giordano, who has built up a turbulent motion circling around the painter who is sitting in the middle of the composition. The Prado painting thus appears to be more of a paraphrase of Rubens's *Allegories of Peace* than a true and profound imitation. Giordano has represented Rubens sitting not on a chair, but on the Fury of War, who is 'tormented' by a putto with her own torch. It is not by chance that a Fury of this appearance can be seen both in Rubens's *Horror of War* and in the "Hercules Scene" (fig. 4) of Cortona's Barberini ceiling.

When Giordano (in the mid-fifties of the 17th century) turned from the sombre manner of his teacher Ribera to the colourful and lucid style of Pietro da Cortona, he opted for a particular type of contemporary artistic practice. Pietro da Cortona represented the rich, the 'baroque' manner of painting that explicitly wanted to amaze the spectator, to overwhelm him with opulent (Venetian) colours and gigantic compositions. Cortona's Barberini ceiling is the matrix for a great number of paintings and frescos in the 'baroque' style all over Europe. It was, in fact, the concept of the Salone Barberini that is reported to have aroused a famous dispute in the Accademia di San Luca¹⁹. Speaking for the protagonists of a 'classical' art

who contented themselves with smaller compositions and a reduced number of figures, the painter Andrea Sacchi criticised Cortona's "grandi opere" as overloaded. True art, in his eyes, had to be simple and clearly arranged. Pietro da Cortona answered Sacchi by pointing out his concept of "ricchezza", his idea of entertaining the spectator with 'grand' compositions that had to be looked at as pictorial entities whose parts were not primarily meant to be read in terms of literary meaning. Cortona wanted his paintings to impress and entertain the beholder by their rich pictorial means.

By turning to Cortona as his artistic model, Giordano obviously made a decision to adopt this 'pictorial' way of painting²⁰. It is interesting to see that a few years after the probable date of the Prado allegory the 'classicist' Bellori published his 1672 vita of Rubens which mirrors many of the criticisms that had been brought up against the art of Cortona in the days of Sacchi and Poussin. Giordano did not by chance turn to Pietro da Cortona in order to compose a 'Rubens'. Both artists offered to him a rich and colourful way of painting that included the intensive use of allegorical elements. What is more, Cortona himself was influenced considerably by Rubens's art when the Barberini ordered him to complete the tapestry series of representations from the life of Constantine they had purchased in Paris²¹. This commission was finished shortly before the beginning of the works on the Salone Barberini. Cortona's painterly work there shows a new 'pictorial' manner unknown to his earlier frescos. He had learned his Rubens lesson.

Giordano may thus have 'reconstructed' the manner of Rubens by studying Pietro da Cortona's frescos. This can account for the many quotations from the Salone Barberini in the Prado allegory. Giordano, however, obviously felt that a bit more 'Flemish' atmosphere should be added to his picture. Apart from the portrait of Rubens himself, which was available in at least two printed versions²², he sought to implant a few other details that were familiar to anyone who had a certain knowledge of northern art. An addition of this sort

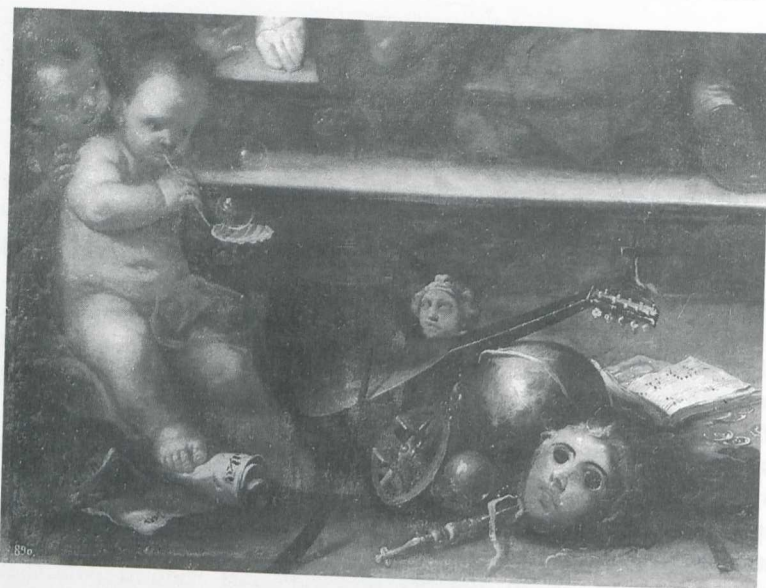


FIG. 6. – Luca GIORDANO. *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace* (detail). Madrid, Museo del Prado. Photo museum.

is the still-life with two putti on the lower left (fig. 6) : Giordano has filled this part of his canvas with a “Vanitas”-composition which is very common in pictures of the Netherlandish type “vanité à personnages” (as Mirimonde²³ called it). Children blowing soapbubbles next to a still-life

composed of musical instruments, a globe, playing cards and dice were meant to symbolise the transitoriness of all worldly pleasures. One or two masks were sometimes added to these still-lives²⁴ in order to create an almost literary image for the false appearance of the world : there is nothing



FIG. 7. – Theodoor VAN THULDEN. *Allegory of Vanity*. S'Hertogenbosch, Noordbrabants Museum. Photo museum.

behind the attractive face of "Vrouw Werelt" (fig. 7). While "Vanitas" still-lives in the true sense of the word are altogether rare in Italian painting of the time, the mask that Giordano has shown among the elements of his still-life is almost unique to Italy²⁵, – there cannot be any other pictorial source for it than a Netherlandish painting. While Rubens had shown a number of musical instruments and books lying on the ground of his Pitti picture to give an impression of how Mars tends to destroy the arts²⁶, Giordano used a

the allegorical scene was intended as a *tour de force*, a witty demonstration of his inventive powers and creative energy. Paintings showing an artist at work with the object or model of his picture included were rare in Italian art of the time. Almost the only exception are depictions of Saint Luke painting the Madonna. But if we look for painted scenes of contemporary artistic practice, i.e. a painter at his workshop depicted with his model, there is almost no Italian example for this type of representation before the 'bamboccianti',



FIG. 8. – Anthony VAN DYCK (attr. to). *Andries van Ertfeldt Picturing a Seascape*. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen. Photo museum.

Netherlandish still-life of a type that contains a moral warning against all worldly pleasures and goods *including the arts*.

It is not altogether clear whether Luca Giordano realized this different 'message' of the still-life that he chose to imitate and add to his Prado painting. Neither can we be absolutely sure about the reasons that induced Giordano to represent Rubens himself sitting at his easel and painting *Venus averting Mars*, i.e. the scene that is taking place on the right. Looking at the Prado picture from an artistic point of view, it is clear that Giordano's combination of the painter's portrait and

Netherlandish painters of genre-scenes, who arrived in Rome at the time of Caravaggio. One of their group, Michelangelo Cerquozzi, shows an (anonymous) painter at his easel whose model, an old man, poses as a 'Saint Jerome' in the foreground²⁷. But Cerquozzi has not allowed us to look at the picture that is coming into being. The beholder is confronted with the back of the canvas that the painter is working on.

Depictions of artists at work that show both the object of imitation and the picture that is being painted were in fact almost exclusively reserved to Netherlandish art. But even in Dutch or Flem-

ish art of the seventeenth century, there are very few depictions (i.e. portraits) of an individual painter with both his picture and the subject of his painting visible. One of these rare pictures is a painting attributed to Anthony van Dyck (fig. 8), that undoubtedly is a real portrait of a painter at his easel; according to tradition, the man depicted is the specialist of marine subjects Andries van Ertveldt. The ship in stormy waves that he is painting is shown as his 'real' subject in the background on the left. Pictures of this kind, and certainly not (as it has been suggested²⁸) Velazquez' *Las Meninas*, have to be considered as the stimulus for Giordano's inclusion of Rubens's portrait in his Prado composition. This composition, it is true, is much more advanced in character, because it shows the painter imitating an allegorical constellation, not a 'real' subject. The combination, however, of the depiction of a painter at his work and certain allegorical elements next to him was available to Giordano in the print *Il lamento della pittura* (fig. 9) by Cornelis Cort which is based on a design of Federico Zuccaro; Giordano often used engravings as sources for his work²⁹, so he may well have turned to Zuccaro, the Roman precursor of Pietro da Cortona. This ambitious print exhibits a comparably complicated structure of an artist working on an image that is in fact part of another image³⁰.

It is, of course, problematic to assume a purely 'artistic' motivation for a painting of this kind and date³¹. Would there have been anyone in the early 1660's who commissioned a picture measuring 3.37×4.14 m for purely 'artistic' reasons? In order to give an acceptable explanation for the commission of the Prado painting, some scholars have turned to the fact that Rubens during his lifetime was active both as a painter and a diplomat³². He acted, among other duties, as an intermediary for a peace-treaty between Spain and England. Because the picture is first mentioned in a Spanish inventory, Pérez Sánchez has suggested that a Spanish citizen living at Naples ordered Giordano to paint this picture as a 'homage' to Rubens as a peace-maker. This explanation is certainly a possibility. Giovanni Baglione in his 1642 vita of the Fleming already praises both the painter and the diplomat Rubens. But it should not be overlooked that 'artistic' qualities are decisive in the oeuvre of a painter whose fame, in these years, was at least in part based on imitating other artists. Giordano's use of his brush, his enormous rapidity in painting induced his later patrons, as De Dominici reports³³, to leave the subject of the paintings he was going to produce entirely in his own hands. A similar explanation should be applied to our picture: the Prado allegory is very probably meant

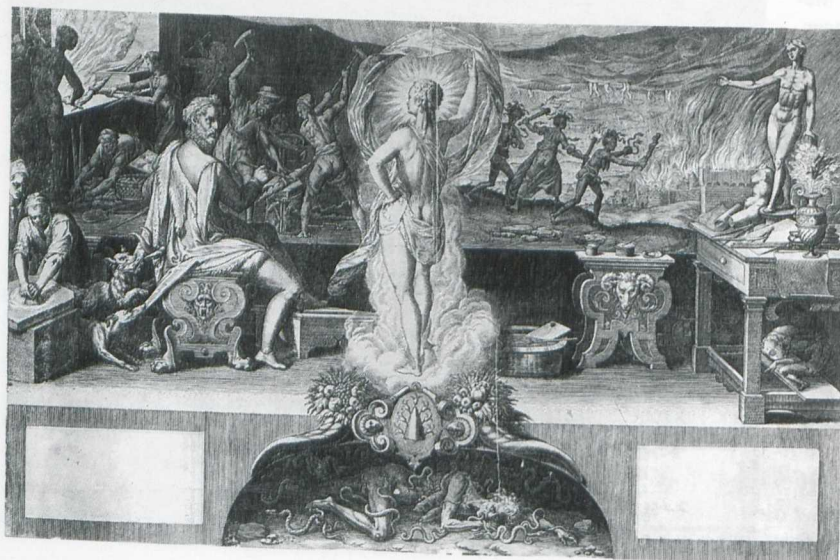


FIG. 9. — Cornelis CORT after Federico ZUCCARO. *Il Lamento della Pittura* (lower part). Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung. Photo museum.



FIG. 10. – PAOLO DE MATTEIS. *Allegory of Peace with Self-Portrait*. Houston, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation. Photo Foundation.

to celebrate Giordano's favorite manner of painting.

By representing Rubens at work, Luca Giordano depicted a famous artist who had died about twenty years before. Giordano's preserved own self-portraits are of a very modest scale. Unlike his pupil Paolo de Matteis many years later, he never painted a self-portrait which placed his own person in the pompous surrounding of an allegorical composition. Allegorical elements of this kind were usually reserved for portraits of military leaders and members of the nobility. Even in the early Settecento contemporaries still considered it an enormous offence against the 'decoro' when De Matteis inserted his self-portrait sitting at his easel into an *Allegory of Peace*³⁴ whose composition is very close to Giordano's Prado picture (fig. 10). Keeping these circumstances in mind, we realize that Giordano's implantation of Rubens's portrait in his painting contained an element of controversial novelty.

One should not, however, forget that the allegorical context of the painter at work on the Prado picture is of a very special kind: Giordano has shown Rubens amidst his own 'creatures', i.e. among the figures who are representatives of the

own allegorical inventory of the Flemish painter. Many of these figures are quite unmistakably 'rubensian'³⁵; in a way, Giordano's painting is thus an early example for the admiration of Rubens as a 'modern classic', who, as an independent genius, produced his admirable pictures out of his own, his autonomous creative powers – quite like Roger de Piles³⁶ put it in 1684: "*Le génie de Rubens étoit capable de produire lui seul, et sans l'aide d'aucuns préceptes, des choses extraordinaires*".

Luca Giordano's confrontation of the 'painter at his easel'-theme (which in Netherlandish painting often came close to a genre motif) and the noble *Allegory of Peace* is a remarkable contemporary of Vermeer's learned *Allegory of Painting*. Vermeer van Delft has depicted the artist in his studio together with a young woman who is posing as a 'Clio' – and Vermeer took great pains to make clear that she is nothing but a *model* of this muse³⁷. According to him, it is only on the painter's easel that the allegory of History comes into being, and it is consequently only in the eye of the beholder that this scene as a whole becomes an *Allegory of Painting*. In contrast to this, Giordano has confronted his painter with an unprece-

dented mass of allegorical figures who (strangely enough) appear to belong to the same level of reality as Rubens himself. This situation cannot really be explained, it cannot be solved on the level of what is represented. Looking for a mediator between these elements that simply do not fit together, the beholder is forced to turn to the

one and only common factor of the Prado picture as a whole: Giordano's painterly work. The picture's different elements, the portrait of Rubens, the quotations from Cortona, the quotations from Flemish art – they are brought together by the unifying power of Giordano's brush. Pretending to picture Rubens picturing, Giordano has glorified his own art.

NOTES

I wish to express my gratitude to Herbert L. Kessler and James McCowey for a critical look at the English of this paper.

1. « Dans l'interprétation du sujet, Luca Giordano prouve du reste qu'il connaît bien les *Conséquences de la guerre de Florence* »: D. BODART, « Rubens et la critique italienne ancienne », in M. GREGORI (ed.), *Rubens e Firenze*, Florence, 1983, p. 42. A similar opinion was expressed by R. BAUMSTARK, "Ikonographische Studien zu Rubens Kriegs- und Friedensallegorien", *Aachener Kunstblätter* 45, 1974, p. 126.
2. O. FERRARI-G. SCAVIZZI, *Luca Giordano*, Naples, 1992, pp. 263-64 (cat. no. A 88). GRISERI ("Luca Giordano 'alla maniera di...'", *Arte antica e moderna*, 1961, p. 430) once proposed the period between 1660 and 1670, but one can quite certainly exclude a date in the second half of the sixties.
3. O. FERRARI-G. SCAVIZZI, as in note 2, p. 264, cat. no. A 89.
4. For the Frankfurt picture cf. E. LEUSCHNER, "Giordanos graphische Vorlagen. Überlegungen zu Bildern in Frankfurt und Braunschweig", *Pantheon* 52, 1994, pp. 184-89.
5. M. JAFFE, *Rubens and Italy*, Oxford, 1977, p. 103. Even Giovanni BELLORI does not mention the *Horrors of War* in his 1672 *Vita* of Rubens.
6. B. DE DOMINICI, *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori, ed Architetti Napoletani*, vol. 3, Naples, 1743, pp. 394 sq. For a rather optimistic attempt to defend De Dominici's reliability see T. WILLETTE, "Bernardo De Dominici e le Vite de' pittori scultori ed architetti napoletani: contributo alla riabilitazione di una fonte", *Ricerche sul '600 napoletano*, Milan, 1986, pp. 255-73.
7. Cf. O. FERRARI-G. SCAVIZZI, as in note 2, pp. 16 sq. Cf. also E. SCHLEIER, *Luca Giordano variiert eine Komposition Tizians. Zu einem Bild der Berliner Gewäldegalerie*, Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen 36, 1994, p. 192.
8. B. DE DOMINICI (as in note 4), p. 397: "[...] di Vinegia partiti, presero il cammino di Firenze, dove volle ammirare l'opere magnifiche di tanti Artefici insigni, che vi aveano fiorito: Indi per la via di Livorno ritornò a Roma". In his earlier Zibaldone Balducciano (ed. B. SANTI, Florence, 1980, p. 352), De Dominici wrote: "Onde [= Venice], dipingendo di luoco in luoco e facendo memoria di tutto il bello, fecero
- ritorno alla patria per il camino di Fiorenza, ove restò ammirato in vedere l'opere di tanti meravigliosi artefici di più esquisite et ottime facoltà".
9. Cf. G. MARTIN, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School circa 1600 - circa 1900*, London, 1970, pp. 116-25.
10. Compare e.g. an *Allegory of Peace* by Erasmus Quellinus in the Museo de San Carlos, Mexico City (exh. cat. "Pintura y tapices flamencos", Mexico City, 1984, pp. 98-99, no. 43).
11. The Seicento inventories of neapolitan private collections list quite a number of paintings attributed to Rubens, some of which Giordano is likely to have seen. Among them was a "quadro di 6 palmi di Venere è Marte di Pietro Paolo Rubens" (mentioned in the inventory of Ferrante Spinelli of 1654; cf. G. LABROT, *Collections of Paintings in Naples 1600-1780*, Munich, 1992, p. 96, no. 97).
12. Girolamo TETI, *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem*, Rome, 1642; cf. A. CALCAGNI ABRAMI-L. CHIMIRRI (edd.), *Incisori toscani del Seicento al servizio del libro illustrato*, Florence, 1987, pp. 42-43.
13. This figure of Cortona had already inspired the posture of a woman in the foreground of Giordanos "Nicolas" altarpiece at Santa Brigida: O. FERRARI-G. SCAVIZZI, as in note 2, p. 258, cat. no. A 47. The gesture of Giordano's Venus was probably influenced by Agostino Carracci's graphical reproduction of a composition by Jacopo Tintoretto: *Minerva averting Mars* (Illustrated BARTSCH, vol. 39, p. 160, no. 118-II) which is inscribed "Sapientia Martem depellente Pax et Abundantia cogaudent".
14. Cortona's image of "Fury" in chains is based on VERGIL's "centum vinctus aenis" (*Aeneid* 1, 295); cf. M. A. LEE, 'Hic Domus': *The Decorative Programme of the Sala Barberina in Rome*, Baltimore, 1993, p. 123.
15. "Quanto al suo naturale stile (da noi detta: Maniera) si accostò sempre a Pietro da Cortona; ma quando voleva inalarla faceva, e contrafaceva con tanta facilità gli Uomini più grandi in Pittura, che spesso ha ingannato li più inten-

denti". Paolo de Matteis' vita of Giordano is part of the DE MATTEIS-chapter of DE DOMINICI, as in note 6, p. 542.

16. B. DE DOMINICI, as in note 6, pp. 417-418: "Essendo poi venuto il Reggente [= the Duca di Diano] ad augurargli l'anno nuovo felice, [the Marchese del Carpio] fecegli vedere un quadro di Luca Giordano dipinto sulla maniera del Rubens, e l'interrogò da qual pennello stimasse dipinto quel quadro? Il Reggente che faceva pompa d'intendere le maniere de' Pittori, rispose, che l'opera era di bizzarro maestro della Scuola Fiammenga, e che gli pareva del Rubens. Allora ripigliò il Vicerè, che una simil tela stava dipingendo Luca per accompagnare quella pittura".

17. Compare M. CAUSA PICONE, "Luca Giordano alla sua maniera", *Studi di storia dell'arte in onore di Mina Gregori*, Milan, 1994, pp. 289-94.

18. This letter is quoted and analysed by E.H. GOMBRICH, *Symbolic Images*, London, 1985, pp. 126-29.

19. For the literary sources of this dispute that probably took place in the mid-thirties cf. G. BRIGANTI, *Pietro da Cortona o della pittura barocca*, Milan, 1982, pp. 88-92. J. MERZ, *Pietro da Cortona. Der Aufstieg zum führenden Maler in Rom*, Tübingen, 1991, p. 258. H. LOCHER, "Das Staunen des Betrachters. Pietro da Cortonas Deckenfresko im Palazzo Barberini", *Werners Kunstgeschichte*, 1990, pp. 1-46.

20. R. WITTKOWER, *Art and Architecture in Italy 1600-1750*, London, 1990, p. 266: "Sacchi's position was taken up by his pupil Carlo Maratti, who handed on the classical gospel to the eighteenth century and ultimately to Mengs and to Winckelmann, the real father of Neo-classicism and passionate enemy of all things Baroque. Pietro da Cortona, on the other hand, must be regarded as the ancestor of the hedonistic trend which led via Luca Giordano to the masters of the French and Italian Rococo".

21. Cf. S. ZURAWSKI, "Connections between Rubens and the Barberini Legation in Paris, in 1625 and Their Influences on Roman Baroque Art", *Revue Belge d'Archéologie et d'histoire de l'Art*, 58, 1989, pp. 23-50. See also J. BELDON SCOTT, *Images of Nepotism. The Painted Ceilings of Palazzo Barberini*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 186-92.

22. A printed Rubens portrait had been published by Raphael Custos (cf. R. BAUMSTARK, as in note 1, p. 126), another by Paulus Pontius (cf. M. JAFFÉ, "Rubens to Himself: The Portraits Sent to Charles I and to N-C. Fabri De Peiresc", M. GREGORI [ed.], *Rubens e Firenze*, Florenz, 1983, pp. 19-32).

23. A. P. DE MIRIMONDE, « Les vanités à personnages et à instruments de musique », *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, oct. 1978, pp. 115-30.

24. Autonomous Netherlandish still-lives including masks are much rarer than masks in still-life elements of bigger allegorical compositions; one of the few examples for the autonomous type is a picture attributed to Jacques de Claeuw – cf. E. LEUSCHNER, "Ein unbekanntes Hauptwerk von Jacob de Backer in Meiningen", *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1994, pp. 51-63, fig. 4. For a detailed analysis of the use of masks in Dutch and Flem-

ish allegories of *vanitas* see E. LEUSCHNER, *Persona, Larva, Maske. Ikonologische Studien zum 16. bis frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt, 1997, pp. 221-64.

25. Compare a still-life with two masks by Giordano's contemporary Giuseppe Recco in Rotterdam (exh. cat. "Van Titiaan tot Tiepolo. Italiaanse schilderwerken in Nederlands bezit", Rotterdam, 1990, pp. 136-37, cat. no. 73); this picture, however, should not be described as a *Vanitas* still-life *proprio sensu*.

26. Rubens used a similar combination of instruments and books as attributes of the arts in his painting *The Education of Maria de' Medici*, cf. R. FORSYTH MILLEN-R.E. WOLF, *Heroic Deeds and Mystic Figures. A New Reading of Rubens' Life of Maria de' Medici*, Princeton, 1989, pp. 47-48.

27. F. ZERI, *La Galleria Pallavicini in Roma. Catalogo dei dipinti*, Rome, 1954, p. 87.

28. C. KESSER, *Las Meninas von Velazquez. Eine Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1994, pp. 41-44.

29. Compare e.g. a genre-scene with an attribution to Giordano; it is based on a composition of Adriaen van Ostade engraved by Cornelis Vischer: G. DE VITO, "Il viaggio di lavoro di Luca Giordano a Venezia e alcune motivazioni per la scelta riberesca", *Ricerche sul '600 Napoletano* 10, 1991, pp. 33-122, Tav. IX (Giordano) und fig. 66 (the engraving).

30. For a detailed analysis of the "Lamento" compare I. GERARDS-NELISSEN, "Federigo Zuccaro and the Lament of Painting", *Simiolus* 13, 1983, pp. 44-53.

31. Only a few years later, a number of patrons explicitly commissioned artistic 'self-reflections'. A famous example is the Marchese del Carpio himself, who has already been mentioned in connection with De Dominici's story about the two 'Rubens' paintings Giordano made for him (cf. note 16). According to Bellori, the Marchese, during his stay at Rome, asked many artists to draw "soggetti [...] sopra la Pittura, lasciando a ciascuno libero l'arbitrio di eleggerlo a suo modo" (cf. O. KUTSCHERA-WOBORSKY, "Ein kunsttheoretisches Thesenblatt Carlo Marattas und seine ästhetischen Anschauungen", *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, Beilage der Graphischen Künste, Vienna, 1919, no. 1-3, pp. 11-13).

32. Compare A.E. PEREZ SANCHEZ, exh. cat. "Pittura napoletana de Caravaggio a Giordano", Madrid, 1985, S. 176 and M. LEVEY, *The Painter Depicted. Painters as a Subject in Painting*, London, 1981, pp. 38-40.

33. B. DE DOMINICI, as in note 6, p. 406: "Avendo supplicato Sua Altezza [= the Grand-duke of Tuscany] a dirgli, cosa comandava vi avesse dipinto, gli fu risposto, che dipingesse ciò che piaccuto gli fusse, ma che primieramente si ponesse la berretta, e sedesse, poichè egli era venuto per vederlo dipingere".

34. B. DE DOMINICI, as in note 6, p. 540: "[Paolo] molte volte ne' Soggetti Eroici introduceva concetti che avean del basso: come appunto ei fece nel mentovato quadro da lui dipinto in occasione della pace conclusa fra la Spagna e la Francia, con la Germania, e l'Inghilterra; Imperciocchè, dopo avervi dipinto molte belle figure allusive al nobile, e lieto soggetto, vi situò la sua figura a sedere nel mezzo del quadro col Trep-

piedi davanti in atto di dipingere, ma col berrettino in testa e con veste da camera. Concetto certamente basso, e che fu biasimato da tutti allorchè il gran quadro fu esposto al monte de' Poveri Vergognosi, ove molti anni prima cioè nel 1678 aveva Luca Giordano esposto il suo gran quadro, che fu una meraviglia dell'Arte, e un incanto di tutti quei che lo videro; come si ricordavano i più vecchi; poicchè nel mezzo di quello aveva Luca situato il Marchese de los Velez su d'un Cavallo bianco, quasi l'Eroe dell'opera: come nella sua vita abbiamo detto".

35. Theodor Boeyermans's *Allegory of Antwerp as Nutrix Pictorum*, a picture that was painted in 1665 to decorate the premises of the town's recently founded Academy of Art, does

not by chance place portraits of Rubens and Van Dyck in a setting of allegorical figures (e.g. a snake-headed 'Invidia') which often occur in the works of both painters (cf. exh. cat. "Verhaal van een metropool", Antwerp, 1993, p. 150, cat. no. 4).

36. Quoted after G. POCHAT, *Geschichte der Ästhetik und Kunsttheorie*, Cologne 1986, p. 355.

37. D. ARASSE, *L'ambition de Vermeer*, Paris, 1993, p. 79: "À bien regarder, Vermeer s'est livré à un double jeu: il a "déréalisé" (ou "allégorisé") le peintre et son atelier tout en "désallégorisant" la figure allégorique, présentée sous les traits d'un réel modèle de peintre".

RÉSUMÉ. – *Peindre Rubens en train de peindre. Quelques remarques sur l'Allégorie de la Paix de Giordano au Prado.*

Le tableau de Luca Giordano, *Rubens peignant une Allégorie de la Paix* (au Prado), passe d'ordinaire pour s'inspirer de *L'Allégorie de la Paix* de Rubens (Florence). Mais on ne peut affirmer que Giordano avait vu ce tableau avant de peindre, tôt dans sa carrière, sa propre toile. En outre, une analyse attentive du tableau du Prado révèle que beaucoup d'éléments sont en réalité copiés ou repris sur le plafond de Pierre de Cortone, au palais Barberini à Rome. Célèbre pour ses copies et ses imitations, trompeuses, d'autres artistes (parmi lesquels on compte Titien, Raphaël, Rubens...), le jeune Giordano avait certainement vu quelques œuvres originales de Rubens à Rome ou à Naples. Alors pourquoi aurait-il introduit des éléments du plafond de Cortone dans son « Rubens »? L'auteur émet l'idée que Giordano a voulu ici rendre un hommage à l'artiste flamand; il aurait choisi de copier le plafond Barberini pour glorifier le côté opulent, que représentait à ses yeux, la peinture de Rubens et de Cortone. Mais étant donné la tendance de l'époque de laisser au libre choix de l'artiste le thème de l'œuvre commandée, il est certain que le tableau du Prado résulte de la réflexion artistique de son auteur: Giordano voulait donner un exemple de sa supériorité dans l'art de l'imitation, et de sa capacité à mêler différents styles et éléments issus de l'art italien et de l'art flamand, tout en rendant évident le fait qu'il s'agit bien d'un « Giordano ».