

# RUBENS' MANTUAN SELF PORTRAIT WITH COMPAN- IONS: FACT CHECKING, NEW INSIGHTS AND A BOOK

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# PRELIMINARY NOTE



Almost since the spring of 2019, the author of this small study has been working on Rubens' Self-Portrait in the Circle of Friends in Mantua. It quickly became clear that much of what was supposedly certain was by no means as certain as believed. Even the provenance history, which is cited again and again, is quite different in parts. The oldest self-portrait by Peter Paul Rubens is one of the main works in the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne since the 1960s. Nevertheless, it has never been x-rayed until 2022 or subjected to a thorough examination, a fact check, despite the immense quantity of publications on the subject. What do we actually know about the painting, whose history of research only began shortly before 1930? Although there are so many opinions and statements, there are still controversies about the people depicted and the chronology, and many questions remain unanswered. To paraphrase Goethe, "more light"!

This text is merely the abridged version of a more detailed study that was completed in early 2023 and is in preparation for printing. For this reason, the detailed apparatus has been deliberately omitted here. The new results on the image and the resulting theses are summarized here and are intended to form a basis for discussion.

The author would like to thank Marcus Dekiert, Anja Sevcic, Iris Schaefer and Caroline von Saint-George, Wallraf Richartz Museum Cologne for granting me access to the painting and for having an X-ray examination done in 2022. U.H.\* Cologne for valuable discussions and inspiration and especially Eileen Reeves for support, helpful and interesting discussions and Nils Büttner, the chairman of the Rubenianum in Antwerp for his immense help. Marianne Gechter has been supporting me with the translation of the document of Pope Paul V.- Last not least Johannes Gerhardy for his patience and support. For all, not to forget: *Ex unitate vires!*

SVEN SCHÜTTE, KÖLN

January 2023

\* One of the most important scholars in the field of Rubens (not named at his own personal request)



Fig.1: The painting in its contemporary North Italian frame 2021

## RUBENS' MANTUAN SELF PORTRAIT WITH COMPANIONS: FACT CHECKING, NEW INSIGHTS AND A BOOK

A famous painting: Peter Paul Rubens' oldest self-portrait (fig. 1 an 2) has been reproduced in publications and book titles over 80 times,<sup>1</sup>demonstrating its enormous popularity. Since its discovery in 1929 this painting has generated decades of discussion about its dating, backdrop and sitters. Almost everything has been said or written somewhere before- so: *nihil novi sub sole*? Nevertheless, many questions remain unsolved. This essay tries to offer new visual and textual evidence.

Kurt Gerstenberg (1886 -1968) first published the painting in 1932<sup>2</sup>, but it was already known to Roberto Longhi, short time later Ludwig Burchard in late 1931 and shortly thereafter to Christopher Norris. It was he who first named the painting "Rubens in the company of his Roman companions". With a few variations, this title has survived to the present day. Today, it is usually referred to as "Self-Portrait in the Circle of Mantuan Friends" or, for short, as "Mantuan Friendship Picture". It will be shown to what extent this title is still justified today when the painting is analysed in detail.

It is worthwhile to subject the painting to a "fact check", especially also under the aspect of newly discovered sources and the emergence of a famous book: the copy of Lipsius' "Seneca" from 1605, which Philip Rubens presented to Pope Paul V Borghese at the end of 1605, presumably in the presence of his brother and Cardinal Scipio Borghese, on Lipsius' behalf. The Pope's letter of thanks reached Lipsius in Louvain on 26 February 1606, shortly before his death on 23 March. Here, strands of relationships come together whose common denominator is the Neo-Stoic philosophy of Justus Lipsius, represented here, in the case of the book, by his "Seneca". Peter Paul Rubens, his brother Philip and Justus Lipsius are actors both inside and outside the painting, as well as in the history of the book. They are closely linked by the philosophy of the Stoics and Neo-Stoics. The three years from 1604 to 1606 become important years in the lives of all the actors, including those only inadequately as yet identified in the painting.

The preoccupation with real or supposed pictorial contents and their respective interpretations typical of the time are so extensive that they often cloud or even cast

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<sup>1</sup> It would go beyond the scope here to present a complete bibliography here, so that only a selection of the important writings is quoted here.

<sup>2</sup> Gerstenberg, Kurt, Rubens im Kreise seiner römischen Gefährten. in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 2/1931, S. 99-109. Ad personam: Source: Universitätsarchiv Halle Wittenberg, Rep. 11, PA 6625 (Gerstenberg); UAHW, Rep. 6, Nr. 1407.

doubt on what is really certain or at least certainly believed. So, my concern here with the painting is not about belief and gut feeling, but about knowledge.

A superficial, purely formal view does not do justice to the subject matter alone, but only provides the basis of knowledge. The integration into the network of actors and their background is the next step towards knowledge. The contemporary philosophy of a world that has come apart at the seams forms the tableau for the acting persons. In a time not entirely dissimilar to today, it is well worth knowing how careers, power games, the dissemination of knowledge and affects were reflected in objects such as books and paintings. But more on that later.



Fig. 2 Peter Paul Rubens Self-portrait in Mantua with companions. Wallraf Richartz Museum, Cologne (Dep. 0248), [Kunstbesitz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland]

## The Provenance of the Painting

It is almost universally stated that the picture came from the English Romantic poet Lord Byron's possessions at Newstead Abbey<sup>3</sup>. This indication of origin does not stand up to scrutiny. The auction of his artworks took place from March 22-25, 1772 and comprised 498 lots, mostly paintings. Lot 67 reads „DYCK, ANTHONIE VAN (Flemish)<sup>4</sup>, “A company of artists with their families regaling” This description corresponds to the itinerary book by Johann Jacob Volkmann in 1782, [vol. III., p. 421] “Eine Lustbarkeit von Malern [a merriment of painters] von Van Dyck”<sup>5</sup> However, the people in the painting are neither "merry" nor entertained with food and drink, nor recognizable as painters, nor are they accompanied by their families. It is certain that the art dealer Vitale Bloch (1900-1975) invented the story, probably in order to be able to sell the painting better<sup>6</sup>.

Dr. Vitale Bloch, the Jewish art dealer, art historian and collector opened his gallery "Bloch & Co." in Berlin-Tiergarten 33 Victoriastrasse in 1929; its headquarters were in The Hague. Bloch was a well-respected art historian in his time. When the Nazis came to power, he moved his collection to London, but later collaborated so intensively with the new German rulers that he was made an “Honorary Aryan”. He provided numerous paintings for Hitler's "Sonderauftrag Linz". In 1931 Bloch sold the painting to Eugen Abresch (1867-1952). Ludwig Burchard wrote a short expertise on this (Fig. 3). Allegedly Abresch should have sold the picture to a Heinrich Scheufelen in 1934. He was a supporting member of the SS from 1934-1940. But this was definitely not true. The erroneous information was first reported by Ludwig Burchard in 1935 (Fig. 4)<sup>7</sup>.

However, it can be assumed that George Tournay Biddulph (1844-1929), the son of Robert Biddulph<sup>8</sup>, Member of Parliament and banker to Cocks, Biddulph & Co, was currently the earliest known owner of the painting. In 1928 it was still in Douglas House; here we see the first reference to the painting (in the later documents erroneously “George House”). After Hermann Voss (1884-1969)<sup>9</sup>, one of the main protagonists of Hitler's special commission for the so-called “Führermuseum” in Linz<sup>10</sup>, had been appointed the new director of the Linz

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<sup>3</sup> HUEMER 1977, 163; cat. 37: here already marked with a question mark.

<sup>4</sup> Getty Provenance Index Sale Catalogue Br-A897, Lot 0067 Auction House Christie's Catalogue: Christie Sale Location Great Room next Cumberland House, and that. late the Royal Academy, in Pall Mall, London, England, UK Seller:Byron, William Byron, 5th Baron

<sup>5</sup> Jacob Volkmann, *Neueste Reisen durch England, vorzüglich in Absicht auf die Kunstsammlungen...zusammengetragen, Dritter Theil, Leipzig 1782 „Newstead Abbey“*. Das o.g. Auktionsdatum zeigt, dass Volkmann seine Angaben mehr als zehn Jahre zuvor bereits zusammengetragen hatte.

<sup>6</sup> This is evidenced by a note by Ludwig Burchard on the back of a photograph from 1931 (Rubenianum Antwerp here Fig. 4) [Sign.:LB 1126]

<sup>7</sup> Notice on the reverse of a photo Burchard had received from Bloch. Rubenianum Antwerp [Sign.:LB 1126]

<sup>8</sup> Geneanet „Biddulph” so all other facts for the genealogy. The “Biddulph” provenance nevertheless reliable and was not invented by Bloch.

<sup>9</sup> Kathrin Iselt, „Sonderbeauftragter des Führers“ Der Kunsthistoriker und Museumsmann Hermann Voss (1884–1969), 2010

<sup>10</sup> Archival records for 1933- 1965: Berlin, DHM: Datenbank "Central Collecting Point München" Mü-Nr. 21947. The record in the German Bundesarchiv states the sale Sept.08. 1943 for 600.000.- RM

Museum on February 16, 1943, he bought only eight paintings from Heinrich Scheufelen (1913–2008) for the future museum in April 1943. But Rubens' painting was not among these purchases; it remained in the possession of Eugen Abresch. Hans Gerhard Evers reports in 1944 on the occasion of a visit to Abresch on June 26, 1942, about the latter's correspondence with Ludwig Burchard since 1931<sup>11</sup> (a partial copy of which is in the Rubenianum Antwerp). Though Abresch had retained the Rubens, the news of his acquisition in 1931 nevertheless spread quickly. Ludwig Burchard, Gustav Glück, Kurt Gerstenberg, Christopher Norris, Hans Gerhard Evers, Roberto Longhi, among others, dealt with the painting before the Second World War.

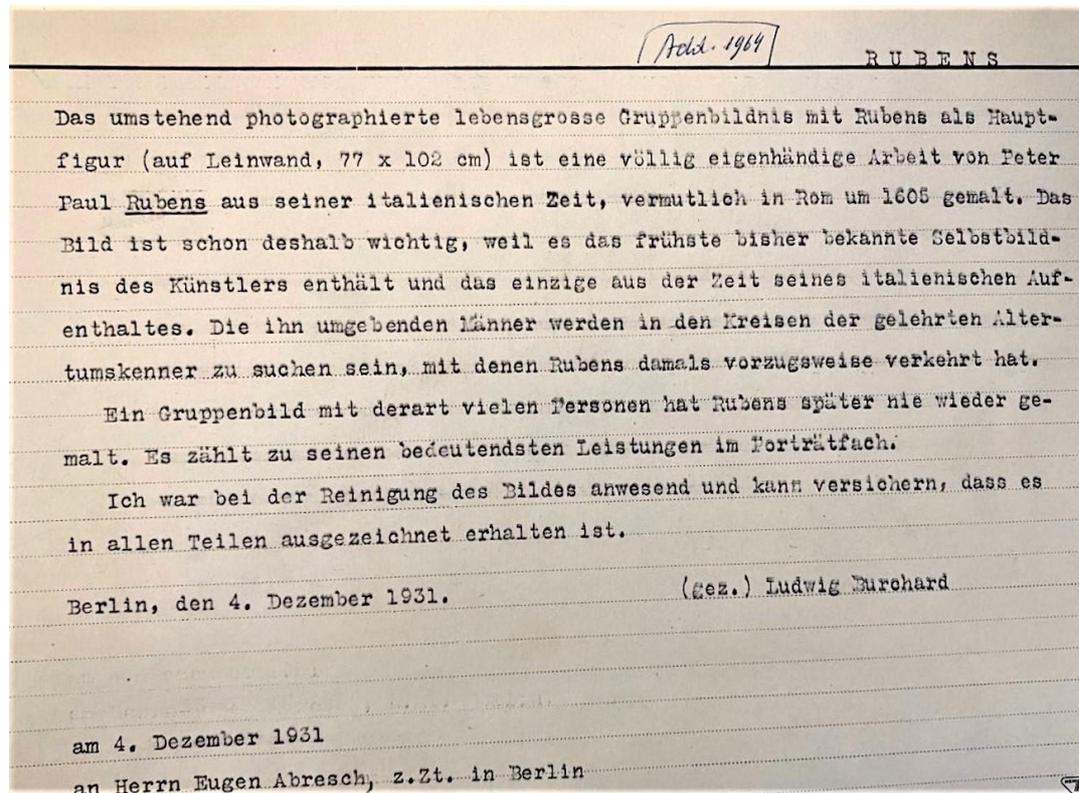


Fig.3: Ludwig Burchard expertise 1931 preceding the sale to Abresch (Rubenianum Antwerp, LB 1126)

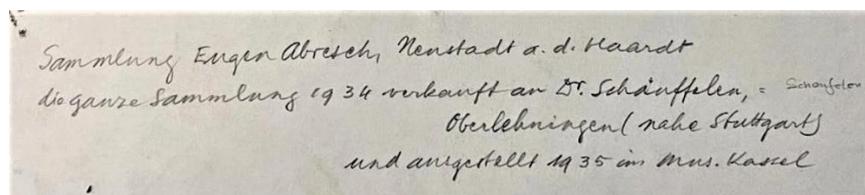


Fig.4: L. Burchards erroneous remark of the sale (Rubenianum Antwerp, LB 1126) it was not sold to Scheufelen

(B323/652); Linz-Nr. (DB-Sonderauftrag Linz): 3009 Kartei: Mü.-Karteikarten – Bestand BADV (Deutschland) Karteikasten: 9999 Owner: BADV; Restitution-records: Karteikasten: 652 Bundesarchiv, B323/652 Datierung: 1945.06.30 (Eingang/Receipt); Date: 1949.06.10 (Ausgang/Issue); Kontrollnummernkartei Karteikasten: 609. Owner: Bundesarchiv, B323/609; alte Ministerpräsidentenkartei - Karteikasten: 763. Owner: Bundesarchiv, B323/763  
<sup>11</sup>H. G. Evers, Rubens und sein Werk. Neue Forschungen.1944 322, FN 7

1668	001467	L 3009	232 247 240 128 V 10.18.28
Eingangsnummer (Arrival Number)		Beschriftung (Marks)	Raum (Room)
Art des Gegenstandes <i>Gemälde, Leinwand in dunkelblauem goldenem Rahmen</i> Type of object <i>Rubens-Urweis: Halbfiguren v. 6 Männern, links Brüste u. Hände.</i>			
Besitzer <i>größe: 78:102 cm.</i> Possessor			
Datum des Eingangs <i>30. JUNI 1945</i>		Wetter <i>sonnig</i> Weather	
Zustand <i>gut</i> Condition			
Bemerkung Remarks <p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bundesarchiv, B323/609</b></p>			

a

Forwarded:	Copies of cards 194	Arrival Date <i>30/6/45</i>	Exit <i>10. Juni 49</i>	Ministerpräsident <i>E</i>
History and Ownership: <i>8. IX 1943 aus Sg Eugen Abrecht, Neustadt a. H.</i> <i>Transfer to Ministerpräsident decided by MFA &amp; A Off. E. Brenenbach June 49</i>				
Condition and Repair Record: <i>XV/11/53 ; XVIa/35/266</i> <i>übernommen</i>				
Location: House: Floor: Room: <i>800</i>				
<p style="text-align: center;"><b>Bundesarchiv, B323/652</b></p>				

b

Fig. 5 a-b: Index cards

Artnet / Foto		Wallraf - Richartz - Museum Gem 1/66	
Gem. u. Zeichng.	Eingangsdatum 30.6.45	Katalog 20.9.66 U. 20/10	Mü.-Nr. 1668 Aussee 1467 ✓
Meister R u b e n s Peter Paul	Gegenstand Selbstbildnis im Kreis seiner Gefährten in Mantua		
Maße H 78 B 101 L Ø	Material Leinwand	Photovermerke NEGATIV <del>sein</del>	
Linz 3009 607 A	Erhaltungszustand oben rechts kl. Schrammen Rahmen d. Zeit, Holz vergold. kleine Schäden		POSITIV <del>sein</del>
Bibliographie	Beschreibung 6 Personen in Halbfigur, im Hintergrund Landschaft mit Mantua. Nach Gerstenberg sind d. Per- sonen v. links n. rechts: der Grammatiker Kaspar Schopp - ein Unbekannter (beide im Profil) n. halbrechts d. Arzt, Botaniker u. Archäologe Johann Faber (Kopf n. halbrechts) - Philipp Rubens (Kopf n. links) - Peter Paul Rubens (mit zum Beschauer gedrehtem Kopf) - der Philologe Joseph Scaliger (im Profil n. links)		
	Kurt Gerstenberg, Rubens im Kreis seiner römischen Gefährten, Zschr. f. Kunstgesch., 1, 1932, S. 99 ff. (BADV, m. Nachtr. in Bd II, 1933, S. 220. H.G. Evers, Peter Paul Rubens, München 1942, S. 29, 27, 459, 4, 463, 484, 510)		

Fig. 5 c: Index cards of the purchase 1943, inventory 1945 and submission 1949 including an attempt to identify the persons

In 1943, the "Kunsthandlung Alfred und Victoria Dingeldey"<sup>12</sup> interceded the self-portrait for Hitler's museum in Linz; in return, Eugen Abresch received 600,000 RM (Reichsmark) from the German State. After Sept. 8, 1943 it finally entered the Linz Museum inventory (Inventory Linz No. 3009/607A). Sometime after January 1944, as the war progressed, the painting was taken to the Alt Aussee salt mine. It was recovered on June 30, 1945 by the US "Monument Men" there, the shaft having been discovered in early May. In June 1949 it was returned to the German state<sup>13</sup> ("Transfer to Prime Minister decided; by MFA&A Off. Brenenbach June 49") and in 1966 transferred to the Wallraf Richartz Museum in Cologne<sup>14</sup> (Inventory number: Dep. 0248).

It is surprising, as I said, that there is no indication of the provenance of Rubens' painting before 1929. So, let's take another look back:

The lack of sources could possibly have to do with the fact that the painting was in one hand for a very long time and was neither sold nor exhibited, but passed down through inheritance in one family. Now that Lord Byron can be safely eliminated from the list of previous owners, it is worthwhile to take a look at the Biddulph family: this very wealthy noble family can be traced back to the time before 1000. It is very likely that George Tournay

<sup>12</sup> Alfred Dingeldey (1894 - 1949) was actually a politician, District Administrator in Gießen and Member of the Hessian Parliament after the Second World War.

<sup>13</sup> alte Ministerpräsidentenkartei Karteikasten: 763 Owner: Bundesarchiv, B323/763

<sup>14</sup> BADV (Deutschland) Karteikasten: 9999; Restored WRM (Doubled, new varnish, crack filled, partially retouched with oil paint glazing, varnish regenerated, new varnish with mastic)

Biddulph (1844-1929) inherited the picture: The line of his highly wealthy ancestors can easily be traced back in a direct line:

*George Tournay Biddulph* (1844-1929),

Robert	Biddulph (1801 - 1864)
John	Biddulph of Ledbury (1768 - 1845)
Michael	Biddulph (1724 - 1800)
Robert	Biddulph (1682 - 1772) - Ledbury, Hereford
Anthony	Biddulph 1659-1718
Robert	Biddulph 1624-1678
Anthony	Biddulph 1584-1651

The Biddulphs were collectors and almost anyone on the list could theoretically be eligible for acquisition even at the moment there is no archival evidence as inventories etc..

It is a self-portrait and thus belongs to the very personal and private sphere of the artist. It is therefore very likely to have been in the possession of Peter Paul Rubens or his brother Philip even after the Italian years, although this is less likely. Since P.P. Rubens executed his brother's will after his brother's early death in 1611, this does not matter factually.

Unsurprisingly, it does not appear in Rubens' will, since the family initially kept the private pictures and, apart from the "little fur" (*het pelsken*), they were not particularly recorded. If this is the case, and there is much to be said for it, then a number of questions arise: If it somehow came into the hands of the Biddulph family as a result of a very early change of ownership, this could explain the conspicuous lack of sources. Possibly there were conceivable cross-connections after 1640, after Rubens' death: if one looks a little more closely at the Biddulph family history, it turns out that there may be other connections: The Biddulphs are widely associated with the Arundels<sup>15</sup>.

Charles Arundell 1621-1649

oo

1646 Mary Talbot 1623-1710..1711

|

Charles Arundell ca 1647-

oo

??

|

Mary Arundell 1681-1744

oo

John Biddulph, Lord of Burton Park Sussex ca 1665-1720

|

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<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Else Churchill, British Society of Genealogists, who points out that further research needs to be done. There may be important clues in the private archives of Arundel Castle. An enquiry to the archivist of the Duke of Norfolk has so far remained unanswered.

Even though these relationships have not been studied in depth so far, further research would certainly be appropriate here. Neither explicitly nor implicitly can such a connection be ruled out at present.

One possibility would be that the painting reached Thomas Howard, the 21st Earl of Arundel<sup>16</sup>, who was informed of Ruben's death by letter, directly after Ruben's death in 1640, for example. From 1642 onwards, he lived in Antwerp and later moved into a villa near Padua, where he died in 1646. From 1622 until his death in 1646 he held the office of Earl Marshal, and from 1640 to 1644 he was also Lord Steward of the Household. As early as 1641, Arundel and his wife Alethea Howard, 14th Baroness Talbot<sup>17</sup> had fled to the Netherlands to escape the English Civil War. Alethea, who was fond of travelling, met her husband in Utrecht when he accompanied Mary de Medici into exile in Cologne. She and her husband also accompanied the Queen and Princess Mary to her wedding to William II of Orange and she went directly to Padua where her sons were studying. Again, there would possibly be a connection to the painting about Padua, although this is hardly likely. Lady Alethea then lived in Antwerp and commissioned Francis Junius to reorganize the Arundels' book collection for the next few decades. Finally, after her husband's death and a stopover in Amersfoort, she moved into a house in Amsterdam<sup>18</sup>, where she housed the collection of paintings inherited from her husband (but bought with her money). There were over 600 paintings and drawings, including works by Dürer, Holbein, Brueghel, Lukas van Leiden, Van Dyck, Rafael, Titian and finally Rubens. 181 works were unattributed, so that it is quite possible that our painting was in this collection and then came to the Biddulphs.

Be that as it may, it will be worthwhile to follow the trail intensively in the future.



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<sup>16</sup> Biographical Data: <http://www.thepeerage.com/p10301.htm#i103009> (01.06.2020)

<sup>17</sup> G.E. Cokayne; with Vicary Gibbs, H.A. Doubleday, Geoffrey H. White, Duncan Warrand and Lord Howard de Walden, editors, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom, Extant, Extinct or Dormant*, new ed., 13 volumes in 14 (1910-1959; reprint 2000), p 257.

<sup>18</sup> F.H.C.Weijtens, *De Arundel - Collectie*. Rijksarchief Utrecht 1971. (With a printed, summarized inventory 1643 Fig. 1-3)

## The Location in Mantua

Following a suggestion from the Berlin-based Prof. Hans Kauffmann, (1896-1983) in Oct. 1933, Ludwig Burchard surmised that Rome was not the scene of the painting. He went personally to Mantua and tried to use a photo of the canvas to determine the exact position of the painter<sup>19</sup>. He reported in a letter to Eugen Abresch that he had succeeded in identifying the location as the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, similar to the location chosen by Andrea Mantegna in 1400 for his "Death of the Virgin Mary" (now at the Prado, Madrid).

This statement was repeated unchecked in almost all major publications, but does not stand up to close scrutiny. Mantegna's point of view can be very precisely determined in the older part of the palace, the Castello San Giorgio. The view is directed slightly to the north-east (ENE) from the Castello to the Ponte San Giorgio, probably from a building in front of the Castello, the "*Paleologa*" (Fig.14), which no longer exists today, towards the northern façade of the bridge over the Lago di Mezzo and the tower of the church of San Giorgio (fig.6a). This area in Mantegna's painting is half hidden by the church façade.

In contrast, the view of the Rubens painting is directed to the south side of the bridge, and the tower of the church is clearly visible to the right of the church. (Fig.6b). Rubens' location can clearly be identified as further to the south, since, in contrast to Mantegna, he shows the water surface of the Lago Inferiore in front of the southern facade of the bridge. The precise vantage point can only be seen from what is now the Appartamento della Mostra, or Rustica (Fig.8-13), which adjoins the Giardino dei semplici designed by Zenobio Bocchi in 1603 (Fig.15)<sup>20</sup>. As Evers and Burchard might have guessed, the painter's work- and recreation rooms could also have been located there.

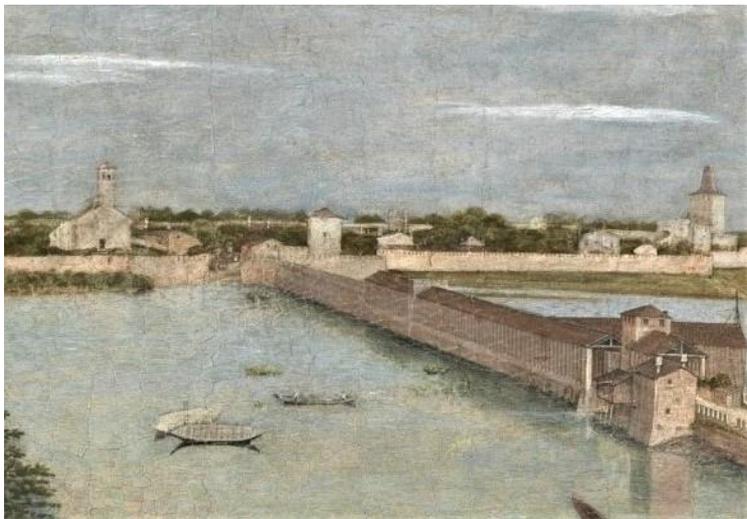


Fig. 6a: Andrea Mantegna detail Ponte S. Giorgio (Prado)



Fig.6b: WRM Cologne Dep. 0248 detail Ponte S. Giorgio

<sup>19</sup> H. G. Evers, Rubens und sein Werk. Neue Forschungen.1944, p. 321-326, ill.p.337-342;

<sup>20</sup> The vicinity may have influenced Rubens for the design of his later own garden in Antwerp.

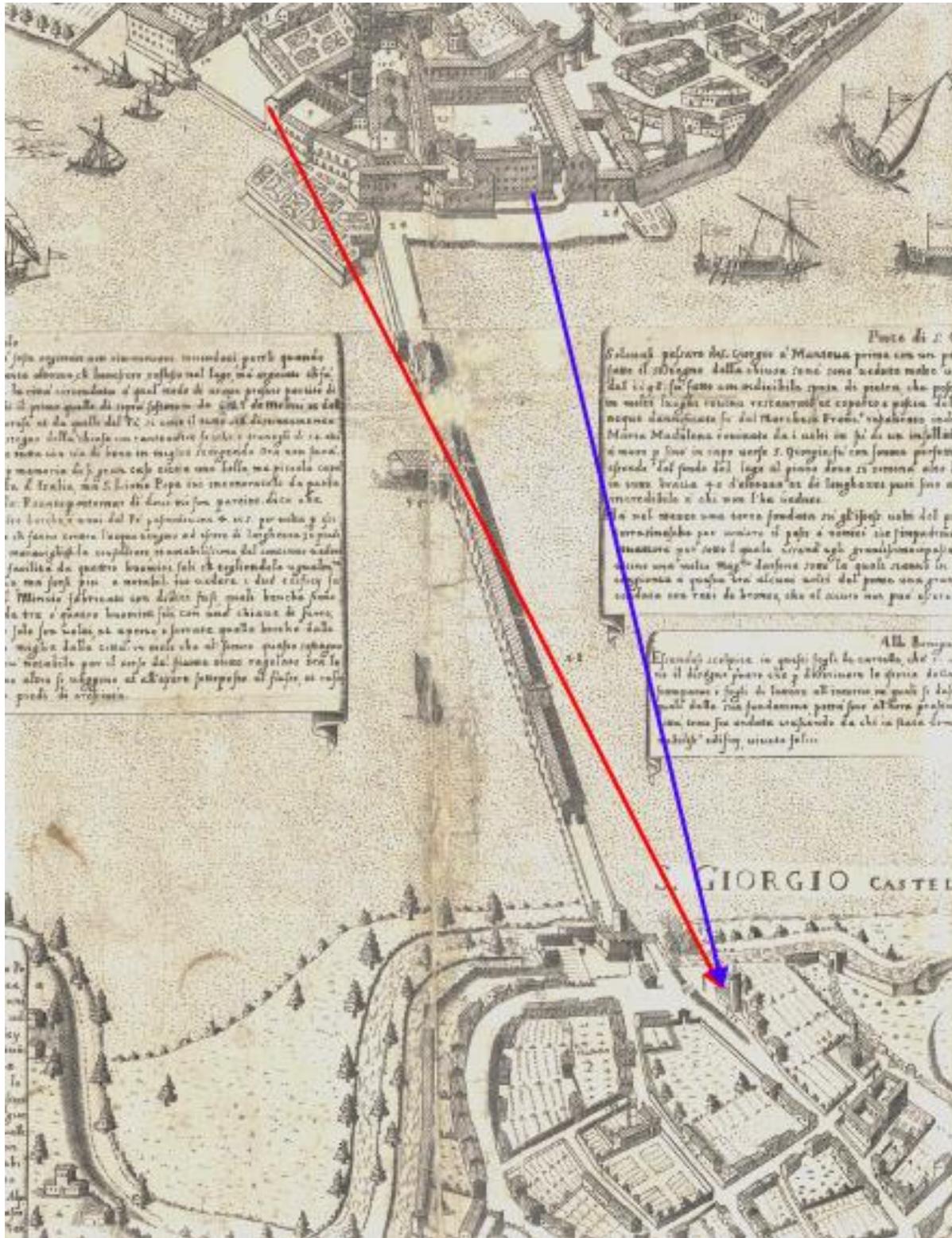


Fig. 7: The different views on the church of San Giorgio (Mantegna-blue; Rubens-red)



Fig.8: Serliana at the “Rustica” of the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua (Oct.2019). The window with the view.



Fig. 9: The Facade of the Rustica (Oct.2019)

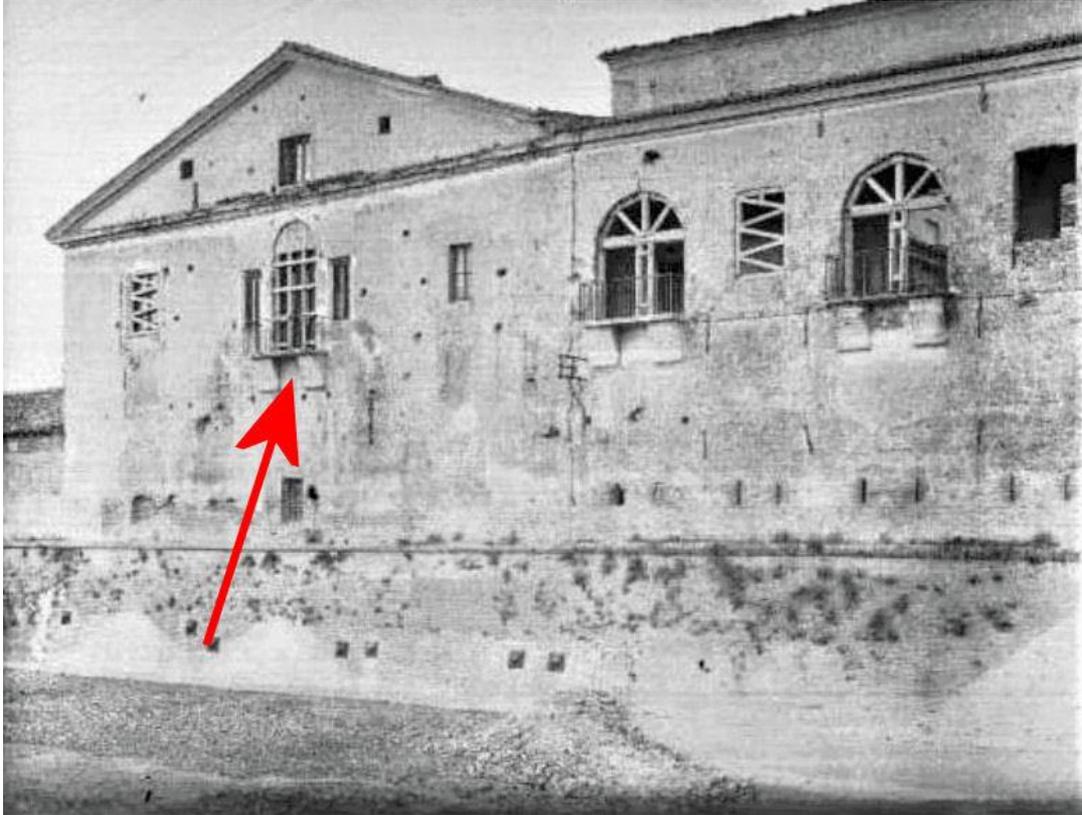


Fig. 10: The Rustica during restoration around 1920. The arrow shows the central arch of the serliana, the probable location of the group of people in the painting.

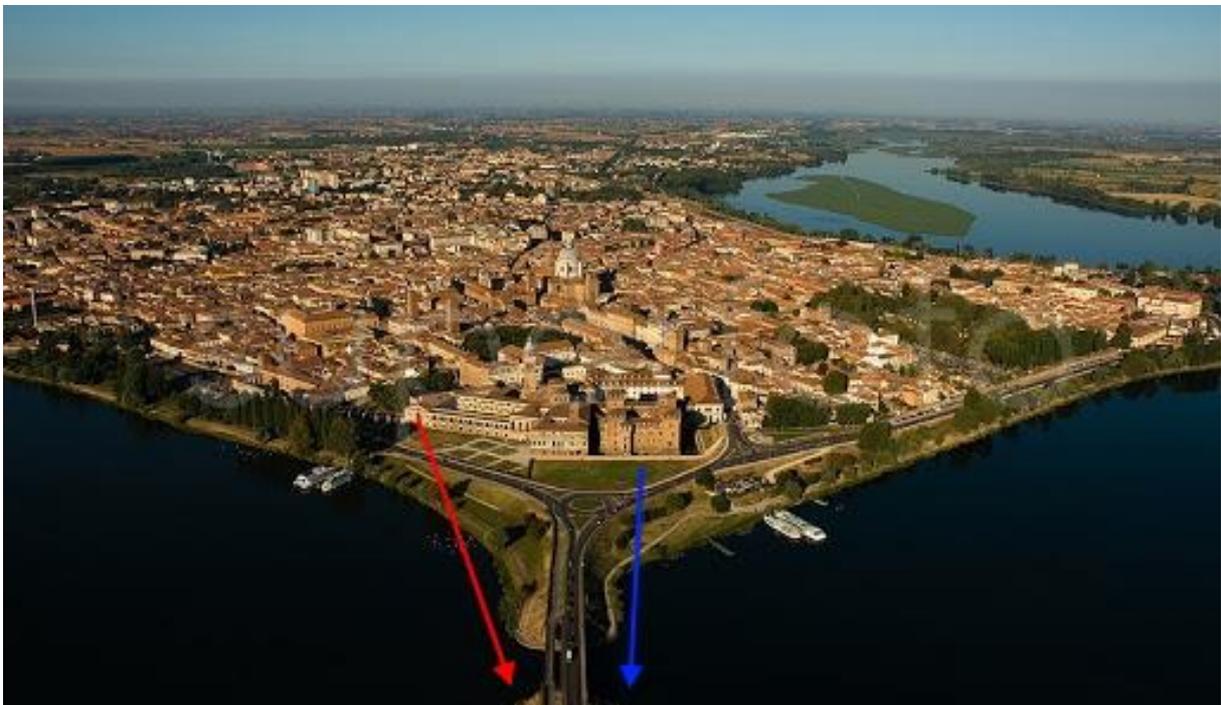


Fig. 11: Aerial view looking across the Ponte San Giorgio to the Palazzo Ducale and Mantua with the two vantage points (Mantegna-blue; Rubens-red).

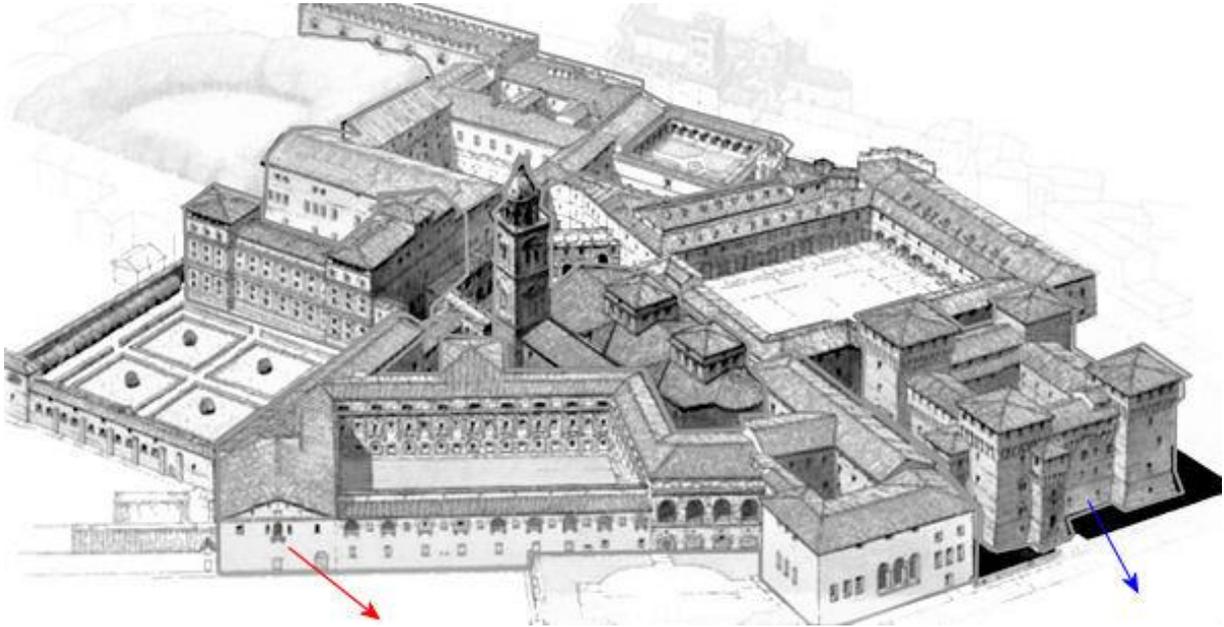


Fig. 12: The Palazzo Ducale in Mantua with the Castello San Giorgio on the right and the Rustica on the left (Mantegna-blue view; Rubens-red)



Fig. 13: The Ponte San Giorgio before the demolition of the bridge and the new construction at the end of the 19th century with a view of the Palazzo Ducale in red marks the Rustica with the old bridge on the right.



Fig. 14: The Ponte San Giorgio before the demolition of the bridge and the new construction at the end of the 19th century with a view of the Palazzo Ducale still with the old porch of the Paeologa (arrow) in front of the palace (to the right of the bridge), which has now disappeared.

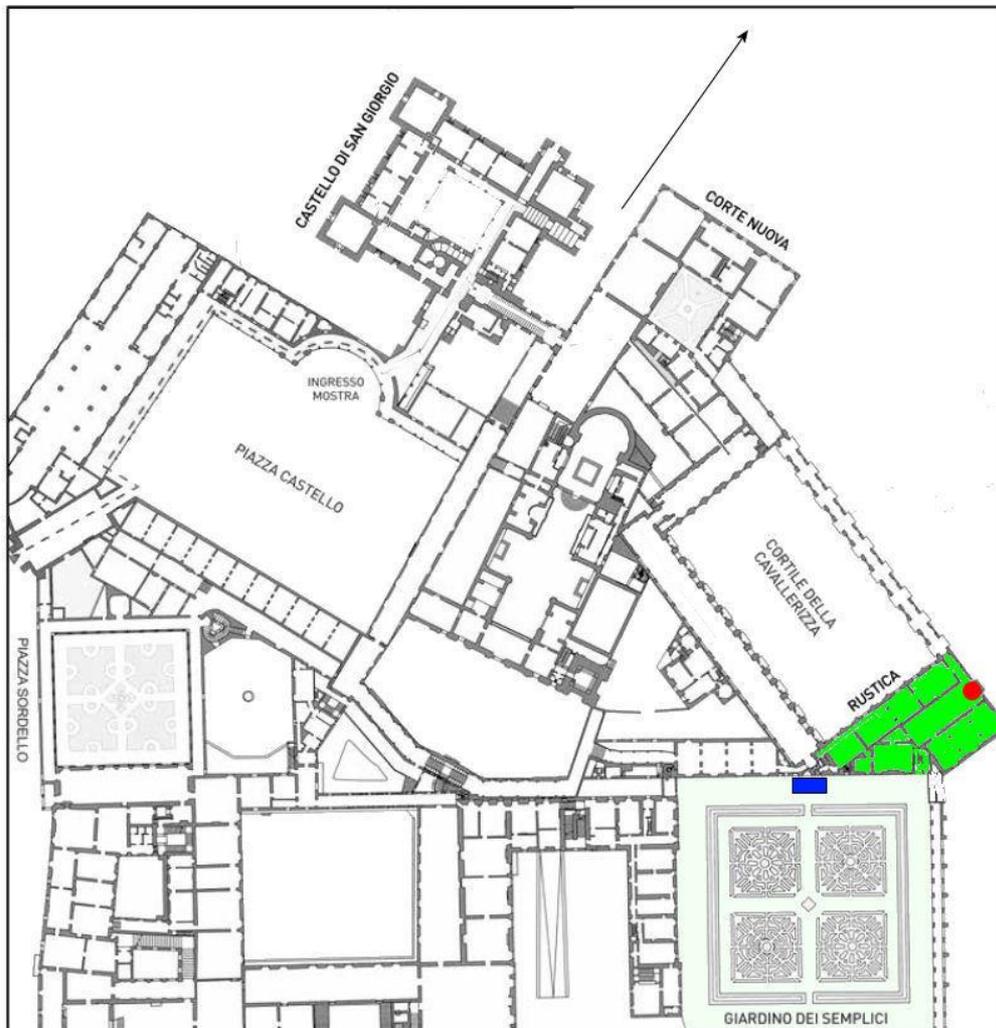


Fig. 15: Mantua Palazzo Ducale, plan section with the Castello di San Giorgio (the arrow indicates the course of the bridge), the Corte Nuova and the Rustica (green) and the giardino dei semplici (light green). The location of the sitters in the picture is marked in red-.

## The Identity of the Sitters: A never ending story

The main actor: The self-portrait of **Peter Paul Rubens** to the right of the center of the painting has always been indisputable.

His other self-portraits were painted within a few years of the Mantuan painting, regardless of how this work is dated. These are the wedding picture (the so-called "Honeysuckle Bower" in Munich) and "The Four Philosophers" in the Galleria Palatina in the Pitti Palace, Florence (Fig.45). Given the resemblances, there can be no doubt that the artist painted himself<sup>21</sup>.

The skin of his face is lighter than that of the other characters, the eyebrows carefully plucked. The beard is light blond, relatively thin on the cheeks, thicker only on the chin and upper lip, and not neatly trimmed. The eye color, although dark in appearance, is more likely a grey-blue. He is dressed in a grey travelling cloak, as if for the outdoors, unlike his companions.



Fig 16: Rubens self-portrait (digitally isolated and free reconstruction as a single Portrait) and Raffaello Santi Bindo Altoviti ca. 1514 (in reverse) National Gallery of Art, Washington DC inv.: 1943.4.33

The "Venetian" pose of the painter as he looks at us over his shoulder, slightly closer and above the other protagonists, has been interpreted by many authors as an index of self-confidence. Where Warnke<sup>22</sup> sees consolation, however, Bomford<sup>23</sup>, compared the hand position with that of depictions of *amicitia* in the friendship-albums of the Lipsius circle.

<sup>21</sup> N. Büttner: *Se ipsum expressit: Rubens's self-portraits as public statements*. Ben Van Beneden (Ed.): *Rubens privé : de meester portretteert zijn familie* 2015 (engl. *Rubens in private*) Exhibition catalogue Antwerp 2015 p. 38-53

<sup>22</sup> M. Warnke: *Kommentare zu Rubens*, Berlin, 1965, p. 22-24,

<sup>23</sup> K. Bomford: *The Visual Representation of Friendship amongst Humanists in the Southern Netherlands 1500 - ca. 1630*. Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 2000 and Kate Bomford:

The pose is put into perspective as a topos, if one considers the portraits by Rafael's "Bindo" (Fig. 16) listed here as an example. Personally, I would interpret the facial expression, as I hope to show further down, as more reserved or even a little worried.

Spatially, behind to the left of the artist is a person commonly identified as his brother, **Philipp Rubens**. Stratigraphically, the head behind Rubens was clearly painted later<sup>24</sup> on the imprimatura of the dark background: the hair is significantly darker hair than his brother's, and those striking curls can also be seen in other depictions of Philipp. These curls seem to be not natural, but carefully twisted and styled with tongs; this is clearly a fashionable hairstyle. The sitter's complexion is slightly darker than his brother's (Fig.17).



Fig.17: "Philipp Rubens"- after EVERS 1944 with amplified contrast (right)

The heads of the six men depicted are all arranged in strict isocephaly, but the two main protagonists are a bit more prominent in the foreground than are the four others.

On the very right edge of the Mantuan painting is a rather severe depiction of an elderly man in full profile (Fig.18). He appears much older than his companions. His face is sunken, especially under the cheekbones, and the labial crease is sharply defined. The dark hair is

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Peter Paul Rubens and the Value of Friendship. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ) / Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art Vol. 54, Virtus: virtuositeit en kunstliefhebbers in de Nederlanden 1500-1700. 2003

<sup>24</sup> This only describes the painting process, not an absolute timespan. It is on the other hand unlikely that this was more than some few years before 1609.

quite disorderly, partly draped over the balding head, and the thin beard on the cheeks is partly grey, but merges into a thick moustache and a thin goatee. Today the malicious assumption would be that his hair is dyed. In 1944 Evers<sup>25</sup> already referred to **Justus Lipsius**<sup>26</sup> and researchers agreed relatively early on that it could only be this celebrated Flemish humanist (1547 - 1606). His identity is confirmed by the image in the Pitti Palace (Fig.45). Common sense is that Rubens used an engraving by Petrus De Jode after Abraham Janssens from 1605 as a model (Fig. 18). The engraving was also assumed as a basis for the Mantuan painting for a long time, despite the fact that no extant paintings or engravings, with the exception of the Mantuan painting, present Lipsius in profile. Lipsius, moreover, was definitely absent when the picture was painted.

Rubens and Lipsius might have met before 1600, when Philipp was still living in Lipsius' contubernium, or perhaps they encountered each other in the school of pages of Marguerite de Ligne, where Lipsius taught for a time. While their contact was probably not very extensive, Rubens was fundamentally influenced by the ideas of Justus Lipsius and the Neostoics<sup>27</sup>.

After his departure for Italy, Rubens would have had to rely solely on pictorial representations of Lipsius. Only the medal of the famous Jaques Jonghelinck (1530 - 1606), from 1598, shows Lipsius in profile. Philipp Rubens (and maybe P.P.Rubens) will almost certainly have owned one of these small portraits. If the portrait in the Mantuan painting is projected to scale onto the silver or bronze medal, an almost perfect match results. It is highly probable that this medal was the basis for the portrait in Mantuan painting (Fig.19).



<sup>25</sup> Evers op.cit (note 19) ill.342

<sup>26</sup> Evers op.cit (note 19) p. 321 f.

<sup>27</sup> Basically, these ideas cannot be developed here: see M. Morford: Stoics and Neostoics. Rubens and the Circle of Lipsius. Princeton 1991, 246 p.; Also U. Heinen: Peter Paul Rubens - Barocke Leidenschaften. In: N. Büttner / U. Heinen Eds.: Peter Paul Rubens - Barocke Leidenschaften, Braunschweig 2004, p. 28-38; U. Heinen: Stoisch Sterben lernen - Rubens' Memorialbild auf Justus Lipsius und Philipp Rubens. p. 25-68, 2010. In Cat.: K. Van der Strighelen (Ed.) Pokerfaced Flemish and Dutch Baroque Faces unveiled. (Museum at the Crossroads, Band 19) 2010.

Fig. 18: The Lipsius portrait Cologne and engraving P. de Jode 1605



Fig. 19: Medal dated 1598 (and 1602), silver (a) und bronze (b) by Jaques Jonghelinck (private Collection) and semi-transparent projection of the Lipsius portrait (c) in the Cologne painting on the medal in reverse.

As for Lipsius, Rubens apparently attempted a 'vivificatio' of the original, similar to what he presents in his treatise '*de imitatione statuarum*';<sup>28</sup>. Apparently, it was never a problem for him to mirror a depiction as in this case. The suggestion that the face then was marked by illness could only have come from Philipp Rubens, who was in Flanders from April 1604 through December 1605. This fact could indicate that the portrait of Lipsius in the Mantuan picture was created after December 1605 or even after Lipsius' death on March 23, 1606. Even if the technical findings of the X-ray image seem to be quite uniform, it definitively cannot be ruled out that Lipsius' head, as well as both heads on the left edge of the canvas, were added later. What "later" means is difficult to deduce: it may have happened at the end of the painting process or even a few years later, when the paint layers were not yet fully polymerized.

Opposite Rubens, to his left, is a man who is noticeably older than the artist (Fig. 20). He turns toward him and puts his left hand on Rubens' left forearm, but his gaze goes past Rubens to the right into space. His complexion is darker than Rubens'. His hair is dark blond to brown, of medium length, carefully combed over his face at the temples. The hair is voluminously cropped at collar height at the back, and does not cover the ears. He has a receding hairline, and unlike Rubens, the middle tuft of hair, carefully groomed, is brushed up or backwards. He wears an imposing and very voluminous moustache over a rectangular goatee that frays downwards and is cut off horizontally. The cheeks are covered with a thinner, slightly longer beard. The bridge of his nose is straight to slightly concave with a clearly accentuated nasal bridge and broad nostrils, in contrast to Rubens. The relatively steep, somewhat furrowed forehead ends above the eyes with pronounced glabellar ridges. The eyebrows do not appear plucked, but differ slightly in shape, with more of an arch on the right eye. This eye has a somewhat drooping upper lid, which also accounts for the strongly accentuated lacrimal sac.

Frances Huemer has argued in several essays<sup>29</sup> that Rubens' counterpart can be identified with **Galileo Galilei**. The relationship between Rubens and Galileo had already been discussed by Ruelens in 1883<sup>30</sup>, too early for the scholarly treatment of this painting. After Huemer and Eileen Reeves caused astonishment and sometimes even strong rejection in the professional world, Bomford<sup>31</sup> and others presented a different interpretation, arguing that Huemer justified her own and Reeves' attribution again in detail several times. She was so strongly complemented by the detailed work of Eileen Reeves<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> A. Thielemann: Rubens' Traktat, *De imitatione statuarum*. In: U. Robach / P. Seiler (Eds.) *Imitatio als Transformation. Theorie und Praxis der Antikennachahmung in der frühen Neuzeit*. Petersberg 2012, p. 95-150. (the most recent new edition and translation after Goeler von Ravensburg)

<sup>29</sup> F. Huemer: A., *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard (CRLB)*. Part XIX (I) Portraits. 1977, P. 163-166; F. Huemer: A New View of the Mantuan Friendship Portrait. In: *The Ringling Museum of Art Journal*. Papers presented at the International Rubens Symposium, April 14 - 16, 1982, Sarasota (Florida), John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, 1983, P. 94-101; F. Huemer: Rubens and Galileo 1604. *Nature Art and Poetry*. Wallraf Richartz Jahrbuch XLIV, 1983, P. 175 - 196; F. Huemer: Philipp Rubens and his Brother the Painter. P. 123-128. In: *Rubens and his World*. Bijdragen opgedragen aan Prog. Dr. Lr A. d'Hulst. 1984; F. Huemer: Rubens and the Roman Circle, 1996 *Garland Studies in the Renaissance*, 5, 1996; Fig. 4: F. Huemer: Rubens's Portrait of Galileo in the Cologne Group Portrait. *Notes in the History of Art* 24, P. 18-25.; F. Huemer: Il dipinto di Colonia. In: Lucia Tongiorgi Tomasi; Alessandro Tosi (Hsg.) *Il cannocchiale e il pennello : nuova scienza e nuova arte nell'età di Galileo*. 2009. 68- 70

<sup>30</sup> C.-L. Ruelens, M., Rooses eds: *Correspondance de Rubens et documents épistolaires concernant sa vie et ses oeuvres*. *Corpus Diplomaticus Rubenianus*, I-VI, Anvers, Veuve De Backer (II-III: Jos Maes, IV-V-VI: J.E. Buschmann) 1887-1909, 1909; here Vol. I, p. 64; pp.248,249 for 1604

<sup>31</sup> Bomford op.cit (note 23)

<sup>32</sup> Eileen Reeves: *Painting the Heavens*. 310 p., Princeton 1997



Fig. 20: Person to the left of Rubens, digitally isolated and free reconstruction as a single portrait

Despite Huemer's protests<sup>33</sup>, her work and that of Reeves went relatively unnoticed. Reeves noted all important facts and her argumentation was absolutely convincing. There is so much material (and also bibliographic reference) spread in these books and articles that I can't refer it all here. But at this point it is not about feelings or subjective interpretation, but about objectifiable knowledge.

All other identifications have so far been based exclusively on subjective art-historical perception or on constructs based on written sources and not on material evidence. That

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<sup>33</sup> Antwerp, Letter 03. July 2007 Archive Rubenianum Antwerp LB 1126

situation only changed in February 2022: the painting was for the first time X-rayed in the Wallraf Richartz Museum and was internally visible without the interference of glass. The current author noticed a circular irregularity on the right side below the left eye (Fig. 21, 22, 23) in the portrait of the man opposite Rubens and his brother. It turned out not to be a retouching of damage to the canvas, but the depiction of a skin change (visible in Fig. 20.). This feature is visible with the naked eye and in the x-ray (Figs. 22 /23a). Later it was retouched and so considerably toned down<sup>34</sup>.

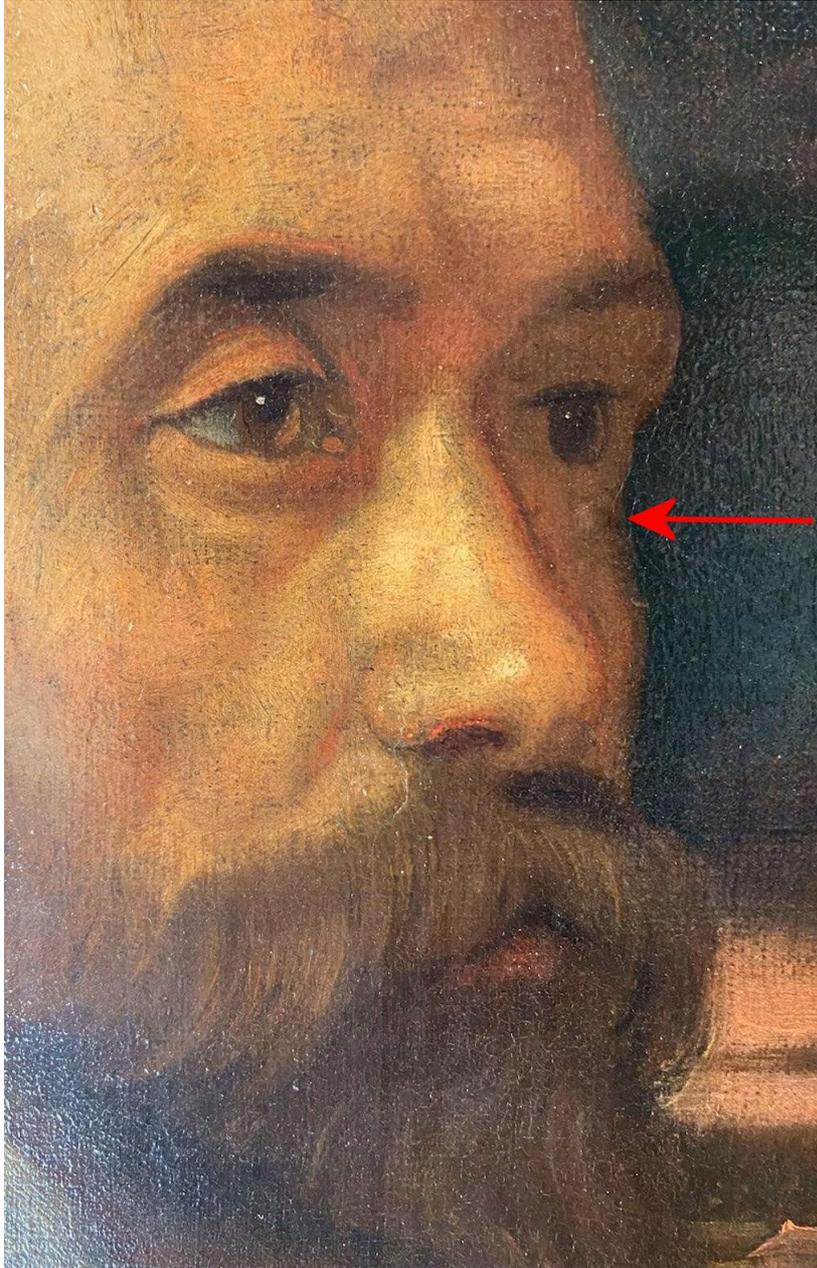


Fig. 21: Enlarged Detail of the face of the man in opposite of Rubens

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<sup>34</sup> In 1967 the painting was relined, retouched partially with “glazing oil paint” and it might be it was toned down then, and it was then newly varnished [document edited at note 4: BADV (Deutschland) Karteikasten: 9999]. It had been already cleaned in 1931 (Antwerp: Note Burchard Rubenianum Antwerp).

This finding has crucial consequences: it is precisely at this point that a kind of wart can be seen in nearly all existing authentic portraits of Galileo Galilei, from the earliest depictions to the portraits of the elderly man (Figs.23-25.). It therefore cannot be a coincidence that this feature also appears in Rubens' painting. The other proposed sitters- Frans Pourbus the Younger, Johannes Faber, Jean Richardot, Claudio Monteverdi and many others -over the past nearly hundred years lack these crucial physiognomic characteristics of a drooping eyelid, asymmetrical brows, and a wart, it is now imperative to recognize this image as a portrait of Galileo Galilei.

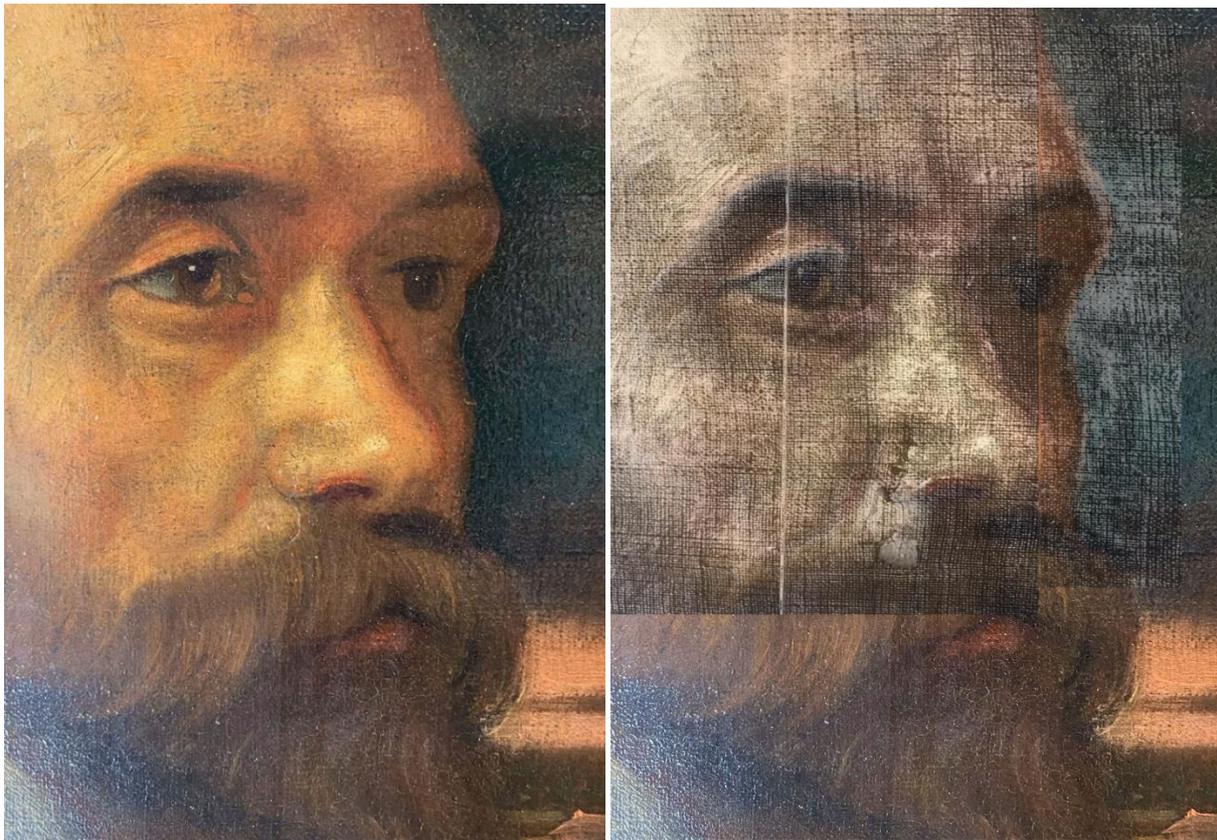


Fig.22: Detail of the painting, and overlay of the X-ray (Wallraf Richartz Museum, Iris Schaefer / Caroline von Saint-George) showing the Pentiment of the nose contour



Fig. 23: a Detail of fig.22 with visible circular structure in the X-ray  
b Contemporary medal of Galileo in profile, showing his concave nose contour

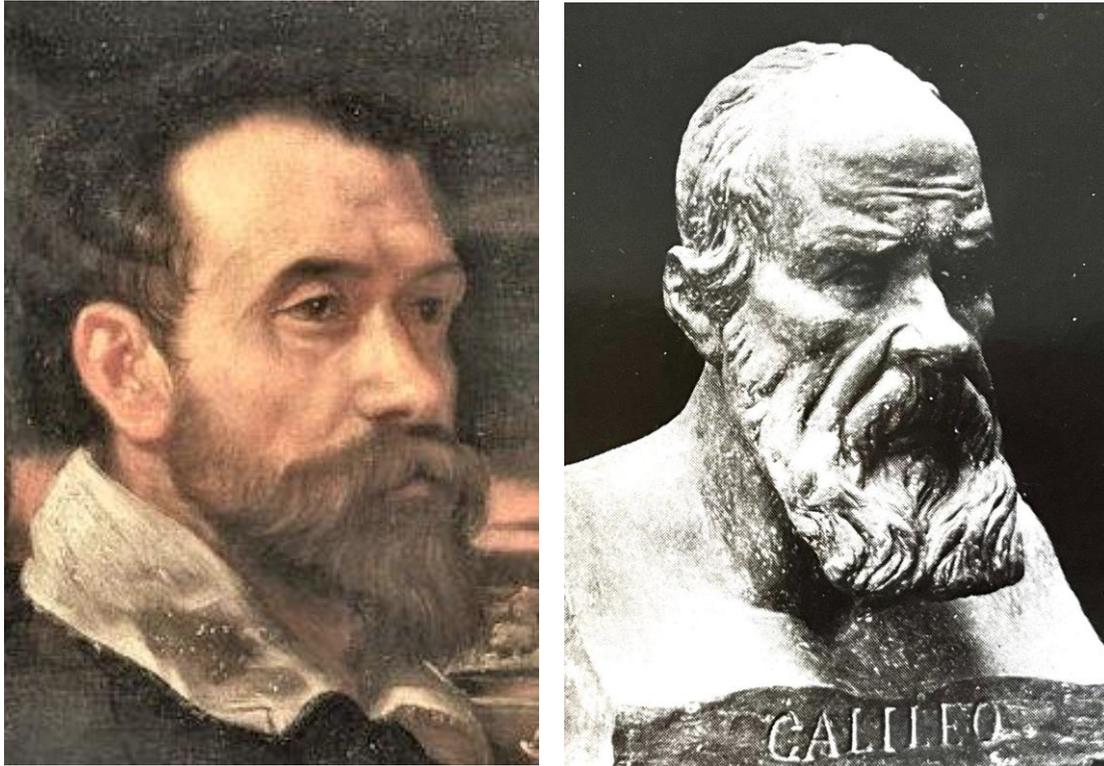


Fig. 24: Comparison between the painting and the terracotta-bust by Antonio Novelli (1599-1662) made after Galileo's death mask as proposed by HUEMER

Aside from these findings, there are more conclusive arguments that identify Galileo: There is one feature in all authentic portraits of Galileo that always appears, regardless of the artist and of the astronomer's age, the striking asymmetry of the eyes<sup>35</sup>. The right eye is invariably enlarged with a slightly drooping upper lid and corresponding lacrimal sac. The weakness of the eyelid, for which Galilei partially compensated by raising his right eyebrow, is more or less pronounced in all portraits. In addition to the prominent mole under the left eye, which is not always shown, the glabellar ridges under the steep forehead and the receding hairline around the face, the eyebrow contour is also very typical. The eyebrow arches are often curved differently due to the weakness of the eyelid. Though he had grey-blue eyes, this color changes in these depictions. The beard shape is always the same, with the lower part is squarish, fraying, rather short and thinner on the sides. The moustache is thick and large, not trimmed over the lips. These features deviate little from the typical customs of the time for hair and beard of his contemporaries.

The clothing in all portraits is also always similar: mostly black, typical of the time with offset shoulders in Spanish fashion and a short, white, smooth collar; Galileo apparently maintained this style of dress over the course of his life. The only exception is the Viennese portrait with a professorial fur coat. The x-ray shows a pentimento on the bridge of the nose (fig.22 right), which is much more pronounced and concave (Fig.23/24) than in the finished image. As is so often with Rubens, he has embellished and smoothed things out a bit.

<sup>35</sup> This has been frequently subject of ophthalmological research as: P. G. Watson: The Enigma of Galileo's Eyesight: Some Novel Observations on Galileo Galilei's Vision and His Progression to Blindness. *Survey of Ophthalmology*, Vol. 54, Issue 5, September-October 2009, p. 630-640

So, what speaks for Galileo in the Mantuan picture?

1. The asymmetry of the eyes, especially the lacrimal sac shape of the right eye and the lid weakness, which can also be seen in the Mantuan image and the finding of the wart
2. The shape of the brow bones and glabellar ridges (Figs.22/23)
3. The shape of the bridge of the nose and the bridge of the nose and the nostrils
4. Hair and beard style
5. Characteristics of hairline, beard structure
6. The always characteristic clothing

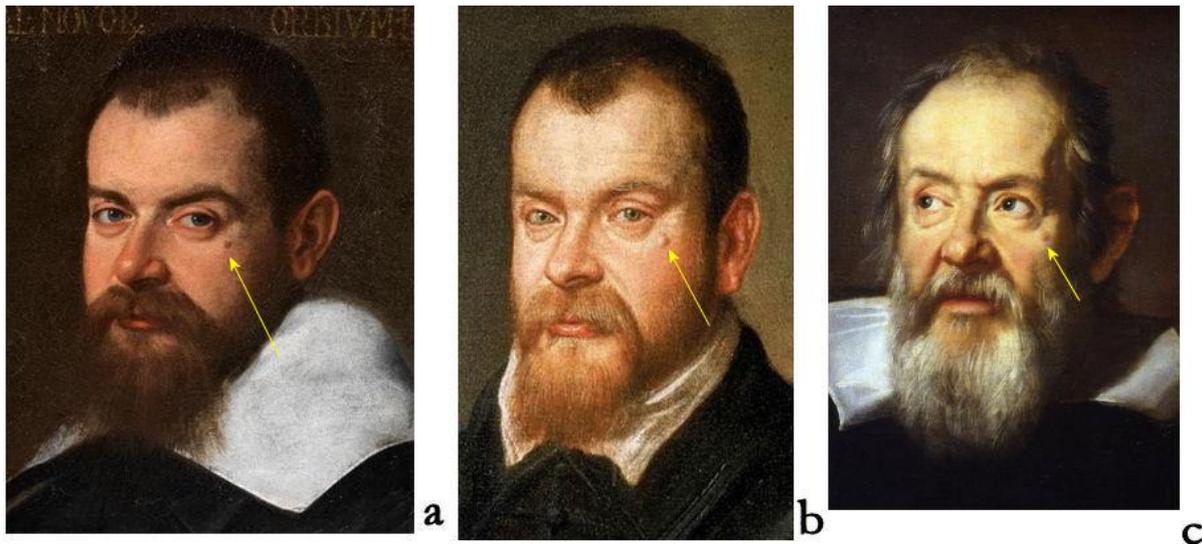


Fig.25: Galileo Galilei – Portraits: a Santi di Tito (1536-1603); b Domenico Tintoretto, ca. 1602 – 1607; c Justus Sustermans 1635

In 1995, Frans Baudouin<sup>36</sup> emphasized again Rubens' interest in Galileo's work, which is not only documented in a letter from Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc<sup>37</sup> to Galileo, but also in other Rubens' paintings and works in his library. This interest had already been recognized in 1887 by Ruelens<sup>38</sup>.

While many of the characteristics could also apply to other figures, the distinctive details of the eyes cannot. In my opinion the aggregation of all these characteristics lead to a valid assessment and only in the light of the arguments of Huemer and Reeves. This hypothesis sidelines the alternative of Frans Pourbus. Furthermore, the sometimes doubted but presumably authentic portrait of Pourbus in Florence bears no resemblance to the person in the Mantuan painting. The essential finding is that Rubens altered the contour of the nose and depicted the wart under the eye, which are the most important identifying features, along with the weakness of the eyelid.

<sup>36</sup> F. Baudouin: Peter Paul Rubens en Galileo Galilei: Een minder bekende bladzijde uit de Europese cultuurgeschiedenis. Studia Europaea, Brussels 1995, p.69-96

<sup>37</sup> See Huemer 1977 op.cit. (note 28)

<sup>38</sup> Rooses/Ruelens op.cit. (note 30) Vol.I, 1887, p.64

Reinventing the wheel seems typical in this question: While Andreas Blühm in the catalogue of the Wallraf Richartz Museum "The Moon"<sup>39</sup> (2009) believed to recognize Galileo completely undisputedly, in all the catalogues thereafter this insight is again called into question.



Fig.26: Giuseppe Macpherson (1726-c. 1780): **Frans Pourbus the Younger** (1569-1622) c.1772-80; Royal Collection Trust 7.0 x 5.6 cm (sight) | RCIN 421305; Copy on ivory after the Florence Portrait of Frans Pourbus

I will return to the question of the common identification with Frans Pourbus (Fig.26) later in this article.

### **The two companions to the left (Fig.27)**

The x-ray suggests that this part of the image was completed later and that the portraits stratigraphically overlay the dark window post on the left. These two individuals have been the subject of numerous discussions and there is as yet no definitive proof of their identity. However, questions arise that can only be answered with historical probabilities from the written sources. Many attributions were attached to the persons, with the names Willem

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<sup>39</sup> Andreas Blühm, Der Mond. Katalog zur Ausstellung Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Köln, 2009

Richardot<sup>40</sup> and Juan Batiste Perez de Baron<sup>41</sup> being among the most frequent conjectures. This is, considered the travel-dates, the most likely version (see below).

It is worth noting the similarity to the format of the traditional cameo double-portrait. (Figs.28,29) with a long tradition from antiquity to present days. Nevertheless, both figures on the left appear much more schematic and less like real portraits than all the other people in the picture. This may have to do with the history of the painting's creation, which remains to be discussed, but also with the personal availability of the sitters at the time of the painting's creation. In any case, we may assume that they belong to the group of Neo-Stoics close to Lipsius, to whom Galileo can also be added in terms of ideas and especially his preoccupation with Seneca. Fellow painters can certainly be ruled out here, also because of the missing attributes. The very schematic execution and the fact that they have been added in a second phase seem to be an indicator that they only exist to form a counterpart to Lipsius in the composition but are not necessarily individual portraits.



Fig. 27: Detail of the two persons to the left of Rubens' painting

<sup>40</sup> C. De Maegd: 'Portretten, Portretten: Rubens, Justus Lipsius, Richardot, Van Dijk.' Monumenten en Landschappen 1:p. 8-14. ; C. De Maegd: La Famille Richardot et 'L'Autoportrait avec Amis' de Rubens.'Genealogica & heraldica, Brussels: Vlaamse Overheid p. 218-226.

<sup>41</sup> Eileen Reeves op.cit. (note32) p. 69



Fig. 28: The Gonzaga Cameo, State Hermitage Museum St. Petersburg (from the collection of the Dukes of Mantua)



Fig. 29: The longevity of the motif can still be seen today: German politicians in election campaigns and stamp of the former GDR

But there is more to consider:

## The Sky

The reddish luminous phenomenon can only be seen only in the left half of the Mantuan painting (Fig. 30), i.e., in the viewing direction north to north-northeast, which means that a sunrise or sunset can be ruled out with certainty. The apparition is arranged around Rubens' counterpart, which is perhaps not coincidental<sup>42</sup>.

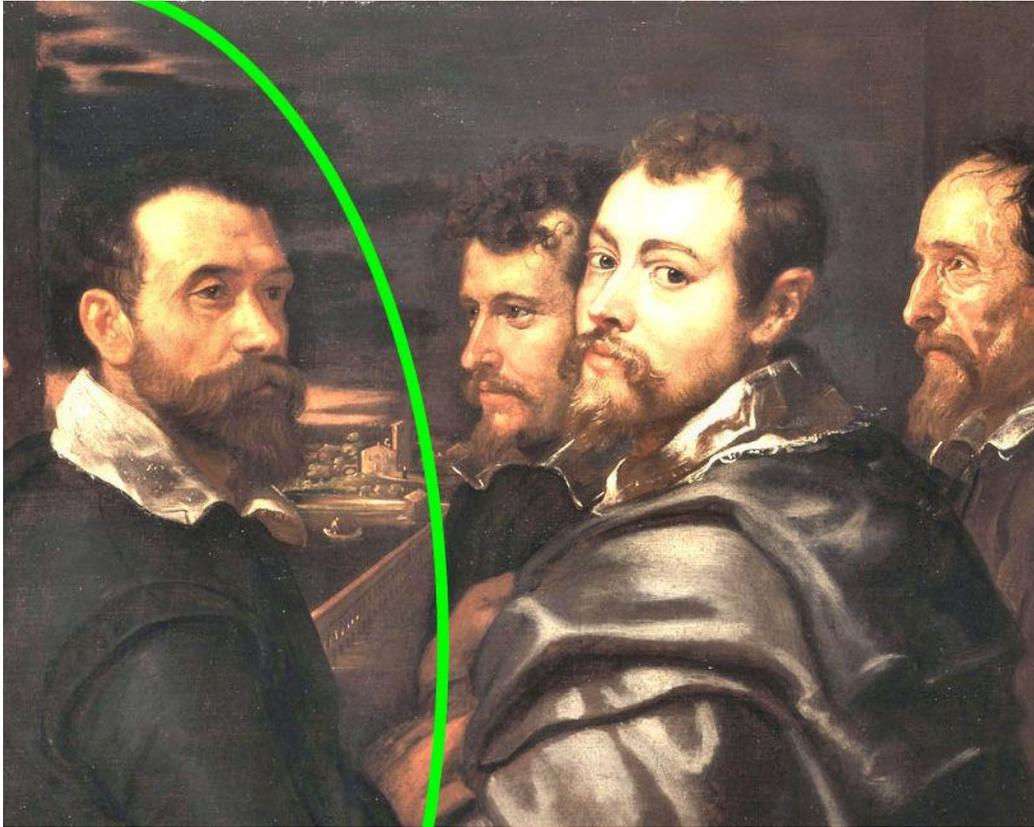


Fig.30: The boundary of the red luminous phenomenon in the sky around the figure on the left.

The reflection of the phenomenon can be clearly seen in the water and on the bridge and buildings, (Fig. 2b) which also speaks against sunrise or sunset. Reeves was the first to suggest the appearance of an aurora borealis<sup>43</sup>.

Rubens and a red sky naturally go very well together: the *caelum rubens*, the blushing sky, can almost be regarded as the painter's signature, which Justus Müller Hofstede<sup>44</sup> first pointed out in connection with the most famous self-portrait 1622/1623 in Buckingham Palace in London. However, Rubens' blushing skies never look like the depiction in the Mantuan picture. Here the appearance extends over the left half to the upper edge of the representation against a nearly black sky.

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<sup>42</sup> As soon as 1944 Evers notes op. cit. (note 19), p.324 „der durch einen Kranz dunkler Wolken ums Haupt ausgezeichnet ist...“ [distinguished by a wreath of dark clouds around his head]

<sup>43</sup> Eileen Reeves, *Painting the heavens*, 1997; S. 69-76 & Pl. 3-4 (note 19) p. 15, 57, 64-68, 79-80,155

<sup>44</sup> J. Müller Hofstede: *Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640. Selbstbildnis und Selbstverständnis*. In Ekkard Mai / Hans Vlieghe (eds.) *Cat. Von Breughel bis Rubens*. Cologne 1992, p.103-120



Fig.31: Aurora Borealis – Northern light Sieversdorf Brandenburg, Germany, November 8, 2004

Of course, he could or probably would show the connection with his name, but everything is different here: behind the almost dark clouds in the backlight, the whole sky in the north is reddish, so extreme that the reflection can be seen on buildings and water is. Can such a thing be? Yes, it can indeed be in the case of an Aurora Borealis, as Reeves argued. If you look at photographs of the northern lights (Fig 31), it is beyond a reasonable doubt that Rubens' painting depicted the same phenomenon.

Already many authors in Antiquity, including Aristotle, Cicero, and Seneca had described aurorae. The blood-red sky of the northern lights was often interpreted as a sign of impending disaster, especially wars. Rubens must have known that. Where the world has gotten out of joint, natural phenomena also herald the threat of disaster. So the aurora was perceived as uncanny. Celestial phenomena now considered genuine references to the northern lights were very often reported in the early seventeenth century. Aurorae penetrated down to near 45° latitude, on which Mantua lies (45°09'37" N). Northern lights were seen several times in Bohemia in 1604: "at night a bloody rainbow has been seen," as well in Austria: "On the 29th day of March 1604, there was a great sign in the sky, so that it was fiery red from 4 to 6,"<sup>45</sup> and in August in Germany. It is possible that such phenomena were visible in Mantua in the March or April of 1604, so as nearby in Florence<sup>46</sup>.

It seems unlikely that the occasion depicted was merely a friendly, philosophical conversation in the evening among fellow scholars. The red celestial features in the painting can only be seen around the person identified here as Galileo, who offers a gesture of reassurance to the artist. We might further conjecture that Rubens, entering the room from outside in his coat because of the chilly evening air, has told his companions about what he

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<sup>45</sup> The author thanks Prof. Ulrich Foelsche, University of Graz for valuable hints and suggestions for the aurorae in 1604. He confirms the possibility of the visibility of an aurora in Mantua at this time. See M. Stangl, U. Foelsche: Aurora Observations from the Principality of Transylvania from the 16th to the 18th Century CE. *Sol Phys.* 2021;296(5):78: doi: 10.1007/s11207-021-01811-7. Epub 2021 May 3.

<sup>46</sup> Eileen Reeves pers. comment

saw. One approaches the window and observes the celestial phenomenon, while others discuss the Stoic interpretation of the unusual sight. The different interpretations of the gesture between the two main participants show the uncertainty of the interpreters about what is actually happening: Much has been written from "consolatio" to friendly touch. Martin Warnke perhaps came closest, despite a completely different interpretation of the framework. The Aurora retrospectively could very well have been seen as the harbinger of Lipsius' death, who died exactly two years later. The Stoics must have thought of Seneca<sup>47</sup> and so one can also understand Galileo's gesture as a request for stoic composure in the face of threatening natural phenomena. The seemingly unconnected expression of the people could also well be interpreted as a stoic perception.

## Dating the painting

The first compilation of the various dating estimates can be found in Huemer in 1977<sup>48</sup>. The following selected list very clearly show the range of dates:

AUTHOR	YEAR	DATE	LOCATION
Gerstenberg	1932	1606	Rome
Glück	1932	"early Italian period"	Rome
Burchard	1933	1606	Rome
Hoogewerff	1936	1607	
Evers	1942/1944	1602	Mantua
Bock von Wülfigen	1948	1604	Mantua
Gerson	1960	1603 (before March)	Mantua
Warnke	1965	1606	Mantua
Huemer	1977	1600-1608	Mantua
Müller Hofstede	1977 <sup>49</sup>	4/1602-3/1603	Mantua
Jaffé <sup>50</sup>	1989	1602 or March 1604	Mantua
Zurawski <sup>51</sup>	1992	1604-1606	Mantua
Reeves	1997	1605-1606	Mantua
Ferraioli	2010	1604?	Mantua
Büttner	2015	1602-1604	Mantua
Nickel	2018	1602-1605	Mantua
Woolett/Gaspaotto	2021	1602 ca.	Mantua

<sup>47</sup>Seneca: Epistulae morales ad Lucilium. And f.e. E. Ahlborn.: "Naturvorgänge Als Auferstehungsgleichnis Bei Seneca, Tertullian Und Minucius Felix." *Wiener Studien* 103 (1990) p. 123-37. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24748796>

<sup>48</sup> Huemer 1977 op.cit. FN 28 CRLB until A complete Bibliography until 2022 would be too extensive here.

<sup>49</sup> J. Müller Hofstede: Rubens in Italien. Gemälde, Ölskizzen, Zeichnungen. Triumph der Eucharistie. Wandteppiche aus dem Kölner Dom., in: G.Bott (Ed.): Peter Paul Rubens 1577-1640. Cat.: Ausstellung des Wallraf Richartz Museums in der Kunsthalle. Köln vom 15 Oktober bis 15 Dezember 1977" Catalogue I, Cologne, 1977. P. 76-83

<sup>50</sup> M.Jaffé:'Rubens in Italy: A Self-Portrait', *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 24 (1976-1978), p. 72-78

<sup>51</sup> S. Zurawski: Reflections on the Pitti Friendship Portrait of Rubens: In Praise of Lipsius in in Remembrance of Erasmus. *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Winter, 1992), p. 727-753, ill.1

As we can see, the dates range from 1600 to 1607. Could Rubens have met Galileo in Mantua, and when? Is it likely that he portrayed him then?

In March 1604, Peter Paul Rubens returned to Mantua from Spain. At that time his brother Philipp, Perez de Baron and Richardot were also in Mantua with him. Galileo was likewise in Mantua at this time. At the beginning of June, Philipp returned to Flanders and Galileo was already back in Padua on April 22. That narrows down the period in which all the potential people depicted in the painting could have met to March-April 1604.

Did our canvas originate then?

I would like to propose the following theory: Ruben's task as court painter was mainly to make portraits. So in addition to a gold chain and two silver plates, Galileo might possibly also have received a portrait as a gift from the Gonzaga Duke<sup>52</sup>. Ruben's self-portrait also functions very well as an autonomous work (Fig.16 left) if one isolates the image, so does the Galileo portrait (Fig.20). Combining Rubens' portrait with Galileo's creates a friendship picture (Fig.19a), as numerous examples show, notably Raphael's *Navagero e Beazzano*<sup>53</sup> (Fig. 32).

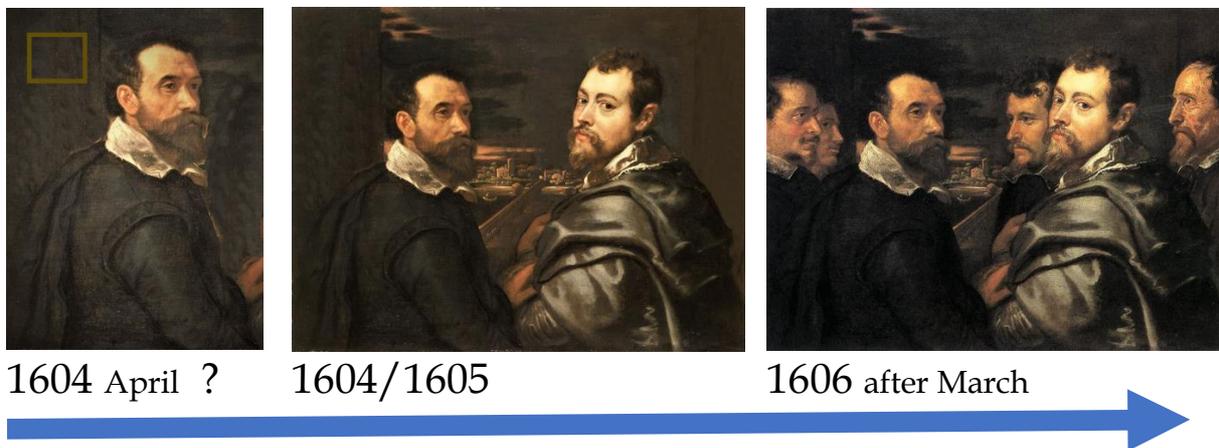


Fig.32 The chronology of the phases (independent single portrait(s), friendship portrait, stoic remembrance group portrait)

The lack of visual relationship between the sitters (mentioned by different authors), if not intentional, could therefore point to a complicated genesis. One or two (lost) canvasses (Figs.34a) might have been replicated and combined by Rubens in a friendship portrait (Fig.34b). This work would then have been enriched during the painting process by the apparently very impressive celestial phenomenon and the presence of his brother (Fig. 34c). This might also have happened after Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga (1562 - 1612) and Rubens attended Galileo's lectures in Padua or during their continuing journey to Venice, in late 1604 after the discovery of the supernova in the constellation of the Ophiuchus, or at the beginning of 1605. Only after Lipsius' death in February 1606 was the painting finally completed, with Richardot and Perez de Baron being painted from imagination as a compositional counterbalance to the Lipsius portrait (Fig 34d). Philipp did not return to Rome until the end of 1605, so the medal template was probably not available to Peter Paul

<sup>52</sup> Possible reconstruction-sketch Fig. 7

<sup>53</sup> This was explicit mentioned by Bock von Wülfingen: O. Bock von Wülfingen: *Zwei Bilder aus Rubens italienischer Zeit*. *Kunst*, 1, 1948, p. 56-59; here p. 59

until then. There is only a small window of time between when Lipsius' death would have been known in Rome, at the end of April 1606 at the earliest, and Philipp's departure for Flanders in the late summer of 1606, for these additions and the painting's completion. The technical examination suggests that at least the two people on the left were added, as was, with all due caution, the Lipsius portrait. This circumstance supports the working hypothesis of a two-phase genesis presented here, whereby, until proven otherwise, the preliminary phase with the isolated portraits must remain entirely hypothetical.



Fig. 33: Navagero e Beazzano by Raphael circa 1516; (Galleria Doria Pamphilj, Rome) (mirrored)



Fig.34: "Remembering the aurora!... and the calming of Rubens" possible friendship painting (digitally reduced)



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? a



b

Fig. 35: Idea of a hypothetical reconstruction of the creation process in painting stages (a,b)



c



d

Fig. 35: Idea of a hypothetical reconstruction of the creation process in painting stages(b,c)

In the case of the Philipp -portrait and the companions to the left it is clearly visible that they have been added later. If the friendship-painting later in Rome has been changed to a memorial painting for Lipsius the “Charon” motive, the barque or gondola might have been added too in the second phase to commemorate the Styx.

One might end this chapter with Philipp Rubens' undoubtedly ironic question to his brother: "*Quid Pourbio quaeso factum?...superestne et vescitur aura Aetherae?*"<sup>54</sup> (What about Pourbus? Does he exist? Is he still breathing?) - according to the situation presented here one has to say: probably not anymore in this painting.



Fig. 36: The possible Portraits of Frans Pourbus (Uffizi, Florence)<sup>55</sup>



<sup>54</sup> Rooses/Ruelens op.cit (note 17) Vol. I, p.38, Letter Philipp to Peter Paul, Padua Dec.13th 1601

<sup>55</sup> Even that doubts about the authenticity of the likeness of the Pitti-portrait of Pourbus have been raised, this was not convincing.

## THE BOOK

As Reeves<sup>56</sup> has explained in detail, the philosophy of the Stoics and Neo-Stoics dominates the events and people in the Mantuan painting as well as the painting in the Pitti Palace (Fig.22). Even though Seneca is not (yet) depicted in our picture, as in the Pitti picture (Fig.45), his presence can be felt through those present. It is proven that Galileo dealt with Seneca. He forms the "tertium comparationis" of the people in the painting and connects the circle, already from the historical events. Only in the Pitti painting does it become visible what is already pre-formulated here.

The great Seneca work of Justus Lipsius then also plays a special role in the lives of the Rubens brothers. The death of the old Pope forced Lipsius to write a new preface and the printed copies had to be sent to Rome in a hurry.

Lipsius' major work on Seneca was being prepared for publication in Moretus's print shop by the end of 1605. In December of that year Philipp took up a new position as Cardinal Ascanio Colonna's librarian, the position which Lipsius had brokered. With the sudden death of Pope Leo XI in April 1605, he had to compose a new foreword for Pope Paul V (Camillo Borghese (Fig.21)). Moretus commissioned Philipp to present a copy and sent six fresh copies to Rome by courier, one of them for presentation to the Pope. Unfortunately, neither the details of the presentation nor Peter Paul's presence on this occasion are known.



Fig. 37: Detail from Fig. 38 Table of the later Pope Paul V. Borghese with book in red leather with gilt edges and clasp bands

<sup>56</sup> Reeves op.cit. (note 32) p. 57 ff.



Fig. 38 Moretus Printers Mark (from copy Fig.38)

We know details of the edition and Lipsius' commission to Philipp Rubens:

Total print run on normal paper	1450	7 fl 10st <sup>57</sup>
Special edition	100	9 fl
"papier blanc fin median"		
Für Rom	2 + 6	

Especially that he was chosen to deliver a copy for the pope:

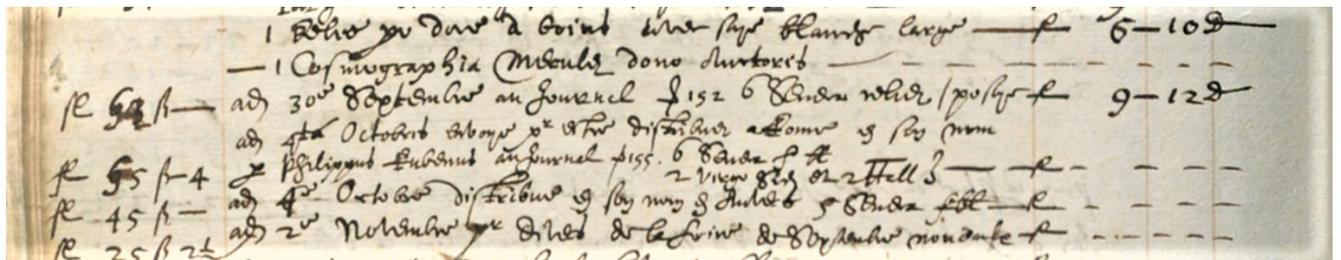


Fig. 39: Grand livre Moretus (Arch. 127, fol. 234)

"envoye pour ester distributes a Rome en son [= Lipsius] nom par Philippus Rubenius ...  
6 Seneca f° bl.

The problem was, that all copies have not been bound and (the) Rubens had to find a way to deliver a presentable Copy to the Pope. Bu a solution was near:

Today, however, it is certain that the Pope's nephew and Cardinal Secretary of State, Scipio Caffarelli Borghese, who was also in charge of the library, was responsible for the magnificent binding, probably commissioned from Baldessare Soresini's workshop<sup>58</sup> (Fig.42).

<sup>57</sup> The author thanks Dirk Imhof for support and information in this matter

<sup>58</sup> P. Quilici: La Legatoria Romana dal Rinascimento al Barocco. P. 15-26 and G. Vianini Tolomei: I Ferri e le Botteghe di Legatori. P. 31-45 in: Commune di Roma / Musei Di Roma (eds.): Legatura Romana Barocca 1565-1700 [catalogo della mostra a Roma, Palazzo Braschi .Rome1991]

However, this book did not end up in the Vatican Library, but rather in the private library of the Borghese family<sup>59</sup>.



Fig.40: Justus Lipsius: *L. Annaei Senecae Philosophi Opera, Quae extant omnia: A Ivsto Lipsio emendate, et Scholijs illustrate. Antverpiae ex Officina Plantiniana apud Joannem Moretum, M.DC.V* [1605, 250 x 370 mm] Private collection. Front and back with the coats of arms of Scipio Caffarelli Borghese (private collection)

<sup>59</sup> V. Menozzi: *Catalogue de la Bibliotheque de S..E.D. Paolo Borghese, Prince de Sulmona*. Rome 1892, Vol. 1, Cat. 4543, p. 674 and ill. 39, p. 609 of this copy. "Superbe exempl. dans une belle reliure don't nous donnons le facsimile p.609"



Fig. 40a: Detail of the binding



Fig. 41: Cardinal Camillo Borghese (later Pope Paul V.) with a similar book on his table (courtesy Matthiesen Gallery)

As bad luck would have it, in 1892 the library was scattered to the four winds. The American periodical "THE BOOKWORM" reported in December 1892<sup>60</sup>, "Imagine the grandeur of an auction held onsite at Palazzo Borghese, home to the noble and Vatican-connected Borghese clan. Take it a step further and pretend the auction offerings include actual artworks and other family treasures from the stately Roman palace and library. Just such a thing happened in 1892, after the Bank of Italy crashed and a turn in their fortunes compelled the Borghese family to liquidate many of their elegant holdings."

However, if you take a closer look at the book one can see that it was only little read. Nevertheless, it is an important document in the history of all Persons involved.



Fig. 42: Medal Pope Paul V. Borghese 1612 (private Coll.)

<sup>60</sup> [https://archive.org/details/pub\\_bookworm-an-illustrated-treasury-of-old-time-literature](https://archive.org/details/pub_bookworm-an-illustrated-treasury-of-old-time-literature) [2022-12-07]

*Dilecte fili salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod nobis Apostolicæ dignitatis munus, in tua Senecæ ad Nos missi præfatione, gratularis, facis tu quidem peramanter, et quæ tua in Nos fides et observantia est, summopere lætaris; sed longe aliter nobis videtur. Quamvis enim hic Deo proximus Majestatis gradus ad speciem, sicuti re ipsa est, honestissimus sit, est tamen maxime ad laborem proclivis et anceps. Quis enim esse potest quieti locus in eo, qui ad se recipisse cogitaverit, ut exactam Deo omnium Christi fidelium rationem suo periculo referat? Præterea cum Pontificis vita altiore loco posita sit, ideoque omnium ad se oculos rapiat, nonne ille perpétua quadam sollicitudine urgeatur, ne qua in re ab religione officii declinasse argui possit? Quare cum supremo huic muneri tanti labores impendeant, non videmus quid sit cur tantopere lætari debeamus. Neque tamen inficiamur spem aliquam in eo Nos consolari, quod facultas nobis oblata sit, publicæ Christiani Orbis tranquillitati, et eorum præsertim paci, ac saluti, sicuti optas, quantum in nobis erit, consulendi, qui bellorum motibus jamdiu agitantur, errorumque tenebris misere involuntur, atque etiam piorum hominum religionem, et Litteratorum studia remunerandi, qui in fidei Catholice propugnatione operam eruditionemque suam effuderunt, ad quorum numerum Nos brevi nomentum adscripturos esse confidimus. Et enim, ut in antiquitatis memoria præcipue colligenda, et in omni Regni jure diligenter explicando, ac variis egregisque in rebus illustrandis nervos industries tuæ hactenus contendisti, ita etiam speramus fore, ut brevi ad Ecclesie Catholice amplitudinem et excellentiam, quas longe omnium Regnorum præstantiam vincit, pro dignitate tractandam, augendamque ingenii tui vires conferas. Quid enim est dignius, in quo aut maturæ ætatis tuæ labor et studium expromatur, aut Christianæ pietatis cultus, religioque declaretur? Atque etsi vetus Roma priscis illis temporibus clarorum civium gloria, et summorum hominum, atque omni virtutum laude præstantium copia floruit, ea tamen cum tunc Xpi Dño regnante præsidemus, non est adeo bonis ornamentis ceperit, quam religiosissimos eruditissimisque viros componere habere, qui proxime ad nos etiam præstantissimamque perit immensamque virtutum et Magnarum coronarum multo maiorem famam gloriamque conferunt, quam quamvis ceteri omnes alij veteres Romani Imperatores suis invidiamque atque præterea pepererunt. Quæ de Cardinalium in Nos intro conversis scribis, et a Spiritu Sancti gratiæ, qui necesse tanta mōnitione, et omnium eum ordinis Verorum studio ac sollicitate, qui Nos deperimus, accepta referimus. Neque enim in re propria virtutes ac laudes, quas commemoras, ipsa agnoscimus, fuit illud sane in Nos largitum munus, quæ sola digna laudando fuerit? Fuit singulari illorum de nobis, habitatione, et quo eam honorum, non in nobis debent, sed tanquam ab illis videri debent, nobisque virtutis inopiam, singulari Deo beneficio accepimus. De ipso vero Senecæ Dni omnium in medio Capite, in eo clarissimum munere, pro tempore habere te volumus, illud nobis hunc gratissimum, et tanquam tuæ optime gratia Nos, et Sedem apostolicam hinc ipsi legimus, ac Christi doctrinam, ac religionem præstantibus, quorum opera ad omnimodum res optinuit, cognoscendum erademus. Præcipuum autem Cubiculum Lateranense eiusdem in numeris, qui proximam etiam tuas litteras nobis reddidit, honoris excepimus, et quibusdam officijs pro dignitate poterimus, ea libenter causa præsequimur. Inverà nam et Apostolicam benedictionem, quam effugasti, toto paterno caritatis affectu tibi deferimus, ac faveat ut fructa omnia à Deo honorum auctore precamur. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum sub Anno Lucæ, die 14. Januarii. M. D. C. V. Pontificatus*

Nasti

Anno

Primo.



M. Vespertinus Barbanius.

Fig. 43: Pope Paul V. letter to Lipsius (Leiden University IP 4 van Paulus V aan Justus Lipsius recto)

PAULUS PP. V. JUSTO LIPSIO. (Transcript)

*Dilecte fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quod nobis Apostolicæ dignitatis munus, in tua Senecæ ad Nos missi præfatione, gratularis, facis tu quidem peramanter, et quæ tua in Nos fides et observantia est, summopere lætaris; sed longe aliter nobis videtur. Quamvis enim hic Deo proximus Majestatis gradus ad speciem, sicuti re ipsa est, honestissimus sit, est tamen maxime ad laborem proclivis et anceps. Quis enim esse potest quieti locus in eo, qui ad se recipisse cogitaverit, ut exactam Deo omnium Christi fidelium rationem suo periculo referat? Præterea cum Pontificis vita altiore loco posita sit, ideoque omnium ad se oculos rapiat, nonne ille perpétua quadam sollicitudine urgeatur, ne qua in re ab religione officii declinasse argui possit? Quare cum supremo huic muneri tanti labores impendeant, non videmus quid sit cur tantopere lætari debeamus. Neque tamen inficiamur spem aliquam in eo Nos consolari, quod facultas nobis oblata sit, publicæ Christiani Orbis tranquillitati, et eorum præsertim paci, ac saluti, sicuti optas, quantum in nobis erit, consulendi, qui bellorum motibus jamdiu agitantur, errorumque tenebris misere involuntur, atque etiam piorum hominum religionem, et Litteratorum studia remunerandi, qui in fidei Catholice propugnatione operam eruditionemque suam effuderunt, ad quorum numerum Nos brevi nomentum adscripturos esse confidimus. Et enim, ut in antiquitatis memoria præcipue colligenda, et in omni Regni jure diligenter explicando, ac variis egregisque in rebus illustrandis nervos industries tuæ hactenus contendisti, ita etiam speramus fore, ut brevi ad Ecclesie Catholice amplitudinem et excellentiam, quas longe omnium Regnorum præstantiam vincit, pro dignitate tractandam, augendamque ingenii tui vires conferas. Quid enim est dignius, in quo aut maturæ ætatis tuæ labor et studium expromatur, aut Christianæ pietatis cultus, religioque declaretur? Atque etsi vetus Roma priscis illis temporibus clarorum civium gloria, et summorum hominum, atque omni virtutum laude præstantium copia*

*floruit, ea tamen, cui nunc Christo Domino regnante praesidemus, non est adeo horum ornamentorum expers, quin religiosissimos, eruditissimosque Viros complures habeat qui proxime ad veterem illam, insignemque doctrinam atque sapientiam accedere, et cum ipsa antiquitate aequari, conferrique posse videantur. Verum, ut his omnibus careat (quod certe non est) clarissimae Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli victoriae, gloriosissimaeque pene innumerabilium Sanctorum Martyrum coronae multo majorem famam, gloriamque conficiunt, quam quantam ceteri omnes alii veteres Romani Imperatores suis triumphis atque victoriis pepererunt.*

*Quas de Cardinalium in Nos miro consensu scribis, ea Spiritus Sancti gratiae, qui nescit tarda molimina, et omnium ejus Ordinis Virorum studio ac voluntati, qui Nos elegerunt, accepta referimus. Neque ea in re proprias virtutes ac laudes, quas commemoras, ipsi agnoscimus, fuit illud divinas in Nos Largitatis munus, quae sola dignos eligendo facit, fuit singulare illorum de nobis Judicium, a quo eum honorem, non ut nobis debitum, sed tanquam ab illis ultro delatum, nobisque penitus inopinatum singulari Dei beneficio accepimus. De ipso vero Senecae, Viri hominum judicio sapientissimi, tuarumque in eo elucubrationum munere, pro comperto habere te volumus, illud nobis fuisse gratissimum, et tanquam tuae optimae erga Nos et Sedem Apostolicam voluntatis pignus accepisse, et quemadmodum totum hoc opus eruditione refertum esse non dubitamus, ita etiam nihil, quod pietati repugnet, in eo contineri confidimus ; et idcirco illud quantum per occupationes licebit ipsi legemus, ac Viris doctrina, et religione praestantibus, quorum opéra ad ejusmodi res utimur, cognoscendum trademus. Philippum autem Rubenium Latorem ejusdem tui muneris, qui proximas etiam tuas literas nobis reddidit, benevole excepimus, et quibuscumque officiis pro dignitate poterimus, tua libenter causa prosequemur. Interea nostram et Apostolicam benedictionem, quam eflagitasti, toto paternae caritatis affectu tibi deferimus, ac fausta et felicia omnia a Deo bonorum auctore precamur.*

*Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris, die VII Januarii 1606. Pontificatus Nostri Anno primo.*

M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS <sup>61</sup>

POPE PAUL V to JUSTUS LIPSIUS<sup>62</sup>.

To Our Dear Son, Hail and Apostolic Blessing.

In the preface to your Seneca, which you sent to Us, you congratulate Us on the apostolic dignity. You do this with great affection and to show us your faith, respect and great joy: But we look at it in a very different light:

For though it seems to be what it is indeed, namely, to be nearest to the Majesty of God, to hold the highest honour, yet [for Us] it is a perilous path, prone to trouble.

---

<sup>61</sup> Archiv der Universität Leiden: Brief von Paulus V (1552-1621) an Justus Lipsius (1547-1606)  
Signatur : LIP 4 Anmerkung: gezeichnet von : M. Vestrius Barbianus. 7.Januar1606. Publiziert: Ruelens, <https://bibliothequenumerique.inha.fr/viewer/12362/?offset=#page=324&viewer=picture&o=book&n=0&q=> und BURMAN, Sylloge, etc. II, 175. Ep. 847.

<sup>62</sup> German translation Marianne Gechter

Is there indeed any reason to rely on the tranquillity of those who take upon themselves the perilous burden of forming an accurate conception of the God of all believing Christians?

Moreover, a sovereign Pope who has to spend his life in a higher region attracts the eyes of all: should he not therefore be plagued by the constant worry of being reprimanded for something and not doing his duty to the Catholic Faith?

In view of the many difficulties connected with our highest functions, we see no reason why we should rejoice so much. However, we are clear: We find hope of consolation in the opportunities offered to us to work for the rest of the Christian world, especially to fulfil your wishes in so far as it depends on us to bring peace and happiness to those who have so long been victims of hardship and wars, or who have been miserably plunged into the darkness of error. But then We shall also be able to reward the virtues of pious men as well as the work of writers who devote their vigilance and knowledge to the defence of the Catholic faith. And We are of good confidence to soon include your name among them.

Indeed, you have hitherto employed all the resources of your mind in gathering knowledge of antiquity, explaining it with your high authority, and clarifying questions as interesting as they are varied. But I also nurture the hope that you will soon devote the powers of your intelligence to dignifying and increasing the extent and excellence of the Catholic Church, which far surpasses the greatness of all kingdoms:

What subject, then, would be more worthy to occupy the lively activity and experience of your mature age, as well as to confirm your faith and Christian piety? Even if in ancient times ancient Rome flourished by the glory of its illustrious citizens, by the number of its great men, by the brilliance of its outstanding virtues, the other Rome which we govern under the kingship of Christ is not so deprived of this splendour that it does not [today] have a multitude of very religious, very learned men who use the science of the wisdom of antiquity and who are even worthy to stand on a par with what antiquity created.

It is the truth: even if all this greatness were lacking (which it certainly is not), Rome would be greater by the shining victories of the apostles Peter and Paul, by the glorious palms of her innumerable martyrs, even then Rome's glory and greatness will be greater than that with which she shines by the triumphs and victories of all her former emperors.

You speak to us of the wonderful approval of the cardinals to our [pontificate]: We, meanwhile, attribute this circumstance to the grace of the Holy Spirit, who knows not the slowness of effort. We blame it on the zeal and will of all in the order [of the Church] who elected Us.

In this state we do not admit the virtues you recognise in us, nor the praise you give us. It is a benefit of divine generosity which alone makes worthy those who choose it; It is the special judgement of those from whom We have received this honour, not owing it to us, but freely bestowed on us in an unexpected way by a special grace of God.

We wish to confirm it to you: The gift of your Seneca, that great sage in the judgement of men, and of your comments on his works, was very pleasant to us: we accept it as a promise of your attachment to Us and to the Holy Apostolic See. We do not doubt that the whole work is full of erudition and at the same time we note that the work contains nothing against religion. So we will read it ourselves, as far as our time permits, and we will give it to men

who are eminent in scholarship and piety and to whom we can have recourse for such offices to judge it.

We have kindly received the bearer of your gift, Philip Rubens, who also gave us your last letter, and We will gladly render you all the service that Our dignity enables us to render him.

At the same time, with all the affection of Our paternal heart, We grant you Our apostolic blessing, which you have asked of Us, and We pray to God, the Author of all good things, to bestow all His favours upon you.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring,

7 January 1606, in the first year of our Pontificate.

Executed: M. VESTRIUS BARBIANUS.

Seneca presides over the "four philosophers" in the Pitti painting. In the stillness, however, Seneca is also present in the Mantuan picture, represented by Lipsius. All of this shows the extent to which philosophy permeates the images and what lies beneath their visible surface. The philosophy of Seneca and the foundation of Neostoic philosophy represented in Rubens' "Four Philosophers" and the book presented was essential for all, including Galileo. From March 1604 to the summer of 1606 important things happened for Galileo, for the Rubens brothers, and Lipsius reached the peak of his career: he died on March 23, 1606, less than a month after he received the Pope's letter replying<sup>63</sup> to his gift of the "Seneca." The Rubens brothers, his students and his followers together made him into an artistic and literary (Fig.:44) historical monument<sup>64</sup>. In nuce, the direct and indirect relationships, thoughts and philosophies of these people are to the present day manifested on the one hand in Rubens' Mantuan painting and on the other hand in Lipsius' surviving book.

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<sup>63</sup> University of Leiden : [https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/prim-explore/fulldisplay?docid=UBL\\_ALMA21189955430002711&context=L&vid=UBL\\_V1&lang=en\\_US&search\\_scope=special&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=special&query=any,contains,Justus%20Lipsius%201606&offset=0&pcAvailability=true](https://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl/prim-explore/fulldisplay?docid=UBL_ALMA21189955430002711&context=L&vid=UBL_V1&lang=en_US&search_scope=special&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=special&query=any,contains,Justus%20Lipsius%201606&offset=0&pcAvailability=true)

<sup>64</sup> Iusti Lipsi sapientiae et litterarum Antistitis-Fama Postuma. Antwerp 1607 and finally Rubens' painting in the Pitti Palace

I V S T I L I P S I  
S A P I E N T I Æ  
E T  
L I T T E R A R V M  
A N T I S T I T I S  
*Majore Moratensi Congregationis de Hassi. 1716*  
Fāma postuma.



A N T V E R P I Æ,  
E X O F F I C I N A P L A N T I N I A N A  
A p u d I o a n n e m M o r e t u m.  
M. D C. VII.

Fig. 44: The final chapter: B. Moretus (Ed.) Fama Postuma 1607 (Private Collection)



Fig. 45: Peter Paul Rubens "Self-portrait with his brother Philip Rubens (1574-1611), Justus Lipsius (1547-1606), Johannes Woverius (1576-1635) and the bust of Seneca ["The Four Philosophers"]" 167 cm x 143 cm Palazzo Pitti, Florence N. Cat. 00129505 N. Cat. 00129505<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> N. van Hout: A Second Self-Portrait in Rubens's 'Four Philosophers'. The Burlington Magazine Vol. 142, No. 1172 (Nov., 2000), pp. 694-697

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Alberto Bruschi Coll.: 23;

dpa/private: 31;

Privat: 12; 29; 14

Evers 1944: 17b

Leiden University: 43;

Bundesarchiv: 5a-c;

Royal Colection Trust: 26;

Matthiesen Gallery: 37; 41;

UNSPLASH.com : 11/Schütte

Author/ Rubenianum: 3,4;

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