

**PAINTER-ADVISORS**  
**The seventeenth-century Spanish purchase**  
**from Rubens's estate sale**

Cèlia Querol Torelló  
2709062  
[celiaqt95@gmail.com](mailto:celiaqt95@gmail.com)  
Dr. Marika Keblusek  
MA Arts and Culture, Museums and Collections  
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Universiteit van Leiden

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## INTRODUCTION

Many of the greatest art collections in the world were founded in the 17<sup>th</sup> century; a period regarded to be the Golden Age of both the Low Countries and Spain, for many tremendous artistic achievements were reached, especially with regards to painting. But the Golden Age was equally important for the collecting practices that developed throughout the century, which helped promote artists nationally and internationally and fostered artistic exchanges as a consequence. Thus, collectors played crucial roles in artistic development worldwide.

Amongst the people who enjoyed collecting, and did so very earnestly, one person strongly stands out: the Spanish king Philip IV (1605-1665). The reputation he gained during his lifetime as an art lover has followed him up to this day —Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) actually referred to him as a prince who took “extreme delight in painting” and was “endowed with excellent qualities.”<sup>1</sup> He has been considered one of the most important collectors of all times, purchasing many of the greatest paintings in the world and establishing the core of what is today the collection of the Museo Nacional del Prado (Madrid). Although the exact number of his acquisitions is impossible to know, it is significant enough that the collection of the Alcázar (the royal palace that contained the largest amount of paintings) rose from 385 pictures during Philip III’s reign to the outstanding number of 1.547 paintings after Philip IV died.<sup>2</sup> With a clear biased preference for sixteenth-century Venetian masters, Philip IV felt a profound love for painting, and his collecting practices are a clear illustration for this. His appreciation for this art explains why he forged one very extraordinary relationship with the painter Diego Velázquez (1599-1660) —the greatest artist at court, who was actually knighted at the end of his life, thus becoming the first painter to possess a noble title in Spanish history.

Most of the king’s best purchases were made in estate sales (known as *almonedas* in Spanish). Estate sales were extremely frequent in seventeenth-century Spain, as mostly everyone that had some resources would collect art at some point. Once the owner had died, the collection would be put up for sale, usually to pay off debts that had to be then settled by the remaining family. Of course, some collections were better than others, and never missing any opportunity to increase his own gallery, when Philip IV heard that Rubens, one of his favorite painter, had passed away on 30 May 1640, he quickly gave instructions to his brother and governor of the Low Countries to attend the master’s estate sale and acquire some of the best pictures available.<sup>3</sup> Amongst them there

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted in: Brown 1995.

<sup>2</sup> Brown/Elliott 2003, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Vergara 1999, p. 145.

was, for instance, the *Three Graces* by Rubens (no. 24), which can be seen today at the Prado in Madrid. Certainly Rubens managed to gather an outstanding collection of art with a central focus on painting; something that did not go unnoticed by the king.

The acquisitions made at the estate sale of Rubens marked a notable increase in the value of the king's collection. The selection of pictures was made with evident care and sophistication —out of the over 314 paintings that were on sale, only 32 were acquired by the king, but they included many of the best pictures available. A process such as this needed the contributions of a competent team. Firstly, because Philip IV was in Madrid back then, not in Antwerp where the sale took place; secondly, because the purchase included negotiations, financial transactions, shipments abroad and direct communication between the monarch and the governor in the Low Countries; various delicate matters that had to be handled with expertise. Amongst the several people that participated in the purchase, there was a total of five Netherlandish painters who also contributed to it in different ways, as reported in the final account of the sale.<sup>4</sup> These were Frans Snyders (1579-1657), Jan Wildens (1584-1653), Jacob Moermans (1602-1653), Gaspar de Crayer (1584-1669) and Salomon Nobeliers (n.d.).

Studies on the estate sale of Rubens have not properly delved into the roles of each of these painters. However, there are a few sources that provide some information surrounding the event, being mostly studies on the collection of Rubens. In 1989 Jeffrey Muller published a highly-influential book on the role of Rubens as a collector, something that had been long overlooked in previous scholarly research.<sup>5</sup> The inventory drawn up of the painter's collection and the final sales account served Muller as key documents to the reconstruction of the master's gallery, and thus the publication constitutes the first partial approach to the estate sale. He published the inventory, a French copy of which remains at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) and an English copy at the Courtauld Institute of Art (London), and made a first attempt to identify the artworks that appeared to have been in Rubens's possession. Ten years later, the Spanish art historian Alejandro Vergara included in his dissertation *Rubens and his Spanish Patrons* (1999) an entire chapter dedicated to the king's purchase of paintings *specifically* by Rubens at the sale.<sup>6</sup> Vergara explored potential reasons behind the selection of the pictures; a task that was totally unprecedented, since Muller's main concern was to reconstruct the collection, thus paying little attention to the particularities of the sale itself. Nonetheless, Vergara claimed that further research on the subject was still necessary and only briefly mentioned the names of Snyders, Wildens and the others. In 2004 a milestone in

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<sup>4</sup> Génard 1865-1866, pp. 83 (note 1), 86.

<sup>5</sup> Muller 1989, pp. 94-146.

<sup>6</sup> Vergara 1999, pp. 144-166.

the agenda of the Rubenshuis (Antwerp) was achieved: the first exhibition that reconstructed the collection of Rubens in his own house. Curators Kristin L. Belkin and Fiona Healey worked closely with Jeffrey Muller, who included an updated version of his book of 1989 in the exhibition catalogue.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, little is said about the estate sale.

Exploring the topic of the painter-advisor on an individual scale, and aside from the figure of Rubens, there are a few sources of special relevance to the present paper. The first one dates back to 1995, when Jonathan Brown published *Kings and Connoisseurs : Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe*; a very significant publication that stimulated further research on the practices of collecting and their importance to the development of the art world. Here, Brown offers an overview of the greatest seventeenth-century collectors from England, Spain, the Low Countries and Italy. By looking into them, he inevitably touched upon many art agents that helped them in various ways, many of which were artists, who became for their patrons “an unavoidable necessity, and the quality of purchases depended on their knowledge and acuity.”<sup>8</sup>

Only a couple years later, in 1997, Marcus Burke and Peter Cherry released a compilation of unpublished inventories of seventeenth and eighteenth-century Madrid collections within the series *Documents for the History of Collecting*. The authors included as an introduction two essays on the taste and cultural atmosphere of that time, in which they also covered the phenomenon of painters appraising art collections at the Spanish capital, and of the various artists-advisors working for the Spanish diplomat Gaspar de Haro (1629-1687).<sup>9</sup> Burke gave key points to the understanding of the appreciation of painters in art evaluations. Most of the examples provided by Burke and Cherry are either of Spanish or expatriate Italian artists. For instance, the Sienese Giuseppe Pinacci (1642-1718) assembled the collection of Gaspar de Haro, producing an inventory in 1682 that proves the painter’s extensive connoisseurship on painting.<sup>10</sup> Also, the painter Angelo Nardi (1584-1664) acted as advisor for King Philip IV, as we will see later in Chapter I. However, little is said about Netherlandish painters providing advice for the seventeenth-century Spanish Crown.

The second key contribution was provided by art historian Anna Tummers with her book *The Eye of the Connoisseur* (2004); an exploration of the concept of the connoisseur from the early 17<sup>th</sup> century until today. One particular chapter is of special importance to this thesis: “Chapter 5 : The Painter Versus the Connoisseur. The Best Judge of Pictures in Seventeenth-century Theory and

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<sup>7</sup> Belkin/Healey 2004. For Muller’s article, see: Belkin/Healey 2004, pp. 11-85.

<sup>8</sup> Brown 1995, p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Burke/Cherry 1997, vol. 1, pp. 52-61, pp. 167-168.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 167.

Practice.”<sup>11</sup> Here, Tummers, by looking into painting treatises and the Guilds of Saint Luke, examined the appreciation of both painters and art connoisseurs in the 17<sup>th</sup> century as reliable judges of art.

More recently, in 2011, a study exclusively dedicated to art agents in Europe appeared in Leiden by Marika Keblusek and Badeloch Vera Noldus. This particular source has been crucial for contextualizing both Rubens’s estate sale and the presence of painter-advisors at the Spanish court of Philip IV within a broader European spectrum. The publication provides a large number of cases in which artists acted as advisors for courts or private clients, thus bringing further evidence to the phenomenon analyzed here.<sup>12</sup>

Although the scholars mentioned here do not address the estate sale of Rubens directly, they do provide valuable insights into the recognition of painters as experts, whose opinions therefore were frequently requested and valued, as it occurs in our case study.

A few primary sources have also been crucial to the present research. Firstly, the sales inventory that was presumably sent to the kings Philip IV and Charles I, where all the paintings and other objects available are specified.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, the sales account drawn up in 1645, which reports the presence of the painter-advisors Snyders, Wildens, Moermans, Crayer and Nobeliers, as well as the involvement of certain Spanish and Netherlandish diplomats in the proceedings of the sale.<sup>14</sup> And at last but certainly not least, the correspondence surrounding the death of Rubens in 1640 and the subsequent sale of his belongings, which still can be found today in the thorough compilation of letters made by Max Rooses and Ch. Ruelens between 1887 and 1909, more specifically in its last volume.<sup>15</sup>

Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens, Jacob Moermans, Gaspar de Crayer and Salomon Nobeliers acted as painter-advisors for the Spanish Crown. The concept of painter-advisor refers here to a painter offering their opinions on a particular subject —mostly painting— or to a particular someone. Sometimes advising simply consisted of expressing one’s opinion in a rather casual atmosphere, but other situations required it on a professional level. In this thesis, I will focus on the latter type of advice, for all of the artists mentioned before were indeed hired to contribute with their expertise. In order to approach their roles at the sale as comprehensively as possible, Chapter I will first offer an overview of painter-advisors working at or for the Spanish court of Philip IV in an

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<sup>11</sup> Tummers 2011, pp. 165-180.

<sup>12</sup> Keblusek/Noldus 2011.

<sup>13</sup> A recent transcription was published in: Belkin/Healy 2004, pp. 328-333

<sup>14</sup> Published in: Génard 1865-1866, pp. 69-179.

<sup>15</sup> Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6.

attempt to define more precisely the different applications of the concept “painter-advisor”, including an approach to the estate sale of Charles I. Secondly, Chapter II will explore Rubens’s estate sale by looking more specifically into the five painters, their connection with the Crown and/or Rubens and their possible final contributions to the purchase. Finally, Chapter III will examine the appreciation of painters as experts and connoisseurs —mainly using art literature from that time — in both the Low Countries and Spain at the 17<sup>th</sup> century; exploring the estate of connoisseurship at that time will answer the question of whether or not the presence of painters delivering advising services can be seen as an extension of their reputation as connoisseurs.

The present research aims to shed new light on the role of painters as advisors at the Spanish court of King Philip IV, with an exclusive focus on painters of Netherlandish origin. Ultimately, the results will add evidence to, on the one hand, the close links that existed between the Spanish court and Netherlandish artists, and, on the other, to the interdisciplinary and multifaceted careers of painters in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

## Chapter I

### DEFINING THE PAINTER-ADVISOR: APPRAISER, CURATOR AND ART SCOUT

Advising is generally understood as giving one's opinions on a particular subject or to a particular someone. This definition is too reductionist to be applied to our topic, for advice is a very broad term and can be understood, used and given in various ways depending on the occasion. Therefore, the present chapter aims at outlining the concept of the painter-advisor in order to discern its various applications. In what professional occasions did painters provide their judgments at the Spanish court of the 17<sup>th</sup> century? Were there differences amongst the various types of advice that a painter could give? Was the painter supposed to possess specific abilities, connoisseurship or prior experience in order to perform the job properly?

The opinions or judgments of a painter could be desired in different types of events. Such events will be differentiated and described in the present chapter with a view to bringing some clarity to the questions posed here. Some of the sub-chapters will be based on small case studies that provide good insight into each specific event. All of them are of course linked to the Spanish Crown, an entity which included present-day Spain, the formerly Spanish territory of Flanders, and also those Spanish or Netherlandish agents working abroad for the Spanish Crown. The court of Philip IV went beyond the current Spanish borders, and needs to be studied as a larger sociocultural unity—one that was deeply connected to the Netherlandish territories.<sup>16</sup>

The different events in which painters acted as professional advisors are the following: the appraisal of art collections, the hanging/display of pictures, and the scouting of paintings. All of them were frequent activities at court and almost without exception came with names of painters attached. Therefore, it seems appropriate to shed some light on these names and their role in these particular occasions.

#### **Appraising art collections**

The appraisal of art collections was, amongst the three activities mentioned, the most commonly practiced at the court of Philip IV. Besides painting itself, appraisals were the second most important activity in a painter's career, as demonstrated by the amount of documentation preserved

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<sup>16</sup> Art historian Abigail Newman has specialized in Spanish and Netherlandish artistic relationships of 17<sup>th</sup> century. For further evidence on these “deeply imbricated developments”, see: Newman 2018, pp. 219-231.



on the subject.<sup>17</sup> Painters were called to provide this service upon their expertise; they were what is known in Spanish as *perito*, ‘expert’. Anyone that possessed the official title of painter could appraise art collections, however good or bad their artistic merits were.<sup>18</sup> Thus, no specific education was needed to be suitable for appraising art. In fact, the lack of theoretical education of Spanish painters was one of the complaints of local art theorists at that time; an education that was necessary in order to evaluate painting properly.<sup>19</sup> Appraising collections was then an accessible job for any painter at seventeenth-century Spanish court —this, and the fact that it was an easy way of making some extra money, although remunerations seem not to have been especially generous.<sup>20</sup> Painters had to swear on the sign of the cross that they would remain neutral, objective and fair in their evaluations of paintings, which would always be based on their knowledge and understanding.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately, the type of judgment that was given in these occasions is hard to know nowadays. There is no documental evidence of these evaluations, except for one particular case: the appraisal by the painter Juan Bautista Maíno of a painting by Vicente Carducho and Eugenio Caxés.<sup>22</sup> He puts emphasis on the “authority”, “discretion” and “perfection” of the figures, and also on the use of gold and agreeable colors, which suggests that perhaps as a general rule, and not only in this case, these elements were central aspects to forming an opinion about a painting.

Among all artists serving as appraisers, some names of Netherlandish origin appear in the documentation as well. For instance, the painter Antonio van de Pere had contributed to the

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<sup>17</sup> Burke/Cherry 1997, p. 54. See also for further information on the procedure of appraisals.

<sup>18</sup> Vizcaíno Villanueva 2005, p. 274.

<sup>19</sup> Hellwig 2016, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> Burke/Cherry 1997, p. 56.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57.

<sup>22</sup> “estas quatro istorias corresponden en todo a lo demas i dan mui gran cumplimiento a todo i mucha autoridad a la obra / otras quatro figuras echas con la misma maestria / bimos todos los adornos que el arte de la pintura llama grutescos que sirven como de molduras a estos angulos i quadros i adornan todas las dajas y subientes de la capillas hechos con particular cuidado con mucha discrezion buen gusto bien enriquezidos de oro i colores alegres con unos zielecitos en los quatro oratorios bajos hechos de los mesmos grutescos / bimos en el transito de la dicha capilla dos istorias tambien de la vida de nuestra señora acavadas con la misma perfezion que las otras / toda la obra de encargo que consta en la escritura se acaba en estas ultimas istorias.” (Marías 1978, p. 424; Burke/Cherry 1997, p. 57).

inventorying of the painting collection that belonged to the Spanish palace of El Pardo in 1674.<sup>23</sup> His tasks consisted in stating whether a work was a copy or an original and to whom it belonged (providing attributions to Albert Dürer, to Vicente Carducho, and also recognizing copies made after Rubens). He was actually not new to the practice, for some years earlier, in 1665, Van de Pere is documented as having appraised the collection of an unknown Ana Martínez on May 28.<sup>24</sup> However, his participation in the inventorying of the collection of El Pardo is of course much more significant, as it is connected directly to the court. In fact, Van de Pere already enjoyed a special position amongst the aristocracy: he was affiliated with the *Noble Guardia de Armeros de Corps*.<sup>25</sup> This “Noble Guard” was the Burgundian bodyguard of Philip IV, formed by natives of the Low Countries or Burgundy who also had to belong to nobility or be honorable citizens in order to be suitable for membership.<sup>26</sup> Being part of the Guard meant having a certain social position amongst Spanish aristocrats and closer links to the deepest circles of the court.<sup>27</sup> As Abigail Newman has proven, being connected to the Noble Guard entailed a number of benefits, and although this is not the topic of the present research, it is almost mandatory to take this social phenomenon into account when studying Netherlandish artists that were present at the Spanish court or were in some way linked to it. In any case, these relationships bring more evidence to the idea that connections between the two territories were more natural than it is generally thought.

Two other cases also shed light on the importance of the Noble Guard for the Netherlanders’ artistic careers. These are the painters Cornelius de Beer (or Cornelio, as known by the Spaniards; 1585-1651) and Felipe Diriksen (c. 1590-1679); the first was born in Utrecht and established himself in Madrid from around 1608,<sup>28</sup> and the second was presumably raised in Madrid by his father Rodrigo de Holanda, court painter working in the Escorial.<sup>29</sup> Both De Beer and Diriksen had experience as appraisers (*peritos*) at the Spanish court, and part of this experience can be explained through their link to the Guard. Cornelius de Beer appraised the belongings of Enrique de Malcot

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<sup>23</sup> Pérez Sánchez 1966, pp. 305-306.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, note 1, p. 306.

<sup>25</sup> Agulló Cobo 1959, p. 241.

<sup>26</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>27</sup> The art historian Abigail D. Newman has shed new light on the importance of the Noble Guard as a critical, inclusive network for Netherlandish immigrants (Newman 2015, p. 80).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 86.

<sup>29</sup> Martínez Ripoll 1996, pp. 251-294.

(n.d.), a native of Leuven living in Madrid,<sup>30</sup> and Felipe Diriksen appraised the collection of the wife of Mathías Carlos (n.d.), archer of the Noble Guard.<sup>31</sup> Diriksen actually collaborated with the Spanish court painter Juan Carreño de Miranda (1614-1685) in the inventorying of another estate, which demonstrates the existence of partnerships between Netherlandish and Spanish painters.<sup>32</sup>

As has been mentioned earlier, no specific training was required to be an appraiser, which leads one to think that the activity itself was done rather liberally and was not a proof of true expertise necessarily. An event that occurred later on, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, provides further evidence: in 1724 the painters Teodoro Ardemas (1665-1726) and Antonio Palomino (1655-1726) were appointed the first official appraisers in Spain. The reason behind this appointment was that many cases of falsely or wrongly-attributed paintings in estate sales had come to the notice of the Council of Castilla (a region in Spain), for which the *fiscal* himself ('prosecutor') wrote to the king expressing his concerns about the situation.<sup>33</sup> He not only did that, but also expressed his wish to restrict the number of appraisers in Spain to only those given the official title to perform the job. It is revealing that he associates the chaos in estate sales with the lack of intelligence and knowledge about the "Masters of the Pictures" of those appraising collections. Also very revealing is the fact that the two official appraisers appointed in 1724 were actually painters, following the request of the *fiscal* of Castilla. Antonio Palomino, in fact, was not only a painter, but also an historian and art theorist, and his publication *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (Madrid, 1715-24) —an extensive

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<sup>30</sup> Agulló Cobo 1981, p. 27. More information about De Beer as appraiser in: Agulló Cobo 1978, p. 183.

<sup>31</sup> On De Beer as appraiser: Agulló Cobo 1981, p. 27, p. 183. On Diriksen, see: *Ibid.* p. 56. "And all the paintings in the inventory were appraised by Phelipe Dirixsen, archer of Your Majesty and painter, as the one who did more about them and understand them, in one hundred ducats." (Más se tassaron todas las pinturas contenidas en el ymbentario por Phelipe Dirixsen, archero de Su Magestad y pintor, como perssona que hiço las más dellas y que lo entiende, en çient ducados.) Translated by the author.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>33</sup> *Idem.*

art treatise still very relevant to this day— makes it understandable that he was considered one of these knowledgeable “Masters of the Pictures” fit for the job.<sup>34</sup>

### **The hanging/display of pictures**

Paintings were an essential part of decorative programs in royal rooms. Some palaces, like the Escorial, were favored over others of less symbolic importance. The Escorial had been built during the reign of Philip II (1556-1598) and quickly became the symbolic center of the Spanish Crown, in contrast with Madrid, which was meant to emerge as the new administrative center of the court.<sup>35</sup> Some years later, in 1656, the sacristy of the monastery of the Escorial was adorned with a great number of paintings of the highest quality, most of which came from the collection of Charles I. The display was arranged with care and seems to have made an impression on those who went to visit it. But who was entrusted with this arrangement that caused so much attention? Not surprisingly, it was Diego Velázquez (1599-1660). In fact, the Seville-born painter undertook a wide range of tasks at the court of Philip IV, and one of them was that of curating the royal collection at the court.<sup>36</sup> This was an activity that many other painters developed at that time. For instance, the diplomat and artist Balthazar Gerbier (1592-1663) was responsible for the collection of George Villiers, 1st Duke of Buckingham (1592-1629).<sup>37</sup> Another artist, the Italian Jacopo Strada (1515-1588) was Rudolf II's ‘Antiquarius’ —the keeper of the emperor's collection.<sup>38</sup> Similarly, the painter David Teniers (1610-1640) was also entrusted with the responsibility of curating the important collection of Archduke Leopold William (1614-1662). He not only had to take care of the

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<sup>34</sup> The treatise was translated into English in 1739 with the title *An account of the works of the most eminent Spanish painters, sculptors and architects*. Palomino had experience as an appraiser even before 1724. For instance, in 1708 he evaluated and inventoried the collection of a Spanish noblewoman and attributed many of her paintings to Juan de Toledo and Juan de Arellano. He also identified works made after Titian, Guido Reni and Rubens, and works by the school of Rubens, proving therefore his skill to discern between the original Rubens's and those made by pupils or after the Flemish master (Barrio de Moya 1986, p. 148).

<sup>35</sup> Martínez Ripoll 1996, p. 254.

<sup>36</sup> Velázquez was even sent to Italy in 1649 under the commission of acquiring new pictures and sculptures for the decoration of these galleries (Brown 1995, p. 126).

<sup>37</sup> Keblusek/Noldus 2011, p. 148.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 149.

gallery, but also promoted their owner by producing ten gallery pictures of the archduke's artistic belongings.<sup>39</sup> And, as mentioned earlier in the introduction, the Spanish diplomat Gaspar de Haro (1629-1687) was assisted by the Sieneese Giuseppe Pinacci (1642-1718) in the assembling of his collection. Such tasks included evaluating artworks and arranging them in specific areas of the royal properties, as well as scouting and acquiring objects elsewhere. Velázquez was then appointed keeper of the Spanish king's collection, and not without reason. On several occasions the master was praised for his solid opinions in Spain, as when King Charles I requested three marble heads to be produced in Madrid.<sup>40</sup> The marbles had to represent Julius Caesar, Marcus Marcellus and Hannibal, but when they were sent to London, the faces did not correspond to those of said personalities. The English ambassador in Madrid, Sir Arthur Hopton (c. 1588-1660), replied to the complaint from London by stating that the busts had been “certified to be the right by Diego Velasques the king's painter a man of great iudgement.”<sup>41</sup>

This case, however, does not represent the only occasion in which Velázquez was required to help with his judgments. When the collection of Charles I was put up for sale in 1649, the Spanish king took the opportunity to acquire as many artworks as he could. Luís de Haro (1603-1661), Prime Minister to Philip IV, sought the advice of two painters, Velázquez and Angelo Nardi (1584-1664) —an Italian master established in Madrid—, for they were true connoisseurs at court.<sup>42</sup> They were entrusted to evaluate the paintings being sent to Madrid before they would be shown to Philip IV. Although Velázquez seems to have been particularly influential in this decision-making process, it was the responsibility of both artists to decide whether a painting was worth entering the royal collection or not.<sup>43</sup> For instance, a work by Antonio Allegro (1593-1534), popularly known as Correggio, the *School of Love* from the National Gallery of London (fig. 1), was judged by the Spanish master to have been wrongly attributed, and thus the painting stayed in

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<sup>39</sup> Brown 1995, p. 173; Schreiber 2004, p. 89.

<sup>40</sup> Harris 1967, pp. 414-415.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 420

<sup>42</sup> Angelo Nardi in fact performed as advisor to marquis Luís de Haro on the occasion of the evaluation of an Italian painting in Madrid: “I am given to understand by Angelo Maria Nardi, who is painter to His Majesty..., that modern pictures count for nothing in this place. On his advice, many gentlemen... have sent back to Italy works by Guido Reni... While taking Nardi around my house, I happened to show him the *Ecce Homo*, and he told me that it is not even worth a hundred scudi here.” As quoted in: Brown 1995, p. 137; Haskell 2013, p. 153.

<sup>43</sup> Harris 1982, p. 440.

the house of Luís de Haro. Interestingly, this time Velázquez missed the mark: the work was eventually proven to be a genuine Correggio.

Not only did Velázquez approve the paintings arriving from London, but he also placed them in their new location at court, which brings us back to the Escorial. In 1656, Velázquez took most of the paintings bought from Charles I to the sacristy of the Palace of the Escorial, the most prestigious room in the most prestigious property of the monarchy.<sup>44</sup> According to the theorist and biographer Antonio Palomino, Velázquez wrote a memorandum containing all the detailed information about the paintings and the artists, including extensive reports with even provenance data.<sup>45</sup> Palomino actually considers this document a proof of his “erudition, and great connoisseurship about art.”<sup>46</sup> The authenticity of said memorandum is still to be determined, but what is certain is that Velázquez arranged the new decoration of the sacristy; a task that, according to the King’s chaplain Julio Chifflet (1610-1676) took him several months and also included the creation of special frames for each one of the paintings. The existence of the memorandum would prove that Velázquez did not merely decide which paintings would hang on the walls, but also wrote reports —presumably equivalent to those in present-day catalogues—, spent time supervising the mounting of paintings and carved frames for each of the pieces —as any curator would request nowadays if necessary. It can be concluded that Velázquez was not only the greatest painter in the seventeenth-century Spanish court, but also a true connoisseur capable of materializing his knowledge into carefully crafted displays of artworks. Curatorship, which is based on connoisseurship and close relations of advice, found an early example at the court of Philip IV in the figure of Velázquez.

### **Scouting/selecting: the estate sale of Charles I**

Another activity that might fall within the scope of advisory roles is the selection and scouting of artworks. Many painters attended art sales representing a court on the look for new purchases during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, Balthazar Gerbier often scouted artworks on behalf of the Duke of Buckingham, and so did other painters at that time, such as Daniel Mijtens (c. 1590-1647/48) for the Earl of Arundel, Thomas Howard (1586-1646) in Amsterdam, the Scotsman David Loggan

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<sup>44</sup> Julio Chifflet, the King’s chaplain, reported that Velázquez was behind the new decoration of the Escorial in 1656: Andrés 1964, pp. 408-410. Harris compiles this information in: Harris 1982, p. 439.

<sup>45</sup> Palomino 1986, p. 183; Harris 1982, p. 183.

<sup>46</sup> *Idem.*

(1634-1692) for several of his patrons in London, or the engraver Michel Le Blon (1578-1656) in Sweden.<sup>47</sup> This kind of responsibility required a fair amount of knowledge, on one hand, and on the other, the skills of a good dealer, prepared to find the best objects, negotiate with other artists and bargain for favorable deals.<sup>48</sup> In the end, most of the acquisitions would end up hanging on the walls of prestigious royal lodgings, as we have seen in the case of the Escorial. These occasions were therefore an interesting opportunity for artists to prove their worth to the king, and earn his trust and favor.

An exceptional case of a number of painters acting as advisors can be seen, again, in the records of the sale of the collection of King Charles I, probably the most important estate sale of the century. Now, in contrast with the preceding chapter, we will discuss the activities undertaken by painters not at the center of the court, Madrid, but farther from it—in London.

King Charles I was notable for having acquired and gathered in a single royal collection some of the greatest works ever created.<sup>49</sup> After his passing, his belongings were put up for sale in England, in what was seen as a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for anyone interested in art—including of course one particular person, very relevant to our study: King Philip IV. In his interest in the sale, he encountered one considerable obstacle: his attendance could be perceived as one king profiting from the death or, more specifically, the execution of another fellow king—an execution that marked the end of the monarchy in England until its restoration in 1660.<sup>50</sup> To avoid this, Philip IV secretly hired the services of a number of Spanish diplomats to attend the sale and make the purchases on his behalf. These art agents working at the service of Philip IV were Alonso de Cárdenas, the Spanish ambassador in London from the 1630s to the 1650s, and the Count of Fuensaldaña, an official and nobleman established in Brussels.

Alonso de Cárdenas was given the role of diplomatic agent to the English royal house in 1635.<sup>51</sup> He informed the king about the recent passing of Charles I and about the possibility of his royal collection being put up for sale. He knew Philip IV would be eager to acquire some of the artworks in the English king's collection, and was also well aware that managing to satisfy the

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<sup>47</sup> Keblusek/Noldus 2011, pp. 149-150, 161-191.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

<sup>49</sup> Brown 1995, pp. 59-94; Rumberg/Shawe-Taylor 2018, pp. 17-25.

<sup>50</sup> Philip IV personally asked his ambassador in London not to say he was behind the purchases: Brotton/McGrath 2008, p. 2.

<sup>51</sup> *Idem.*

demands of the king would heighten his standing. Philip IV replied positively indeed, showing his preference for “originals by Titian, Paolo Veronese, or other old paintings of distinction.”<sup>52</sup> Interestingly enough, Cárdenas gives hints of the buying procedure that would be followed in the event in a letter dated 1 June 1654:

I remain aware of the need to rank the pictures in the order of painters that Your Honour has been kind enough to list, and to choose those paintings which appear the most agreeable to the eye, although they may be others by greater painters which might not be so attractive.<sup>53</sup>

Philip IV followed up by sending a list of his preferred painters, and not artworks (“originals by Titian, Paolo Veronese...”). The buyers seem to have had notable room for maneuvering. The king indicated what his preferences were, mentioning only Titian and Veronese, two of his favorite painters, and leaving the rest up to the buyers established in London. Considering that this sale was an incredibly important event for seventeenth-century collectors, one would expect less vague indications. However, being specific was actually very rare at that time. For instance, the Duke of Buckingham gave a blank check to the keeper of his galleries Balthazar Gerbier to scout paintings in Italy.<sup>54</sup> Gerbier had a check with no detailed instructions or specific names; he could totally rely on his connoisseurship.

After being cleared to proceed with the purchases, Cárdenas began with the negotiations.<sup>55</sup> In fact, it is known that the ambassador had a group of Englishmen —colonels and sergeants— attending the sale and purchasing artworks that he would later re-purchase from them at higher prices.<sup>56</sup> In other words, Cárdenas had other very active buyers working with him while he handled the transactions and oversaw the entire operation. However, he must have been well informed about the artworks available, since he sent various memoranda to Luís de Haro with detailed information of the pieces on sale.<sup>57</sup> These series of memoranda were drawn up by a team of London-based

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<sup>52</sup> For the letter, see: *Ibid.*, doc. 11, p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> For the letter, see: *Idem.*

<sup>54</sup> Keblusek/Noldus 2011, pp. 148-149.

<sup>55</sup> Cárdenas was supported financially by the marquis Luís de Haro, *Valido* (‘minister’) to Philip IV. For a reproduction of the sale account of the purchases made by Cárdenas, see: Loomie 1989, pp. 261-265.

<sup>56</sup> Haskell 2013, p. 151; Brotton/McGrath 2008, p. 3 (note 12).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.



experts, who were either painters and learned men, or only painters.<sup>58</sup> Cárdenas surrounded himself with a group of connoisseurs in the English capital who could provide him with advice. Here again, we find artists being requested to help diplomats in the scouting of valuable artworks. Cárdenas surely learnt a lot from them, as we find him making interesting observations about the paintings on sale in some of the letters sent to Luís de Haro.<sup>59</sup> The presence of two artists, one directly working with Cárdenas for Philip IV and the other attending the sale on behalf of other patrons, will be briefly analyzed in the following sections.

a) *Remigius van Leemput*

The Flemish artist and art dealer Remigius van Leemput was most likely one of the London-based experts that helped Cárdenas with the acquisitions, as suggested by the fact that he acquired paintings in the sale; paintings that he would later sell to the Spanish ambassador.<sup>60</sup> But who was this mysterious Van Leemput?

Reme van Leemput (as he was known in England), was a painter, copyist, art dealer and collector. He was born in Antwerp in 1607 (baptized on 19 December) and died in London on 9 November 1675.<sup>61</sup> Already in 1628 he became a master in the Antwerp Guild, but left for London soon afterwards, around 1632, most likely accompanying Van Dyck, as they appear associated in 1635.<sup>62</sup> Van Leemput was well known as a copyist, and even King Charles II commissioned him to make a series of copies after original paintings (fig. 2).<sup>63</sup> Van Leemput enjoyed considerable reputation within the English circles of power not only as a copyist, but also, and more relevant here, as an art collector of prints and drawings.<sup>64</sup> He chose to develop a career as an art dealer and collector alongside his career as an artist. His expertise did not go unnoticed, for we see him involved in the sale of Charles I as a major buyer, acquiring works attributed to Titian and other

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<sup>58</sup> See for instance this remark by Cárdenas on a picture by Raphael: “This is held to be the best in Europe today, and is renowned amongst the *painters* the finest painting in the world; there is no doubt that there is no equal to it in the works of King Charles.” As quoted in: *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>61</sup> Thieme/Becker 1928, vol. 22, pp. 544-545.

<sup>62</sup> Jeffree, R., (online) “Leemput, Remi van”, Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, Oxford University Press, 2003 (checked 23 Aug 2018).

<sup>63</sup> Buckeridge 1754, pp. 413-414.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414.

great Venetian masters.<sup>65</sup> The presence of the artist's name in the documentation as one of the buyers in the collection, and selling the pictures to Cárdenas afterwards, confirms that he was one of the London-based experts acting around Alonso Cárdenas. Interestingly enough, an extract from a letter sent by Cárdenas in 1651, in which he describes his visit to the sale of the collection of the Earl of Pembroke, confirms how he surrounded himself with expert-painters at all times: "Of what was left, I did not see anything worthwhile, nor did the painters I had accompany me."<sup>66</sup> Perhaps Van Leemput only collaborated with Cárdenas as an intermediary, or perhaps also as one of the advisors that formed the ambassador's team of experts.

*b) David Teniers*

Another artist that was connected to the complex, layered event that was the sale estate of Charles I's collection is the Antwerp-born David Teniers (1610-1640), a painter and engraver of more reputation than Van Leemput. Teniers was known for his prolific and highly versatile work amongst his contemporaries, to which one should add the scouting of artworks. He actually enjoyed the trust of one of the greatest collectors at that time, archduke Leopold William, as we have seen earlier in this chapter.<sup>67</sup> His work as curator of the archduke's collection surely distinguished him as an experienced and knowledgeable connoisseur of the art world.

On this occasion, he is reported to have purchased paintings in London that were later sent to the Count of Fuensaldaña, Alonso Pérez de Vivero,<sup>68</sup> an important political agent of Philip IV who acted as governor *de facto* in the Low Countries after Leopold William expressed his wish to retire (fig. 3).<sup>69</sup> Teniers was sent to London to attend the sale of the Earl of Pembroke in 1651, a year after the earl's passing. Some tension seems to have existed between Alonso Cárdenas and David Teniers, for the first was unaware that Teniers had planned on traveling to London to buy art for his patron.<sup>70</sup> It also seems that the Netherlandish painter not only bought for the Earl of

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<sup>65</sup> Jeffree, R., (online) "Leemput, Remi van", Grove Art Online, Oxford Art Online, Oxford University Press, 2003 (checked 23 Aug 2018).

<sup>66</sup> Brotton/McGrath 2008, doc. 10, p. 14.

<sup>67</sup> Brown 1995, p. 171.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.

<sup>69</sup> Lamertin 1933, pp. 62, 483; Vergara 1989, p. 127.

<sup>70</sup> Brotton/McGrath 2008, doc. 10, pp. 14-15.

Pembroke, but also for other collectors, such as Luís de Haro.<sup>71</sup> He bought some paintings attributed to Titian, Van Dyck, Rubens, Andrea del Sarto and Tintoretto, among others.<sup>72</sup> Some scholars give these attributions a certain degree of credibility because of Tenier's expertise.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, the fact that he was conferred the title of valet de chambre (*ayuda de cámara*), presumably during the 1650s, has been interpreted as a way for the Spanish Crown to keep Teniers in his role of art agent, as the painter was at the time trying to be ennobled, and one of the requirements to be granted nobility was not to participate or have participated in trading activities. Aristocracy in Spain and the Low Countries did not partake in commercial activities.<sup>74</sup> Indeed, Velázquez also had to declare before the court that he had never engaged in trade in order to be eligible for nobility.<sup>75</sup> This way, by hiring him as valet de chambre Teniers could receive a salary not directly linked to his services as an art dealer.

In the official approval of Teniers' request —drawn by the Council of Flanders and directed to King Philip IV— the services provided by the painter as an art agent and connoisseur in Antwerp and in London, among other locations, were believed to be solid arguments for taking his request into consideration —amongst these services, his appointment as keeper of Leopold William's collection was especially relevant.<sup>76</sup> This confirms that David Teniers was asked to travel to London and act as an advisor for the Crown based on his experience and connoisseurship, which definitely granted him notable reputation among courtly circles.

We have discussed three forms of advice that could be given by painters, or three types of painter-advisors. As any other categorization, it should not be considered an objective, foolproof formula, but rather a tool with which to gain a better understanding of the multiplicity of roles that seventeenth-century painters could play in society. These three activities —appraisals of art collections, displays of pictures and scouting of artworks— all differ from each other. Appraising estate sales might be the less obvious form of advice, as painters were hired mainly to evaluate and

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<sup>71</sup> Vergara 1989, p. 128.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 128.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>74</sup> Dreher 1977, p. 109.

<sup>75</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

price the artworks present in a collection. In fact, appraising seems not to have required as much connoisseurship as one would imagine, as proven by the fact that in 1724, amidst growing concerns about the reliability of the attributions made in these evaluations, the Spanish court decided to appoint its first official appraisers. Expertise, connoisseurship, was a requirement in theory, but not always in practice. Therefore, the participation of artists in appraisals cannot be seen as inarguable proof of their comprehensive knowledge on painting.

Although we have only seen one case of an artist arranging an exhibited room, the election of Velázquez was indeed based on his degree of connoisseurship. This task is closer to the work of a curator: he curated the display, the arrangement, even supposedly crafted the frames and wrote reports about the artworks. Of course Velázquez was quite an exceptional case at court —no other painter was knighted before him. However, it is nevertheless revealing that a painter would be entrusted with the decoration of rooms, galleries and sacristies.<sup>77</sup>

The sale of the art collection of Charles I provides us with important information about artists in advisory roles. Velázquez himself led the vetting process underwent by the London paintings, but he did so from the comfort of his residency. Even more challenging was the hunting of valuable paintings abroad and in demanding situations such as an estate sale. We have analyzed the role of the Netherlandish Remigius van Leemput, a member of the anonymous team of London-based experts that surrounded the Spanish ambassador in London and, finally, that of the Netherlandish David Teniers. Van Leemput was well known for his abilities as an art dealer; the team of expert-painters helped compile the memoranda that the ambassador would periodically send to the King's treasurer —Luís de Haro—; and David Teniers was purposefully chosen for his expertise and connoisseurship, as stressed in his request for nobility. As the art historian Jonathan Brown points out, the tenacity of Alonso de Cárdenas was unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries in the sale, something that Brown rightly relates to the financial support that he was receiving from Luís de Haro.<sup>78</sup> It is thus necessary to connect Cárdenas's success not only to Haro's back-up, but equally importantly, to the assistance of the expert-painters in London.

Interestingly enough, Netherlandish and Spanish names appear handling similar responsibilities, proving the proximity between the Low Countries and the Spanish court during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The presence of artists as counselors to buyers is the most obvious form of advice: instead of being hired to evaluate and price pictures, painters were hired to accompany, help and

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<sup>77</sup> Brown 1995, p. 126.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 95.

assist buyers during the celebration of an estate sale. In this sense, the relationship between the buyer and the painter was closer than in appraisals.

Another estate sale took place in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, some years before the death of Charles I—the sale of Rubens’s art collection. In the following chapter we will shed some light on another important group of painters that acted as advisors to a Spanish art agent in that momentous event.

## Chapter II

### THE ESTATE SALE OF RUBENS' COLLECTION

Rubens died of heart failure on 30 May 1640 in Antwerp, a consequence of the chronic gout that he suffered. The news quickly arrived to Philip IV through a letter written by his brother and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, only a few days later.<sup>79</sup> This was surely a difficult loss for the Spanish king, since it was well known that Philip IV felt a profound, almost obsessive admiration for the work of the Flemish painter; indeed, he became Rubens' most fervent patron, having commissioned some of his largest projects, such as the painting series destined to decorate the Torre de la Parada, a hunting lodge in the outskirts of Madrid.<sup>80</sup> The first visit paid by Rubens to the Spanish court in 1628-29 must have left a huge impact on the king, considering he was appointed court painter only a few years later.<sup>81</sup> Here again, Cardinal Infant Ferdinand, who was already established in Brussels as governor to the Spanish Crown, played an important role in keeping the king informed about all art news coming from the Low Countries, as in the case of the commission for the Torre de la Parada.<sup>82</sup> The strategic posting of the cardinal in the Southern Netherlands —besides having obvious political purposes— helped the king become more familiar with the painting practices and workshops in the north of Europe —as will be further seen later in this chapter.<sup>83</sup>

However, such avid buying activity did not stop with Rubens's death. The king had one last chance to satisfy his clamor for one of his favorite artists: the extensive sale of the painter's collection, which took place immediately after his passing and seems to have finished in 1645,

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<sup>79</sup> See letter of 10 June 1640: Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 304.

<sup>80</sup> See Alpers 1971.

<sup>81</sup> Rubens was appointed court painter on 13 June 1636. *Idem*.

<sup>82</sup> In the letter of 23 September 1640, the cardinal suggests that Anthony van Dyck could finish the paintings for the Torre de la Parada —a commission still in progress when Rubens died— for he knew the painter was traveling to Antwerp sometime soon (Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 310).

<sup>83</sup> The cardinal infant was not the only Spaniard at the service of Philip IV in the Low Countries. The Marquis of Leganés, for instance, was an important diplomat, and an even more important art connoisseur, who assiduously traveled to these lands and whose collection reached at the end of his life the outstanding number of 1,333 paintings, amongst which Flemish masters prevailed (Preciado 2010, pp. 853-854).

when the final sales account was drawn up.<sup>84</sup> Out of 314 paintings available, Philip IV bought a relatively small amount, only thirty-one, but among those were some of the most valued pieces owned by Rubens.<sup>85</sup> In any case, the selection seems to have been anything but random: it consisted mainly of paintings by Venetian masters, such as Titian, Tintoretto, Girolamo Muziano and Paolo Veronese, some works by Adam Elsheimer, some Van Dyck's and, of course, many Rubens's — sixteen, to be precise. This choice should not be surprising, since Philip IV had long collected works by these artists, and thus the purchase perfectly matched the Spanish taste of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>86</sup> The prevailing presence of Italian masters can be explained by the strong artistic relationship between Spain and Italy, which dated back to the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, with many Spaniards traveling to Italian lands —mainly Rome— in order to learn about the art of painting and the antique world; and some great Italians, such as the highly-esteemed Titian, being called to the Spanish court as well.<sup>87</sup>

The main source for all of the information concerning the paintings that were put up for sale is the surviving inventory of Rubens's art collection, which was compiled by the Flemish painters Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens and Jacques Moermans, appointed executors of the estate by Rubens himself.<sup>88</sup> The inventory was first written in Dutch —the original is unfortunately lost—, and then translated into English with the intention that King Charles I, who also showed interest in the sale, could be sent a copy.<sup>89</sup> A French transcription was also widely circulated in the winter of 1640-41.<sup>90</sup> Therefore, the only surviving documents are the English and the French transcriptions, both of

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<sup>84</sup> The final account is published in: Génard 1865-1866, pp. 69-179.

<sup>85</sup> Vergara 1999, p. 147.

<sup>86</sup> Burke/Cherry 1997, p. 147.

<sup>87</sup> Falomir Faus 2014, pp. 1-13. For further information on seventeenth and eighteenth-century Italian painting in the royal collection, see: Úbeda de los Cobos 2014, pp. 15-31.

<sup>88</sup> Belkin/Healy 2004, pp. 328-333; Génard 1865-1866, p. 139.

<sup>89</sup> Sir Balthasar Gerbier, by then living in Brussels, also gave notice to Charles I of the upcoming estate sale of Rubens's collection (Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, pp. 306, 309). In fact, many of the paintings listed in the inventory are marked with the symbol "+", probably to indicate that the English king was interested in acquiring them. However, he did not purchase any of these artworks, possibly due to the financial difficulties that the court was experiencing at that time (Muller 1989, p. 94).

<sup>90</sup> Muller 1989, p. 94.

them, then, translations from the original in Dutch.<sup>91</sup> The sales catalogue is known as *Specification*, which was the French denomination given to the document, and it comprises the entirety of the paintings on sale (314 pictures) and a variety of other artworks, listed at the end (vases, sculptures and some more paintings).<sup>92</sup>

It is known from the correspondence between Philip IV and Cardinal Infant Ferdinand that the latter attached a *memorandum* to one of the letters after the announcement of Rubens's death.<sup>93</sup> This *memorandum*, as the cardinal refers to it, also listed all the artworks available. It could then very possibly be the *Specification*. Evidence to this is provided by another letter sent by the diplomat Balthazar Gerbier. He expressed to William Murray (c. 1600-1655), advisor to King Charles I,<sup>94</sup> that he would send the inventory as soon as it was ready. Gerbier later on mentioned that the document is a "true translation of its original",<sup>95</sup> which is why we know he was referring to the *Specification*, first written in Dutch and then translated into English and French. Gerbier sent the inventory in July and Cardinal Infant Ferdinand in September. It must have been the same document made available to the English diplomat a month earlier. Unfortunately, what has been lost is the answer of Philip IV to the cardinal's letter with the *memorandum* of the sale.

Therefore, thirty-one of these over three-hundred pictures were acquired for King Philip IV. But, to what extent was Philip IV involved in the event? According to the letters we have referred to, it is clear that Cardinal Infant Ferdinand played a crucial role in handling the sale. Not only did he inform the king about the death of Rubens, but he also sent him the *memorandum*. Even if his own collection has not been studied yet, his role as an artistic agent for the Spanish Crown needs to be strongly emphasized, and even more here, as he was involved in one of the most important

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>92</sup> The *Specification* seems to have been extracted from the lost inventory of Rubens's collection that was made on 8 June 1460 and the following days, as reported in the final sales account (Génard 1865-1866, p. 71; Muller 1989, p. 92).

<sup>93</sup> Letter of 23 September 1640 (Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 310-311).

<sup>94</sup> "The ones [paintings] Rubens has at his house are many and very good, and so not to make any mistakes and guess correctly the taste of Your Majesty I send you this *memorandum* with all of the paintings, in order for you to send me what needs to be bought, for there is no danger in waiting the answer of Your Majesty, because they want to print this memorandum and send it all over Europe, and I don't know what way will suit you better, and thus I ask Your Majesty to tell me what you would like to do, and I will do it rightly." Letter dated 23 September 1640 from Cardinal Infant Ferdinand to Philip IV (Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 310).

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 309.



European estate sales of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The cardinal's involvement was rather of a diplomatic or administrative nature: he kept the king informed and presumably arranged the necessary transactions and the shipment of the paintings.<sup>96</sup> This task was not new to the king's brother, who by that time had long been acting as an art agent for him. For instance, he often went to Antwerp to visit Rubens's workshop, especially in the 1630s, when Rubens received the commission for the Torre de la Parada.<sup>97</sup> Only by the fact that he had to report back to the king at all times about the commissions and Rubens's availability to work—due to his gout, the painter had to take long breaks regularly—,<sup>98</sup> Cardinal Ferdinand must have gained a notable amount of knowledge about art.

Still, and as it happens nowadays to a much larger extent, the art agent and the art connoisseur had different responsibilities and different approaches to art. Therefore, on the occasion of the sale of Rubens's collection, Cardinal Ferdinand, being the art agent, needed the help of someone with greater connoisseurship to help him proceed with the selection of paintings. This person would be a painter that was very familiar with Rubens and his work: Gaspar de Crayer (1582-1669). His role as an advisor on behalf of the Spanish Crown has been briefly mentioned in the literature on the subject, which is scarce.<sup>99</sup> Interestingly enough, other names also appear in the documentation where Crayer is reported to have participated in the sale<sup>100</sup>. In fact, in the paragraph that states that Crayer received a painting from the executors of Rubens's estate sale as a gift for the services provided, it is also stated that other people were similarly rewarded with paintings:

Het stuck schilderye van *St Benedictus* is gesonden aen Jaspar-de Craeyer, schilder tot Brussel, ende een ander, wesende eene *nimphe, met een mandeken fruyten*, n<sup>o</sup> 174, aen Salomon Nobeliers, oock tot Brussel, hen metten voors. coop geentremitteert hebbende,

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<sup>96</sup> Vergara 1999, p. 146.

<sup>97</sup> As reported in a letter of 20 November 1636 from Cardinal Ferdinand to king Philip IV (*Ibid.*, p. 170). For instance, the cardinal went to Antwerp on 30 April 1636 to check the condition of the paintings. From the correspondence between him and the king, it is clear that the cardinal had a close relationship with Rubens, at least professionally, and often visited his workshop in Antwerp.

<sup>98</sup> See, for instance, this letter of 5 April 1640: "As for the paintings Y. M. wishes to be sent afterwards we have encountered an inconvenience, which is that *Rubens* has lost mobility in his hands for over a month and with little hope to paint again." (En las pinturas que V. M. me manda vayan luego ha sucedido un gran trabajo, y es estar *Rubens* gafo de las manos mas ha de un mes y con poca esperanza de volver a pintar.) (Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 261).

<sup>99</sup> Vergara already points out to the help provided by Crayer; Vergara 1999, p. 146.

<sup>100</sup> Génard 1865-1866, p. 86.

ende noch een stuck van *Ste Cecilia*, aenden voors. heer van Ophem gesonden, voor syne goede betaelinge, dienende hier oock.<sup>101</sup>

Several names can be identified: Jaspar-de Craeyer, Salomon Nobeliers, and Mr. Ophen. In other parts of the text, close to the paragraph cited here, other personalities are mentioned as well: Don Francisco de Rochas and Sr Michiel Dolivares.<sup>102</sup> In order to paint a fair picture of the nature of the Spanish purchase from Rubens's estate sale, it is necessary to look at these individuals and further outline their presence in the event.

Francisco de Rojas (b. 1590) —*guardajoyas* (guard of precious objects) and *ayuda de cámara* (valet) to the king— is reported to have dealt with the details of the transaction. He received a small Virgin and Child adored by saints as a gift from the executors of the estate for the services provided.<sup>103</sup> Rojas was an important court-man from Spain who is documented in 1639 as having paid Rubens and Frans Snyders for some of their works, something that indicates he had experience with such operations.<sup>104</sup> Although Rojas appears as the main middleman for the Crown, two other men participated in the operation as well: Miguel de Olivares and Jacques van Ophen.

Miguel de Olivares (1560-1646), another Spanish agent in the Low Countries, treasurer and notable collector himself, was also involved in the purchase on behalf of King Philip IV.<sup>105</sup> Again, a painting by Rubens was gifted to Olivares by the executors, which has been identified with the portrait of Cardinal Infant Ferdinand at the battle of Nördlingen (fig. 4).<sup>106</sup> He actually intervened to the transaction by providing the money to Jacques van Ophen (d. 1647/48), who in turn passed on the amount to the executors of the estate, even if the paintings appear to have been sold to Francisco de Rojas.<sup>107</sup>

This transaction was indeed of major importance, as revealed by the number of personalities that were involved. Grasping each of their roles can seem difficult. To sum up, Francisco de Rojas, Miguel de Olivares and Jacques van Ophen were the real, financial agents in the purchase, handling

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<sup>101</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86, 81, respectively.

<sup>103</sup> Génard 1865-1866, p. 135; Vergara 1999, p. 147.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147, note 36.

<sup>105</sup> For further information on Miguel de Olivares as a collector, see: Pérez Preciado 2003, pp. 275-291.

<sup>106</sup> Génard 1865-1866, p. 81.

<sup>107</sup> Pérez Preciado 2003, p. 278.

all economic matters and proceeding with the payments. This suggests that Cardinal Infant Ferdinand kept a certain distance from the sale, at least more than what is generally believed. He indeed was in charge of informing Philip IV about the state of the acquisitions and, as a result, he probably decided who would attend the sale and handle the practicalities.<sup>108</sup> It is safe to assume, as inferred from the documentation, that other people were involved, and presumably in a closer, more active way, especially considering that the cardinal was at the time focused on finding a painter to resume work at the Torre de la Parada, which Rubens had left unfinished.<sup>109</sup>

Adding to the complexity of the purchase, we have seen other names participating on behalf of the Spanish Crown; names that are of special importance to us, as they correspond to painters.<sup>110</sup> We have addressed the roles of those agents overseeing the financial transactions during the sale, and we have seen that they were surrounded by other individuals who provided advice. It now seems appropriate to turn our attention to these painters.

Salomon Nobeliers (n.d.) is one of them. He worked together with Gaspar de Crayer in the sale on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Interestingly enough, no works by him have been preserved, and little is known about his life. However, we do find documentation in which he is reported as an art dealer. For instance, in a letter from 1618, the English statesman Sir William Trumbull reports that Nobeliers, an old acquaintance of his, bought a painting by Raphael in Antwerp for himself.<sup>111</sup> Nobeliers also sold a painting by Van Dyck depicting the mystic marriage of Saint Catherine to Balthazar Gerbier.<sup>112</sup> A few other accounts of his life have been preserved, but the most important occasion in which Nobeliers offered his services must have been Rubens's estate sale.<sup>113</sup> He actually received a Rubens painting from the executors for his contribution —receiving paintings or other kinds of objects as a payment was very common at that time, but receiving a Rubens original

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<sup>108</sup> Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, pp. 304-305.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 310-311.

<sup>110</sup> “Het stuck schilderye van *St Benedictus* is gesonden aen Jaspar-de Craeyer, schilder tot Brussel, ende een ander, wesende eene *nimphe, met een mandeken fruyten*, n<sup>o</sup> 174, aen Salomon Nobeliers, oock tot Brussel...” (Génard 1865-1866, p. 86).

<sup>111</sup> Hookham Carpenter 1844, p. 64.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63-64.

<sup>113</sup> See Rooses/Ruelens, 1909, vol. 6, pp. 3-4.

was quite extraordinary.<sup>114</sup> Since by then Nobeliers had already settled in the city of Brussels, it is not surprising to see him working for the Spanish Crown. His extensive experience in scouting artworks explains why he was chosen to participate in Rubens's estate sale. Probably he quit painting and turned to the art trade exclusively.

The other painter that is mentioned in the documentation is the better-known artist Gaspar de Crayer (1584-1669). In contrast with Nobeliers, Crayer did become a renowned painter. His links with the Spanish Crown—which are more evident—explain his participation in Rubens's estate sale. Indeed, Cardinal Ferdinand was already acquainted with Crayer at the time of the sale, as the Antwerp-born master had been court painter to the cardinal since the latter victoriously entered the city of Brussels in 1634 after his triumph at the Battle of Nördlingen.<sup>115</sup> Before that, Crayer had long been at the service of the Archdukes in Brussels—since 1612.<sup>116</sup> In fact, after the death of Prince Albert, he became member of the Noble Guard to the daughter of Philip II, and still kept receiving good favors and a salary from the newly-appointed archduke, cousin of Philip IV.<sup>117</sup> This confirms that his connections to the Spanish Crown had been growing strong for quite a long time before the estate sale. The cardinal had Crayer in high consideration—"a master of great opinion".<sup>118</sup> Some visual examples also stress the importance of his relations with Spanish Crown, such as *Philip IV on Horseback* (1628-1632) (fig. 5).

Given his talent and his strong ties with the Spanish Crown, it is not surprising that Gaspar de Crayer was selected to participate in the sale on behalf of the king. His attendance is confirmed in the documentation, in which he is listed as working for the king. In return for his services, he received a Rubens painting.<sup>119</sup> He was entrusted with the task of attending the sale, selecting the

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<sup>114</sup> See, for instance, the case of the Italian poet Prospero Visconti, who would receive objects of great value, and even horses, in return for his services as art agent to the Duke of Bavaria, William V (Keblusek/Noldus 2011, p. 150).

<sup>115</sup> Vlieghe 1972, p. 44.

<sup>116</sup> Díaz Padrón 1965, p. 230.

<sup>117</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>118</sup> Hans Vlieghe translates this expression (in Spanish, 'maestro de gran opinión') to 'master *de grand renom*' ('of great reputation') (Vlieghe 1972, vol. 1, p. 45). Here it is relevant to stress that the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez was considered a "man of great judgement"; expression that Enriqueta Harris reads as a "man of connoisseurship" (Harris 1967, p. 414). *Opinión* in Spanish could be interpreted both as reputation or judgement. However, it is true that Vlieghe's interpretation seems to sound more natural.

<sup>119</sup> Génard 1865-1866, p. 86.

artworks according to the demands of the king and negotiating with the executors of the collection (Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens and Jacob Moermans). Crayer's help was surely appreciated and valuable, as proven not only by the gift he received, but also by the fact that later on, in 1641, he would be appointed court painter to Philip IV despite never having visited Spain once in his life — in fact, he never would.<sup>120</sup> Nonetheless, the name of Crayer must have been familiar to the king, as the cardinal infant spoke highly about him in a letter of 10 June 1640, in which he recommended Crayer as a suitable candidate to fill the void left by Rubens at the Torre de la Parada:

There are only two here whom one can trust. [...] The other is Crayer, a master of great opinion and particularly of large figures, who made my self portrait [fig. 6] which I sent to Your Majesty last year. He was not good friends with Rubens, and thus he did not commission him any painting for the Torre de la Parada, and I do not know whether there are paintings by him in Spain.<sup>121</sup>

The words of Cardinal Infant Ferdinand reveal his own appreciation of Crayer and add evidence to the strong connection between the painter and the Spanish Crown. Concerning the participation of Crayer in the sale, the lack of documental evidence reporting his specific role (or Nobelier's, for that matter) makes it difficult to define the weight of his interventions. However, the Rubens painting that he was presented with, the trust placed in him by Cardinal Ferdinand, and his later appointment as court painter to King Philip IV strongly suggest that Crayer's contribution to the purchase must have been well appreciated. Moreover, the expert Hans Vlieghe, who published the first monograph on the artist, believes that Crayer was very familiar with Rubens's workshop and even visited it frequently<sup>122</sup> —interestingly enough, Cardinal Ferdinand still mentioned that Rubens and Crayer did not get along very well.

Some of the paintings acquired can give hints to the possible role the painter-advisors, Crayer and Nobeliers, had in the purchase. All of these hints are only conjectures and should be further discussed, but it seems appropriate to at least give them some consideration.

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<sup>120</sup> Díaz Padrón 1965, p. 230.

<sup>121</sup> “Dos solos hay aqui que se puede fiar dellos (...). El otro es *Cray*, un maestro de gran opinion y particularmente de figuras grandes, que es el que hizo el retrato mio que envié a V. M. el año pasado. Era poco amigo de Rubens, y asi no le encargó ninguna de las pinturas que se enviaron para la Torre de la Parada, y no sé si en España habra algunas suyas.” Translated by the author. Rooses/Ruelens 1909, vol. 6, p. 304-305.

<sup>122</sup> Vlieghe 1972, vol. 1, p. 37.

As explained earlier, Philip IV bought approximately thirty-one paintings, amongst which sixteenth-century Venetian masters prevail. As expressed by the art historian Alejandro Vergara, the acquisitions must have been defined to a great extent by availability, but also by the king's personal taste.<sup>123</sup> The interest in the paintings by Titian (no. 1-3), Tintoretto (no. 4-5), Muziano (no. 6) and Veronese (no. 7-9) is clearly linked to the personal taste of the king, which was very much in line with the taste of his predecessors.<sup>124</sup> The large number of paintings by Rubens, a total of sixteen (no. 14-30), can also be explained by the deep admiration Philip IV felt towards the Netherlandish master. Eight out of the sixteen works were copies after Titian, and five or six were made during the master's stay in Madrid in 1628-1629. Vergara associates this with the king's love for Titian, but also with his preference for erotic mythological scenes.<sup>125</sup>

Not all the choices were as straightforward. A few other paintings seem to differ slightly from the common trends at the Spanish court: in particular, the works by Adam Elsheimer (no. 10-13). Explaining his presence in the purchase is a more difficult task. The German school did not enjoy much appreciation in Spain, and only a few artists were represented in the royal collection: Lucas Cranach the Elder, Dürer and Holbein.<sup>126</sup> The prevailing taste at court leaned towards the Italian and Netherlandish schools. That being said, Adam Elsheimer appears in the sales account several times. Only two of his works have been identified (no. 10, 13), and only one is still owned by the Prado. The fact that the paintings were not particularly cheap (450 *guilders* each) suggests that the agents were not simply taking advantage of a bargain. While it is true that some Spanish painters found inspiration in Elsheimer's prints, like in the case of Francisco Antolínez or Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, thus confirming the presence of the German master in Spain, these cases do not seem to be the general trend.<sup>127</sup> Philip IV might have asked his agents to buy Elsheimer's pictures, given that he supposedly saw the *memorandum*, but this still seems implausible, for the German school was never a priority of his. Rubens held the work of Elsheimer in high regard, expressing that "he had no equal in small figures, in landscapes, and in many other subjects", and that his "entire profession ought to clothe itself in mourning" after the master's

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<sup>123</sup> Vergara 1999, p. 150.

<sup>124</sup> For instance, Philip II and Charles V commissioned more than thirty paintings to Titian (Cruz Valdovinos 1994, pp. 245).

<sup>125</sup> Vergara 1999, p. 151-154.

<sup>126</sup> Morales Folguera 1994, pp. 461-477.

<sup>127</sup> Navarrete Prieto 1998, pp. 260-261.

death.<sup>128</sup> Was the king perhaps aware of Rubens' fondness for Elsheimer? Wildens, Snyders and Moermans surely were. It is safe to assume that the decision to buy Elsheimer's paintings was taken on the spot, probably by the painter-advisors and the executors.

Some surrounding facts demonstrate that it was frequent for the king to receive advice from painters, and that in some occasions these painters enjoyed notable freedom. Their opinions were very often requested not directly by Philip IV, but by other personalities in his circle (for instance, David Teniers and the Count of Fuensaldaña, or the British painters and the ambassador Alonso Cárdenas). What happened in the case of Rubens's estate sale —the king is informed about the event by an agent (in this case, cardinal Ferdinand), responds by declaring his interest in the event, and the agent makes the necessary arrangements to proceed with the purchases (in this case, hires the services of a knowledgeable painter, Gaspar de Crayer)—was a fairly standard procedure. Usually it was the agent in charge of handling the purchases who chose the assistants and the advisors. Requesting advice from painters was thus a common practice.<sup>129</sup> Also, these painters were often foreign (English, Netherlandish). This was obviously for practical reasons —the sales usually took place in foreign countries—, but in the particular case of the Netherlanders there were cultural reasons as well: relations between the Low Countries and the Spanish court during the 17<sup>th</sup> century were closer and more natural than it is generally stated. The good understanding between Spanish art agents and Netherlandish artists seen in the estate sale of Rubens's art collection, but also in that of Charles I, reveals the strength of the sociocultural ties between the two lands.

Another significant document is the letter sent by Philip IV in response to the news about Charles I's estate sale, which we have referenced earlier when discussing the presence of Spanish diplomats and Netherlandish painter-advisors. In it, Philip IV expresses his preference for “originals by Titian, Paolo Veronese or other old paintings of distinction”,<sup>130</sup> to which Alonso Cárdenas — ambassador in London— replies by confirming that they would choose the best paintings by each of these masters, the “most agreeable to the eye”<sup>131</sup> —that is, to the *expert's* eye. Cárdenas, as explained earlier, gathered a team of expert-painters around himself that would accompany him to the sale in order to evaluate and select the pictures of the finest quality. The painters had the trust of Cárdenas and acted according to their own expertise. There is nothing to suggest that the same

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<sup>128</sup> Magurn 1955, no. 21, pp. 53-54; Klessmann 2006, p. 38.

<sup>129</sup> See Chapter I.

<sup>130</sup> As quoted in: Brotton and McGrath 2008, p. 2.

<sup>131</sup> For the letter, see: *Ibid.*, doc. 11, p. 14.

procedure was not followed in Rubens's estate sale, especially considering that both sales were of almost equal importance to the Spanish royal collection. It is possible that the king selected specific artworks himself, given that he had been sent the inventory of the collection, but Crayer and Nobeliers surely enjoyed certain room for maneuvering as well, as it was natural to the tasks of a painter-advisor scouting artworks abroad.<sup>132</sup>

After shedding some light on the painter-advisors that attended the sale on behalf of Philip IV, it is now time to draw some attention onto the other side of the coin: the painter-advisors that acted on behalf of Rubens. In the final account of the sale, the *Nalatenschap*, we find the following paragraph:

By kénisse vande contradicenten ende dat die vercocht syn met advys van Wildens, Snyders ende Moermans, volgende denselven testamente.<sup>133</sup>

That is, the individuals handling the sale of Rubens's collection were Jan Wildens, Frans Snyders and Jacob Moermans, Flemish painters that were appointed executors of the estate by Rubens himself, as mentioned earlier in the chapter, and who compiled the *Specification* that listed all the objects owned by Rubens that would be put up for sale. This document, the *Specification*, might appear as just another estate inventory of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Nonetheless, as claimed by the Rubensexpert Jeffrey Muller, it is a document of "historical innovation", "the most sophisticated sales list of pictures published up to that time".<sup>134</sup> Indeed, the structure of the document evidences deep connoisseurship. The objects —mostly paintings— are classified by school, conceding the highest rank to the sixteenth-century Italian masters, followed with Rubens's own copies after Titian and other Italian painters. Then, Rubens's originals come in place, preceding the pictures of old masters (including, among others, Albert Dürer, Lucas van Leyden and Brueghel the Old) and the pictures of contemporary masters (including, among others, Anton van Dyck, Alexander Adriaenssen, Frans Snyders and Brueghel the Young). The list ends with a small selection of objects (clothes, ivories and parcels).<sup>135</sup> Distinctions are also made between originals and copies, and

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<sup>132</sup> See Chapter I.

<sup>133</sup> Génard 1865-1866, p. 83.

<sup>134</sup> Muller 2004, p. 12.

<sup>135</sup> See Appendix *b*.



between genres (mythological, religious, epic literature, etc.). It is undoubtedly true that the *Specification* stands out for its sophistication; generally, sales lists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and earlier were less specific, providing vague titles for the works, sometimes without even crediting the author.

Muller interestingly points out that the hierarchy of the *Specification* must have looked familiar to those who had read the *Schilder-Boek* (1604) by Karel van Mander. Van Mander's treatise is organized in the same way: the biographies of Italian masters come first, followed by those of Netherlandish masters, from the old to the contemporary. It is a well-known fact that the Dutch theorist found inspiration in *Le Vite* (1550) by Giorgio Vasari. Could it be that the painter-executors of Rubens's estate —Wildens, Snyders and Moermans— looked up to the *Schilder-Boek* when compiling the *Specification*?

Rubens actually owned a copy of Van Mander's treatise, presumably of the first edition.<sup>136</sup> Not only did he have the *Schilder-Boek* in his collection, but also the famous *Vite* by Vasari.<sup>137</sup> Therefore, one could think that the advisors might have consciously taken a leaf out of Van Mander's —and Vasari's— works when drawing up the sales list. On the other hand, considering how coherent and particular he was with his art collection, it would not be strange that Rubens, when he appointed Wildens, Snyders and Moermans as executors of his collection, also gave them specific instructions on the way he wished his collection to be inventoried, presented and sold. In fact, the three painters were summoned to witness the drafting of Rubens's testament, which strongly suggests that they were given instructions by the master then.<sup>138</sup> Rubens knew he had to take care of such matters; he was clearly aware that his life was coming to an end, as the chronic gout that caused his death, and which he had long been suffering from, kept him in bed for months before he passed away. It is also worth remembering that Rubens arranged for the construction of a semi-circular "Pantheon" for his sculptures, a study that followed the humanist tradition, an extensive library with books on art, geography and botany, and a portico that conveyed Vitruvius' theories on architecture.<sup>139</sup> Everything in his house seemed to be in perfect harmony; every single element, from architectural configurations to books, represented his theories on art and knowledge.

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<sup>136</sup> An existing copy in Brussels has been identified as the most probable copy kept by Rubens in his library (Schepper, M. et al, *Een hart voor boeken : Rubens an zijn bibliotheek*, Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, 2004, no. 28, pp. 64-65).

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 29, pp. 65-66.

<sup>138</sup> Koslow 2007, p. 25.

<sup>139</sup> Muller, *op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 11-85, p. 12, 36.

Would he then overlook such an important aspect of his carefully crafted reign as the dispersal of his own collection?

Interestingly enough, the *Specification* is not a room-to-room notarial inventory, that is, it does not correspond to the actual way in which the objects were displayed at Rubens's house. Therefore, the three painters could not merely list the paintings in order of appearance. Again, one wonders whether it was the executors or Rubens himself that came up with an inventory so rooted in connoisseurship. It is evident that the document is intended to pay tribute to Rubens's collection: it reflects on both the painter's career and his ideas about art. In general, these surrounding aspects seem to confirm that, by the time of his death, Rubens had developed careful plans for the auctioning of his belongings.

Nonetheless, the fact that he directly appointed Wildens, Snyders and Moermans as executors is already an important sign of trust. They all had been close to the master professionally. Jan Wildens often worked at Rubens's workshop, painting landscapes for larger compositions in which Rubens would eventually add figures (fig. 7). Rubens was actually Wildens's best man when the latter married Marie Stappaert.<sup>140</sup> And those large compositions that resulted from collaborative work would often include animals and fruit pieces painted by Frans Snyders (fig. 8)<sup>141</sup>, who would actually work with Rubens in multiple occasions.<sup>142</sup> They would even work all three together on occasion (fig 9). As for Jacob Moermans (also known as Jacques Moermans), he was a pupil of Rubens, and also print publisher, copper engraver and art dealer.<sup>143</sup> As their appointment as executors of the sale estate indicates, each of the three painters had developed a remarkable relationship with Rubens in some way and was thought to be sufficiently knowledgeable and competent to handle the responsibility of selling his art collection.

Unfortunately, there are no reports of the criteria followed by the painters during the negotiations at the sale of Rubens's art collection. The conversations must have been very lively: discussions on whether or not a painting was suitable for the collection of king Philip IV, or heated arguments with

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<sup>140</sup> Thieme and Becker 1942, vol. 35, p. 562.

<sup>141</sup> Cimon and Efigenia. Peter Paul Rubens, Frans Snyders and Jan Wildens. c. 1617. oil on canvas. 247 x 321 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna). Picture: Master's Thesis < Måster

<sup>142</sup> Rooses/Ruelens 1898, vol. 2, p. 144. See, for instance, Jochai Rosen's article on the collaboration between Snyders and Rubens: Rosen 2008, pp. 91-100.

<sup>143</sup> Duverger 1992, vol. 6, p. 32; Vergara 1999, p. 146; Koslow 2007, p. 25.

the hesitating executors to convince them to sell. In the end, a favorable agreement for all parties involved seems to have been reached, given the quality of their purchases. Despite there being little documental evidence, a few surrounding aspects have helped shed some new light on the presence of these painters in this influential event. We now know that Gaspar de Crayer, whose link with the Spanish Crown had been growing strong for a while, was not working on his own, but had the company of the lesser-known painter Salomon Nobeliers, who by then enjoyed notable reputation as an art dealer. From a quote preserved in a letter related to the estate sale of Charles I, we have also inferred that Philip IV was probably not very specific when it came to giving instructions on what to purchase —mostly sixteenth-century Venetian masters. This leads us to think that the search basically consisted in finding the best possible pictures by his preferred artists. In any case, the purchase of all the available copies by Rubens after Titian, which were made in Spain in 1628-1629, suggests that the king must have expressed his wish to acquire them. As Vergara rightly points out, the purchase was surprisingly limited considering the large number of paintings available, yet the artworks acquired were the best amongst all. This means that the selection was made with great care and sophistication, which of course speaks about the refined preferences of Philip IV, but also about the intervention of the painters, as they were the ones who travelled to Brussels, attended the sale and examined the paintings with their very eyes.

Other individuals also played important roles in the process: Miguel de Olivares, Jacques van Ophen, Francisco de Rojas and Cardinal Infant Ferdinand. They all contributed in one way or another to the success of the purchase; either by transferring money, keeping the king informed or handling administrative matters. These art agents were all noblemen with transparent political ambitions, who were well aware that helping the king acquire such valuable pictures would improve their standing. The importance of artistic exchanges and collecting practices in improving diplomatic and political relations has enjoyed much scholarly attention in the past years.<sup>144</sup> The actions of these agents, motivated either by a desire for power or by a genuine interest in art, had a tremendous influence in the assembling of art collections all over Europe. Painters were equally influential, often by helping these political figures build up their own galleries.

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<sup>144</sup> See: “Los senderos cruzados del arte y la diplomacia”, In: Colomer 2003, pp. 13-32; Keblusek and Noldus 2011.

### Chapter III

#### THE PAINTER-ADVISOR: A CONNOISSEUR?

We have discussed in detail the roles of Crayer, Nobeliers, Snyders, Wildens and Moermans in the Spanish purchase of Rubens's art collection. This particular case study has revealed very interesting insights into the role of painters as advisors, who in this case were not only helping to select those artworks that would match the king's taste best, but also helped compile the sales list—a sales list of remarkable importance. These painters collaborated with each other by exchanging knowledge, expertise and interests; a collaboration that seems to have been very successful, for King Philip IV acquired many of the best pictures that were available for sale.

Earlier in this paper, we drew some attention to the sale of Charles I's collection, which has added more evidence of painters acting as advisors at the service of the Spanish Crown. David Teniers was chosen to assist Count of Fuensaldaña based on his connoisseurship and expertise; and the group of painters surrounding Alonso de Cárdenas were considered reliable experts as well. And, as it occurs with Teniers and the others, we can also perceive the participation of Gaspar de Crayer, Salomon Nobeliers, Jan Wildens, Frans Snyders and Jacob Moermans as a result of their capacity as experienced connoisseurs. Considering that these two sales were undoubtedly the most important estate sales of the century (especially for the Spanish royal collection, which grew considerably afterwards not only in quantity but also in quality), it can be concluded that connoisseurship played a crucial role in the acquisition process; a connoisseurship that was provided, as demonstrated earlier, by the group of painters acting either as advisors to the Crown or executors of Rubens's estate. The question that arises now might be of more complicated nature: was the fact that they were painters, in other words, *practitioners* of the discipline, what made them true connoisseurs? Or perhaps these connoisseurs merely happened to be painters? Was there a direct link between practicing the art of painting and being a connoisseur of painting?

The originality of this question is arguable, as it had already enjoyed a lot of attention early in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Many Spanish and Netherlandish art theorists, whose works have become crucial to the study of art history, dedicated some time to reflect on it in their painting treatises.<sup>145</sup>

The greatest Northern art theorist, Karel van Mander (1548-1606), did not miss his chance to confront his readership with this same exact question. Van Mander makes distinctions between

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<sup>145</sup> Art historian Anna Tummers has drawn some attention to this seventeenth-century debate in her influential book *The Eye of the Connoisseur*, which is being used here specially with regards to the Netherlandish literary contributions on the topic.

painters and art experts in a rather systematic way in his *Schilder-Boek* (1604), which leads one to think that he not only attributed expertise to practitioners, but also to non-practitioners.<sup>146</sup> However, it is worth mentioning that Van Mander considered hands-on experience an important step to becoming a true expert.<sup>147</sup> Again, not all painters were experts, and neither were all art lovers.

Such relativist approach can also be found in another very influential author from the Low Countries, the philologist Franciscus Junius (1591-1677). In his book *The painting of the ancients* (1637), Junius agreed with Van Mander on the importance of practical experience, yet stresses that many non-practitioners can contemplate art “with such infatigable though scrupulous care that it is easie to be perceived they do not acknowledge any greater pleasure.”<sup>148</sup> Interestingly enough, Junius here differed with the ancients, whom he constantly referred to in his book: he used a quote from Pliny the Younger in which the philosopher clearly favors practitioners in this dispute, and replies to Pliny by saying that “Lover of Art and well-willer of Art” can also become reliable judges.<sup>149</sup> It is perhaps worth noticing that, contrary to Van Mander, Junius was not a painter himself, but a humanist, and even though this does not necessarily discredit his thesis, it would not be completely unfortunate to think he was defending himself as an art connoisseur until at least a certain extent. Of course, the same applies to those painters claiming practitioners to be the best judges, which in fact leads us to the third author and painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627-1678), who stresses that without the help of a painter, the art lover could never evaluate an artwork justly.<sup>150</sup>

Spaniards drew some attention to this debate as well, and perhaps even more fervently than the Netherlanders. Art literature, and especially painting literature, experienced a radical growth during the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Spain; a time that saw the emergence of two of the most influential books on Spanish painting up to this day: *Dialogues on Painting* (1634) by Vicente Carducho (c. 1576-1638) and the *Art of Painting*, published posthumously in 1649, by Francisco Pacheco (1564-1644). Both theorists, and also painters, agreed on the following: according to them, the judgment of painters —practitioners— was to be trusted more. Carducho, who constructed his treatise as an entire dialogue between a master and his pupil, left no room for misunderstanding:

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<sup>146</sup> Tummers 2011, p. 169.

<sup>147</sup> Tummers 2011, p. 168.

<sup>148</sup> Junius 1991 (1637), p. 6.

<sup>149</sup> Tummers 2011, p. 177; Junius 1991 (1637), p. 68.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 176; Hoogstraten 2006 (1678), pp. 69-72.

*Disciple:* Master, can someone clever, without being a Painter, understand and judge Painting perfectly?

*Master:* Certainly not, not even sufficiently. In the last few days, spoke a person of the Painting with so much erudition and energy, with such knowledge of precepts and foundations, both of theory and practice, who impressed me, and provoked this thought in me, that he was a great Painter, as he fundamentally reasoned, and cited authorities, and Authors, both Painters and Philosophers and Poets, distinguishing the substance of drawing, material, color...<sup>151</sup>

He continues by explaining that there is a direct link between the quality of a painter's work and the quality of the painter's judgment. For Carducho, the master's skill is proportionate to his opinions. But, in the end, he says, this conundrum can be resolved rather easily: "that who is not a Painter, will speak, but will not understand."<sup>152</sup>

Francisco Pacheco even manages to surpass the strength of Carducho's opinions; his words almost expressing a sentiment of anger. Although he still attributes a certain credibility to the opinions of learned men, he still insists on the need to always trust the painter when it comes to artistic matters. Interestingly enough, not only the judge has to be a painter, but also, as a second condition, a good painter:

It is not difficult to convince learned men that not all those who study a certain discipline, can judge the good or bad in it, neither in medicine or in law or in Sacred theology, for the difficult questions and the perfect knowledge of these sciences and arts have to be reserved to the greatest individuals (...) And the same applies to painting, the judgment of which is not less difficult, turning to those who practice it most bravely.<sup>153</sup>

Following Pacheco's transparent position, Jusepe Martínez (c. 1602-1682), another Spanish painter and art writer, reaffirms Pacheco's beliefs some years later by stating that practice is essential to

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<sup>151</sup> "*Dicip.* Maestro, puede un buen ingenio sin ser Pintor entender y juzgar de la Pintura perfectamente? / *Maes.* No por cierto, ni aun suficientemente. Dixo los dias passados una persona de la Pintura con tanta erudicion y energia, con tanta propiedad de preceptos y fundamentos, assi de lo teorico, como del practico, que me admirò, y hizo en mi un concepto, de que era grande Pintor, segun fundamentalmente lo discurria, y alegaba autoridades, y Autores, assi de Pintores como de Filosofos y Poetas, distinguiendo lo sustancial del dibujo, del material, del colorido..." Translation by the author (Carducho 1634, pp. 104-105).

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>153</sup> Pacheco 2001 (1649), pp. 548-549.

achieving a true understanding of painting.<sup>154</sup> Martínez took a step further; he did not consider that men who took up lessons on painting —funnily enough, just as Philip IV did before starting his career as a collector— were knowledgeable enough to be able to evaluate art:

Such people's judgment is delusory and without a firm foundation, because they cannot distinguish good or something else that is better or singular, nor evaluate it, and are left only with a general knowledge of good or bad, because they do not have the capacity for greater insight, and thus are left with only this unexceptional level of information.<sup>155</sup>

However strong his opinions were, it seems that he actually turned to learned people seeking for advice, and also believed that some painters were so opinionated that they would not see clearly, nor paint clearly.<sup>156</sup>

Other intellectuals of that time, both from the peninsula and the Low Countries, addressed this question, all more or less agreeing on the importance of practical experience, but also on the inability of some practitioners to provide valuable judgments.<sup>157</sup> It is remarkable though that Spanish theoreticians have a stronger tendency to favor the practitioner. This tendency can be partly explained by the state of painting in seventeenth-century Spain: there was a strong urge from many painters to achieve higher social recognition on the basis of the idea that painting was a liberal art, and should be officially considered as such. Liberal arts were those the productions of which resulted from conceptual, intellectual effort; the creative side of which belonged to the mind and not to manual work.<sup>158</sup> By stressing the intellectual process intricate to painting, and thus its liberal character, painters aimed at climbing up the social ladder at the Spanish court. Vicente Carducho — author of the *Dialogues on Painting*— provided us with a perfect illustration for this: his self portrait (fig. 10). It evidences how eager Spanish painters were to be acknowledged as well-rounded intellectuals. Represented in typical 17<sup>th</sup> c. Spanish fashion —pale subject, dark background, limited color palette and a preference for sobriety over abundance—, Carducho makes very conscious decisions in the way he shows himself to the world and in the choice of objects that

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<sup>154</sup> Martínez 2017 (1673-1675), p. 77.

<sup>155</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>156</sup> “I was informed by very learned people and by painters of satisfaction that his color was very agreeable, his drawing very well-arranged”. As quoted in: Newman 2018, p. 226.

<sup>157</sup> On Northern art literature addressing this matter, see: Tummers 2011, pp. 165-178; on Spanish art literature, see: González García 2015, pp. 132-140.

<sup>158</sup> Martín González 1984, p. 241.

accompany his figure. He has been caught in the act of writing, yet with his painting tools at hand. Carducho was a painter and a writer and believed that both artistic forms were equal, for they shared an intellectual nature.

However, painting treatises do not exactly represent the conditions in which painters lived, but rather the conditions in which they desired to live; the treatises are declarations of intent, social claims, closer to written manifestos than to accurate reports of painting in seventeenth-century Spain.

Several facts help understand why Spanish painters so fervently wished to climb up the social ladder. First of all, they were considered artisans rather than artists, at least in legal terms, as they were imposed with the payment of a heavy tax (called *alcabala*, equivalent to today's VAP) that was typically applied to trade activities—a tax that merchants and artisans had to pay.<sup>159</sup> After a long litigation against this levy, painters were still imposed annual taxations as members of a guild, of which they could only be exempted in case of having a position at court.<sup>160</sup> This consideration of painters might explain why Carducho's initiative to found an academy was denied by the Crown. Spanish artists would have to wait until 1756 to finally see the first art academy open in Madrid—the Academia de San Fernando.<sup>161</sup> Interestingly enough, some art writers also complain about the preference of the court towards foreign painters (Italian in particular) over local masters. Indeed, Velázquez acted as painter-advisor to Philip IV, but also did Angelo Nardi, whose work was not even considered of notable quality.<sup>162</sup> This mixture of facts can explain the urge of painters to achieve higher social reputation.

This fight in defense of the liberality of painting is present in the treatises that we have discussed here—more or less evidently depending on the author's degree of restraint. The real intention for which these texts were created is revealed when looking into them from a broader perspective. This push for greater social mobility by many painters in Spain puts emphasis on the importance of such texts and, also to a large extent, on the reason behind these writers' strong

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<sup>159</sup> Gállego 1976, p. 29.

<sup>160</sup> In February, 1641, there was a petition from the painters' guild for a reduction of the annual levy, which added up to a total of 3,476 *reales*. Another one is found in 1643 (Crawford Volk 1978, p. 84).

<sup>161</sup> Hellwig 2016, p. 31.

<sup>162</sup> Madrazo 1884, p. 134; Harris 1982, p. 436.



defenses of their fellow painters. Although these treatises do not tell the entire story, they are valuable reflections of a society that was somehow changing.<sup>163</sup>

In these texts, it has also been noticed that the writers frequently recollect praises on paintings or painters expressed by third individuals, who generally belong to high classes of society, such as the church or nobility.<sup>164</sup> The opinion of honorable man —however learned they were— legitimized the painter’s work and provided proof of the artists’ social relevance, thus emphasizing the validity of their cause. Even considered stronger argument to value someone’s art was the judgment of other fellow painters. In Newman’s own words: “The communal quality of these opinions serves, then, not only to deepen the force of an opinion, but, moreover, to create a kind of community of professional arbiters, joined in collegiality but also bearing the potential to levy judgments, whether good or bad, with substantial weight.”<sup>165</sup> While these references generally can be found in the art treatises we have discussed, which means they were partly used to emphasize the nobility of painting, they also helped promote the artists’ careers and improve their status amongst the Spanish society; in other words, enjoying other painters’ appreciation would help the artist heighten their social standing.<sup>166</sup> Spanish intellectuals considered other practitioners’ judgments key to making a fair evaluation of a colleague’s work.

Many important art theorists of the 17<sup>th</sup> century addressed the question of whether a practitioner was a better judge than a non-practitioner. Some of them clearly positioned themselves on the painters’ side; others hesitated to make such strong assertions and considered this relative to the capacity of each person. Certainly, both attitudes agreed on the importance of hands-on experience to becoming a reliable expert. As Tummers concludes, although no clear answer results from this conundrum, it was a topic of consideration and it led to lively debates around it. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the art historian Juan González García has seen an essential difference between the humanistic/cultural judgement (non-practitioners) and the aesthetic/attributionist judgement

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<sup>163</sup> Spanish art historian Francisco Calvo Serraller early stressed in 1981 the need to incorporate art literature into the study of art history (Calvo Serraller 1981, pp. 21-27).

<sup>164</sup> Newman 2018, p. 231.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

(practitioners); in other words, learned men could express their opinions as long as they did not intend to make fair attributions —that was the painters’ task.<sup>167</sup>

But to what extent were all these theories put into practice? Was there an interrelationship between theory and practice? Tummers, by looking into the case of the Guild of Saint Luke, where even dealers and auctioneers were called to provide attributions, has demonstrated that not only painters were entrusted with said task.<sup>168</sup> However, if we take a look at our case, the estate sale of Rubens’s collection, and even at the sale of the pictures of Charles I, we see a clear preference for painters in advising buyers. According to Jonathan Brown, this preference was due to the general increase of connoisseurship occurred during the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a period in which many individuals tried to become more educated on the art of painting. All men with political aspirations wished to be closer to Philip IV, and a way to achieve that proximity was to emulate one of his favorite activities: painting. Thus, many of them intended to follow the example set by the monarch —“a picture-loving king inspired picture-loving subjects”.<sup>169</sup> In fact, no other than King Charles I was deeply influenced by the collecting practices of Philip IV.<sup>170</sup> The English monarch had the chance to see in person in 1623 what was the greatest art collection at that time.<sup>171</sup> During his stay in Spain he not only made purchases, but also was gifted valuable paintings, including Titian’s and Veronese’s, thus building his own taste in parallel to that of the Spanish king.<sup>172</sup> In the end, this widespread dissemination of artistic knowledge that came with the love of Philip IV for painting made the need for true expertise stronger than before; experts whose knowledge surpassed the trends of the market, the “pride of ownership” and the “heat of competition”.<sup>173</sup>

However, Tummers rightly points out to various Guilds of Saint Luke of which there is documental evidence that learned men, art lovers, were sometimes called to provide attributions.<sup>174</sup> Also, ‘art lovers’ (*liefhebbers*) were reported to have sold artworks at the guilds of Antwerp,

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<sup>167</sup> González García 2015, p. 140.

<sup>168</sup> Tummers 2011, p. 143.

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>170</sup> Brown 1995, p. 33.

<sup>171</sup> See “Charles I’s visit to Madrid” by Guido Rebecchini in: Rumberg/Shawe-Taylor 2018, pp. 50-53.

<sup>172</sup> Brown 1995, pp. 35-37; Rumberg/Shawe-Taylor 2018, p. 53.

<sup>173</sup> Brown 1995, p. 232.

<sup>174</sup> Tummers 2011, pp. 179-180.

Haarlem and The Hague. Thus, there were cases in which non-practitioner art dealers sold and evaluated art. However, two facts should be noted. First of all, the guild's regulations, which stated that only members could participate in art dealing, seem to have been misused on some occasions.<sup>175</sup> Having membership was not always enough, like in the case of old cloth salesmen — who sold objects from deceased people—, which is why some of them would opt for registering at the guilds as painting dealers.<sup>176</sup> Some of these regulations actually suggest that the Guild often took a “pro-market attitude aimed at stimulating export”.<sup>177</sup> This, on its turn, indicates that perhaps connoisseurship was not always the reason why art dealers were present in appraisals, but a hidden interest in making a profit. Secondly, the number of cases in which dealers appraised collections seems to be notably inferior to the occasions in which practitioners performed said tasks. An outstanding number of painters are reported to have acted as appraisers in seventeenth-century Spain —and later on, in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the first official appraisers in Spain were painters, and not by coincidence. There was also a remarkable difference between the private sphere and the court; the first being more liberal, non-regulated (or apparently regulated, but looser in practice) and easier to get access into, the latter being the highest aspiration for a painter, thus guaranteeing somehow a certain standard of quality; only painters of good reputation would reach the courtly circles.

In any case, without any intention to claim that only practitioners were considered reliable connoisseurs in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, many painters were entrusted with responsibilities that required a high degree of connoisseurship. We have seen it in the case of Diego Velázquez, working as curator for Philip IV; in the case of David Teniers, who applied for nobility upon, among others, his expertise in scouting artworks; in the case of Gaspar de Crayer, who was hired by the Spanish Crown to attend the estate sale of Rubens and was later appointed court painter to the king; and in the case of Jan Wildens, Frans Snyders and Jacob Moermans, who were entrusted with the inventorying and sale of Rubens's collection by the master himself.

Such responsibilities, which depended entirely on the painters' expertise and connoisseurship, were not only to be found at the Spanish court or linked to it. As we have seen, other names from all over Europe appear to have partaken in similar activities during the 17<sup>th</sup> century: Balthazar Gerbier, Daniel Mijtens, Jacopo Strada, David Loggan, Michel Le Blon, David

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<sup>175</sup> Vermeeylen 2003, p. 131.

<sup>176</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 132.

Teniers, and even others such as Abraham van der Doort for Charles I and Charles Le Brun for Louis XIV.<sup>178</sup> All of them shared one thing in common: they were all practitioners.

There also seems to be an interrelationship between theory and practice, between the treatises that praised the importance of practical experience in order to evaluate art and the many practical cases in which painters were indeed requested to evaluate art. Especially in those situations in which the court was related, it could be assumed that the presence of painter-advisors was an extension of their reputation as painter-connoisseurs. Being employed by the court seems to indicate a certain standard of quality. Velázquez, Teniers and Crayer, for instance, were not only highly renowned for their painting production, but, sooner or later, they were appointed court painters to the Spanish Crown as well. Again, without undermining the importance of diplomats and politicians who often developed careers as art agents and dealers, the presence of painters providing them with advice should be further stressed. Their connoisseurship was valued, requested, remunerated, and crucial to the improvement of private *and* royal collections.

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<sup>178</sup> Brown 1995, p. 232.

## CONCLUSIONS

Advisory activities have revealed themselves to be a central aspect to the careers of painters at the Spanish court of King Philip IV—including here the former territory of Flanders. Many Spanish and Netherlandish artists provided advising at some point in their lives, either by appraising art collections, by being in charge of the assembling of their patron's gallery, or by scouting artworks in estate sales on behalf of others. Amongst these three types of advice a painter could deliver, there are differences worth noticing. While appraising theoretically required a certain degree of artistic knowledge, the activity was often undertaken too liberally in Spain; something that led the Spanish Crown to appoint the first official appraisers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and, consequently, to the professionalization of appraisals. The Guilds of Saint Luke differ from Spanish appraisals, for they imposed certain regulations upon the art market (only members of the guild could partake in trading activities). In any case, the Guilds of Saint Luke, mostly monopolized by the Antwerp guild, remained outside of the Spanish courtly circles, and thus they did not represent exactly the appreciation of painters as advisors at the court.

Painter-advisors were also appointed keepers of important collections, as it occurred with David Teniers and Leopold William or, more significantly here, Diego Velázquez and Philip IV; a royal position that included a wide range of tasks, such as supervising the authenticity of artworks arriving from abroad, like in the case of the estate sale of Charles I's collection, or decorating the interior of palaces, as seen in the sacristy of the Escorial. Velázquez had a profound influence on the royal collection; he was, at least to a great extent, the brain behind the assembling of the king's large galleries. For instance, the Spanish master had to be the first person to see the paintings bought at the estate sale of Charles I, and a negative evaluation from him meant that the king would not even get to see the artwork himself. The Seville-born painter enjoyed reputation not only as a painter, but also as a true connoisseur, which granted him the king's trust to act rather freely. In the end, Velázquez became the first artist to be knighted in the history of the Spanish Crown.

The sudden death of Charles I brought paintings of the highest quality to the palaces of Madrid. To make this possible, difficult negotiations had to take place and agreements had to be reached. The Spanish ambassador in London, Alonso de Cárdenas, was determined to impress Philip IV by acquiring some of the best paintings on sale, mostly sixteenth-century Venetians. To avoid running any risk, he hired a team of experts to advise him at all times. Painters would accompany him to the sale and would frequently draw reports of the paintings available for Luís de Haro, the treasurer, to see. Advice was necessary, and Cárdenas believed he would obtain it from

that group of painters. Interestingly enough, amongst them was the Netherlandish Remigius van Leemput, who would buy pictures to resell them to Cárdenas. David Teniers did not want to miss such a chance to leave a good impression on his patron either. Such demanding assignments seemed to have proven the expertise and connoisseurship of the painter in charge, as indicated by the fact that Teniers used his ability to scout artworks and connoisseurship as arguments to be granted with a noble title. Not only was advising a frequent activity of seventeenth-century painters, but it also was a way of improving their reputation.

Falling in the advisory category of scouting artworks is the estate sale of Rubens's art collection. Five painters in total appear working towards the resolution of the Spanish purchase, together with the king's valet Francisco de Rojas and two other art agents, Jacques van Ophen and Miguel de Olivares. This group of painters was formed by three of the closest collaborators of Rubens, Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens and Jacob Moermans, who would compile the inventory of the master's collection to sell it afterwards. The remaining two members were Gaspar de Crayer and Salomon Nobeliers, the first being better known as a painter; the second, as an art dealer. They, instead, attended the event on behalf of the Spanish Crown. Although Philip IV seems to have given instructions to his agents in the Low Countries —presumably like he did when he informed Cárdenas about his preference for Titian's and Veronese's, giving no further orders—, it can be assumed that the painter-advisors played an important role in the decision-making process of the purchase. Such a responsibility was not rare at that time, as seen in the case of Cárdenas and his close advisors, and in the case of the painter David Teniers, who attended the sale in London on his own. In the end, both Crayer and Nobeliers received a Rubens's as a result of the services rendered. The loss of one of the king's favorite painters surely caused him much grief, however it also allowed him to acquire some of the most renowned paintings up to this day.

On the other side of the coin were the painters Snyders, Wildens and Moermans. Close to Rubens and familiar with his workshop, they were thought to be capable enough to determine the future of Rubens's beloved artworks. Shortly before the master's passing, they were summoned to witness the writing of the Rubens's testament and were later in charge of compiling the inventory of his art gallery. This inventory, which has been key to the reconstruction of Rubens's collection, clearly shows that it was drawn up with the utmost care. Snyders, Wildens and Moermans, who presumably had been given indications on how to appraise the collection, created a highly innovative document; a truly art historical document in which schools were classified following the period's hierarchy of painters and subjects, and works were titled with unprecedented explanatory

names. The advice provided by these three painters in both the compilation of the inventory and the handling of the sales was undoubtedly of the highest quality.

The fact that the painters discussed above were good connoisseurs of art is hardly arguable. Therefore, advising, based on our cases, seems to have gone hand in hand with possessing artistic knowledge. Although many learned men could also fall in this paradigm, all art theoreticians recognized the importance of hands-on experience for becoming a reliable judge, and some of them even considered practitioners better than non-practitioners by default. Spanish writers shared a tendency to favor the practitioner, which can be partly explained by their urge to improve the standing of painters in seventeenth-century Spain. However, such a consideration was not only a theoretical principle or a political strategy, but indeed found its way at the court of Philip IV. Many were the cases of painter-advisors working for the king or other important figures of the Spanish nobility, thus proving that practitioners were frequently recognized for their connoisseurship and consequently partook in activities that required expertise and extensive artistic knowledge.

The present research has born fruitful for many reasons; it has shed light on the role of painter-advisors in the estate sale of Rubens, an event that had been scarcely looked into; it has explored the diversity of advisory activities that could take place at the court of Philip IV; and at last but surely not least, it has added evidence to the close collaboration between Spanish art agents and Netherlandish painters. Cornelius de Beer and Felipe Diriksen are reported to have appraised collections in seventeenth-century Spain; Remigius van Leemput was called to cooperate with Alonso de Cárdenas in London; David Teniers acquired paintings for Count of Fuensaldaña; the diplomat Jacques van Ophen participated in the sale of Rubens's collection together with the Spanish Olivares and Rojas; and, finally, Gaspar de Crayer and Salomon Nobeliers purchased paintings of the highest quality for King Philip IV. Thus, we can conclude that cultural relations between the Spanish court and the Low Countries were definitely frequent and more natural than it is thought. However, this is still a subject that remains understudied, especially in comparison with Netherlandish and Italian or Spanish and Italian artistic relations. Transversal studies are still missing on, for instance, collections of both Netherlandish art in Spain and Spanish art in the Low Countries, artists who travelled to both lands, diplomats that helped promote artistic exchange or art objects that were sent away, thus presumably influencing local artists.

This paper has also contributed to thinking about seventeenth-century painters as well-rounded individuals. It will also hopefully stimulate further research on those painters that were key to the development and improvement of noble collections both at the Spanish court and in Europe during the early modern period. After all, it seems inaccurate to study these great galleries without

paying attention to the artists that helped them grow. The careers of seventeenth-century painters were complex, interdisciplinary and multifaceted, and sometimes included a remarkable painting production, sometimes connoisseurship, sometimes expertise in the art trade. In some cases, painters would even be known for excelling in all of the fields mentioned before. Their presence was frequent, as they accompanied patrons and satisfied their needs, and sometimes even contributed remarkably to the improvement of some of the most important collections of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.



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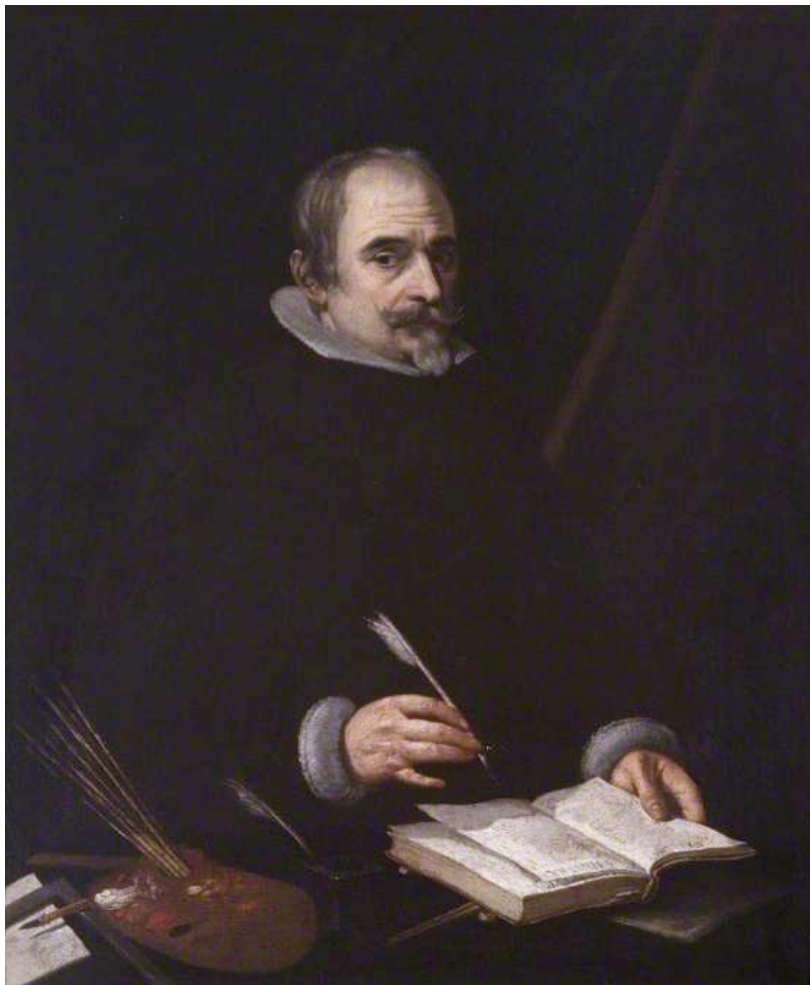
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## APPENDIX

### a) **Chronology by Jeffrey Muller**<sup>1</sup>

1640-1657

Dispersal of the collection.

May 27, 1640, Rubens's last testament leaves the library to son Albert; gems and medals, excluding those cut from precious stones, to Albert and Nicolaes; drawings made and collected are reserved for any son or son-in-law who might practice the art of painting; "*Het Pelsken*" is reserved for Helena Fourment; portraits of Rubens and his wives are reserved for their children; all other paintings, statues, and "similar works" are to be sold, either at auction or privately, with the advice of Frans Snyder, Jan Wildens, and Jacques Moermans.

May 30, 1640, death of Rubens.

June 8, 1640, and days following, inventory made of more than one thousand works of art in Rubens's house.

July 14, 1640, *Specification* of select items extracted and translated from Flemish into English and sent by Sir Balthazar Gerbier to Charles I.

Fall-Winter 1640, French translation of this *Specification* is printed by Jan van Meurs in Antwerp.

March 17 through June 1642, auction of works of art from Rubens's estate is conducted by Jan Lindemans, old-clothes seller, and brings 52,804 florins. Separate auction of works of art acquired June 1626 brings 16,649 florins.

Private sales: twenty-nine pictures purchased by Philip IV of Spain for 27,100 florins; other purchases by the prince of Orange, Justus Sustermans, and Peter van Hecke; also dealer Matthijs Musson.

December 7, 1641, Thomas Willeboirts informs Constantijn Huygens that much has already been sold from Rubens's collection, to wit, all the copies after Titian, except the copies of portraits, which are mostly still available. Willeboirts sends Huygens the *Specification* and also drawings of selected paintings still for sale.

Pictures are presented to Caspar de Crayer, Salomon Nobeliers, Francisco de Rochas; various pictures are ceded to Rubens's heirs.

September 25, 1649, Michel le Blon reports to Christina of Sweden that he has acquired for her some "rarités modernes d'ivoire chez Rubens".

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<sup>1</sup> Muller 1989, p. 79.



1657, drawings made and collected by Rubens are finally sold.

1643-1645, litigation between the two children by Rubens's first marriage and Helena Fourment concerning the division of the estate.

November 17, 1645, account of the assets and debits of the estate submitted to the city of Antwerp.

April 9, 1646, final settlement of the estate, mentions a number of paintings appointed to Rubens's heirs.

**b) *Spécification***

Transcription of the copy in French of the inventory (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) and of the original manuscript in English (Courtauld Institute of Art, London).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Belkin/Healey 2004, pp. 328-333.

## Appendix

SPECIFICATION DES PEINTVRES  
TROUVÉES A LA MAISON MORTVAIRE  
DV FEV MESSIRE  
PIERRE PAVL RVBENS,  
CHEVALIER, &c.<sup>1</sup>

- Num. 1. VNe Magdalene, de Titian.  
2. Vn Sauteur tenant le monde à la main, de Titian.  
3. Vn grand dessein de S. Pierre Martyr, qui se voit à Venise dans l'Eglise de S. Jean & Paul, de Titian.  
4. Le pourtrait de Titian fait de sa main.  
5. Vn pourtrait de l'Empereur Charles Quint, de Titian.  
6. Vne nostre Dame, de Titian.  
7.8. Deux Visages de nostre Seigneur, qu'on croit estre de Titian.  
9. Vn visage de S. Magdalene.  
10. Vn dessein de cheuaulx, de Titian.  
11. Vne Psyche avec vne bouteille à la main, retouchee par Titian.  
12. Vn dessein d'une teste de femme tournée derriere, de Paulo Veronez.  
13. Vn tresbeau pourtrait d'un homme couuert d'une robe fourree, de Tintoret.  
14. Vn pourtrait de Tintoret fait de sa main.  
15. Vn pourtrait d'un Venetien, du dict Tintoret.  
16. Vn autre pourtrait d'un Venetien, du dict Tintoret.  
17. Vn dessein d'une Assomption de nostre Dame du dict Tintoret.  
18. Vn dessein d'un Jugement, de Tintoret.  
19. Vn pourtrait iugé pour estre. de Raphael d'Vrbain.  
20. Vn S. François, de Mutian.  
21. Vn Espousee de Venise accompagnée de ses parents, de Paulo Veronez.  
22. Vne S. Helene, qu'on iuge estre de Paulo Veronez.  
23. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame Venitienne, de Paulo Veronez.  
24. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame avec vn petit chien, du mesme.  
25. Vn dessein fait de blancq & noir, de Paulo Veronez.  
26. Vn paysage de Paul Brill avec l'histoire de Psyche.  
27. Vn emprisonnement de nostre Seigneur, fait de Spagnolet.  
28. Vn banquet du Roy Baltazar, de Spagnolet.  
29. Vn pourtrait d'une dame Italienne.  
30. Vn pourtrait d'un Duc, d'Vrbain.  
31. Vne cheute de Phaeton, de Pietro Perugino.  
32. Vne Ceres à la nuict, d'Adam Elshamer.  
33. Vn paysage en rondeau, d'Adam Elshamer.  
34. Vne Annunciation du dit Elshamer.  
35. Vne Iudith du dict Elshamer.  
36. Nostre Seigneur mort, copiè apres Coregio.  
37. Le pourtrait d'un homme, fait de Palma.

An Inventory of Pictures  
found in the howse of  
the late Sr Peter Paul Rubens Knt:  
after his death: Inprimis pieces of Italian Mrs:<sup>2</sup>

- + No: 1 A Magdalen, of Titian<sup>3</sup>  
2 A Saviour with a world in his hand by Titian  
3 A great draught of the martirdome of Peter Martyr; which stands in the Church of St: John and St: Paul, at Venice; by Titian  
4 The Picture of Titian himselfe, made by himselfe  
+ 5 The Picture of Charles the 5th; by Titian  
+ 6 A Picture of Marie by Titian  
7.8 Two faces of Christ; held for Titians  
9 A face of Magdalene  
10 A draught of horses; by Titian  
11 A Psyche, with a bottle in her hands by Titian  
12 A draught of a womans face; afterwards paynted over by Paulo de Verrona  
13 A Curious picture of a man with Furses on by Tintoret  
14 The Picture of Tintoret by himselfe  
15 A picture of a Venetian, by Tintoret  
16 Another of a Venetian by Tintoret  
17 A draught of the ascension, by Tintoret  
18 A draught of the Iudgment by Tintoret  
19 A picture of a man, held to be of Raphael  
20 A St: Francys made by Mutiano  
21 A Venetian Bride with her Kindred by Paulo de Verrona  
22 A St: Helena held to be, Paulo Verrona's  
23 A picture of a venetian Gentlewoman by Paulo de Verrona  
24 A gentlewoman with a little hatt by the same  
25 A draught of black and white; by Paulo de Verrona  
26 A Landschap of Paul Brill's with a Psyche  
27 The takeinge of Christ in the garden by spagnoletto  
28 A Banquet by the same  
29 A picture of an Italian Lady  
30 The picture of the duke of Vrbain  
31 The fall of Phaeton by Peter Perugino  
32 A Ceres in the night, by Adam Helshamer  
34 A Landschap in a round frame by the same  
33 The Annunciation by the same  
35 A Iudith by the same  
36 A Christ in short; a Coppie after Caronagio  
37 A picture of a man made by Palma

<sup>1</sup> Antwerp: Jan van Meurs, 1640.  
The only extant copy is in the  
Bibliothèque nationale, Paris,  
Département des Manuscrits,  
Fonds Français 18967, fols. 200–205.

<sup>2</sup> Original manuscript (13 pages) in  
the Courtauld Institute, London.

<sup>3</sup> Items marked with a cross (+)  
indicate that Charles I was interested  
in acquiring them. See also  
Introduction to the Catalogue, p. 87.

Specification des Peintures faictes par feu Monsieur Rubens en Espagne, Italie & aultre part, tant apres Titian qu'autres renommez Maistres.

38. Le pourtrait du Cardinal Hippolito de Medicis.
39. Le visage d'un garzon avec vn bonnet noir.
40. Vn visage d'un ieun' homme.
41. Vn pourtrait d'un gentilhomme de Venise.
42. Adam & Eue
43. Vne Calisto
44. Vn Acteon
45. Venus & Adonis
46. Vne Europe
47. Venus & Cupidon sur vn lect.
48. Venus qui se mire avec Cupidon.

Ces 11. pieces sont faicts apres Titian.

Cy suiuent les pourtraicts faicts aussy du dict Monsieur Rubens apres Titian.

49. L'Empereur Charles Quint.
50. L'Imperatrice Leonore sa femme.
51. Le pourtrait du dit Empereur avec sa femme sur la mesme toile.
52. Vn pourtrait de l'Empereur Ferdinand armé.
53. Vn pourtrait du Duc d'Albe.
54. Le pourtrait du Duc Jean Fredericq de Saxe.
55. Vn pourtrait de Philippes Lantgraue de Hesse.
56. Vn pourtrait d'Isabel d'Este Duchesse de Mantoue.
57. Vn aultre pourtrait de la mesme habillée de noir.
58. Vn pourtrait d'Alfonse d'Este Duc de Ferrare.
59. Vn pourtrait de François Sforza le deuxiesme, Duc de Milan.
60. Vn pourtrait de André Gritti Duc de Venise.
61. Le pourtrait du Roy Philippes Second, figure entiere.
62. Le pourtrait d'Ydiaquez Secretaire du dict Roy.
63. Le pourtrait d'un nain du dict Roy.
64. L'Empereur Charles Quint avec une personne de qualite avecq vn chien.
65. 66. 67. 68. Quatre pourtraicts de Courtisanes Venetiennes.
69. Le pourtrait d'une espousee.

Ces 21. pourtraicts sont faicts apres Titian.

- |   |   |                                 |
|---|---|---------------------------------|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>70. Vn visage apres Tintoret.</li> <li>71. 72. 73. 74. 75. Cinq pieces des Actes des Apostres faicts apres Raphaël d'Vrbin.</li> <li>76. Vne Psyche faicte apres Raphaël d'Vrbin.</li> <li>77. Vne teste de S. Jean apres Raphaël.</li> <li>78. Vn pourtrait fait apres Raphaël de Balthazar de Castillon.</li> <li>79. L'Empereur Charles Quint avec vn morion en teste, fait par le Cheualier van Dijck apres Titian.</li> <li>80. Vne piece des Actes des Apostres faicte apres Raphaël.</li> </ol> | } | <p>Faicts par Mons. Rubens.</p> |
|---|---|---------------------------------|

Cy suiuent les Pieces faictes par feu Monsieur Rubens.

81. Vne piece des Cupidons s'esbatans, prise de Philostrate.
82. Vne piece des Bacchanals avec bergers & bergeres dansans & beuans aussi de Philostrate.
83. Vne piece des Nymphes nues & Satyres.
84. Vne nostre Dames avec S. George & autres Saints, dans vn paysage, sur toile.
85. Vne Andromede nue, attachee à vne roche, figure entiere.
86. Vne Magdaleine, figure entiere.
87. Vne Bersabee assise apres la fontaine.
88. Vne piece de trois Nymphes avec des Satyres.
89. Vn suisse avec sa maistresse, accompagnée d'un Satyre, ceuvre imparfait. Sur fond de bois.
90. Vne troupe des Suisses qui contraignent les paysans de leur donner de l'argent & couvrir la table, sur toile.

Peices of sr Peter Paul Rubens Knt: &c made made [sic] in Spaine, Italie, and other places, as well after Titian as other good mrs:

- 38 The Picture of Hippolitus
- 39 A Boyes face with a black Capp
- 40 A young mans face
- 41 A picture of a Venetian Gentleman
- 42 A great Adam and Eue
- 43 A Calisto
- 44 An Acteon
- 45 A Venus and Adonis.
- + 46 An Europa
- 47 A Venus and Cupid lying on a Bed
- 48 Venus and Cupid lookinge in a glasse

Here follow pictures made by the said sr Peter Paul Rubens after Titian

- 49 Charles the fift
- 50 The Emperor [sic] Leonora; his wife
- 51 The Picture of the sayd Emperor, & Empresse vpon ye same Cloth
- 52 The Picture of the Emperor Ferdinand with a sword in his hand
- 53 The picture of Duke d'Alua
- 54 The Picture of Duke John Frederick of Saxonie
- 55 The Picture of a Landgraef of Hessen
- 56 The Picture of Isabell d'Este Dutchesse of mantona [sic]
- 57 Another of the same Dutchesse in black Clothes
- 58 The Picture of Alfonso d'Este duke of Ferrara
- 59 The Picture of Francisco Sforza ye 2d, Duke of Milan
- + 60 The Picture of Anda Gritti duke of Venice
- + 61 The Picture of Kinge Philipp the second as big as ye life
- + 62 The Picture of James Secretarie to the sayd Kinge
- + 63 The Picture of the aforesayd Kings dwarfe
- + 64 The Picture of a Certayne great man with a hat
- + 65. 66. 67. 68. Fower Pictures of Venetian Courtesans
- + 69 The Picture of a Bride

- 70 A face paynted after one of Tintoret
71. 72. 73. 74. 75 Five Peeces of the Workes of ye Apostles after Raphael

- 76 Psyche after Raphael
- 77 A St: Johns head after Raphael
78. A picture after Raphael, done by Balthazar Castiglione
79. Charles the fift with a Helmet, made by van dyke after Titian
- 80 A peice of the workes of the Apostles, made after Raphel's

Here follow the peices made by the late sr Peter Paul Rubens.

- 81 A peice of Venus, wth many Cupidds taken out of Philostratus
- + 82 A peice of Bacchanalls with Sheppards & Shepherdesse dancing and drunk; out of Philostratus vpon Cloth
- + 83 A peice of Naked nimphes and Satyrs
- + 84 A peice of Marie, with St George & other Sts: in Landschap
- 85 A naked Adromeda bound to the rock soe great as the life
- 86 A magdalene as bigg as the life vpon bord
- 87 Beersheba sittinge by the fountayne
- 88 Three nymphes with Satyres
- 89 A Switzer with his sweet-hart, wth a bottle, wth a satyre not full made vpon Cloth
- 90 A Switzer where the Boores bringe him money and Cover a table

91. Vn Bacchus avec la tasse à la main.  
92. Les trois graces nues.  
93. Vne S. Cecile.  
94. Vn berger caressant sa bergere.  
95. Vn pourtrait de Phillippe le Bon Duc de Bourgogne.  
96. Vn pourtrait de Charles le Hardy Duc de Bourgogne. sur fond de bois.
97. Vn pourtrait du Comte d'Arondel, sur toile.  
98. Vn pourtrait du Marquis Spinola.  
99. Vne Susanne, sur fond de bois.  
100. Vn pourtrait du Medecin Maierna.  
101. Vn pourtrait du Prince Cardinal Infant, sur toile.  
102. Vn pourtrait d'une Damoselle avec vn bonnet noir, & des fleurs à la main.  
103. Vne danse des paysans Italiens, sur fond de bois.  
104. Vne piece d'une iouste dans vn paysage.  
105. Vne piece collée sur du bois d'un paysage d'Italie avec la ruine d'un temple.  
106. Vn paysage sur toile collé sur du bois.  
107. Vn pourtrait de Charles le Hardy, sur fond de bois.  
108. Vn bois avec vn chasse à l'aube de iour, sur fond de bois.  
109. Vn pourtrait sur toile apres Leonardo de Vinci.  
110. Vn paysage, sur toile collé sur du bois.  
111. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame Francoise, sur fond de bois.  
112. Vn paysage avecq des brebis, sur fond de bois.  
113. Vn pourtrait du Cardinal Infant en habit rouge, sur toile.  
114. Vn pourtrait de l'Imperatrice.  
115. Vn pourtrait du Roy.  
116. Vn pourtrait de la Roynie.  
117. Vn pourtrait du Duc de Nieubourgh.  
118. Vne piece d'Argus, sur fond de bois.  
119. Vne piece d'un sacrifice apres Adam Elshamer, sur toile.  
120. Vn pourtrait de la Roynie regnante de France, sur fond de bois.  
121. Angelique endormie avecq l'Eremite.  
122. Vn pourtrait d'une Damoselle ayant les mains l'une sur l'autre.  
123. Vn pourtrait du Roy le chapeau sur la teste, sur toile.  
124. Vne Courtisane Angloise, sur toile.  
125. Vne pourtrait d'une vieille avec vn garçon à la nuict.  
126. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame.  
127. Le pourtrait du Duc de Boucquingam.  
128. Vn pourtrait d'un vieillard.  
129. Vne piece d'un homme armé avec l'escharpe rouge.  
130. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame avec vn bonnet sur la teste.  
131. Vn grand bois au naturel, avec la chasse d'Atalante en petites figures, sur toile.  
132. Vn paysage au naturel representant l'escurial & ses enuirs.  
133. 134. Deux paysages au naturel.  
135. Vn grand paysage au naturel avec des petites figures, sur fond de bois.  
136. Vn grand paysage avec vne pluye.  
137. Vn grand deluge avecq l'histoire de Philaemon & Baucis.  
138. Nostre Seigneur en Emaus.  
139. Romulus & Remus, sur toile.  
140. Vn pourtrait d'un homme habillé en Turcq, sur toile.  
141. l'Histoire de la fille qui donne à tetter à son pere dans la prison.  
142. Bacchus, Ceres & Venus qui s'eschauffe.  
143. Vn combat des paysans fait apres vn dessein du vieux Breugel.  
144. Nostre Seigneur à la croix.  
145. Le pourtrait d'une Damoselle habillée à l'Allemande avec vn petit chien à la main, sur fond de bois.  
146. Vn pourtrait de l'Archiduc Maximilien.  
147. Vn Bacchus qui est yure.  
148. 149. Deux pourtraits d'un Roy de Thunis, apres Anthoine More.  
150. Vn grand paysage, sur toile, collé sur du bois.  
151. 152. Deux pourtraits des Archiducs Albert & Isabel.  
153. Vn villageois avec vne villageoise avec beaucoup de venaison & des fruits, faicts par Paul de Vos.  
154. Vne grande chasse des cerfs.  
155. Vn S. George à cheual, sur toile.  
156. Vn cheualier Chretien couronné de la victoire, sur fond de bois.  
157. Vn Hercule enyuré, sur fond de bois.
- 91 A Bacchus  
92 The three graces naked  
93 sta: Cecillia  
94 A sheeheard with a sheeheardesse  
95 The picture of Phillip the good in Armour  
96 The Picture of Charles the Bold in Armour
- 97 The picture of the Earle of Arvdell vpon Cloth  
98 The picture of Marquis Spinola  
99 A Susanna vpon bord  
100 The picture of Doctor Maierna  
101 The picture of the Infant Cardinal  
102 The picture of a woman with a black Capp and flowers in her hands  
103 A peice of Italian Boores dancing, vpon bord  
104 A Tiltting, in Landschap  
105 A peice, an Italian Landschap wth the rvines of a Church which is Cloth pasted vpon a bord  
106 A Landschap vpon Cloth pasted on a bord  
107 The picture of Charles the Bold, vpon bord  
+ 108. A wood, with a huntinge, wth the sunne riseinge vpon bord  
109 A picture after one of Leonardo de Vina's vpon Cloth  
110 A Landschap vpon Cloth, pasted vpon a bord  
111 The picture of a french Lady, vpon bord  
112 A Landschap, wth sheepe, vpon borde  
113 The Picture of the Infant Cardinal, in his Cardls Clothes  
114 The picture of the nowe Empresse  
115 The picture of the Kinge of Spayne vpon Cloth  
116 The picture of the Queene of Spayne  
117 The picture of the duke of Nubourgh  
118 Argus  
119 A Sacrifice; vpon Cloth, after Adam Helshamar  
120 The Picture of the Queene of France  
121 A peice where Angellica sleeps with a Hermit  
122 The picture of a woman with her hands one vpon another  
123 The picture of the King of Spayne with a hatt on  
124 An English whore vpon Cloth  
125 An old woman, with a boy; a night peice  
126 The picture of a Certayne lady  
127 The picture of the duke of Buckingham  
128. The picture of an old man with a white beard, vpon bord  
129 The picture of a man in armour with a red scarfe  
130 The picture of a Certayne Lady with a Capp on her head  
+ 131 A great peice, beinge a wood made after the naturall wherein is the huntinge of Atalanta, in small figures  
+ 132 A Landschap after the naturall wherein is the Escuriall in little  
133: 134 Two great Landschaps after the naturall  
135 A great Landschap after the life, wth little figures in't vpon a bord  
136 A great Landschap where it raines with little Cowes in it  
+ 137 A great Landschap with a Tempest beinge the Historie of Baucis and Philemon  
138 A peice of Emaus with the svnne setting  
139 A peice of Romulus and Remus, vpon Cloth  
140 The picture of a man cloth'd like a turke, vpon Cloth  
141 A peice of the mayde that gave her father suck in the Prison  
142 A peice of Venus, Bacchus, and Ceres,  
143 A peice, of Boores fightinge made after a draught of old Breugel  
144 A peice wherein is a Christ Crucyfiyd  
145 A picture of a woman dressed in the Dutch fashion with a little hatt in her hand vpon borde  
146 A picture of the Arch-duke Maximilian  
147 A druncken Bacchus  
148. 149 Two pictures of Kings Tunis, made after Antonio More's  
150 A great Landschapp vpon Cloth pasted vpon bord  
151. 152. Two pictures of the Arch-duke Albertus and Isabella  
153 A peice wherein is a Boore and a Borinne, wth beast, and fruite made by Paulus de vos  
154. A great Huntinge of Harts paynted over by him and wth figures of him  
155 A St: George on horseback vpon Cloth  
156 A peice vpon bord Called the Christian Knt:  
157 A druncken Hercules vpon bord

158. S. Pierre & S. Paul, sur toile.  
 159. La Pucelle d'Orleans sur toile.  
 160. Vne grande piece des pecheurs repentis, sur toile, & collé sur du bois.  
 161. Vne Susanne, sur toile.  
 162. Vne autre Susanne, sur toile collé sur du bois.  
 163. La chasse d'Atalante & Meleager.  
 164. Vne piece de trois Nymphes avec la Corne d'abondance.  
 165. Les trois Roys qui adorent nostre Seigneur.  
 166. Vn pourtrait de la Royne Mere de France, sur toile.  
 167. Vn pourtrait de la Royne de France regnante.  
 168. Vne grande piece de Pythagore avec les fruicts, de François Snyders.  
 169. L'Enfant prodigue dans vn estable.  
 170. Vne piece d'un Silene enyuré avec des Satyres & autres figures.  
 171. 172. Deux petits paysages, sur fond de bois.  
 173. Vne nuit, sur fond de bois.  
 174. Vne piece d'une Nympe & Satyre avec vn panier plein de raisins, sur fond de bois.  
 N.A. Vne Didon qui se tue.

### Cy suivent les Pieces des vieux Maistres,

175. Vn renard d'Albert Durer.  
 176. Vn Daud entrant dans Ierusalem avec la teste de Goliath, de Lucas van Leyden.  
 177. Le pourtrait d'Erasmus de Rotterdam, de Lucas van Leyden.  
 178. S. Paul le premier Eremite avec S. Anthoine, de Lucas van Leyden.  
 179. 180. Deux pourtraits le mary & la femme, de Jean van Eyck.  
 181. Le pourtrait du Venerable Beda, de maistre Hugues.  
 182. Le grand Capitaine Gonsalve Ferdinandez de Cordoua.  
 183. Vn petit pourtrait de Holbein peint à l'huile.  
 184. Vn petit pourtrait, de Holbein en miniature.  
 185. Vn autre pourtrait fait en miniature.  
 186. Vn pourtrait d'un marchand de joyaux, de Maistre Quintin.  
 187. Vn pourtrait d'un homme avec vn bonnet noir, de Willem Key.  
 188. Vn pourtrait d'un homme avec vn bonnet rouge, de Bronzin.  
 189. La Natiuité de nostre Seigneur, d'Artus van Leyden.  
 190. Vne nostre Dame dans vn paysage, de Henry Bles.  
 191. Vn paysage à l'huile avec la fuite en Egypte, du vieux Breugel.  
 192. Le mont S. Godard, du vieux Breugel.  
 193. Le trespas de nostre Dame, blanc & noir, du vieux Breugel.  
 194. Vn bordel, d'Artus van Leyden.  
 195. 196. Deux petits visages en rondeaux, du vieux Breugel.  
 197. Vn baillieur, du vieux Breugel.  
 198. Vn visage d'un yeux en rond, du dict Breugel.  
 199. Vn pourtrait, du mesme.  
 200. Vn pourtrait d'un homme avec vn grand nez, de Hemsens.  
 201. Le pourtrait du Cardinal Granvelle, de Schorre.  
 202. Vn pourtrait, d'Antoine More.  
 203. Le pourtrait du Cardinal Granvelle, fait du mesme.  
 204. Vne S. Cecile, de Michiel Coxy.  
 205. Vn paysage, de Artus de Hollander avec l'histoire de S. Hubert.  
 206. Vne petite piece d'une execution de Justice, faicte par van Wachelen.  
 207. Vn detachement de la Croix.  
 208. Vne petite piece du mesme subject, de van Schorre.  
 209. Vn pourtrait d'un homme fait d'un ancien maistre incognu.  
 210. La tentation de nostre Seigneur, du vieux Breugel.  
 211. Vne piece des petits bateaux fait en destrempe, du mesme.  
 212. Vne bataille des Turcs & Chrestiens, du mesme.  
 213. Vn paysage avec vn feu en destrempe, du mesme.  
 214. 215. Deux pourtraits le mary & la femme, de Floris, sur fond de bois.  
 216. Vn pourtrait de Philippe de Cleue Seign. de Rauestein, sur fond de bois.  
 217. Vn pourtrait d'un Chanoine, sur fond de bois.  
 218. Vn pourtrait d'un Prestre, de Floris, sur fond de bois.  
 219. Vn Epitaphe à deux clostures, de Artus van Leyden.  
 220. Vn Emaus, du sotté Cleff, sur fond de bois.  
 221. Vn paysage, du mesme, sur fond de bois.  
 222. Vn iugement de Paris, du mesme, sur fond de bois.  
 223. Vne piece en destrempe, de Willem Tons.  
 224. Vn pourtrait de Willem Key, sur fond de bois.

- 158 A peice of st Peter, and st: Paul, vppon Cloth  
 159. A peice of Pucelle d'Orleans, vppon Cloth.  
 160 A great peice of Magdalene vppon Cloth & pasted vppon bord  
 161 A peice of Susanna vppon Cloth  
 162 A peice of Susanna vppon Cloth pasted vppon bord  
 163 A peice of the huntinge of Atlanta and Meleager  
 164 A peice with some Nymphes wth a Cornucopia  
 165 A peice of the three Kings  
 166 The picture of ye Queene mother of France vppon Cloth  
 167 The picture of the Queene of France  
 168 A great peice of Pythagoras, wth ye fruite of Francy Snyders  
 169 A peice of the prodigall sonne with a stable  
 170. Drunken Sylenus  
 171. 172 Two little Landschaps vppon bord  
 173 A night vppon bord  
 174 A peice of a Nymph and a Satyre wth a baskett of grapes

### Here follow the peices of the old Mrs

- 175 A Son of Albert durer  
 176 A David Comeinge into Ierusalem with the head of Goliath by Lucas van Leyden  
 177 The picture of Erasmus Roterdamus; by the same Mr  
 178 A peice of Paulus Eremita, wth a st Anthonie; by the same  
 179. 180 Two pictures of a man, and a woman, by John van Eyck  
 181 The picture of Zaulingbeda by Mr Hugues  
 182 The great Comander Don Gonzales de Cordova  
 183 A picture of Holbeen  
 184 A picture in water Couolors by Holbeen  
 185 A little picture in water Couolors  
 186 A picture of a Certayne Jeweller by Quintin  
 188 The picture of a man with a black Capp by Wm Key  
 187 The picture of a man with a red Capp by Browzen  
 189 The birth of Christ by Arthur van Leyden  
 190 A Marie in Landschap; by Henry Blos  
 + 191 A Landschap with the flight into Egipt by old Brugel  
 192 The Hill of st Gottard by old brugel  
 193 The death bed of or Lady: black and white by old Brugel  
 + 194 A Baudy howse by Arthur van Leyden  
 195. 196 Two faces in round by old Brugel  
 197 A [blank in original] by the same in round  
 198 A face of a Beggar in round, by the same  
 199 The Picture of a man by the same  
 200 The picture of a man with a great Nose, by Hemsens  
 201 The picture of the Cardl de Gramuelle; by Scorre  
 202 A picture of Antonio More's  
 203 Another picture of the Cardl de Granuelle's  
 204 A st Cicilie, by Michael Cox  
 205 A Landschap with a st Hubert; by Arthur the Hollander  
 206 A little peice wherein Iustice is done by wachelen  
 207 A takinge off from the Crosse  
 208 A little peice of the takinge off the Crosse by Scorre  
 209 The picture of a man made by some good old Mr  
 210 The temptation of Christ in water Couolors; by old Brugel  
 211 Shipps in water Couolors by the same  
 212 A Battle betwixt the Turke and Christian in water Couolors by the same  
 213 A Landschap with a fyre, in water Couolors, by the same  
 214. 215 Two pictures of a man and a woman by Francys Floris vppon bord  
 216 The picture of Phillipp van Cleue, Lord of Rauestein vppon a bord  
 217 The picture of a Prebend, vppon bord  
 218 The picture of a Preist vppon bord; by Floris  
 219 An Epitaph with two doores by Arthur van Leyden  
 221 An Emaus, by the Foolish clef, vppon bord  
 220 A Landschap by the same, vppon bord  
 + 222 The Iudgment of Paris, by the same, vppon bord  
 223 A water Colourd Cloth, by william Tonsi  
 224 A picture by wm Key vppon bord

225. Vn pourtrait, de Joos van Cleue, sur fond de bois.  
 226. Vn bordel, de Marten van Cleue.  
 227. Vn banquet des Dieux, de Bernard de Rijck.

### Cy suiuent les Pieces des Maistres modernes.

228. L'Histoire d'Antiope & Iupiter transformé en Satyre, du Cheualier van Dyck.  
 229. Vn S. Ierosme avec vn Ange, du mesme.  
 230. Vn grand S. Ierosme à genoux, du mesme.  
 231. Vn petit S. Ierosme, du mesme.  
 232. Vn emprisonnement de nostre Seigneur, du mesme.  
 233. Vn. S. Ambroise, du mesme.  
 234. Vn S. Martin, du mesme.  
 235. Vne Coronation de nostre Seigneur, du mesme.  
 236. Vn visage, du mesme, sur fond de bois, representant S. George.  
 237. Vn visage, sur fond de bois, d'un homme armé.  
 238. Vn piece en destrempe, de Willem Tons.  
 239. Vn panier avec des fruits & oyseaux, de François Snyders.  
 240. La bataille du Roy Sebastien de Portugal, de Sebastien Francq, sur fond de bois.  
 241. L'Enfant prodigue, de Symon de Vos.  
 242. Vne toile avec des oyseaux, d'Alexander Adriaenssen.  
 243. Vn panier des fruits, du mesme Adriaenssen.  
 244. Vn paysage, de Wildens.  
 245. Vn pot de fleurs, d'Ykens.  
 246. Vn panier & vn verre avec des fleurs, du mesme, sur fond de bois.  
 247. Vn petit pot des fleurs, du mesme.  
 248. Vne piece semblable à celle qui est sur le grand Autel à l'Eglise des Perres Augustins en Anuers, faicte aussi de Mons. Rubens mesme.  
 249. Vn chapeau des fleurs, du mesme, avec une vierge, de Mons. Rubens, sur toile.  
 250. Vn feston des fruits & des pots des fleurs, d'Ykens, sur toile.  
 251. Vn autre feston, du mesme, sur toile.  
 252. 253. Deux paysages sur toile, de Pierre Snayers.  
 254. Vn petit paysage de Schorre, sur fond de bois.  
 255. Vne petite piece de Sebastien Francq, où les aueugles menent l'un l'autre, sur fond de bois.  
 256. Vne nuit de Pierre Snayers, sur de bois.  
 257. Vn paysage de Momper, avec des bestiaux de Breugel, sur fond de bois.  
 258. Vne Cuisine avec vn combat de chats, de Paul de Vos, sur toile.  
 259. Vne musique d'oyseaux de Paul de Vos, sur toile.  
 260. Vne grande chasse des sangliers, de François Snyders, sur toile.  
 261. Vn pot des fleurs, du mesme.  
 262. Vne piece avec des fruits & des oyseaux, de Paul de Vos, sur toile.  
 263. Vne autre des fruits, sur fond de bois, de Snyders.  
 264. Vn aultre avec des choux & naueaux, du mesme.  
 265. L'Histoire de Polypheme & Vlyse, sur toile, }  
 266. Vne Natiuité de nostre Seigneur, sur toile, } de Jacques Iordaens.  
 267. Vne vierge, sur fond de bois,  
 268. Vn feston des fleurs, du Pere Segers.  
 269. Vne Diane allant à la chasse, où les figures sont faictes de Mons. Rubens, & les bestes & le paysage de Breugel.  
 270. Vne Diane reuenant de la chasse avec ses Nymphes, de Mons. Rubens & Breugel.  
 271. Vn Paradis, de Breugel.

### Pieces de Brouwer

272. Vn combat des yurognes, où l'un tire l'autre par les cheueux.  
 273. Vne tauerne où l'on est assis aupres du feu.  
 274. Vn paysage avec vn éclair.  
 275. Vne musique des paysans.  
 276. Le paysan jaloux.  
 277. Vn combat où vn est prins par la gorge.  
 278. Vn paysage.  
 279. Vn combat de trois, où vn frappe avec le pot.  
 280. Vne tentation de S. Anthoine.  
 281. Vne musique des paysans aupres du feu.

- 225 A picture by Joos van Cleue vppon a bord  
 226 A Bawdy howse by Martin van Cleue  
 227 A Banquet of the gods by Bernard Rycke

### Here follow the peices of the Moderne Mrs

- 228 A naked Venus, wth a Satyre, by van dyke, vppon Cloth  
 229 A st Ierome, wth an Angell, by the same vppon Cloth  
 230 A great st Ierome Kneeling, by the same vppon Cloth  
 231 A small kneeling Ierome, by the same vppon Cloth  
 232 The apprehending of Christ, by the same vppon Cloth  
 233 st Ambrose by the same vppon Cloth  
 234 st Martyn by the same vppon Cloth  
 235 The Crowninge of Christ by the same  
 236 A face vppon a bord representinge st George  
 237 A face vppon a bord; the man in Armour  
 238 A water Coulored Cloth by Wm Tonsi  
 239 A baskett with fruïte, and birds, by Francys Snyders  
 240 A battayle of Sebastian Kinge of Portugall by Sebastian Vranx  
 241 The prodigall sonne by Symon de vos  
 242 A Cloth with birds by Alexander Adriaensen  
 243 A baskett of fruïte by the same  
 + 244 A Landschap by Wildens  
 245 A flower Pot; by Ikens vppon bord  
 246 A baskett & glasse, with flowers by the same.  
 247 A flower pott by the same  
 248 A peice like the Altar peice in the queere of st Augustines Church made by the late sr Peter Rubens  
 249 A garland of flowers, with Marie in't by the same vppon Cloth  
 250 A Cornu-copia of fruïte, and a flower pott vppon Cloth  
 251 Another Cornu-copia vppon Cloth by the same  
 252. 253. Two Clothes paynted with Landschaps by Peter Snayers  
 254 A little Landschap vppon a bord  
 255 A small peice of Sebastian Vranx where the blinde leads the blinde, vppon bord  
 256 A night peice by Peter Snayers vppon bord  
 257 A Landschap of Mompers, with brusts [sic] of Brugel vppon bord  
 258 A Kitchen wth a Catt fightinge, by Paulus de Vos, on Cloth  
 259 A peice, of birds singinge by the same vppon Cloth  
 260 The huntinge of a great wilde bore; by Francys Snyders  
 261 A flower pott by the same  
 262 A Cloth with fruïte, and birds by, by Paulus de Vos  
 263 A Bord, where fruïte Lyes vppon the Earth by Fran: Snyders  
 264 A bord, with Cabbages & Turnipps by the same  
 265 A Polyphemus & Vlisses, vppon Cloth, by Jacques Iordaens  
 266 The birth of Christ by the same  
 267 A Marie vppon bord by the same  
 268 A Cloth vppon wch a Cornu-copia wth flowers: by Peter Zegers  
 + 269 A huntinge of Diana; the figures of Sr Peter Rubens – The Landschaps and the beasts of Brugel  
 + 270 A huntinge of Diana by sr Peter Rubens and Brugel  
 271 A Paradise by Brugel  
 + 272 A fightinge where they pull one the other by the hayre  
 + 273 An Alehowse where they sitt by the fire  
 274 A risinge of the sunne  
 275 The Clownes musick  
 + 276 A ieaalous Boore  
 + 277 A battle where they pull one another by the throate  
 278 A Landschap  
 279 A Combatt of thre where they strike with the pott  
 + 280 A Temptation of st Anthony  
 281 The musicke of Boores by the fire

282. Vn joieur de luth.  
 283. Vne dance des villageois en vn paysage.  
 284. Vn paysan avec vn verre de vin & vn pot.  
 285. Quelques vns qui prennent du tabacq.  
 286. Vn paysage où vn villageois lie ses souliers.  
 287. Deux paysans qui regardent par la fenestre.  
 288. Vn paysage à la lune.  
 Ces dixsept pieces sont de Brouvver.
289. 290. Deux batailles de Palamede, sur fond de bois.  
 291. Vn paysage, de Poelenborgh.  
 292. Vn paysage, du mesme.  
 293. Vne tentation de S. Anthoine, de Sachtleuen.  
 294. Vn petit paysage avec des bestiaux & pieces de mesnage de paysans, du mesme, avec les figures de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 295. Vne maison des paysans, du mesme, avec des figures de Mons. Rubens.  
 296. Vn qui mene le bestial à la pasture, du dict Sachtleuen.  
 297. Vne piece du mesme, où vne femme est baisée, les figures de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 298. Vne autre piece, du mesme, où vne seruante est sur la montée, les figures de Mons. Rubens.  
 299. Vn autre, du mesme, où vn paysan donne à manger à vn chien.  
 300. Vn paysage, du dict Sachtleuen.  
 301. Vn autre petit paysage.  
 302. Vn pot d'estain, de Den Vuyl, sur toile.  
 303. Vn pot d'estain, & vne coupe d'argent, sur fond de bois, du mesme.  
 304. Vne coupe & deux assiettes, du mesme, sur fond de bois.  
 305. 306. Deux pieces de Heda, avec de la vaisselle d'argent, verres & citrons, sur fond de bois.  
 307. Vne mer, sur toile, de Perseus.  
 308. Vn paysage, de Vlegens, sur fond de bois.  
 309. 310. Deux petits bateaux, de Vlegens, sur fond de bois.  
 311. Vne petite piece avec vn verre & quelques trenches de jambon, de Van Es.  
 312. Vn banquet, du mesme, sur fond de bois.  
 313. Vn preneur des pouls, sur fond de bois.  
 314. Vne Escole, de Hals.

Trois toiles collées sur du bois, representans les triumphes de Iules Cesar, apres Andrea Mantegna, imparfaites.  
 Six grandes pieces imparfaites, contenant des sieges des villes, batailles & triumphes de Henry Quatriesme Roy de France, qui sont commencées depuis quelques années pour la galerie de l'hostel de Luxembourg, de la Reyne Mere de France.  
 Vne quantité des visages au vif, sur toile, & fonds de bois, tant de Mons. Rubens, que de Mons. Van Dyck.  
 Vne tresgrande quantité des desseins des plus notables pieces, faites par feu Mons. Rubens.  
 Vne quantité des copies, faites apres les originaux, de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 Aucunes belles testes antiques de marbre.  
 Vne quantité des figures modernes, &c.  
 Nostre Seigneur à la Croix fait d'youire, de l'inuention de feu Monsieur Rubens.  
 Vn Mercure aussi fait d'youire, de l'inuention de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 Vne Venus se depouillant de sa chemise, de l'inuention de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 Vne saliere d'youire representant vne troupe des Nymphes marines & Tritons, avec des petites Anges, qui attachent des festons, aussi de l'inuention de Mons. Rubens.

Vne danse d'enfants d'youire, de l'inuention de feu Mons. Rubens.  
 Vne Psyche endormie avec Cupidon sur vn lict de corne de tortue, aussi d'youire, de l'inuention de Mons. Rubens.  
 Vn Adam & Eue, aussi d'youire.  
 Vne tresbelle saliere d'agathe.  
 Aussi des tresbeaux vases d'jaspe Oriental, & chrystal de montaigne, &c.

*Tout cecy est à vendre chez la Vefue & Heritiers  
 du feu Mons. Rubens.*

- 282 A Lutenist  
 283 A dancing in a Landschap  
 284 A Boore with a glasse of wyne and a pott  
 285 Tobacco drinkers  
 286 A Landschap, wherein a man Tyes his shoes  
 287 Two Boores that peepe through a window  
 288 A man fillinge drinke  
 These are of Brewer
289. 290. Two Battailes; by Palamedes, vppon bord  
 291 A Landschap, by Poulenbeargh  
 292 Another Lantschap, by the same  
 293 st Antonies Temptation by Saeghtleuen  
 294 A Lantschap wth beasts, and Boores household stuffe by ye same with little figures of sr Peter Rubens  
 295 A Boores howse within, by the same with little postures of sr Peter Rubens  
 296 A heard of beasts, by the same saeghtleuen  
 297 A peice by the same; where a woman is Chid, the figures by sr Peter Rubens  
 298 Another peice, by the same where a mayde stands vppon the stayres the postures by sr Peter Rubens  
 299 Another where a Boore giues his dogg meat  
 300 A Landschap, by the same  
 301 A very little Landschapp  
 302 A Tyn pott, by Vande Vuyl vppon Cloth  
 303 A tyn pott with a man, and a broad silver bowle vppon a bord by the same  
 304 Another piece with a broad bowle, and three trenchers  
 305. 306 Two pieces, by Heda, with plate, and glasses, & Lemons, vppon bor  
 307 A little sea vppon Cloth, by persellis  
 308 A Landschap of Vleyers; vppon Bord  
 309. 310 Two shippes, vppon bord, by Goyes  
 311 A small peice with a glasse, and two peeces of gamon of Bacon by van Es  
 312 A banquet, by the same, vppon bord  
 313 One lookeinge of Lice, vppon bord  
 314 A Schoole, by Stagi
- Three Cloathes pasted vppon bord beinge the Triumph of Iulius Cesar, after Andrew Mantegna, not full made  
 Six great Cloathes; ye beseiging of Townes, batailles and Triumphs of Henry the 4th, ye French Kinge; not full made which he had begunn some yeares past for the pallace of the Queene mother of France  
 A parcell of Faces made after the life, vppon bord and Cloth as well by sr Peter Rubens as van dyke  
 A great parcell of draughts, of many fayre notable peeces made by Afflymghen [for "afflyvigen", i.e. deceased]  
 A parcell of Coppies made after the peices of Afflymghen [for "afflyvigen"]  
 Certayne rare, and well made Antique faces of Marble  
 A parcell of moderne figures Etc  
 Christ vppon the Crosse very Costly made of Iuorie the Invention of sr Peter Rubens
- Mercury very Costly made, ye Invention of sr Peter Rubens  
 Venus pullinge her smock ouer her head very rarely made, the invention of sr Peter Rubens  
 A Sea Triumph of Ivory with Nymphes and Tritons, and Angells aboue, holdinge a horne of small sea shells & pearle vppon which there is a silver scollop shell; and vnder a round silver and gilte foote; all wonderfull Costly made all the Invention of sr Peter Rubens & serves for a salte Celler  
 A dance of Children of Ivory wonderfull rarely made the Invention of the same sr Peter Rubens  
 Psyche sleepinge with Cupid vppon a bed of Ivory the Invention of sr Peter Rubens  
 Adam and Eue, of Ivory  
 A very rare salte Celler of Aggatt  
 A very fayre Vessell of Orientall jasper, & Christall of Montaigne



## **b) Catalogue**

Catalogue of the pictures that Philip IV bought from Rubens's estate based on the *Spécification*. Jeffrey Muller transcribed the entire document, including all the artworks available. Here only the purchases by the Spanish king are shown. Muller proposes many identified artworks for the titles, and although some of them are still under discussion—which is why Kristin Belkin and Fiona Healey decided not to include them in their catalogue on Rubens's collection—I have chosen to show all the suggestions here. The correspondent numbers of the artworks in the catalogues by Muller and Belkin and Healey are indicated next to the titles of the works.

TITIAN

1. Vn Sauuer tenant le monde à la main, de Titian/A Saviour with a world in his hand by Titian (no. 2)
2. Vn grand dessein de S. Pierre Martyr, qui se voit à Venise/A great draught of the martirdome of Peter Martyr; which stands in the Church of St: John and St: Paul, at Venice (no. 3)
3. **Le pourtrait de Titian fait de sa main/The Picture of Titian himselfe, made by himselfe** (Muller 1989, pp. 95-96, no. 4; Belkin/Healey 2004, no. 2, p. 92-93)



*Self Portrait*

c. 1562

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 407

Oil on canvas, 86 x 65 cm

Provenance: Probably Titian's estate 1576, Rubens's estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV for 400 guilders; in the Spanish royal collection until 1821 (Real Alcázar 1701-1703, Palacio Real Nuevo 1747) when moved to the Prado

TINTORETTO

4. **Vn tresbeau pourtrait d'vn homme couuert d'vne robbe fourree, de Tintoret/A Curious Picture of a man with Furres on by Tintoret** (Muller 1989, p. 97, no. 13)



*Young Man from the Renialme Family*

c. 1547-1548

San Francisco, M. H. Young Memorial Museum

Inv. no. 52.26

Oil on canvas, 100.6 x 75.2 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate before 1626; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,000 guilders (in the *Nalatenschap* 500);<sup>1</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Rudolf J. Heinemann; gifted to the M. H. Young Memorial Museum in 1952

5. **Vn pourtrait de Tintoret fait de sa main/The Picture of Tintoret by himself** (no. 14)

MUZZIANO

6. **Vn S. François, de Mutian/A St: Francys made by Mutiano** (no. 20)

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<sup>1</sup> Muller mistakenly quoted this painting to be sold for 1000 guilders, but the "Nalatenschap" clearly specifies 500.

VERONESE

7. Vn Espousee de Venise acompagnée de ses parents, de Paulo Veronez/A Venetian Bride with her Kindred by Paulo de Verrona (no. 21)
8. Vn pourtrait d'une Dame avec vn petit chien, du mesme/A gentlewoman with a little hatt by the same (Muller 1989, p. 99, no. 24)



*Livia Colonna*<sup>2</sup>

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 486

1570-1572

Oil on canvas, 121 x 98 cm

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<sup>2</sup> “Veronese’s *Portrait of a Lady with a Small Dog*, now in the Prado, has not been yet identified previously with the picture from Rubens’s collection because the Prado *Portrait* was erroneously connected with an anonymous *Portrait of Livia Colonna* recorded in the Alcázar inventory of 1598-1610. There is, however, no basis for identifying the Prado *Portrait* with the *Portrait of Livia Colonna*, and there are good reasons for contradicting the identification [no mention of Veronese in the 1600 records of the painting; does not match the width specified in 1600 record, of less than a vara; rejected identification by experts on Veronese]. It is likely, however, that the Prado *Portrait*, which agrees with the description of the *Specification*, is from Rubens’s collection.” (Muller 1989, p. 99)

Provenance: Rubens' estate after June 1626; purchased by the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 220 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection since 1666

9. Vn dessein faict de blancq & noir, de Paulo Veronez/A draught of black and white; by Paulo de Verrona (no. 25)

ELSHEIMER

10. Vne Ceres à la nuict, d'Adam Elshamer/A Ceres in the night, by Adam Helshamer (Muller 1989, p. 101, no. 32; Belkin 2004, p. 98-101, no. 4)



*Ceres in the House of Hecuba*

c. 1605

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 2181

Oil on copper, 29.5 x 24.1 cm

Provenance: ?Cornelis van der Geest, Antwerp, after 1611; Peter Paul Rubens before 1626; Rubens's estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV for 450 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection since 1686

11. Vn paysage en rondeau, d'Adam Elshamer/A Landschap in a round frame by the same (no. 33)

12. Vne Annunciation du dit Elshamer/The Annunciation by the same (no. 34)

**13. Vne Iudith du dict Elshamer/A Iudith by the same** (Muller 1989, p. 102, no. 35; Belkin/Healey 2004, p. 100, fig. 4b)



*Judith Beheading Holofernes*

London, Wellington Collection (Apsley House)

Oil on copper, 24.2 x 18.7cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate after June 1626; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,350 guilders; La Franja inventory of Isabella Farnese, 1746; La Granja inventory, 1774; Aranjuez, 1794, no. 642; captured at Vitoria, 1813.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Latest provenance, from La Granja, is taken from Kaufmann, C. M., *Catalogue of Paintings in the Wellington Museum : Apsley House*, London, Paul Hoberton, 2009, pp. 56-57.

PAINTINGS BY RUBENS

14. **Vne Calisto/A Calisto** (Muller 1989, p. 103, no. 43; Belkin/Healey 2004, pp. 102-105, no. 5)



*Diana and Callisto*

Knowsley Hall (Lancashire), The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby

Oil on canvas, 186 x 198 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV for 1,800 guilders; Sir Thomas Lowther (d. 1745); in the collection of the Earl of Derby at Knowsley by 1729

15. (no. 44) *Vn Acteon/An Acteon* (probably lost) (Muller 1989, p. 104, no. 44)

16. (no. 45) *Venus & Adonis/A Venus and Adonis* (probably lost) (Muller 1989, p. 104, no. 45)

17. Vne Europe/An Europa (Muller 1989, p. 104, no. 46)



*The Rape of Europe* (copy after Titian)

c. 1628-1629

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1693

Oil on canvas, 182,5 x 201,5 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,450 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection since 1674

18. (no. 47) *Venus & Cupidon sur vn lict/A Venus and Cupid lying on a Bed* (probably lost)  
(Muller 1989, p. 104, no. 47)



**19. Vne piece des Cupidons s'esbatans, prise de Philostrate/A Piece of Venus, wth many Cupidds taken out of Philostratus (Muller 1989, p. 111, no. 81)**



*The Worship of Venus* (copy after Titian)

1630s

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. 599

Oil on canvas, 196 x 209,9 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,800 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection in 1814; Palacio Nuevo; acquired after 1814 by Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, future king of Sweden and Norway, Stockholm; in the Royal Palace, Stockholm; bequeathed by Karl XV to the Nationalmuseum in 1865

**20. Vne piece des Bacchanales des bergers & bergers dansans & beuans aussi de Philostrate**  
(Muller 1989, p. 111, no. 82)



*The Andrians* (copy after Titian)

1630s

Stockholm, Nationalmuseum

Inv. no. 600

Oil on canvas, 201 x 216 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,800 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection in 1814; Palacio Nuevo; acquired after 1814 by Jean Baptiste Bernadotte, future king of Sweden and Norway, Stockholm; in the Royal Palace, Stockholm; bequeathed by Karl XV to the Nationalmuseum in 1865

21. Vne piece des Nymphes nües & Satyres/A peice of Naked nimphes and Satyrs (Muller 1989, p. 111, no. 83)



*Nymphs and Satyrs*

c. 1638-1640

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1666

Oil on canvas, 139,7 x 167 cm

Provenance: Rubens' estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 880 guilders; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection in 1666

22. Vne nostre Dame avec S. George & autres Saints, dans vn paysage, sur toile/A peice of Bacchanalls with Sheppards & Sheeperdesses dancing and drunck; out of Philostratus vppon cloth (no. 84)

23. Vne troupe des Suisses qui contraignent les paysans de leur donner de l'argent & courir la table, sur toile/A Switzer where the Boores bringe him money and Cover a table (no. 90)

24. Les trois graces nües/The three graces naked (Muller 1989, p. 113, no. 92)



*The Three Graces*

c. 1630-1635

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1670

Oil on panel, 220.5 x 182 cm

Provenance: ?Rubens's estate 1640; inventoried in the Spanish royal collection from 1666

**25. Vne danse de paysans Italiens, sur fond de bois/A peice of Italian Boores dancinge, uppon bord (Muller 1989, p. 115, no. 103; Díaz Padrón 1996, vol. 2, pp. 988-991, no. 1691)<sup>4</sup>**



*Dance of Mythological Characters and Villagers*

c. 1630-1635

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1691

Oil on panel, 73 x 106 cm

Provenance: Rubens's estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 800 guilders; inventoried in Spanish royal collection from 1666

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<sup>4</sup> Cited in the sales account as “a peice of Italian boores dancinge”. Cited in the inventory of the Alcázar of 1666 and 1686 as a dance of Flemish villagers (“baile de billanos flamencos”). Inventory Philip IV, Alcázar de Madrid, 1666, s.n.: “Otra pintura en tabla, de bara y quarta de largo y tres quartas de alto, un baile de billanos flamencos, de mano de Rubenes, y en ciento y zinquenta ducados de plata... 1.650”.

**26. Nostre Seigneur en Emaus/A peice of Emaus with the synne setting (Madrid, Prado)**

(Muller 1989, p. 120, no. 138; Díaz Padrón 1996, vol. 2, pp. 876-878, no. 1643; Belkin/Healey 2004, pp. 129-131, no. 14)



*The Supper at Emmaus*

c. 1638

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1643

Oil on canvas, 143 x 156 cm

Provenance: Rubens's estate 1640; purchased from Rubens' estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 800 guilders; in the ante-sacristy of the Escorial by 1657; moved to the Prado in 1838

27. Vne grande chasse des cerfs/A great Huntinge of Harts paynted over by him and with figures of him (no. 153)

28. Vn S. George à cheual, sur toile/A St: George on horseback uppon cloth (Muller 1989, p. 122, no. 155; Díaz Padrón 1996, vol. 2, pp. 878-881, no. 1644)<sup>5</sup>



*Saint George Battles the Dragon*

c. 1606-1608

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1644

Oil on canvas, 304 x 256 cm

Provenance: Rubens's estate 1640; purchased from the estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,000 guilders; inventoried in Spanish royal collection since 1674

29. Vne piece de trois Nymphes avec la Corne d'abondance/A peice with some Nymphes wth a Cornucopia (no. 164)

VAN DYCK

30. Vn grand S. Ierosme à genoux, du mesme/A great st Ierome Kneeling, by the same vppon Cloth (no. 230)

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<sup>5</sup> Discussion on attribution, see: Díaz Padrón 1996, vol. 2, pp. 880-881.

**31. Vn emprisonnement de nostre Seigneur, du mesme/The apprehending of Christ, by the same vppon Cloth (Muller 1989, p. 134, no. 232)**



*The Taking of Christ*

c. 1618-1620

Madrid, Museo Nacional del Prado

Inv. no. 1477

Oil on canvas, 344 x 253 cm

Provenance: presented to Rubens by Van Dyck in 1621?; purchased from Rubens's estate by Philip IV between 1640-1645 for 1,200 guilders; in Spanish royal collection from 1666 (Real Alcázar)



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