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Echoes of Fontainebleau: Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's drawn copies after Francesco Primaticcio in the Rubenianum Collection

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**Echoes of Fontainebleau: Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's
drawn copies after Francesco Primaticcio in the
Rubenianum Collection**

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Lastly, I want to thank all the people that has walked with me through this process. My family, which even though in distance, has been constantly present; my sister, for being my unconditional support, and my friends, for being a second home.

I would like to dedicate this research to the Humanities, and to those who dedicate their lives to the study of human knowledge, especially Art.

“Was bleibet aber, stiften die Dichter” (Hölderlin).

“But what remains is created by the poets”

List of contents

1.	Introduction	4
2.	The Origins Of A Memorable Enterprise. The Rubens' Commission of c.1630	10
2.1.	Historic Background And Provenance Matter	10
2.2.	The Attribution Dispute	13
2.3.	Abraham Van Diepenbeeck As A Draughtsman In Rubens' Workshop	16
2.4.	An Emergent Interest For The School Of Fontainebleau	19
3.	The Fontainebleau Copies In The Rubenianum Collection	23
3.1.	Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960) And The Rediscovery Of His Collection	23
3.2.	Overview Of The Seventeen Drawings And Counterproofs Of The Rubenianum	25
3.3.	Six Case Studies	27
3.3.1.	Rh.T.011. <i>Jupiter And Semele</i>	27
3.3.2.	Rh.T.0012. <i>Angels Showing The Star Of The Magi</i>	29
3.3.3.	Rh.T.0014. <i>Sleeping Venus With Amor And A Little Cupid</i>	31
3.3.4.	Rh.T.0010. <i>Helena Is Honoured By Paris (Iliad)</i> And Rh.T.0020. <i>Odysseus And The Greeks Sacrificing</i>	33
3.3.5.	Rh.T.0023. <i>Neptune On His Chariot</i>	35
4.	The Afterlife Of The Designs – Two Case Studies	37
4.1.	Rh.T.0021. <i>Apollo's Sun Chariot</i>	37
4.2.	A New Discovery At The Fries Museum. Van Thulden Or Van Diepenbeeck? Study, Copy, Or Sketch? 41	
5.	Conclusion	48
6.	APPENDIX 1: CATALOGUE	52
7.	Figures	73
8.	Illustrations Credits	91
9.	Bibliography	94
10.	Online Sources	97
11.	Declaration Of Originality	98
	98	
	98	

1. Introduction

In the years 1620s the Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) decided to visit the city of Paris, aiming to discover and study the French and Italian schools of art. As many artists of his time, traveling to other epicentres of art production meant broadening one's sources of inspiration for future works of art. It also meant knowing, recognizing, and perceiving the constant flow of influences that was happening in this moment in Europe, as well as demonstrating an awareness of the art produced in previous centuries. Rubens had an open-minded interest in the art of the past¹, and as an effect of this enthusiasm, he aspired to study Mannerist artists and their work during his diplomatic visits to the city of Paris in the years 1622, 1623 and 1625.² However, time seemed to not be sufficient to accomplish this mission. Back in his Antwerp workshop, Rubens decided to delegate the task of studying and copying the interior decorations of those châteaux in Paris that inspired him during his visit to two of his most prolific pupils: Abraham van Diepenbeeck (1596-1675) and Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669).

During his visit to Paris in 1620, Rubens admired the interior decorations of multiple buildings situated around the city. However, one location had for Rubens a special focus. This location was the Château of Fontainebleau, in the south part of Paris. Almost a century before the visit of Rubens, two Italian Mannerist artists executed an interior iconographic program in this château, depicting major scenes of The Odyssey and other classical mythological passages. The two Mannerist artists in charge of this performance were Francesco Primaticcio (1503-1570) and his assistant Niccolò dell'Abbate (1509/12-1571), who travelled to Paris on commission of the monarch Francis I (1494-1547). The accomplishment of these original decorations by Primaticcio and dell'Abbate started in the year 1540 and lasted until 1570.³

Coming back to the commission ordered by Rubens to his two pupils, the result of this task produced over almost 150 drawings and counterproofs made by Abraham Van

¹ Jeremy Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 3-53.

² Jeremy Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', in *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*, Centrum Voor De Vlaamse Kunst Van De 16 En De 17 EEUW, vol. I, XXVI (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2011): 268-73.

³ Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume, and Alain Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse a Fontainebleau* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985): 1.

Diepenbeeck which are currently scattered among different European collections. Eighty-two sheets are conserved in the Albertina in Vienna⁴, seven in the Städel Museum in Frankfurt-am-Main⁵, and sixty-six in the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) in Brussels – the latter also known as ‘the Brussels Album’.⁶ Unlike Van Diepenbeeck, Theodoor Van Thulden focused his artistic production on etchings based on Primaticcio and Dell’Abbate’s decorations. These 58 prints were published between 1631 and 1633 by Van Thulden in a book called *The Works of Ulysses* (H. 37-96).⁷ Van Thulden, therefore, had a more secondary role within this commission, in comparison to his colleague Abraham Van Diepenbeeck.

In the year 2020, an unpublished group of seventeen drawings and counterproofs on fifteen folios – made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck in relation to Rubens’ commission – from the Rubenianum collections (RH.T.009-023) in Antwerp, Belgium, was discovered and added to the list of Flemish Masterpieces.⁸ A counterproof is a drawing made using a specific transfer technique. By pressing a sheet of paper over a drawing, the composition and the pigments of the original drawing are transferred – mirrored – to the new paper.⁹ The themes depicted in this latter group of designs can be divided in two groups: on one hand, there are scenes from the Odyssey and other mythological scenes, such as *Helena honoured by Paris* (RH.T.0010). On the other hand, there are religious scenes from the New Testament, such as *Noli me tangere* (RH.T.0016). All the drawings encountered in this Rubenianum discovery, which were previously owned by the Rubens scholar Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960),¹⁰ have been accomplished using the same techniques. They were made in graphite, and some of them in a combination of graphite and red chalk.

The importance of these designs – not only the recently discovered ones in the collections of the Rubenianum – lies in the fact that most of Francesco Primaticcio and Niccolò dell’Abbate’s original designs have long been lost. Many of the original

⁴ Inv. 8922-9003, of which 24 counterproofs.

⁵ Inv. 4292-98.

⁶ Daan van Heesch, Sarah Van Ooteghem, and Joris Van Grieken, eds., *Bruegel and Beyond: Netherlandish Drawings in the Royal Library of Belgium, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022): 248-253.

⁷ Hollstein, Boon, Hoop Scheffer, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. XXX (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949): 111.

⁸ Lieneke Nijkamp, ‘The Burchard Drawings. (Re)Discovery of Seventeenth-Century Topstukken’, *The Rubenianum Quarterly*, no. 2 (2022): 3.

⁹ Joseph Meder and Winslow Ames, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. I (New York, N.Y: Abaris Books, 1978): 399.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

decorations, such as the ones in the Galerie d'Ulysse in Fontainebleau, were destroyed in 1738-39 when Louis XV ordered the transformation of the south wing of the château. The Paris Hôtel du Faur – another French location that included a gallery decorated by Dell'Abbate – was also destroyed in 1830.¹¹ Thus, the results of the commission ordered by Rubens during the first quarter of the seventeenth century appears to be one of the few graphic testimonies of how the original decorations produced by the Italian artists Francesco Primaticcio (1503-1570) and his assistant Niccolò dell'Abbate looked like.

Besides the drawn copies of Abraham van Diepenbeeck and Theodoor van Thulden, we fortunately also count with a series of drawn *modelli* on paper¹² made by Francesco Primaticcio himself. They carry great importance as key objects in the reconstruction of the interior decorations of the French châteaux. Most of Primaticcio's *modelli* are also currently scattered among different art collections and museums, namely the Albertina Museum in Vienna, as well as the Louvre Museum in Paris, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the National Library in Paris.

Regarding the pupils that Rubens chose to overtake this commission, we do know that they shared multiple common aspects of their lives. Abraham van Diepenbeeck and Theodoor van Thulden were two young artists – both born in the city of 's-Hertogenbosch – that worked in Antwerp during the 1620s. Likewise, they also spent some time in Paris during their careers, just before connecting with Rubens's workshop.

One of the first persons to ever refer to the copies made by Van Diepenbeeck and Van Thulden was a collector of drawings named Padre Sebastiano Resta (1635-1714).¹³ This collector acquired some sheets by Flemish artists before 1684. In his notes, and after referring to the role of these two Rubens' pupils, Resta announced how many motifs and figures depicted on these copies were posteriorly assembled into new compositions.¹⁴ Therefore, we currently know that the copies were not only made and used as a medium of remembering Primaticcio's and dell'Abbate's designs, but also as a source of inspiration for future artworks. Resta also stated in his notes that Rubens had left the drawings to a pupil of Van Dyck (possibly Maximiliaen Labbé, d. 1675), "who

¹¹ Sylvie Béguin and Bella Bessard, 'L'Hôtel Du Faur Dit Torpanne', *Revue de l'Art*, (1968): 38-56.

¹² Joseph Meder and Winslow Ames, *The Mastery of Drawing*, vol. I (New York, N.Y: Abaris Books, 1978), p. 313. "Modello is a precise, complete drawing for an ampler work of art, sometimes accompanying a contract, and almost always suggesting that no substantive changes will be made, except in materials, between the *modello* and execution at full size".

¹³ Jeremy Wood, "Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens and the School of Fontainebleau". *Master Drawings*, vol. 28, n. 1 (1990): 3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

bequeathed his possessions to another Flemish in Rome, whose heirs sold them to Resta sometime before 1684. The counterproofs probably stayed with Van Diepenbeeck himself, who reused figures and groups for his published book illustrations and also provided French printmakers and publishers with some of the models”.¹⁵ Abraham Van Diepenbeeck reused figures from Primaticcio’s work for book illustrations, namely in three major books: the *Temples des Muses* of 1655, Ogilby’s *Homer, His Iliads Translated* of 1660, and Ogilby’s *Homer, His Odyssees Translated* of 1665.¹⁶

The attribution of the drawings and counterproofs has also been a problematic topic for researchers for a long time. The fact that some of the Albertina drawings are connected to Van Thulden’s etchings made after frescoes in the Ulysses Gallery of Fontainebleau has led to the attribution to him of some of these drawings. However, Jeremy Wood has convincingly attributed the larger body of Fontainebleau copies to Van Diepenbeeck on various grounds, including their stylistic resemblance to the artist’s known oeuvre. Jeremy Wood is one of the leading scholars on the study of Rubens and have not only studied and executed attributions to many of his works but has also compiled the notes of art collectors such as Padre Sebastiano Resta’s.

Returning to the afterlife that these designs and counterproofs experienced, it is also necessary to mention the possible role that they had within Rubens’ workshop. They not only served as models for French printmakers and book illustrators, but they also worked as a primary source of inspiration for Rubens himself, as it will be demonstrated later.

Aim of the research

This thesis aims to research the recently discovered group of seventeen drawings and counterproofs in the Rubenianum collections. Even though this Rubens’ commission and the copies that were made as a result have been discussed by scholars such as Jeremy Wood, Sylvie Béguin or Alan Roy, I believe there is still an existing gap in literature. I consider that this breach is mainly related to the links and connections that existed between the original decorations of Francesco Primaticcio, the posterior copies made by Abraham van Diepenbeeck and the final after life that these designs experienced in the French circle of printmakers and book illustrators. My contribution to this topic will

¹⁵ Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’, p. 22.

¹⁶ Wood, ‘Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau’, p. 22.

reside on the use of a global perspective that will provide new insights in understanding the use of models and copies in Rubens' workshop.

Moreover, my contribution to this research will help to establish direct connections between the scattered art works. I will build a timeline of production, explaining the history of the designs in the Rubenianum, from the moment they were invented by Primaticcio and Dell'Abbate, to the moment they were observed and copied by Rubens' pupils, to the final stage of creation when they were used as the basis for posterior artworks, from paintings to prints.

Thus, my investigation will revolve around three main research questions. The first question is: Which scenes are depicted in the Rubenianum group of drawings? This question is fundamental since, in many cases, the depicted scenes have not been identified until now. The answer to this first research question will allow me to develop the second research question: What locations do these copies correspond to? In the current state of research, it is known that Abraham van Diepenbeeck and Theodoor van Thulden visited different châteaux in Paris in order to accomplish their commission. Some of these locations are Fontainebleau, the Hôtel of Montmorency or the Paris Hôtel du Faur.¹⁷

Following with the investigation itinerary, the third research question will be related with the hereafter of the Rubenianum copies made by Van Diepenbeeck: How were the copies by Van Diepenbeeck after Primaticcio used? This question will allow me to define some specific destinations of this group of drawings, both within the Rubens' workshop context and in the French environment of printmakers.

To accomplish the answer and development of these three questions, I will firstly make use of the existing bibliography concerning the School of Fontainebleau, the designs of Francesco Primaticcio and the figure of Abraham van Diepenbeeck as a draughtsman. Some of the leading researchers and publications concerning this topic are the already mentioned expert Jeremy Wood, Sylvie Béguin with her major monograph about the Galerie d'Ulysse of Fontainebleau¹⁸ and David W. Steadman, who published key works regarding the figure of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck.¹⁹ Moreover, the analysis of the principal art collections where both Primaticcio's *modelli* and Van Diepenbeeck's

¹⁷ Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 9.

¹⁸ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse a Fontainebleau*.

¹⁹ David W. Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck: Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter* (Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982).

copies are scattered, will be fundamental. To achieve this, museum and exhibition catalogues will be used as main sources of information.

I visited two indispensable art collections during this research process. I firstly went to the Rubenianum collection in Antwerp, where I had the possibility of analysing in depth the seventeen newly discovered drawings and discuss them with the expert Lieneke Nijkamp. The next visit took me to the print room of the Royal Library in Brussels, where the series of drawings known as the “Brussels Album” is located and which I had the chance to discuss with the specialist Joris Van Grieken. This visit allowed me to get an insight of the whole commission and have a close look to the already known copies made by Van Diepenbeeck and Van Thulden in Paris.

The reader of this thesis can expect three chapters that will compartmentalize the whole development of the research. The first chapter will focus on the background of the seventeen drawings conserved in the Rubenianum. It will explore the commission itself, the figure of Van Diepenbeeck as a draughtsman and Rubens’ interest in the School of Fontainebleau. Additionally, I will provide and analyse the arguments of the scholar Jeremy Wood to attribute these drawings to Van Diepenbeeck.

Secondly, the next chapter will start with an overview of the drawings in the Rubenianum and will subsequently dive in a profound analysis of a selection of six drawings. This will be the main chapter of the thesis, where an examination of scenes and locations will take place, as well as an interpretation of the links between Primaticcio’s designs and Van Diepenbeeck’s copies. Lastly, the final chapter will be dedicated to the afterlife of this drawings, exploring, as said before, the posterior use given to them. I will focus on two case-studies, firstly on Van Diepenbeeck’s drawing *Apollo’s Sun Chariot* and secondly on another Van Diepenbeeck drawing – *Charon carrying people across the Styx* – an artwork conserved in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden which has recently surfaced. This last object, currently ascribed to Theodoor Van Thulden, holds, in my opinion, an old and wrong attribution which should be reconsidered. During this second case study I will provide arguments to reattribute this piece to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck’s oeuvre.

The reader may find in the annex of this thesis a catalogue with the complete set of drawings from the Rubenianum that has been assembled by myself. This catalogue also contains the conclusions and recent discoveries that I have made over the group of drawings. For the complete information of these drawings, please consult the catalogue at the appendix of this document.

2. The origins of a memorable enterprise. The Rubens' commission of c. 1630

2.1. Historic background and provenance matter

Before analysing the core art works that will be the focus of this thesis – the recently discovered seventeen drawings of the Rubenianum collections (RH.T.009-023) – we shall start by understanding the size, complexity, and development of Rubens' commission as a whole.

In the 1630s, Rubens asked his two assistants Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and Theodoor Van Thulden to travel to Paris in order to accomplish a set of drawn copies made after the interior decorations found in different chateaus of Paris. These chateaus were mainly decorated by Francesco Primaticcio a century before, by order of the monarch Francis I (1494-1547).

This commission embodies a total of 155 copies, including original drawings and counterproofs. Counterproofs were a transfer medium used, chiefly, by printmakers and in industrial art. Following the definition offered by Joseph Meder, a counterproof is a drawing made following a specific form of transfer which uses a chalk, pencil, (unfixed) charcoal, pastel, or ink drawings. "A thin moist paper was laid on the original and both were put through a heavy press, so that part of the pigment of the original came off on the moist paper, and the lines appeared on it in reverse, weaker, but still visible".²⁰ Counterproofs, thus, are mirrored reproductions of drawings created on new sheets. For this reason, some of the images of the Rubenianum group of drawings are mirrored compositions of the original decorations made by Primaticcio and Dell'Abbate.

The uses and purposes given to counterproofs were varied and diverse. Counterproofs were a rapid technique of creating reproductions of a drawing. These reproductions could consequently be destined to artists' workshops as working material. In need of a mirrored reproduction of a composition, counterproofs could also be the most convenient way of producing it. Undoubtedly, counterproofs were also destined to printmakers as preparatory designs. They could serve as a medium to transfer, in the same direction, a design made in paper to print.

²⁰ Meder and Ames, *The Mastery of Drawing*, p. 399.

All the surviving objects of Rubens' project are scattered among different collections in Europe: eighty-two sheets in the Albertina in Vienna²¹, seven in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt-am-Main²², and sixty-six in the Royal Library of Belgium (KBR) in Brussels – the latter also known as 'the Brussels Album'.²³ In the first place, it should be explained the provenance of most of these drawings and counterproofs, as well as the reasons and explanations provided by scholars to attribute them to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and Theodoor Van Thulden.

It is believed that Rubens kept the original chalk copies in his *Cantoor*, a cupboard where he used to locate his large collection of drawings, as well as those made by himself.²⁴ Even though no surviving inventory of his collection of drawings has reached our days, it is known that they stayed in his studio until his death in 1640, when they were posteriorly sold in bloc to Canon Jan Philip Happaert in 1657.²⁵ However, the Fontainebleau drawings could have already left Rubens' workshop before the sale of 1657, as suggested by the Italian connoisseur and art collector Padre Sebastiano Resta.²⁶ As stated earlier in the introduction of this thesis, Padre Sebastiano Resta affirmed in a series of unpublished notes that he had acquired some sheets of Flemish artists before 1684.²⁷ According to Resta, "Rubens had left the drawings to a pupil of Van Dyck (possibly Maximiliaen Labbé, d. 1675), who bequeathed his possessions to another Flemish in Rome, whose heirs sold them to Resta sometime before 1684."²⁸

Unfortunately, the provenance of the seventeen Rubenianum drawings – as it will be explored more thoroughly in the next chapter – is largely unknown. Before entering the Rubenianum collections, they used to belong to the German art historian and collector Ludwig Burchard. Nevertheless, it is not known how these drawings entered his collection.

²¹ Inv. 8922–9003.

²² Inv. 4292–98.

²³ Inv. 76801–64. These 66 drawings on 64 folios were bound into an album in the nineteenth century but were separated again at a later date. The KBR acquired an additional drawing (F-2007-812) in December 2007.

²⁴ Nijkamp, 'The Burchard Drawings. (Re)Discovery of Seventeenth-Century Topstukken', p. 4.

²⁵ Kristin Lohse Belkin and Fiona Healy, *A House of Art: Rubens as Collector*, exh. cat. Antwerp (Rubenshuis), (2004): 310–13.

²⁶ J. S. Held, *Rubens. Selected Drawings*, (Oxford, 1986).

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ A.E. Popham, 'Sebastiano Resta and His Collections', *Old Master Drawings* XI, no. 41 (June 1936): 1–19.

Resta was already aware of Rubens' interest in Italian art. One of Resta's albums – which includes both the acquired drawings and his notes – has reached our days in an intact state, the known as *Galleria Portatile*, currently preserved in Milan.²⁹ Within this album, there is one drawing made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Niccolò dell'Abbate, a *Pietà* (Fig. 1). After mounting this drawing into his album, Resta included an inscription that stands as the first historic evidence of the relationship between Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and Peter Paul Rubens and the Fontainebleau commission:

“Master Abraham Diepenbeeck, most excellent pupil of Rubens. He copied it in France for the same Rubens from Primaticcio. [...] Van Diepenbeeck was employed by Rubens to copy works for his pleasure”.³⁰

The drawing that accompanies this inscription was made after an original fresco completed by Niccolò dell'Abbate (who probably based it on a Primaticcio drawing) around 1558 in Fleury-en-Bie.³¹ As pointed out by the scholar Jeremy Wood, Padre Resta could have been familiar with a seventeenth-century engraving by Antoine Garnier that attributed the composition to Primaticcio, but Resta surely used some guidance to attribute the drawing to Van Diepenbeeck. Another Resta annotation proves, once more, that he had a reliable and trustworthy source of Van Diepenbeeck's life and works when he acquired those drawings:

“There are engravings by the Abate of these works, and also more by Abraham. Abraham Diepenbeeck was himself a considerable painter and inventor of great works, and very wideranging, who also painted various church windows throughout Flanders, nevertheless Rubens sent him throughout Italy and throughout France to copy works for him to study and for his own use, and to record them according to his own ability which in Rubens was vast”.³²

These annotations prove to us two main key facts of this commission and of Van Diepenbeeck's drawings. In the first place, Padre Sebastiano Resta – as one of the first

²⁹ G. Bora, *I disegni del Codice Resta*, (Fontes Ambrosiani in lucem editi cura et studio Bibliothecae Ambrosianae LVI), Milan, 1978.

³⁰ Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 10.

³¹ The fresco, and a related drawing (Louvre; inv. no. 5836), are discussed by S. Beguin, "Niccolo dell'Abbate en France," *Art de France*, II, 1962, pp. I 15, 117-18; see also S. Beguin, *Il cinquecentofrancese*, Milan, 1970, pp. 70, 90.

³² Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 10.

known owners of these drawings – knew about the commission asked by Rubens to Van Diepenbeeck. Secondly, it is manifested that he counted with enough sources to attribute the *Pietà* drawing to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, and as noted by Wood, this attribution and source is reliable enough. Therefore, it can also be stated that the posterior research done both on this commission and on Van Diepenbeeck and Van Thulden's work is mainly based on the primary sources offered by Padre Sebastiano Resta's notes and albums.

The group of Flemish seventeenth-century copies made after Francesco Primaticcio and Niccolò dell'Abbate is extraordinarily broad. All the copies are made following the same technique, chalk. Apart from the already mentioned album in Brussels and the almost complete set of drawings in the Albertina made after the frescoes in the Galerie d'Ulysse in Fontainebleau, the commission also produced copies that are scattered in other collections. These extra copies include depictions made in other accommodations of Fontainebleau, such as the Galerie François I^{er}, the Chambre du Roi, the Salle de Bal, the Chambre de la Duchesse d'Étampes, and other parts of the palace.³³ Moreover, Van Diepenbeeck also made copies after interior decorations of other Parisian houses of the period, such as the Hôtel du Faur and other Guise properties outside the city.

2.2. The attribution dispute

Even though Padre Sebastiano Resta was probably the first connoisseur and art collector in attributing some of his Flemish drawings to Van Diepenbeeck and linking them with Rubens, it has been believed, for quite a remarkably period of time, that most drawn copies were accomplished by Theodoor Van Thulden. This theory was mainly sustained by the fact that Van Thulden – who also travelled to Paris with Van Diepenbeeck – produced a set of etchings between the years 1632 and 1633 after the Ulysses decorations in Fontainebleau.

A group of copies made after the Galerie d'Ulysse ended up, in the late eighteenth century, in the hands of François-Jean-Joseph Mol, who attributed the whole group to Theodoor Van Thulden. He made this attribution by believing that these could be preparatory designs used by Van Thulden for his posterior etchings:

“Our Van Tulden [sic] has drawn very much for PRIMATRICE [sic] and other masters, who under Franciscus I have painted Fontainebleau with their

³³ Ibid.

works; what purpose are not only these 58 plates of the *Doolingen by Ulysses*, but a number of the 300 pieces of original drawings, all executed by VAN THULDEN with black and red chalk; but multitude of other objects, such as at Fontainebleau, as from the Private Palaces to Parys elsewhere, which PRIMATRICE [sic] painted there, which Collection of Drawings Tans (1778) is in my possession".³⁴

However, and as Jeremy Wood pointed out in 1990, this way of thinking responds to a misunderstanding of printmaking in the seventeenth century. As it is now known, a considerable part of the drawn copies made during this commission was posteriorly used as preparatory designs by multiple French printmakers for their book illustrations and were not just used by one person. Wood correctly stated that "There is no reason why the drawn copies should be by the same person who etched or engraved them".³⁵ During the process of designing, creating, and publishing a print, there was an existing labour division between all the parties involved in the process. Thus, the print publisher was not necessarily in charge of designing or executing the etching. Nevertheless, there were artists that would take part of the entire process, but this was not necessary. The visual and stylistic analysis accomplished by Jeremy Wood has proved that Mol's attribution was incorrect and was simply sustained by the fact that Van Thulden produced multiple etchings after these drawn copies.

Jeremy Wood's attribution to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck of most of the Fontainebleau copies is based, mainly, in a stylistic analysis and comparison of both figures and inscriptions. As the scholar states, there is a demonstrable stylistic similarity between the Fontainebleau chalk drawings and Van Diepenbeeck's undoubted work. One of the best examples to which compare the Fontainebleau drawings with is *The Adoration of the Kings* (Fig. 2), conserved nowadays in Frankfurt. This drawing contains the next inscription:

³⁴ "Onze VAN TULDEN [sic] heeft zeer veel voor PRIMATRICE [sic] en andere meesters geteekend, die onder Franciscus I. *Fontainebleau* met hunne werken verheelykt hebben; waertoe dient niet alleenlyk deze 58 platen van de *Doolingen van Ulysses*, mar wel een aantal van by de 300 *stukken origineele Teekeningen*, alle door VAN THULDEN met zwart en rood kryt uitgevoerd; maar menigte andere voorwerpsels, zoo te *Fontainebleau*, als uit de *Partiquiere paleizen* tot *Parys* als elders, die PRIMATRICE [sic] aldaar geschilderd heeft, welke *Verzameling van teekeningen tans (1778) by my berust*".

C. Kramm, *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters, van den vroegsten tot op onzen tijd*, Amsterdam, 1857-63, vol. VI, p. 1628.

³⁵ Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 12.

“Painted by the Abate Primaticcio in 1548 in the Chapel of the Duc de Guise in Paris. Drawn by Abraham van Diepenbeeck in the year 1650”.³⁶

Jeremy Wood considers this first evidence as fundamental for the attribution of the group of Fontainebleau drawings to the draughtsman Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. This *Adoration of the Kings* holds two inscriptions. The first one – noted above – has recently been proved as Van Diepenbeeck’s own and it was probably added for an engraver to copy. The second inscription is in an eighteenth-century (or later) hand. According to Wood, this evidence has not changed the fact that the drawings in Vienna, Brussels, and elsewhere, have remained attributed to Van Thulden.³⁷ When comparing this handwriting to two surviving Van Thulden’s letters from 1634, it can be observed that there are no clear similarities. “The writing on the numerous Fontainebleau copies is not his, and can be identified as Van Diepenbeeck's with some confidence by comparing it with the latter's autograph draft letter in the Institut Neerlandais (Fig. 3)”.³⁸ Moreover, Van Diepenbeeck’s handwriting can also be compared with some inscriptions found in multiple drawings of the Fontainebleau drawings (Fig. 4). Nevertheless, this does not mean that Van Thulden did not accomplish some preparatory designs for his prints, which normally included descriptive and moralizing captions which appear on the etchings, written in a hand very different to Van Diepenbeeck’s.

When comparing the style of both Van Thulden and Van Diepenbeeck, the latter is characterised by heavier and more regular hatchings.³⁹ His chalk copies are more detailed and coherent in terms of visual organization than Van Thulden’s etchings. Van Thulden’s style – likewise distinctive – is far more linear than Van Diepenbeeck’s. “Although they obviously record the same images, Van Thulden’s prints are more simplified and distorted than the drawn copies, and have wild variations of proportion and detail with many figures who are differently posed or dressed”.⁴⁰

It can be concluded, therefore, that the traditional attribution to Theodoor Van Thulden of the drawn copies embodied on Rubens’ commission belongs to an antique

³⁶ L. Dimier, *Le Primatice, Peintre Sculpteur et Architecte Des Rois de France. Essai Sur La Vie et Les Ouvrages de Cet Artiste Suivi d'un Catalogue Raisonné de Ses Dessins et de Ses Compositions Gravées* (Paris, 1900).

³⁷ Wood, ‘Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau’, p. 12.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’, p. 269.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

train of thought. Nowadays, the almost 160 drawn copies made after the decorations of Francesco Primaticcio and Niccolò dell'Abbate can be reattributed, with certainty, to the hand of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck.

2.3. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck as a draughtsman in Rubens' workshop

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck was born in 1596 in s'Hertogenbosch, a town still part of the southern Netherlands until 1629. Coming from a family of glass-painters, he inherited this profession from an early stage of his life.⁴¹ The hostilities and conflicts between the northern and southern Netherlands forced him to migrate to Antwerp in the year 1620. Moreover, artists such as Van Diepenbeeck would certainly find more job opportunities in epicentres such as Antwerp than in their hometowns. However, he was not alone in this flight. In the same year Van Diepenbeeck left s'Hertogenbosch, another young artist of this town moved also to Antwerp, Theodoor Van Thulden.

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck established himself in Antwerp as one of the most renowned glass-painters and draughtsmen, been elected as an officer of the glass painters' guild in 1637. However, his dual education in both glass-painting and oil painting made him enter in a conflict with the city in the year 1638. The court concluded that he was a painter and, therefore, was no longer allowed to remain a member of the glass painters' guild. In this same year he was elected member of the Guild of St. Luke as a painter.⁴² Additionally, it is also known that Van Diepenbeeck travelled multiple times throughout his artistic career to important epicentres of art, namely Italy, France, and England. In regard to his trip to France – where he accomplished the copies of Fontainebleau – Pierre Jean Mariette (1694-1774), distinguished art collector and merchant, first suggested the idea of Van Diepenbeeck's trip to France around the year 1632. Additionally, and based on a signed and dated drawing, it is also known that Van Diepenbeeck made a second trip to Paris in 1650, when he had already formed close ties with French print-publishers.⁴³

As to the role of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck in Rubens' workshop, Peter Paul Rubens set up a large studio in Antwerp – filled with pupils and collaborators – after his return from Italy in 1608. Anthony Van Dyck and Jacob Jordaens stood out as the most well-known of his assistants, however, numerous Antwerp artists aimed for a place in Rubens'

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 1

⁴² H. Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700* (London: New Haven-London, 1998): 74.

⁴³ Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 17.

workshop. Following the steps of previous great masters, like Titian's relationship with the engraver Cornelis Cort, Rubens tried to gain more prestige and reputation by having prints engraved after his compositions.⁴⁴ Abraham Van Diepenbeeck started to work as a draughtsman for Rubens from the late 1620s onward. Within Rubens' workshop, Van Diepenbeeck's exercises as draughtsman were varied and plentiful, from expanding preliminary drawings into book illustrations, to working on cartoons for Rubens' tapestries.⁴⁵ An example of this latter exercise can be seen in Rubens's tapestry cycle depicting the *Triumph of the Eucharist* (1625-1627), commissioned by the infanta Isabella.⁴⁶

Following with his commissions in Antwerp, Van Diepenbeeck also designed and painted stained-glass windows for various churches and monasteries of the city. In the 1620s and 1630s he designed whole series for the churches of the Shod Carmelites, the Dominicans, and the Minims.⁴⁷ However, his production of prints, drawings and sketches is much more copious than his paintings or stained-glass windows. These include designs for illustrations and title pages for books published by the influential Antwerp printing houses of Van Meurs and Moretus, and also separate sheets of subjects such as devotional prints, which he published himself.⁴⁸ During the last two decades of his career, Van Diepenbeeck got more involved with the production of tapestries, designing at least nine full sets of tapestries and two individual tapestries. However, during the years 1628 to 1630, Van Diepenbeeck was temporarily deprived of commissions due to Rubens' diplomatic missions in Madrid and London.⁴⁹ Right after this diplomatic period, around 1631 to 1632, Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and his workshop colleague Theodoor Van Thulden left for Paris and Fontainebleau to copy the frescoes decorations made by the Mannerist artists Francesco Primaticcio and Nicolo dell'Abate.

Even though Van Diepenbeeck's style will be researched in depth in the following chapters, it should be pointed out now how his own style, very much in accordance with Rubens', was incredibly eclectic. He mastered the art of taking motifs and other elements from great old and contemporary masters and adapting them in divergent compositions.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Ann Diels, *The Shadow of Rubens. Print Publishing in 17th-Century Antwerp.*, The Print Collection of the Royal Library of Belgium (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2009): 40.

⁴⁵ Diels.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Vlieghe, *Flemish Art and Architecture 1585-1700*, pp. 74-76.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

The main stylistic features that Van Diepenbeeck took and derived from Rubens' language are elements of movement, emotional expressions, and a particular appeal for foreshortened faces.⁵¹ These elements were mainly absorbed by Van Diepenbeeck from the mid-1620s onward.

According to the German scholar and art historian Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960), one of the main researchers on this artist "Van Diepenbeeck asserts himself as a conscientious and tasty painter who was brought up in Rubens's method but at the same time maintained his independence. His books illustrations reveal a verve worthy of the greatest Italian decorators. In his paintings he emerges as a friendly painter, painting friendly subjects and addressing an equally friendly clientele".⁵² However, the historic appreciation of this Dutch artist and pupil of Rubens has not always been so praised or valued.

For instance, in the year 1774 Sir Joshua Reynolds⁵³ – one of the most influential English painters of the eighteenth century – expressed the "narrow, confined, illiberal, unscientific and servile kind of imitators of Rubens" when referring to Abraham van Diepenbeeck.⁵⁴ A century after, John Smith (1781-1855) – renowned English art dealer – praised in his *Catalogue Raisonné of the most eminent Dutch and Flemish Painters* Van Diepenbeeck's success in his drawings. Notwithstanding, he also clarifies how the drawings are very much like Rubens's but "with this difference, that his forms are more meagre, his compositions less united, the expression very inferior".⁵⁵

These descriptions and reflections made around the figure of Van Diepenbeeck demonstrate how his role as an assistant in Rubens' workshop has followed him and eternally determined the success of his career. Van Diepenbeeck's personality as an artist has intrinsically lived within the one of his great master, and only in a recent state of research his independency has started to be acknowledged. Moreover, his similarities in style and colouring with artists such as Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) have created a constant doubt when making attributions of his paintings and drawings. As stated in John Smith's catalogue, "there are many paintings by Van Diepenbeeck in England which have attributions to Van Dyck".⁵⁶ All of the exposed observations indicate, once more, the

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck: Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter*, p. xiv.

⁵³ Sir Joshua Reynolds, "Discourse Six" from *Discourses on Art* (New York, 1961): 95.

⁵⁴ Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck: Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter.*, p. xiii.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

existing confusion when researching Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. It was necessary to expose this puzzling historic state of research before deepening in the biography of this artist, since this continuing discussion will follow us throughout the rest of this thesis.

Van Diepenbeeck's strong determination to become a painter, recognised by several of his biographers, promptly paid off. After moving to Antwerp, he swiftly achieved prominence as a versatile painter and abandoned his already respected glass painter career. His ambition accompanied him for the rest of his life and career.

2.4. An emergent interest for the School of Fontainebleau

Before focusing on the commission ordered by Rubens to his pupil Abraham van Diepenbeeck – and aiming to clarify the complexity of this task – we shall start by resolving the question of Rubens and his workshops' interest in the School of Fontainebleau.

The name “School of Fontainebleau” – first coined by the artist and writer Adam Bartsch in his *Le Peintre-Graveur* in 1803⁵⁷ – refers to the group of Italian artists that, from the 1530s until the first decade of the 17th century, produced multiple forms of art in the mission of decorating the Palace of Fontainebleau. The monarch Francis I (1494-1547) – who came to the throne in 1515 – fomented the decoration of this palace in the year 1528, after being captive for more than two years under the regime of Charles V. The Palace of Fontainebleau was firstly created, in the twelfth century, as a hunting lodge for French monarchs. However, it was not until the sixteenth century and the rise to the throne of Francis I when this lodge was reimagined and reconstructed as one of the main royal residences in Paris.

The greatest achievements of this School are varied and bountiful, ranging from stuccowork and frescoes to grotesque ornaments, prints, and sculpture. The two main leaders of this first generation of the School of Fontainebleau were Rosso Fiorentino (1495-1540) and Francesco Primaticcio (1503-1570). Rosso's main task concerned the decoration of the Great Gallery of the King, while Primaticcio decorated many other rooms at Fontainebleau, notably the Galerie François I, the Chambre du Roi, the Salle de Bal, and the Chambre de la Duchesse d'Étampes.⁵⁸

⁵⁷Michael Clarke, ‘Fontainebleau School’ (Oxford University Press, 2010), <https://doi.org/10.1093/acref/9780199569922.013.0741>.

⁵⁸Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’.

Why did Francis I rely on Italian artists to commission the decoration of his palace? This duty – which had a notable political, nationalistic, and devoted dimension attached to it – offered a space of creation for one of the first artistic examples of the known as “French Renaissance”.⁵⁹ Simultaneously to the process of absorption of their own late Gothic tradition, the French artists and scholars were also accepting the ingredients of the Italian Mannerism that was being developed and approved by the Italian courts. Scholars such as H.A.D. Miles already pointed to Francis I interest’s in competing with the Italian Republics that were ruling and hold the hegemonic power regarding the artistic production of the moment.⁶⁰ Therefore, the School of Fontainebleau stands as an unique and harmonious example of the synthesis of cultures and traditions that Francis I was creating in his palace of Fontainebleau in the attempt of finding a definition for the “French Renaissance”.

An aspect of Francis I that is strongly related to his commission for the decoration accomplished in the Palace of Fontainebleau is his activity as an art collector⁶¹. He was one of the very great collectors of art and of artists in history.⁶² Through his palace many great masters and artists found a place where to develop their activity, such as the already named Francesco Primaticcio and Rosso Fiorentino or sculptors of the stature of Benvenuto Cellini. Outstanding artists such as Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) did also manage to visit and bring works of art with him, as requested by Francis I.⁶³ Furthermore, Francis I also established himself as a patron and diplomat, willing to form connections between different European courts, using Fontainebleau as a unique epicentre. For instance, Vasari already stated in his *Lives* of 1550 that Primaticcio was sent to Fontainebleau from Mantua by Federigo Gonzaga in 1531.⁶⁴ Francis I had written for a young man to work in painting and stucco in the manner of Giulio Romano, and consequently Primaticcio was sent to Fontainebleau.⁶⁵

⁵⁹ Miles H.A.D, ‘The Italians at Fontainebleau’, *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 119, no. 5184 (November 1971): 852.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ To know more about this aspect, see: Cécile Scailliérez, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, and Musée du Louvre, eds., *François Ier et l’art Des Pays-Bas* (Paris: Somogy éditions d’art : Musée du Louvre, 2017).

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ See also MILES 1971. Leonardo Da Vinci visited the Palace of Fontainebleau in the year 1516, when he must have brought with him the *Mona Lisa*, a *Virgin with St. Anne*, and the *St. John*.

⁶⁴ Giorgio Vasari, Julia Conaway Bondanella, and Peter Bondanella, *The Lives of the Artists*, Oxford World’s Classics (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998): 356.

⁶⁵ H.A.D, ‘The Italians at Fontainebleau’, p. 856.

Francesco Primaticcio served three successive kings as manager of the decoration of the palace, crowning himself as the key figure of the whole artistic enterprise embodied in this French chateau. Therefore, it must not seem surprising that – one century after – Peter Paul Rubens and his workshop felt the need of visiting the city of Paris and witnessing one of the most monumental expressions of Italian Mannerism art.⁶⁶ “Van Diepenbeeck, who considered himself ‘a true master of invention’, clearly considered that invention included the intelligent adaptation of other artists’ ideas”.⁶⁷

Many art historians have found Rubens’s interest in the work of Francesco Primaticcio “surprising”.⁶⁸ When referring to Primaticcio’s style, designs, and works in the Palace of Fontainebleau, the viewer can firstly appreciate a pliant stroke, almost abstract, and made to please the eye. Primaticcio’s style resembles in multiple aspects to Giulio Romano’s, and belongs partly in the lineage of Raphael.⁶⁹ As sources of inspiration, Primaticcio repeatedly looked at Antique figures, presumably of Hellenistic tradition.

When facing Rubens’ pieces, one detects and recognises a much more robust approach. However, his taste for the School of Fontainebleau was part of a revival of interest that was happening among many and diverse artists of this time, such as Nicolas Poussin and the Le Nain brothers. Just as his visit to Madrid between the years 1628 and 1629 – and the consequent exposure to the works of Titian – influenced enormously his artistic production, Rubens’ visits to Paris in the years 1622, 1623 and 1625 must also be understood as turning points within his career.

Most probably, Rubens’ interest in the School of Fontainebleau was also promoted by the fact that these secular, monumental and interior decorations were not well known by prints or other forms of media. This type of decorations could have only been seen by Rubens during his years in Mantua in buildings such as the Palazzo Vecchio. Therefore, it was imperative for artists of Rubens’ prestige to visit and be aware of the most relevant artistic enterprises created in earlier centuries.

⁶⁶ The Corpus Rubenianum is one of the most ambitious art-historical project dedicated to a single artist, in this case Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640). Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960) intended to compile a fully illustrated catalogue raisonné of the works of Rubens. The series is subdivided in 29 parts. For more information see: <https://www.rubenianum.be/en/page/corpus-rubenianum-ludwig-burchard-online>

⁶⁷ E. Duverger, “Abraham van Diepenbeeck en Gonzales Coques aan het werk voor de stadhouder Frederik Hendrik, prins van Oranje,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1972): 185-93.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ H.A.D, ‘The Italians at Fontainebleau’.

Moreover, and as stated earlier, concepts of copying did not embody the same contemporary notions of plagiarism or theft as it is understood nowadays. The receptive perspective acquired by Rubens allowed him to assimilate the art of the past and demonstrate how necessary it is to acknowledge the great masters. To create also meant to dominate and control those techniques used by the artists of the past, as a proof of knowledge. The concept of *Inventio* derived, precisely, from the ability to create and improve the notions of art explored by previous artists. Thus, the possible use that Rubens and his workshop gave to the copies made after the frescoes of Primaticcio in Fontainebleau shall be considered as one of the purest forms of admiration and respect over a great master of the past. The Ulysses Gallery in Fontainebleau “during the years 1625-1635 was what Rubens’s Medici cycle at the Luxembourg became a century later, the training ground for a generation of artists”.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ David W. Steadman, *Abraham van Diepenbeeck: Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painter*, p. 43.

3. The Fontainebleau copies in the Rubenianum Collection

The following chapter will explore in depth the group of seventeen drawings and counterproofs on fifteen folios recently discovered in the Rubenianum collections (RH.T.009-023), which are part of the commission asked by Rubens to his pupils around the years 1630s, namely to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. From the entire group of the Rubenianum, seven of the artworks are drawings and ten are counterproofs. The research to be carried out over this hitherto-unpublished group of artworks will be the main focus of this thesis, aiming to establish different layers of significance, meaning and identifications over them. This chapter will, therefore, explore the iconography, meaning and identification of the locations of the Rubenianum group of drawings. However, in order to go deeper into some topics, I aspire to focus on a smaller group of six drawings within the whole Rubenianum group.

3.1. Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960) and the rediscovery of his collection

Before entering on the visual and iconographic analysis of this smaller group of drawings, it is necessary to explain briefly the story behind the discovery of this small group of drawings. To talk about the Rubenianum means to talk about the figure of the German scholar and art historian Ludwig Burchard (1886-1960). Burchard studied art history in Karlsruhe, Munich, Heidelberg and Halle-Wittenberg. In the latter he was awarded a doctorate for his thesis on Rembrandt's prints.⁷¹ However, his first encounter and posterior specialization in the figure of Rubens occurred when he completed Rudolf Oldenbourg's Rubens monograph in the series *Klassiker der Kunst* in the year 1921.⁷² Due to the Nazi expansion in Germany Burchard saw himself forced to flee in 1935 to London, where he enjoyed the patronage of Count Antoine Seilern. In 1939 Elsevier publishers announced their forthcoming six-volume Rubens catalogue, in which Burchard collaborated during and after the Second World War. In the 1950s Burchard worked on Rubens exhibitions in London and Antwerp and achieved worldwide recognition.⁷³ From

⁷¹ Lieneke Nijkamp, Koen Bulckens, and Prisca Valkeneers, *Picturing Ludwig Burchard 1886-1960. A Rubens Scholar in Art-Historiographical Perspective* (London/Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2015): 41-47.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-91.

an early stage, Burchard built up a network of contacts among antiquarians and curators in Antwerp. After 1950 he forged particularly close ties with Frans Baudouin and Roger-A. d'Hulst.⁷⁴ Twice he was received ceremoniously at Antwerp's town hall, and both in 1955 and in 1956 he spent weeks in Antwerp as a guest lecturer of the Belgian Art Seminar. Therefore – and thanks to this connection – his library and documentation were transferred and preserved in Antwerp after his death in 1960.⁷⁵

His whole collection is varied and heterogeneous, going beyond only art-historical resources, from the art of the ancient world up to and including the 19th century. There are books on related disciplines, such as history, topography, and religion, as well as documents such as photographs, notes, or bibliographical references. They document objects in diverse media (painting, sculpture, and tapestries) and relate to artists from diverse European schools of art. However, the chief emphasis in the documentation lies on the Flemish art of the 17th century, and on Rubens in particular. Burchard's personal archive contains different types of objects, such as notebooks, letters, deeds, and passports.⁷⁶

It was exactly in the year 1963 when the entire Ludwig Burchard's collection entered the Rubenianum's perimeter.⁷⁷ In the year 2013 the Rubenianum prompted the creation of a project that would shed a light over the objects from Burchard's collection that were still non-inventoried. The discovery of the seventeen drawings and counterproofs in the Rubenianum in 2020 took place in an accidental but unique manner. The group of drawings made by Van Diepenbeeck were found in a brown envelope by archive workers, among many other personal documents and notes. Unfortunately, Burchard's notes found among the drawings do not contain any information about the provenance of the art pieces, which forces researchers to create assumptions or hypothesis of the whereabouts of these drawings before they entered the Burchard collection. Next to the fifteen folios, a brown paper containing Burchard's handwriting depicts how the scholar already annotated possible attributions to either Theodoor Van Thulden or Abraham Van

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵"The Ludwig Burchard Collection", Rubenianum, consulted on May 2, 2023, <https://www.rubenianum.be/en/page/ludwig-burchard-collection>.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ After visiting the Rubenianum myself, I got the opportunity to interview the Rubenianum Research Assistant Lieneke Nijkamp, one of the persons in charge of the discovery and preliminary research of the core drawings of this thesis. Nijkamp pointed out how, due to the size and variety of Burchard's collection, there were multiple objects and artefacts that have been "forgotten" or considered too personal to catalogue.

Diepenbeeck (Fig. 5). It can be read: “Kontredrucke von Zeichnungen eines Niederländers (Van Thuldens? Diepenbeeck?) nach Gemälden des Primaticcio”⁷⁸.

After analysing the hitherto-unpublished Rubenianum group of drawings and counterproofs, Jeremy Wood roundly stated these drawings are indeed part of the Rubens’ commission of 1630s.⁷⁹ Moreover, he ratified Abraham Van Diepenbeeck’s attribution, which has been accepted both by the Rubenianum and by contemporary scholars working on this matter.

3.2. Overview of the seventeen drawings and counterproofs of the Rubenianum

The seventeen drawings and counterproofs share common stylistic, iconographic, and technical characteristics which have led scholars to assure the role of all of them within Rubens’ workshop and the commission he ordered in the 1630s regarding the copies of Fontainebleau and Paris. From the entire group in the Rubenianum, we can distinguish ten counterproofs and seven original drawings.

The seventeen drawings (RH.T.009-023) are depicted on fifteen folios, meaning two of them, namely RH.T.009 and RH.T.022, contain designs on their versos. Regarding the sizes and shapes of the pieces, the drawings are mainly rectangular or oval. However, their measures notably change from one to other and are varied and diverse. The smallest of the pieces measure 95 mm x 146 mm (RH.T.0015) and 103 mm x 145 mm (RH.T.0014), while the most monumental measure 408 mm x 325 mm (RH.T.0021). The sizes of the drawings are directly linked with the spaces and locations where the original decorations of Primaticcio were accomplished. For instance, the biggest drawing – *Apollo’s Sun Chariot* (Cat. 14), which will be described extensively in the next chapter – corresponds to a ceiling fresco made by Primaticcio in the Galerie d’Ulysse at Fontainebleau.⁸⁰ On the other hand, smaller drawings, such as *A seated woman with two putti* (Cat. 8), were made after the decorations found in the vaults and smaller compartments of the Galerie d’Ulysse, what could explain the size chosen to depict these scenes.⁸¹

⁷⁸ “Counterproofs of drawings by a Dutchman (Van Thuldens? Diepenbeeck?) after paintings by Primaticcio”.

⁷⁹ As explained to me by Lieneke Nijkamp during my visit to the Rubenianum, Jeremy Wood was invited to Antwerp to analyse these artworks. He was not aware of the existence of these drawings, and affirmed it was the first time he saw them.

⁸⁰ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Galerie d’Ulysse a Fontainebleau*, pp. 173-176.

⁸¹ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy.

When analysing the techniques and materials employed, it can be observed how all drawings are made using graphite as the main material. However, some of them do also use a combination of graphite with red chalk or just red chalk. One of the most interesting technical aspects of the Rubenianum group is the watermark presumably found in four drawings and seven counterproofs. This watermark consists of a bunch of grapes (Fig. 6) and can also be found in the drawings made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck for this same commission in the Albertina Museum (Inv. 8922–9003), as well as in those Rubenianum pieces which are, without doubt, counterproofs. This fact demonstrates, therefore, that both counterproofs and original drawings belong to the same time and are contemporaries to each other. Regarding the watermark itself, its design was remarkably common in the papers used during the seventeenth century in Northern Europe.⁸² The watermark is composed by a bunch of grapes which are perfectly encased in the chain lines of the paper. Underneath the grapes, two initials can be noticed: “J.R”. Further research concerning the watermark could certainly contribute with new insights about the provenance of the paper.

Two of the drawings from the Rubenianum group, *Two putti on a cloud* (Cat. 1) and *Angels showing the Star of the Magi* (Old title *Four figures rising from below*) (Cat. 5) contain inscriptions – made with pen and ink – in the lower centre of the sheet, that tell us where these copies were made. In the first case, the inscription states: “Casteel van Duc de Guu.../15. mylen buyten Parys”. In the latter example, the inscription says: “Cappel van Duc de Guise”. In the verso, it can be read: “cf. dessin Chantilly”. The existing problem with these inscriptions – which also provide very valuable information for the location of the scenes – concerns their authorship. When asking experts for their opinions, I have encountered different opinions and approaches. On the one hand, there are researchers believing these inscriptions could have been made by Van Diepenbeeck because they are written in a “Dutch” manner (“Caastel van”). On the other hand, there are other experts who suppose that these inscriptions could have been made by the person buying the drawings, by another member of Rubens’ workshop or by a French printmaker who used the design for future prints.

⁸² For more information about watermarks, see Bernstein – The Memory of Paper database: <https://memoryofpaper.eu> and C.M Briquet, *Les filigranes: dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600: avec 39 figures dans le texte et 16.112 fac-similés de filigranes*. Repr. (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966).

The watermark found in eleven of the Rubenianum artworks is similar to the watermark GRAVELL 322 (Fig. 7). This second watermark – used in England in 1627 – can showcase the popularity of this design during the beginning of the seventeenth century in Northern Europe.

Nevertheless, it is certainly noteworthy to compare the inscriptions found in the Rubenianum group of drawings with those encountered in the “Brussels Album” of the KBR. In the latter example there are drawings, such as *Young woman in drapery hit by an arrow from an angel with bow*⁸³ (Fig. 8), with inscriptions surely similar to the ones found in the Rubenianum group of drawings. In this given example it can be read: “dit staet te Parys a la Rue Schardoneret Tot eenen Consellier”, which again points out the place where this scene was found, in this case in Paris, in the Rue Schardoneret. Again, the similarities are both related to the function of the inscription – indicate the location of the copied scene – and to the Dutch handwriting style. Most importantly, these similar inscriptions evidence that both the drawings in Brussels and in Antwerp probably share the same provenance history and were made by the same master.

3.3. Six case studies

In the next section of this chapter, a selection of six drawings from the Rubenianum group will be explored in depth. These drawings are:

- RH.T.0011. *Jupiter and Semele*
- RH.T.0012. *Angels showing the Star of the Magi*
- RH.T.0014. *Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid*
- RH.T.0010 and RH.T.0020. *Helena is honoured by Paris (Iliad) and Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing*
- RH.T.0023. *Neptune on his chariot*

The selection of these six drawings has been based on different criteria. On one hand, this smaller selection assembles a heterogenic example of the different topics and scenes found in the Fontainebleau programme ordered by Francesco Primaticcio. Likewise, this selection can be linked with other forms of art and supports, such as prints or *modelli*. The links to secondary artworks allowed the identification and location of some of the scenes.

3.3.1. RH.T.011. *Jupiter and Semele*

Until now the scene depicted in this drawing was simply considered as ‘mythological scene’. However, the scene can be identified as a *Jupiter and Semele* (Old title *Mythological representation*), a surprisingly intimate and sensual scene between two gods

⁸³ Daan van Heesch, Sarah Van Ooteghem, and Joris Van Grieken, *Bruegel and Beyond*, p. 253.

or lovers that ends up embodying a pure tragedy. The story of Jupiter and Semele is narrated by Ovid in the book III of his *Metamorphosis*.⁸⁴ According to the myth, Semele – a mortal woman who was seduced by Jupiter – received the advice from an enraged Juno of asking to the king of gods to show “his god signs”. When Jupiter accepted her plea, she tragically died incinerated by his ever-present bolts of lightning and celestial fire. In the centre of the scene it can be observed how a couple – consisting of a man and a woman – join their bodies over a mattress, while being surrounded by representations of a wind (left side), a woman emptying jars of water (back) and a crying putto (right). The woman – who seems to be either asleep, unconscious, or dead – lies under the man who is holding with his hands some kind of energy.

The technique employed in this drawing is a combination of graphite and red chalk. It also counts with the watermark explained above (bunch of grapes) and there are no further inscriptions or collectors’ mark. The main figures of the scene are accomplished in graphite, while the red chalk is reserved for the background and other secondary details such as the mattress where the couple is resting or some strips of the ground. This combination between graphite and red chalk certainly offers both a dramatic emphasis of the lovers’ theme, and a sense of depth and perspective between the different elements, specially between the mattress, the ground, and the background. Regarding the shape and size of the drawing, even though we are facing a rectangular piece (229 mm x 332 mm), the upper part of the scene is clearly rounded, what already provides a hint of the location of Primaticcio’s painting in Fontainebleau.

Regarding the possible location of Primaticcio’s fresco, the researcher Catherine Jenkins stated that Primaticcio’s *Jupiter and Semele* was painted in the late 1530s in a small cabinet located just off the north wall of the Galerie François I in Fontainebleau. The painting was removed from the cabinet in 1701 because of its licentious subject matter, and the cabinet was subsequently demolished in 1786.⁸⁵

When visually comparing Jupiter and Semele’s drawing with the drawings from the Albertina or Brussels, one can observe the intensity of the colours decreases notably when we refer to the Rubenianum drawing. This loss of intensity in the pigments occurs because this piece is a counterproof and not an original drawing. In the process of creating a

⁸⁴ Ovid, *Metamorphosen*, Book III, lines 253-309. Trans. Mariette d’Hane-Scheltema (Amsterdam: Athenaeum - Polak & Van Gennep, 1994): 77-78.

⁸⁵ Catherine Jenkins, *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542-47*, vol. 7, part two. *Studies in Prints and Printmaking* (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2017): 26.

counterproof – as explained earlier– colours and pigments are lost during the transfer technique. For this reason, technical information can be decisive when trying to clarify if we are dealing with a drawing or a counterproof. In this case, coming across with a print made by Léon Davent⁸⁶ (active 1540-56) – made around 1542 and 1547 – depicting this same scene, was vital for determining Van Diepenbeeck's piece as a counterproof (Fig. 9). Both pieces, Van Diepenbeeck's and Davent's, are oriented to the same direction. However, this should not conclude that Van Diepenbeeck based his copy on Davent's and not on Primaticcio's original composition.

When observing both pieces closely, one can notice differences regarding the depiction of the space and the facial expressions. In Davent's case, his Jupiter and Semele are both expressing a much more dramatic look with their mouths open and Jupiter's hair movement. Proportions and perspectives are slightly more protected and taken care of in Van Diepenbeeck's drawing. The crying putto's body on the right of Davent's etching seems too gigantic when comparing it with the figures that surround him, namely the woman emptying the jars next to him. On Van Diepenbeeck's case, figures have more air and space between them – they are not so compacted.

For these reasons, it could have been possible Van Diepenbeeck saw Primaticcio's fresco and copied it, making necessary changes regarding space, perspective, and depiction of emotions. After copying it, he could have made counterproofs, being the Rubenianum drawing no. RH.T.0011 one of them. However, this theory will only be fully confirmed if Primaticcio's *modello* or original fresco depicting the scene of Jupiter and Semele is ever to be found. The most crucial aspect of Van Diepenbeeck's drawing is the need to improve the scene he is observing. It is precisely in this action where his creative nature appears.

3.3.2. RH.T.0012. *Angels showing the Star of the Magi*

The up until now called *Four figures rising from below* (Cat. 5) by the Rubenianum stands as one of the best examples of the inventive and creative capacity of Rubens' pupil. In

⁸⁶ In the mid sixteenth century, and parallel to the decoration that was being created by Primaticcio and Fiorentino among others, a school of printmakers was being built in the premises of Fontainebleau. Approximately a third of the etchings from the School are devoted to the compositions Rosso and Primaticcio executed for the palace. It is in this context where we encounter the figure of Léon Davent, who was the Fontainebleau workshop's second most active printmaker, with about ninety-five etchings and engravings attributed to his period at the palace. Catherine Jenkins, *Prints at the Court of Fontainebleau, c. 1542-47*, vol. 7, Studies in Prints and Printmaking (Ouderkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision Publishers, 2017), pp. 28-29.

this case, the viewer faces a rectangular drawing where four figures, carrying bulky tunics, are seen from underneath flying to the sky. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's piece is, in my opinion, a counterproof. The reasons to stand this argumentation will be explained afterwards.

Closely following Primaticcio's *modello* (Fig. 10), Abraham Van Diepenbeeck chose to copy a small section of the entire original piece. Primaticcio's *modello* is made in red chalk and is partially oxidized with white highlights. In this design, Primaticcio was depicting the scene of the *Angels showing the Star of the Magi*. Most interestingly, this example does not belong to the program for the Château of Fontainebleau. Primaticcio also put himself at the service of the great families who surrounded François I and Henri II, in particular the Guise, who wished to imitate their masters through their patronage.⁸⁷ After his great victory against Charles V at the siege of Metz in 1552-1553, François de Guise acquired a hotel in Paris where he carried out substantial refurbishments. The work was completed in the fall of 1555, as stated in a letter from Primaticcio to the Duke of Guise. These wall paintings, which have now disappeared, are known from copies like the ones accomplished by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck during the 17th century.⁸⁸ The former residence of the Duke of Guise is now home of the National Archives in Paris.⁸⁹

The iconography chosen by Primaticcio recalled the dynastic aspirations of the Lorraine family⁹⁰ which, as a descendant of Godfrey of Bouillon⁹¹, claimed its rights over the kingdom of Jerusalem and Naples.⁹² Primaticcio's *modello* stands as a complete and splendid demonstration of the mastery of red chalk and its boundless possibilities. Emerging through the bottom of the page, a group of angelic figures twist their bodies to mark the birthplace of Christ through the star. This star is represented thanks to the

⁸⁷ Mathieu Deldicque, *Le Trait de La Seduction: Dessins de l'École de Fontainebleau* (Quétingny: Faton, 2021): 34-35.

⁸⁸ Deldicque.

⁸⁹ "Hotel de Soubise, Home of the National Archives in Paris", Magazine Belles Demeures, <https://magazine.bellesdemeures.com/en/luxury/lifestyle/hotel-de-soubise-home-national-archives-paris-article-23232.html>.

⁹⁰ The Guise-Lorraine family was one of the most powerful families in Renaissance France, which gained its prestige and reputation in the 1500s through military ability, political skill, and unswerving loyalty to the Catholic Church. The family's service to the French Crown was rewarded with lands, titles, public offices, and positions in the church. For more information see: <https://www.encyclopedia.com/humanities/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/guise-lorraine-family>

⁹¹ According to medieval legends, Godfrey de Bouillon was a leader of the First Crusade and first ruler of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, who was also ranked as one of the three greatest Christian heroes. For more information see: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/208127>

⁹² Deldicque, *Le Trait de La Seduction: Dessins de l'École de Fontainebleau*, pp. 34-35.

highlights of white gouache. Primaticcio's technique and design resembles the luminism of the ceilings of Antonio Allegri, known as Correggio, who was very familiar to Primaticcio. For instance, Primaticcio must have been aware of the cupola of the Duomo of Parma, which Correggio designed and painted (Fig. 11).⁹³

The Bolognese already imagined an extremely similar composition for the decoration of the ceiling of the Galerie d'Ulysse in Fontainebleau, *Dance of the Hours*. (Fig. 12). Unlike the latter, in the design for the *Angels showing the Star of the Magi* Primaticcio deploys an unequalled virtuosity of the sanguine technique, as found in other projects for the ballroom (Fig. 13 and 14), and of the light effects highlighting the twisted and swirling draperies figures.⁹⁴

Returning to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's copy, the drawing has an inscription in pen and ink indicating the location where Primaticcio's fresco was accomplished. It can be read: "Cappel van Duc de Guise". On the verso, another inscription – this time in pencil – states "cf. dessin Chantilly (Girandon 7946)". The latter is clearly written by a later hand, and perhaps it could have been written by Ludwig Burchard himself, who would have already been aware of Primaticcio's design at the Condé Museum in Chantilly, France. The main reason to believe the Rubenianum copy is a counterproof and not an original resides in the fact that Van Diepenbeeck's artwork is mirrored to Primaticcio's *modello*. Nevertheless, the red chalk's vibrant strength could indicate the counterproof has been worked up, perhaps by Van Diepenbeeck himself or by another member of Rubens' workshop.

Van Diepenbeeck's choice of where to include red chalk within the composition is extremely suggestive and inspiring. Just like the piece previously discussed and analysed, the use of red chalk responds to the need to emphasize the volume, movement, and fall of the textiles. From all the elements that make up the scene, and while copying this from Primaticcio's fresco or *modello*, Van Diepenbeeck decided, as a draughtsman, to accentuate the volume of just one of the figures. Perhaps, this decision was made to facilitate Rubens' work, or to accentuate those aspects from Primaticcio's designs that could be more relevant for Rubens' workshop.

3.3.3. RH.T.0014. *Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid*

⁹³ Deldicque.

⁹⁴ Deldicque.

Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid is an oval counterproof design made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck (Cat. 7). The three characters represented here – Venus, Amor, and Cupid – are sharing an intimate moment in a compact space. The proximity embodied in this oval shape allowed Primaticcio to explore different forms of perspectives and foreshortenings. Van Diepenbeeck respected and enhanced these aspects of the composition, as it can be seen, for instance, through Venus' leg. The position of her body – and specially of her legs, which are directed directly to the viewer's gaze – structures the entire composition. The anatomical studies of the figures exist in harmony with the roundness of the space, while Venus' limb divides the scene. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck understood Primaticcio's style and assimilated it.

The oval shape corresponds to the location chosen by Francesco Primaticcio to depict this scene: it was part of the vault decoration of the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau.⁹⁵ According to them, this gallery was composed by fifteen compartments. Each compartment contained the following elements: a full ceiling program which was accompanied by four or six secondary scenes in vaults and four complete scenes in the walls under the ceiling.⁹⁶

In this case, our *Sleeping Venus* would have been depicted in one of the vaults of the second compartment of the Gallery d'Ulysse. It was surrounded by other five secondary scenes: *Vertumnus and Pomona*, *Minerva*, *Vulcan*, *Mercury*, and *Aeolus*. These six scenes would have all been depicted under the ceiling scene of *Neptune setting up the storm*.⁹⁷

Van Diepenbeeck's drawing can be directly linked with one of Primaticcio's *modelli*, conserved nowadays in the Albertina in Vienna (Fig. 15). Primaticcio's preparatory design is accomplished in the opposite direction to Van Diepenbeeck's drawing, what could already indicate us that, indeed, the latter is a counterproof and not a first-state drawing. When copying this scene, Abraham Van Diepenbeeck set his sight in two main aspects of Primaticcio's composition and technique. Firstly – and though Van Diepenbeeck made his copy in a quick and fast manner – the Flemish draughtsman was interested in the intimate treatment of facial and corporal expressions. The delicate shadows which offer volume to the figures are taken from the light mastery of Primaticcio. Secondly, Van Diepenbeeck was intensely attracted to the depiction of

⁹⁵ For more information regarding its location within the Ulysse Gallery see Béguin 1985, p. 120, pl. II.

⁹⁶ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse a Fontainebleau*, pp. 133-140.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

draperies by Primaticcio. This second characteristic can be perceived on Venus' cloth, where Van Diepenbeeck has tried to emphasize the folding and movement of this.

There is a print – made contemporaneously to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck – depicting this same scene with a much more Mannerist style. This print was made by Antoine Garnier (1611-1694), who was a painter, copperplate engraver and etcher employed at Fontainebleau (Fig. 16).⁹⁸ As it has already been mentioned, Garnier's style is remarkably Mannerist, as most of the muscles and body expressions are notably exaggerated. Strangely, Garnier did not understand that Venus was holding a cornucopia, and therefore created his own variant of the scene.

Notwithstanding, I believe Van Diepenbeeck's counterproof stands as the middle point between Primaticcio's *modello* and Garnier's print. Van Diepenbeeck could have made this counterproof as a design for the printing work of artists such as Garnier. The resemblances between Primaticcio's piece and Van Diepenbeeck's copy are clear, however there are also shared elements between Van Diepenbeeck and Garnier. For instance, the fact that the presence of the cornucopia is not as clear as it should be in the drawn copy of the Flemish artist could indicate he was the first one to not understand this element. Moreover, both artists – Van Diepenbeeck and Garnier – decided to avoid depicting certain elements of the original composition, such as the hands of Amor.

3.3.4. RH.T.0010. *Helena is honoured by Paris (Iliad)* and RH.T.0020. *Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing*

Helena is honoured by Paris and *Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing* (Old title *Scene from the Iliad*) (Cat. 3 and cat. 13) – which do not necessarily have a strict link between them – can be examined together thanks to their iconographical and stylistic characteristics. This couple is made by two counterproofs that share considerable sizes and shapes – RH.T.0010 measures 265 mm x 140 mm and RH.T.0020 329 mm x 164 mm – and represent scenes from the Iliad. RH.T.0010 (Cat. 3) depicts *Helena is honoured by Paris*, most likely a scene from the wedding between Helena and Menelaus of Sparta,

⁹⁸ Antoine Garnier (1611-1694) was a painter, copperplate engraver and etcher, who was employed as a painter at Fontainebleau. At the age of 20 he helped his father with the paintings in Fontainebleau Castle. He made a series of engravings after Primaticcio and his school, which he published collectively in 1646. For more information, see *Thieme-Becker-Vollmer Gesamtregister: Register zum Allgemeinen Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart und zum Allgemeinen Lexikon der bildenden Künstler des XX. Jahrhunderts* (München Leipzig Leipzig: Saur Seemann, 1996). Vol. XIII, p. 204.

moments before the kidnapping of Helena by Paris and subsequent start of the Trojan War. RH.T.0020 (Cat. 13) represents a sacrifice carried out by Odysseus and the Greeks.⁹⁹

In both cases, the identification of the scenes has been possible through the comparison with other artworks depicting these same scenes. In the first case – the scene concerning Helena and Paris – the drawing from the Rubenianum is the counterproof of Van Diepenbeeck's drawing in the Albertina (Fig. 17). The reasons to believe the Rubenianum drawing is the counterproof are purely visual. When comparing both pieces, it can be observed how the Rubenianum piece is a mirrored version of the Albertina drawing. Furthermore, the pigments and intensity of the colour in the Rubenianum counterproof has been lost during the transfer process. Nevertheless, it should always be remembered that counterproofs could also be retouched by the artist itself, adding the lost intensity of the colours to the piece.

In the second case – the drawing depicting the sacrifice – the topic could be traced thanks to another drawn copy of the same scene (Fig. 18). This copy by Jacques Belly (1609-1674) – artist from the French School – was probably made at the same time as when Van Diepenbeeck was finishing his own copies. Belly's drawing is made in red chalk, and it counts with an inscription made in graphite in the bottom stating: "Ulysse et les Grecs sacrifiant _ Chambre du roi à Fontainebleau".

Regarding the location of both scenes, the inscription found on Belly's copy certainly offers an accurate description of the place chosen by Primaticcio to possibly depict these two scenes. Even though both scenes are not thematically directly linked – both are scenes from the Iliad, but from distant moments of the epic poem – it could be certainly possible both scenes were represented in the same Fontainebleau room. Moreover, both drawings have a cartouche depicted in their lower part, element that reinforces the possible link between both scenes. This room would be the Chambre du Roi or King's Chamber, one of the oldest spaces of the palace. Since medieval times, the King's Chamber was located on the first floor of the old keep, which had the appearance of a large square tower, and which was believed to have been built in the late 11th century or early 12th century.¹⁰⁰ This Chambre du Roi was placed in the centre of the group of buildings that were grouped

⁹⁹ Homer. *Iliad, Volume I: Book 3*. Translated by A. T. Murray. Revised by William F. Wyatt. Loeb Classical Library 170. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924).

¹⁰⁰ "The medieval palace - Château de Fontainebleau", Château de Fontainebleau, consulted on May 2, 2023, <https://www.chateaufontainebleau.fr/en/explore-the-castle-and-gardens/chateau-fontainebleau-history/medieval-palace-fontainebleau/>.

around an oval-shape courtyard. The buildings on both sides of the *Chambre du Roi* were leaning against a thick curtain wall, and an old gate to the south worked as the entrance.

Going back to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's creative role within the accomplishment of this pair of drawings, I would like to point out and emphasize the draughtsman's unique vision when copying these two scenes. As stated in earlier examples, Van Diepenbeeck had a special attraction towards the depiction of facial expressions and movements. In Helena's scene Van Diepenbeeck made use of sharp and fast strokes to represent the expressions of greatest interest, such as the figure standing on the lower left side of Helena. In the second scene, Van Diepenbeeck absorbed the light and delicate shadowing technique of Primaticcio, as it can be observed in the depiction of muscles and volume of the two lower figures of the scene. He managed to do so while ingeniously applying vibrant red chalk to certain elements of the composition. These elements are, for instance, the central figure which stands behind the fire or the quiver's strap of the figure in the low front right side.

3.3.5. RH.T.0023. *Neptune on his chariot*

Van Diepenbeeck's counterproof depicting *Neptune on his chariot* (Cat. 17) is one of the most impressive, detailed, and powerful designs of the whole Rubenianum group. Its considerable size – 230 mm x 350 mm – is certainly linked with both the importance of this design and its original location. Made with a mixture of graphite and red chalk, its topic can be easily recognised by the symbols and iconography of the main characters. At the centre, a vivid and moving Neptune seems to fly while holding his trident with one of his hands. Below him, an also muscular Mercury flies with him, recognizable by his winged hat and the caduceus he is holding with one of his hands. Surrounding these two main figures, horses ride over the sky forming Neptune's chariot. P.J. Mariette, in his description of the *Galerie d'Ulysse* of 1759, identified the figures surrounding Neptune as personifications of the Winds.¹⁰¹ These figures – which are holding Neptune's horses – do not carry any recognisable attributes.

Jacques Belly's series of drawn copies made after the Fontainebleau decorations included a sheet dedicated to this scene (Fig. 19). However, Belly's design is a mirrored version of Van Diepenbeeck's piece, and thus follows the same direction as the lost

¹⁰¹ P. J. Mariette, notes en marge des *Peintures de l'Institut de Bologne* (1759), éd. Ph. De Chennevières et A. de Montaiglon, *Abecedario*, Supplément, t. VI, Paris, (1859): 293.

original ceiling composition of Primaticcio. This fact makes me conclude Van Diepenbeeck's copy is a counterproof and not the original drawing. As researched and stated by Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume and Alain Roy¹⁰², *Neptune on his chariot* was the main subject of the compartment number 11 in the Gallerie d'Ulysse in the Palace of Fontainebleau.¹⁰³ Among this main scene, the compartment was decorated by other four secondary scenes, which were individual depictions of *Flora*, *Bacchus*, *Saturn*, and *Ceres*.¹⁰⁴

As a great copyist and draughtsman, Van Diepenbeeck clearly managed to transfer, communicate, and replicate the most impressive features of Primaticcio's ceiling composition. Among these elements, it can certainly be remarked the way Van Diepenbeeck unified the whole composition around the foreshortening of Neptune and the horse riding next to him. The movement of the main figures is carefully preserved, over a background composed by a transition of shadows that, again, reinforces the idea and illusion of movement. Mercury's position and foreshortening is perfectly aligned with Neptune's feet, which seem to float over the spectator.

It should also be mentioned the reasons that pushed Van Diepenbeeck to highlight certain elements of the composition with red chalk. Apparently, these details seem to not have any relation between them and are quite secondary when one observes the entire composition. Nevertheless, it is precisely during this process where Van Diepenbeeck demonstrated his role as a mediator between Rubens and his workshop and Primaticcio and the School of Fontainebleau. He decided to highlight elements such as the horsehair, reins and tails of the horses, and Mercury's tunic and caduceus. Most likely, Abraham Van Diepenbeeck highlighted certain elements for several reasons, such as creating different layers of depth within the scene. He could also have wanted to clarify the areas and elements that needed special attention for future compositions.

¹⁰² Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Gallerie d'Ulysse a Fontainebleau*, pp. 177-181.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

4. The afterlife of the designs – two case studies

In the third and last chapter of this thesis, the afterlife of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's Fontainebleau designs will be explored. There will be an emphasis on the stylistic, iconographic, and historic evidence which indicates Rubens made use of the intermediate copies provided and accomplished by Van Diepenbeeck for some of his compositions. These mentioned testimonies will be analysed through different and varied examples, ranging from the already discussed drawings and counterproofs made by Van Diepenbeeck to oil sketches created by Rubens.

The coming chapter is divided in two sections, and each one of them will examine a different form of afterlife given to one of Van Diepenbeeck's copies. The first section consists of one case study: the design for *Apollo's Sun Chariot* – a fresco first made by Primaticcio, then copied by Van Diepenbeeck and lastly sketched by Rubens. Throughout the evaluation of Rubens' oil sketch, the reader will understand the working methods used by Rubens himself and his workshop, and most importantly, apprehend the system created by Rubens to reinterpret and redesign a composition of this magnitude.

Following this section, one drawing finished by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and traditionally ascribed to Van Thulden as a preparatory design will be researched in depth, named *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon's Boat*. This design, conserved in the Fries Museum and recently discovered during the process of this research, should be reattributed to Van Diepenbeeck and reconsidered as part of Rubens' commission and not as a preparatory design for one of Van Thulden's print. Furthermore, Rubens' workshop did also accomplish a drawing based on Van Diepenbeeck's design. Therefore, it can be traced, once more, a drawing's history from its creation by Primaticcio to Rubens' workshop, going through Van Diepenbeeck's copies.

4.1.RH.T.0021. *Apollo's Sun Chariot*

Apollo's Sun Chariot (Cat. 14) is a design produced by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and part of the Rubenianum group of drawings, discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis. The importance and afterlife embodied in this design are such that it is more convenient to discuss it in depth in this new section. It should first be clarified that this piece is counterproof and not an original drawing. As it will be explored later, when comparing this design to Primaticcio's *modello*, it can be observed how the Rubenianum piece is mirrored.

Within the drawings conserved in the Rubenianum, *Apollo's Sun Chariot* (Cat. 14) is the most monumental one, with a size of 408 mm x 325 mm. Certainly, this size is needed to depict the full program of details, figures, animals, and putti which revolve around Apollo's chariot. Indeed, the design's size also allowed Van Diepenbeeck to sketch out the shape of the ceiling in which the original fresco was represented. This detail can be appreciated on the page ends, where the artist also included some details of the ceiling ornamentation.

The creation of this composition can be traced to Primaticcio's *modello*, which he executed in red chalk on paper with white highlights (Fig. 20). When comparing both pieces, one notices how Van Diepenbeeck accomplished a true copy of reality, following Primaticcio's design very closely. As noticed by Jeremy Wood, Primaticcio created a startling piece of illusionism in this work.¹⁰⁵ As explained by Sylvie Béguin, Jean Guillaume, and Alain Roy, this composition was made by Primaticcio as the main object of the ceiling of the tenth compartment of the Galerie d'Ulysse at Fontainebleau.¹⁰⁶ The theme depicted is the journey that Apollo would have to do every day across the heavens to bring light and warmth to the world. As narrated by Ovid, Apollo should ride in a quadriga drawn by four horses – Pyrois, Eous, Aethon, and Phlegon. However, Primaticcio decided to depict a biga¹⁰⁷ for space and legibility reasons.¹⁰⁸ The viewer, which stands underneath Apollo's great chariot, observes the sky and the horses that pull the god's vehicle across the heavens. In a notably creative manner, Primaticcio avoided explicitly depicting Apollo's figure, which presence can still be felt above the spectator's head, either seated or standing in the chariot that blocks the spectator's vision.

Following Ovid's narration, Apollo was accompanied by the twelve Hours, who oversaw the attaching of the horses to his chariot once Aurora opened the doors of his palace and let out the dawn. Apollo's retinue could also count with the presence of the Days, Months, Years, and the Four Seasons. In Primaticcio's composition, the Months are represented through the naked children that are accompanying the Hours. However – and probably for stylistic reasons again – Primaticcio only included six instead of the

¹⁰⁵ Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', pp. 307-311.

¹⁰⁶ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Galerie d'Ulysse a Fontainebleau*, pp. 173-176.

¹⁰⁷ The biga is the two-horse chariot as used in ancient Rome for sport, transportation, and ceremonies. A quadriga is a four-horse chariot used for racing and associated with the Roman triumph. Primaticcio changed the number of horses of the legend for aesthetic reasons.

¹⁰⁸ Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', pp. 307-311.

regular twelve Months. In my opinion, Primaticcio used previous or contemporary designs to create this new ceiling display. For instance, one of the figures on the top left side of his *modello* – which we see ascending with its back to the viewer – can be compared with the central figures of the *Dance of the Hours modello* Primaticcio made. In the inner circle of the *Dance of the Hours modello*, three figures ascend to the sky while holding their hands. Indeed, these three figures may be compared to the top left figure in *Apollo's modello* (Fig. 21 and 22).

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck respected Primaticcio's structure, composition, floating figures, and movement inherent in the scene, creating a piece that also suggests the structure of the ceiling where it was depicted. Nevertheless, when having a close look at the entire group of figures, it is possible to recognise Van Diepenbeeck's innovative personality. These changes emerge, in my opinion, from Van Diepenbeeck's decision of focusing on facial expressions and emotions over the representation of draperies, shadows, highlights, complex poses, and stunts. For instance, Van Diepenbeeck represented some figures without the tunic that was originally placed over them by Primaticcio (Fig. 23 and 24).

Moreover, Van Diepenbeeck added this emotion over elements such as the chariot itself. Primaticcio's chariot counts with a humble and hidden ornamented decoration which was completely transformed by Van Diepenbeeck. The latter – inspired by a sort of Caravaggesque Medusa – included a frightening and intimidating face to Apollo's vehicle, reinforcing the dramatism he was aspiring for. Van Diepenbeeck admired and appreciated the sort of *horror vacui* created by Primaticcio through a complex mass of kicking limbs and wriggling figures.¹⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Van Diepenbeeck also decided to aerate the piece's atmosphere by displaying more space between the figures and leaving aside the emphasis on shadows and volumes.

The life of this design developed even more within Rubens' workshop. Rubens produced a highly charged sketch painted in oil on panel after the ceiling fresco designed by Francesco Primaticcio, which was auctioned by Sotheby's in London 2016 (Fig. 25).¹¹⁰ Rubens' piece is an outstanding manifestation of his ability to adapt and transform models of the past. While recognising Primaticcio's figure and importance as one of the most influential artists working in France during the sixteenth century, Rubens also

¹⁰⁹ Wood.

¹¹⁰ Sotheby's London. *Old Masters Evening Sale*. 6 July 2016, lot no. 7. Auction catalogue.

managed to interpret this scene through his preferred medium, the oil sketch. Perhaps, Rubens saw and sketched Primaticcio's ceiling when he visited Paris between 1622 and 1625 in connection with his work on the Medici Cycle.¹¹¹ Yet, Jeremy Wood states the unlikelihood of this happening, since the painting is so large it seems improbable to have been made in front of the original.¹¹² Moreover, Rubens always respected the function of the works he copied. As explained by Wood, "If he worked from a *modello* it would be logical to make his version look like a preparatory work and this would explain why he chose to paint his adaptation relatively thinly on panel".¹¹³

Until now, the accepted theory regarding Rubens' oil sketch is that the Flemish master could have owned Primaticcio's *modello*, and therefore based his oil sketch on that piece. However, when building this theory scholars did not know the existence of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's drawing in the Rubenianum which surfaced so recently. In my opinion, this theory should be revisited, since Van Diepenbeeck's copy depicting *Apollo's Sun Chariot* could be the key to understanding Rubens' working methods, and most likely, Rubens made use of it to finish his exceptional oil sketch. Primaticcio's *modello* belonged, since the seventeenth century, to Everhard Jabach (1618-1675) – an art collector and banker – who was known for owning multiple Rubens drawings. Jabach received help from Canon Jan Philip Happaert – acclaimed Rubens' art collector – to acquire more pieces made by Rubens. The theory announced earlier is, thus, based on the possibility of Rubens' once owning Primaticcio's *modello*, and then passing both works to Happaert's hands.¹¹⁴ But, as just explained, this theory never considered the existence of other copies which could have been used by Rubens, like Van Diepenbeeck's Rubenianum copy.

Rubens' oil sketch follows the same direction as Primaticcio's *modello*, and Van Diepenbeeck's design is a mirrored composition, and therefore a counterproof. When analysing Rubens' sketch, we can recognise the luminous background and the distinctive sense of space found in Van Diepenbeeck's composition. The minor changes Rubens' executed in his piece over the original design of Primaticcio are already visible in Van

¹¹¹ Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', pp. 307-311.

¹¹² Jeremy Wood, 'Rubens as Thief. His Use of Past Art and Some Adaptations from Primaticcio', in *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550–1700)*, Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, C. Van de Velde, Museums at the Crossroads 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), p. 155.

¹¹³ Wood, *Rubens: Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists: Italian Artists. III: Artists Working in Central Italy and France*, p. 309.

¹¹⁴ Wood.

Diepenbeeck's copy. For example, the female figure on the left has changed the position of her arm: in Van Diepenbeeck's and Rubens' interpretation, she extends her limb under Apollo's chariot, while in Primaticcio's *modello* she places her arm over her body. Other slight but recognizable change in Rubens' piece has to do with the figures of children emerging between the Hours. On the chariot's right flank, one can perceive how the face of the putto is turned in a different direction and set back.

The arrangement of Rubens' sketch is profoundly dynamic, and while shedding himself from Primaticcio's Mannerist style, he manages to depict his characteristic and unique Rubensian beauty.¹¹⁵ For the arguments exposed during this section, I would like to conclude I truly believe a revision of the existing theories should be done by scholars. In my opinion, Abraham Van Diepenbeeck's drawing depicting *Apollo's Sun Chariot* could have arrived at Rubens' workshop between the years 1630 and 1640 and served as the direct model, inspiration, and base for Rubens' renowned oil sketch *The Chariot of Apollo*.

4.2. A new discovery at the Fries Museum. Van Thulden or Van Diepenbeeck?

Study, copy, or sketch?

The following drawing to be discussed in this section – unpublished until now and discovered through the research process of this thesis – does not belong to the Rubenianum group of drawings. However, it can still be related, in several aspects, to all the artworks that have been discussed throughout this research. The drawing is called *Charon carrying people across the Styx* (Fig. 26)¹¹⁶, and it has been ascribed – mistakenly in my opinion – to Theodoor Van Thulden. Made in black and red chalk on paper and dated between 1630 and 1632, it can be found nowadays in the Fries Museum in Leeuwarden. This drawing had not previously been related to the Rubens and Van Diepenbeeck commission, and therefore it is only now that these relationships are being considered. Additionally, Jeremy Wood was not familiarized with the Fries Museum drawing.

Before analysing the style, execution, and iconography of this – unpublished until now – sheet, we should firstly understand the reasons behind the traditional attribution

¹¹⁵ Sotheby's London. *Old Masters Evening Sale*. 6 July 2016, lot no. 7. Auction catalogue.

¹¹⁶ I would like to appreciate the work and help of Yvonne Bleyerveld, who first encountered this drawing in the collection of the Fries Museum. She then shared with me the discovery and the information regarding this piece.

to Theodoor Van Thulden of many of Van Diepenbeeck's drawn copies, including the one being discussed in this section. Theodoor Van Thulden issued a set of etchings after the Story of Ulysses – as narrated by Primaticcio in the Galerie d'Ulysses in Fontainebleau – between the years 1632 and 1633.¹¹⁷ The publication of *The Works of Ulysses* consisted of two frontispieces and fifty-eight etchings. All the etchings by Van Thulden are signed with the monogram *TvT* and numbered: 1-58.¹¹⁸ In order to accomplish this set of prints, Van Thulden made a large group of preparatory designs. These drawings have been at the centre of controversy since until now it has not been known with certainty if they were made by Van Diepenbeeck or Van Thulden.¹¹⁹

Some preparatory designs made by Van Thulden for the publication of this series have reached our days. Most of these preparatory designs have common characteristics and features that can help to easily link the drawing with the posterior prints published by him. For instance, all preparatory sheets share the exact same size of the posterior etchings. Additionally, most of the drawings by Van Thulden for this project also contain the inscriptions – which describe the scene of the Odyssey being depicted – that were also included in the prints. Also, Van Thulden made sure to add his monogram to the print and include the number of the series in both the drawing and the print. Stylistically talking, Van Thulden's prints reduced Primaticcio's designs to simplified outlines. Although they recorded each composition adequately, they did not convey the visual character of the original decorations.¹²⁰ A few examples can help us illustrate Van Thulden's project and creative process. These examples will also be accompanied by Van Diepenbeeck's drawings depicting the same scenes, in order to allow the comparison between the work of both artists (Fig. 27a-c and Fig. 28a-c).

Certainly, the current attribution of this drawing offered by the collection of the Fries Museum responds to a traditional train of thought, which was already presented at the beginning of this thesis. This train of thought believed that drawn copies had to be made by the same hand who later engraved or etched the design. When attributing this sheet to

¹¹⁷ Jeremy Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', *Master Drawings* 28, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 9.

¹¹⁸ Hollstein, Boon, Hoop Scheffer, *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700*, vol. XXX (Amsterdam: Hertzberger, 1949): 111 (H. 37-96).

¹¹⁹ The scholar Jeremy Wood made the necessary distinctions between the copies made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck – which were later sent to Rubens' workshop among other locations – and those preparatory designs made by Van Thulden – used exclusively by him for his etchings.

¹²⁰ Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', p. 268.

Van Thulden, the figure of Van Diepenbeeck and its role in Rubens' workshop was yet to be discovered and understood in depth. Throughout this following section, I will provide arguments to suggest a reattribution of this sheet to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. Moreover, this example will serve as path to follow to understand, once more, the life and afterlife experienced by these drawn copies; from Primaticcio to Rubens passing through Van Diepenbeeck and Van Thulden.

Until now, it was believed the drawing in Leeuwarden belonged to the group of preparatory designs made by Van Thulden which he then used as models for the prints published in 1632-1633. Unfortunately, no print made after the Fries Museum drawing has survived to our days. Nevertheless, there is another drawing – made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and conserved nowadays at the Louvre Museum (Fig. 29) – depicting this same scene. I strongly believe the Fries Museum's drawing is a counterproof of the Louvre Museum drawing made by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, as it will be explored more thoroughly in the following paragraphs.

Regarding the iconography of the Fries Museum composition, Jeremy Wood already stated it is difficult to identify the subject matter or establish where it was originally located at Fontainebleau when referring to the Louvre Museum.¹²¹ According to him, the Louvre drawing's composition was devised by Primaticcio because a squared *modello* by or after him has reached our days (Fig. 30). Primaticcio's *modello* was first mentioned as a depiction of Charon's Boat when it was auctioned in 1713, 1731, and 1733.¹²² The composition was recently identified as *The Descent of the Souls of the Suitors into the Underworld* by Claude Mignot¹²³, following the narration found in Book XXIV of the *Odyssey* where Mercury is described as “rounding up the souls with his wand and despatching them to the meadow of asphodel, the dwelling place of the dead”. However, Jeremy Wood was not fully convinced by this interpretation, since he argued many characters would be missing, such as Mercury.¹²⁴

¹²¹ Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’, p. 312.

¹²² “Een Schetze, door P. Paulo Rubbens, verbeeldende Charons Boot”. See G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van Schilderyen, met derzelver pryzen. Zedert een langen reeks van Jaaren zoo in Holland als op andere Plaatzten in het openbaar verkogt*, The Hague, 1752, I, p. 158, no. 46.

¹²³ Claude Mignot, ‘Fontainebleau Revisited: La Galerie d’Ulysse’, *Revue de l’Art*, no. 82 (1988), p. 14.

¹²⁴ Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’, p. 313.

Another suggested interpretation states this scene could represent *Aeneas questioning his Father, Anchises, in the Underworld* (Aeneid, VI, 679-901).¹²⁵ Again, for iconographic reasons, this theory was disregarded by Wood. The most recent and convincing theory – stated by D. Cordellier in 2004 – suggests Primaticcio’s composition was intended as an allegory of Old Age.¹²⁶ The central figure could, therefore, be a depiction of Time, even though his wings would be missing. This theory is reinforced by an inscription found on Primaticcio’s *modello*, which says: “a l’opposite de la Jeunesse”¹²⁷, suggesting the composition had a pendant depicting *Youth* or was even part of a cycle depicting the Ages of Man.¹²⁸ Nevertheless, Jeremy Wood kept the title of *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon’s Boat* in his *Corpus Rubenianum* catalogue.¹²⁹

Regarding the location of the original design, there have been different attempts to locate the scene in the Galerie d’Ulysse at Fontainebleau. This composition has not been mentioned in any of the early descriptions of the gallery or the château, and therefore it has been difficult to locate its original placement. Moreover, it was never included in any of the numerous series of copies made after the Ulysses cycle, including the etchings of Theodoor Van Thulden (the *Travaux d’Ulysse* of 1633). However, this could be explained if instead of being executed as a fresco, was done as a stucco relief. Yet, whether the drawing was made after a fresco or after a stucco is another matter.

Rubens’ workshop created a colour-washed drawing that immortalised, again, this same scene (Fig. 31). The dating of this piece is doubtful, and its whereabouts unknown. Probably, one of Van Diepenbeeck’s copies travelled all the way to Antwerp to serve as pure working material for Rubens’ pupils. It should not seem surprising that Rubens’ followers also aspired to become masters in the reinvention of motifs of the past. Perhaps, these copies were not only used by Rubens himself, but also by those close to him that wanted to reinterpret the subject-matter in exceptional manners. And that is precisely

¹²⁵ Wood, ‘Padre Resta’s Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau’, pp. 25-30.

¹²⁶ Dominique Cordellier, *Primaticcio. Maître de Fontainebleau*. (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 2004), pp. 355-356..

¹²⁷ “At the opposite side of the Youth”.

¹²⁸ Wood, ‘Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France’ p. 314.

¹²⁹ Wood, pp. 312-315. Since there are several possible interpretations of this scene, the drawing will still be referred to as *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon’s Boat* throughout this section, following Wood’s explanation.

what this drawing made in brush with coloured wash was all about: training the gaze into creating new compositions based on the motifs of the great masters of the past.

According to Wood, Van Diepenbeeck's copy was possibly sent to Antwerp, where another artist would have used it to make the coloured adaptation at a considerable distance from the original. This theory is also reinforced by the fact that the coloured drawing made in Rubens' workshop is stylistically closer to Van Diepenbeeck's copy than to Primaticcio's *modello*. Then, in which state of the creative and copying process can we locate the Fries sheet?

When comparing all the existing testimonies made after the original design, we can promptly recognize some fundamental changes in both the foreground and background of both Van Diepenbeeck's copies. The alteration of the subject matter which takes place in Van Diepenbeeck's chalk copy – in comparison to Primaticcio's *modello* – is characteristic of the other Fontainebleau copies. The original decorations, made by Primaticcio, suffered restorations and deterioration in the following years after its creation. Therefore, the differences found in the Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden and Rubens' copies probably reflect the condition of the original decoration as found in the early seventeenth century.¹³⁰

Before entering in depth into the description of these four artworks, it is necessary to clarify the reasoning behind the attribution to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck of the sheet in the Fries Museum, and why its current attribution is incorrect. In the first place, both sheets (Louvre and Fries) share practically the same measurements. The Louvre sheet measures 229 x 330 mm, and the Fries sheet 233 x 335 mm. The fact that both artworks are oriented to same direction makes me believe the Fries drawing is a counterproof, made after another counterproof, of the Louvre drawing.

Another argument to believe in this theory relies on the red chalk that can be observed on both drawings. In the Louvre drawing, the vibrant red chalk is applied in the wings of the putti surrounding the figure in the centre and on the tunic wore by the figure in the right side of the foreground. In a more subtle manner, the red chalk was also applied to some areas of the sky in the background. Unlike the Louvre sheet, the pigments and colour of the Fries drawing are lighter and less noticeable. Nonetheless, traces of red chalk can be distinguished in the same areas as in the Louvre Museum. This argument

¹³⁰ Wood, 'Padre Resta's Flemish Drawings. Van Diepenbeeck, Van Thulden, Rubens, and the School of Fontainebleau', p. 30.

strengthens the theory that connects both works and which suggests the Fries sheet could be a counterproof, after a counterproof of the Louvre design. The red chalk in the Fries composition is so light that the piece had to be worked up. The reason to believe Rubens' workshop made use of one of these two copies is sustained by the close similarities between this drawn version and the two copies made by Van Diepenbeeck and conserved in the Louvre and Fries. Rubens' workshop version is not closed, in matters of style and iconography, to Primaticcio's *modello*.¹³¹

Let us now analyse the evolution and history of this scene, from Primaticcio's *modello* to Rubens' workshop drawing. In the first place, both figures and facial expressions drastically changed from one copy to another. For instance, the figure in the left foreground, holding a stick with both his hands, appears much older in Van Diepenbeeck's drawings than in Primaticcio's *modello*. Also, he ends up disappearing in Rubens' coloured drawing.

The group sitting around a table in the background also suffered noticeable modifications throughout the different copies. This change was already acknowledged by Wood, who explained that the original decoration probably suffered repaints and restorations and therefore the seventeenth-century copies reflected the new display. Regarding the central figure standing on crutches, its most significant variation concerns his facial expression. While on Primaticcio's *modello* his gaze seems hopeless and desolate, on Van Diepenbeeck's his expression gained a sense of fury. The anonymous artist in Rubens' workshop, nevertheless, transformed his face into a complete expression of rage and ferocity.

A similar process occurred with other main figures, such as the man standing on the boat in the right foreground. When designed by Primaticcio, his facial expression was extremely expressive, suggesting fear, anger, or despair. Accompanying his face, his body and hair also transmitted this feeling of complete misery. Primaticcio depicted him wearing a tunic that hung from his side and that revealed most of his body. When Van Diepenbeeck and Rubens' workshop interpreted this scene, they first provided a much-calmed gaze to the figure and a tunic that would cover more parts of his body.

When comparing these three pieces to the coloured drawing finished by Rubens' workshop, we can recognize the same characteristics that have been exposed throughout

¹³¹ Wood, 'Copies and Adaptations from Renaissance and Later Artists, Italian Artists, III, Artists Working in Central Italy and France', p. 313.

this thesis when dealing with Rubens' work. Rubens' workshop created a much more plastic composition, where its materiality can even be felt. Its environment is remarkably airier than in the other copies, and this was achieved by selecting figures to represent and avoid depicting others. The author of this coloured interpretation prioritized facial expressions, emotions, and the Rubensian gaze over other stylistic characteristics.¹³²

It can be concluded – by observing the stylistic and iconographic resemblances – that the Fries Museum sheet is a counterproof made after Van Diepenbeeck's drawing in the Louvre Museum. The latter probably travelled to Rubens' workshop in Antwerp, where a unique, plastic, and spontaneous version of this design was accomplished.

¹³² There is a later anonymous copy in the National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum in Athens, Greece. It is believed to depict the topic of *Old Age*, made by a Flemish, sixteenth-century artist. It follows very much Primaticcio's composition. The piece has not been studied in depth by scholars. For more information, see Dominique Cordellier, *Primaticcio, maître de Fontainebleau* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux [etc.], 2004), pp. 355-356, under no. 188. Fig. 32.

5. Conclusion

“What was stolen by Rubens, the possessor knew not how to value; and certainly no person knew so well as Rubens how to use”.¹³³

When studying the working methods of seventeen-century artists, one needs to firstly understand the essential role of draughtsmen and workshop members in order to comprehend the development of their artworks. In this case, the oeuvre of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck can certainly shed a light over the real sources of inspiration that were been used by his master, Peter Paul Rubens. The aims of this thesis were, on the one hand, to research in depth a group of seventeen hitherto-unpublished drawings and counterproofs from the Rubenianum collections, recently discovered in the year 2020. The whole of this group has been attributed – both by the Rubenianum and by specialists such as Jeremy Wood – to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, one of the most prolific pupils of Rubens. Modest in size, the Rubenianum assemblage belongs to a much wider project, started by Rubens himself in the 1630s.

This project – which has produced over 155 drawn copies, currently scattered around different European collections – aimed to replicate Mannerist decorations that were designed and finished by Francesco Primaticcio and Niccolò dell’Abbate, two central figures of the first generation of the School of Fontainebleau, during the mid-sixteenth century. As noted by Jeremy Wood, “the stimulus of visiting Fontainebleau at various times between 1622 and 1625 while working on the Medici Cycle had an immediate impact on Rubens and his work”.¹³⁴ The Flemish master quickly understood and recognised the artistic potential embodied in Fontainebleau’s walls and iconographic programs.

On the other hand, this thesis aimed to depict the real scope and magnitude of this commission, ordered by Rubens himself to Van Diepenbeeck. To accomplish this, some of the counterproofs from the Rubenianum have been linked to different art forms and supports. For instance, many of the researched sheets shared an essential relationship with contemporary and later prints, whose compositions were based on the drawn copies of Van Diepenbeeck. Moreover, counterproofs made by Van Diepenbeeck such as *Apollo’s Sun Chariot* (Cat. 14) have been directly connected to renown Rubens’ artworks like his

¹³³ Sir Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Flanders and Holland* (Cambridge: Harry Mount, 1996): 32-33.

¹³⁴ Wood, ‘Rubens as Thief. His Use of Past Art and Some Adaptations from Primaticcio’, p. 161.

oil sketch on panel depicting this same scene (fig. 26). The examples shared throughout this research have intended to materialize the common seventeenth-century practice of reimagining, reinterpreting, and recreating models of the past for the future of art.

The research questions exposed at the start of this research – concerning the identification, location, and further relationships of the Rubenianum drawings and counterproofs – have been answered through different methodologies and approaches. The identification of the scenes, which has been possible in most of the cases, has been accomplished through the comparison with either contemporary or later art works with the same composition and iconography. The identification of the location of the scenes has been possible through the analysis of the inscriptions found in the counterproofs or through the comparison of descriptions concerning the rooms and space distribution of the Château of Fontainebleau. Lastly, the connections established between Primaticcio's *modelli*, Van Diepenbeeck drawn copies and later artworks – as the ones made by Rubens' himself or his workshop or later prints – aimed to depict how a composition can powerfully survive through the centuries in the minds of many artists.

Most importantly, through the examination of the counterproofs and drawings from the Rubenianum this thesis has aspired to demonstrate the importance of draughtsmen within 17th century workshops. These draughtsmen, such as Van Diepenbeeck himself, were not only in charge of mechanically transcribing an artwork to a different support. They also established areas of interest within the artwork they were copying. In Van Diepenbeeck's case, he managed to do so using red chalk as a medium of accentuation. Some of Van Diepenbeeck's Rubenianum counterproofs where this practice can be recognised are *Angels showing the Star of the Magi* (Cat. 5), *Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing* (Cat. 13) and *Neptune on his chariot* (Cat. 17).

Additionally, there was a space for creativity inherent in the action of copying, transcribing, and understanding the original piece. I am strongly convinced that Abraham Van Diepenbeeck held an essential position between Francesco Primaticcio's language and Rubens' art conception. Van Diepenbeeck was a mediator of ideas, who cleverly managed to absorb artistic currents of different periods and centuries. Some evidence supporting this theory can be seen in pieces such as the monumental *Apollo's Sun Chariot* (Cat. 14). Here, Van Diepenbeeck made slight changes that harmoniously coexisted with Primaticcio's original composition. For instance, Van Diepenbeeck decided to add a sense of dramatism to the design through small details, such as in Apollo's chariot or by leaving more air between the figures.

Certainly, a fundamental aspect of this research consisted of comparing the Rubenianum drawings with the other drawings – also part of this commission – that are currently scattered in other European collections. Visiting both the Rubenianum and the Royal Library of Belgium provided this research with a deep understanding of the size and variety of Abraham Van Diepenbeeck’s drawn copies. On the one hand, it was vital to observe in person the core pieces of this thesis. This allowed me to recognise, for instance, the watermarks, which play such a significant role in the attribution and provenance of the drawings. On the other hand, the exercise of comparison with the drawings from the KBR permitted me, again, observe the diversity of drawn copies made by Van Diepenbeeck.

Assuredly, the topic discussed during this research – both the entire commission in general and the Rubenianum drawings in specific – needs of further and profound research. The ideas and conclusions here exposed can surely be applied to other copies of this commission that have still not been revised. Furthermore, I believe there are further relationships and existing connections which are yet to be discovered. For instance, more intense research could bring out new findings regarding figures that were firstly copied by Van Diepenbeeck and then reused by Rubens in his own artworks. In addition, this research has only focused on frescos made by Primaticcio and then copied by Van Diepenbeeck. Nonetheless, the Château of Fontainebleau was also made up of multiple forms of art, such as stuccoworks, grotesque ornaments, or sculptures.¹³⁵

Therefore, further research could contribute to the study of those art forms which have not yet been explored and which could still be related to the commission ordered by Rubens in 1630s. *Women around a sacrificial block?* (Cat. 11) could possibly be a copy made of a stucco work and not after a fresco or painting. The reasons to believe in this theory rely on the oval shape that embodies the depicted scene. Multiple descriptions already mention the existence of round medallions that decorated the halls and staircases of the Château of Fontainebleau.¹³⁶

Even within the Rubenianum group explored throughout this research there are still pieces that need to be explored more thoroughly. For example, *Noli me tangere* (Cat. 9) and *(Angel holding a scroll with the message “Gloria in Exelcis Deo” over puttis)* (Cat. 15) are two religious scenes whose location has still not been deciphered. It would

¹³⁵ Béguin, Guillaume, and Roy, *La Galerie d’Ulysse a Fontainebleau*, pp. 45-60.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*

be extremely fruitful to understand how these pieces depicting religious scenes relate to the rest of the group, which is full of scenes from Antiquity. It would be noteworthy to locate these scenes and confirm if they were copied from a chapel in Fontainebleau or from other private location.

6. APPENDIX 1

Catalogue



Cat. 1

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Two putti holding the Arma Christi

c.1631-1632

Drawing, red chalk on paper

Watermark with a bunch of grapes

Inscription (in pen and brown ink): "Casteel van Duc de Guu..... / 15. mylen buyten Parys"

167 x 197 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0009r

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 2

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Seated man

c.1631-1632

Drawing, graphite on paper

Watermark with a bunch of grapes

No inscriptions

167 x 197 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0009v

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 3

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Helena is honoured by Paris (Iliad)

c.1631-1632

Counterproof. graphite and red chalk on paper

No watermark

No inscription

265 x 140 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0010

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

Counterproof of a drawing in the Albertina Museum, Vienna (Inv. No. 9003)



Cat. 4

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Jupiter and Semele

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, red chalk and graphite on paper

Watermark with a bunch of grapes

No inscription

229 x 332 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0011

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 5

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Angels showing the Star of the Magi

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite and red chalk on paper

Watermark with a bunch of grapes

Inscription in the bottom center (in pen and brown ink): “n... Cappel van Duc de Guise”; in the verso: “cf. dessin Chantilly (Girandon 7946)”

213 x 311 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0012

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

After Francesco Primaticcio's *modello*, *Angels showing the Star of the Magi*, c. 1550-1560. Drawing, red chalk and white gouache on paper, 237 x 301 mm. Musée Condé, Chantilly



Cat. 6

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

A seated naked woman

c.1631-1632

Drawing, graphite on paper

No watermark

No inscription

121 x 153 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0013

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 7

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite on paper

No watermark

No inscription

103 x 145 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0014

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

After Francesco Primaticcio's *modello*, *Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid*, c. 1547-1548. Drawing, red chalk, heightened with white, 148 x 199 mm. Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. 1973



Cat. 8

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Seated woman with two putti

c.1631-1632

Drawing, graphite on paper

No watermark

No inscription

95 x 146 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0015

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 9

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Noli me tangere

c.1631-1632

Drawing, graphite on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

270 x 208 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0016

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 10

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Hylas stopped by the Nymphs

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite and red chalk on paper

No watermark

No inscription

123 x 167 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0017

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

After Francesco Primaticcio's *modello*, *Hylas stopped by the Nymphs*. Drawing, red chalk, heightened with white, 155 x 215 mm. Paris, Louvre. Inv. No. 8523



Cat. 11

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Harvest and dancing scenes

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

165 x 204 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0018

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 12

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Seated naked man

c.1631-1632

Drawing, red chalk on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

122 x 95 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0019

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 13

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite and red chalk on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

329 x 164 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0020

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 14

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Apollo's Sun Chariot

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite and red chalk on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes and crown

No inscription

408 x 325 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0021

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

After Francesco Primaticcio's *modello*, *The chariot of the Sun surrounded by the Hours*. Drawing, red chalk, heightened with white, 343 x 461 mm. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Inv. No. 8519



Cat. 15

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Angel holding a scroll with the message "Gloria in Exelcis Deo" over puttis

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

315 x 220 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0022r

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 16

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Man seen from behind

c.1631-1632

Drawing, red chalk on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

315 x 220 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0022v

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard



Cat. 17

Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio

Neptune on his chariot

c.1631-1632

Counterproof, graphite and red chalk on paper

Watermark with bunch of grapes

No inscription

230 x 350 mm

Inv. No. RH.T.0023

Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis

Provenance: Collection of Ludwig Burchard

7. Figures



Fig. 1. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Niccolò dell'Abbate. *Pietà* (as mounted in Codice Resta [F. 261 inf.] with annotation by Padre Sebastiano Resta). Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana.



bpk-BILDAGENTUR No: 70520229, bpk / Städel Museum
Die Anbetung der Könige, Gefolge

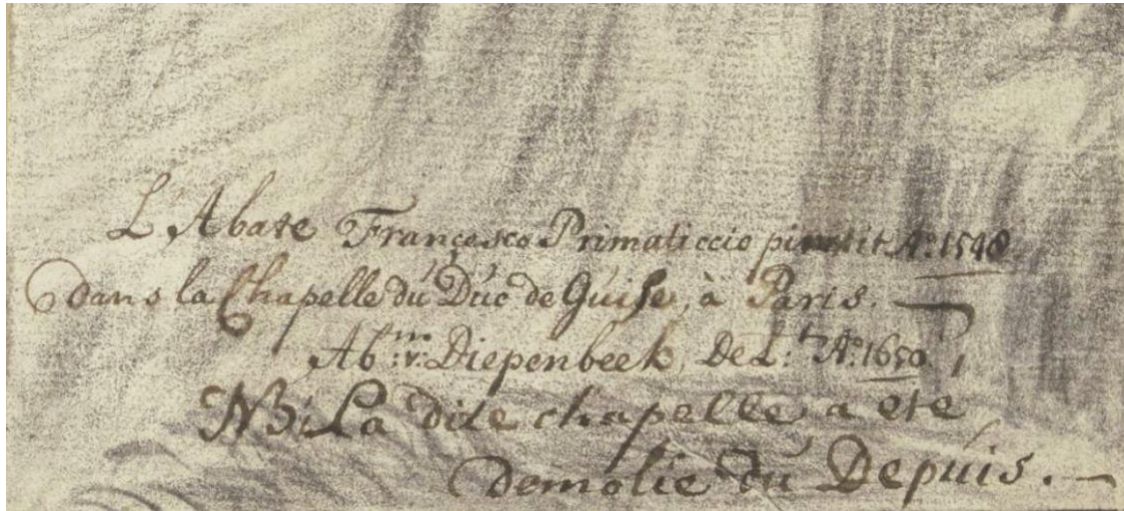


Fig. 2. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio. *The Adoration of the Kings* from the Chapel of the Duc de Guise in Paris. Frankfurt, Städelsches Kunstinstitut.

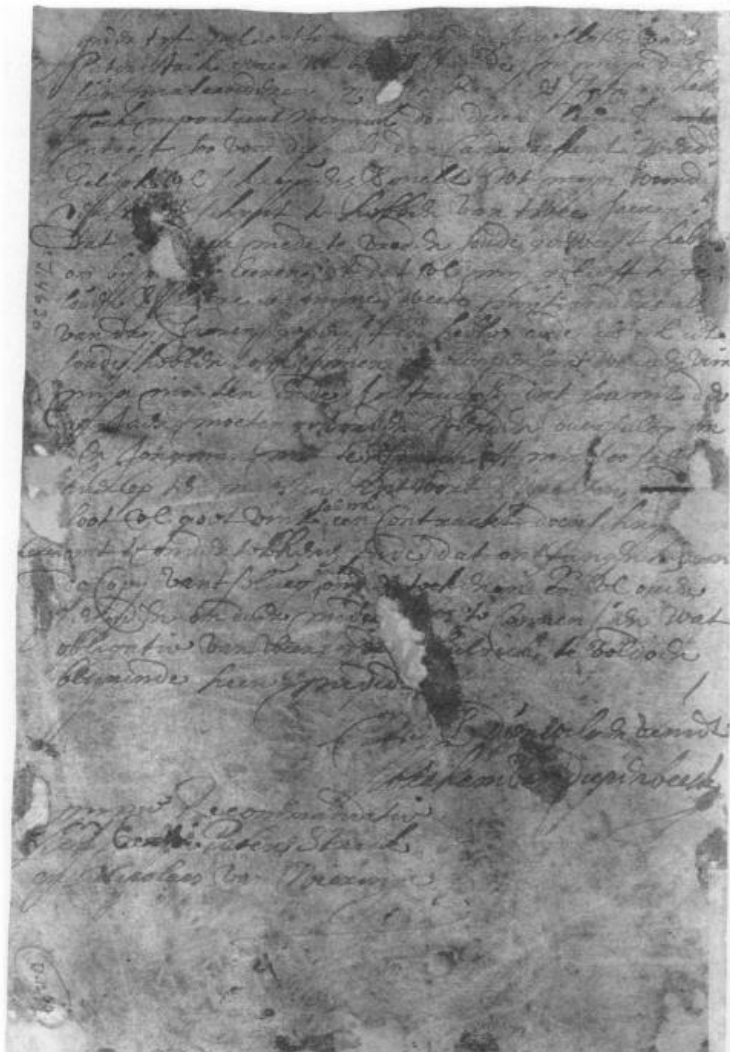


Fig. 3. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. Fragment of a letter. Paris, Fondation Custodia, Frits Lugt Collection.

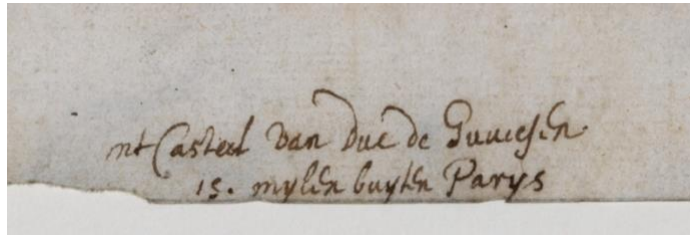


Fig. 4. Detail from *Two putti holding the Arma Christi*, attributed to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio, Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis, inv. RH.T.0009r. (Cat. 1).

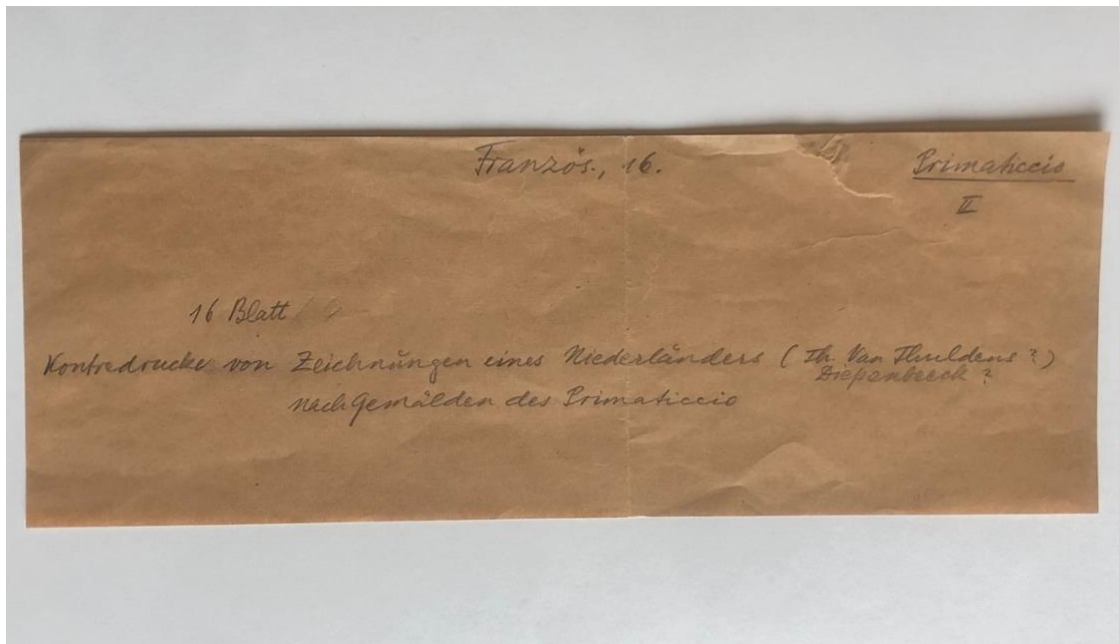


Fig. 5. Envelope with Ludwig Burchard's handwriting referring to the Rubenianum drawings. Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis.



Fig. 6. Detail of the watermark found in some of the Rubenianum drawings and counterproofs by Abraham Van Diepenbeeck. Collectie Stad Antwerpen, Rubenshuis.

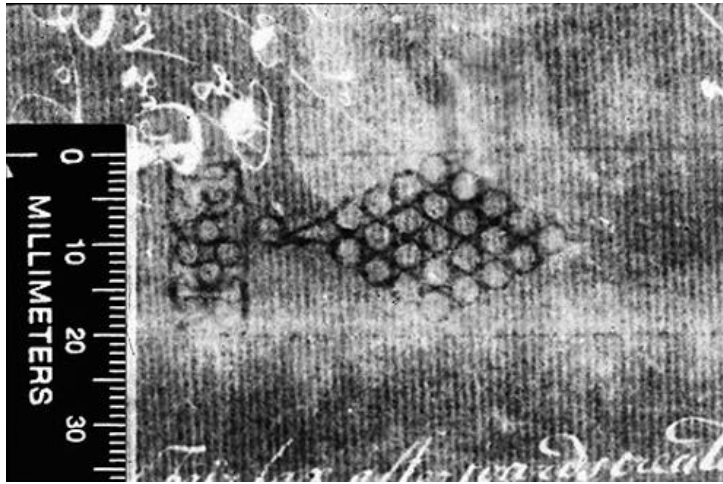


Fig. 7. Detail of the watermark GRAVELL 322. Gravell Watermark Archive.



Fig. 8. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, *Young Woman Hit by the Arrow of Cupid with Other Allegorical or Mythological Scenes in the Left Background*, c. 1631-1632. Drawing, black chalk, 275 x 245 mm. Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium (KBR)



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Fig. 9. Léon Davent after Francesco Primaticcio, *Jupiter and Semele*, c.1542-47. Etching, signed with the monograph, 210 x 295 mm. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France



Fig. 10. Francesco Primaticcio, *Angels showing the Star of the Magi*, c. 1550-1560. Drawing, red chalk and white gouache on paper, 237 x 301 mm. Chantilly, Musée Condé.



Fig. 11. Correggio, *Assumption of the Virgin*, Dome of the Cathedral of Parma, Italy, 1530



Fig. 12. Francesco Primaticcio, *Dance of the Hours*, c. 1547-1548. Drawing, red chalk and white highlight on paper, 358 x 335 mm. Frankfurt, Städel Museum.



Fig. 13. Francesco Primaticcio, *Bacchus or The Pleasures of Autumn*, c. 1552-1556. Drawing, red chalk and white gouache on paper, 311 x 404 mm. Chantilly, Musée Condé



Fig. 14. Francesco Primaticcio, *Cérès or Summer products*, c. 1552-1556. Drawing, red chalk and white gouache on paper, 311 x 404 mm. Chantilly, Musée Condé



Fig. 15. Francesco Primaticcio, *Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid*, c. 1547-1548. Drawing, red chalk and white highlight, 148 x 199 mm. Vienna, Albertina.

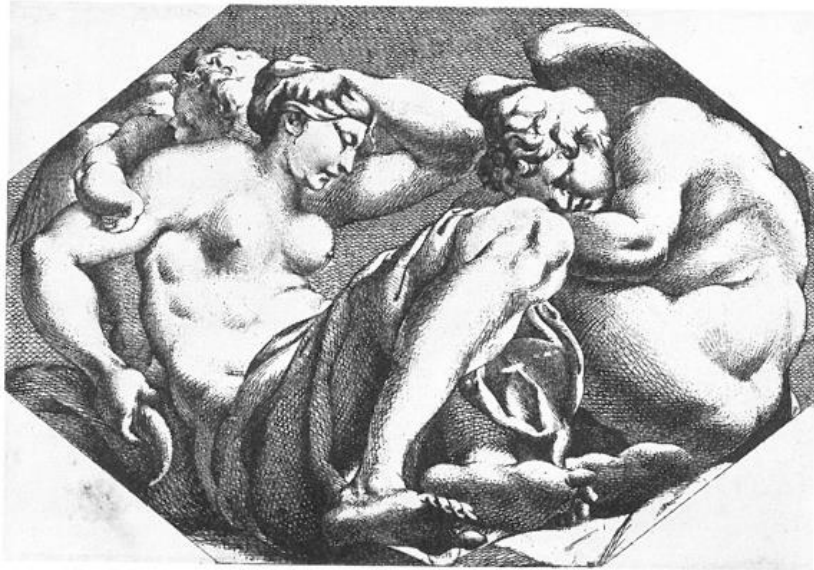


Fig. 16. A. Garnier, *Sleeping Venus with Amor and a Little Cupid*, (?). Print. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.



Fig. 17. Attributed to Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, *Paris pays homage to Helen (Iliad)*, c. 1631-1632. Drawing, black and red chalk on paper, 262 x 141 mm. Vienna, Albertina.

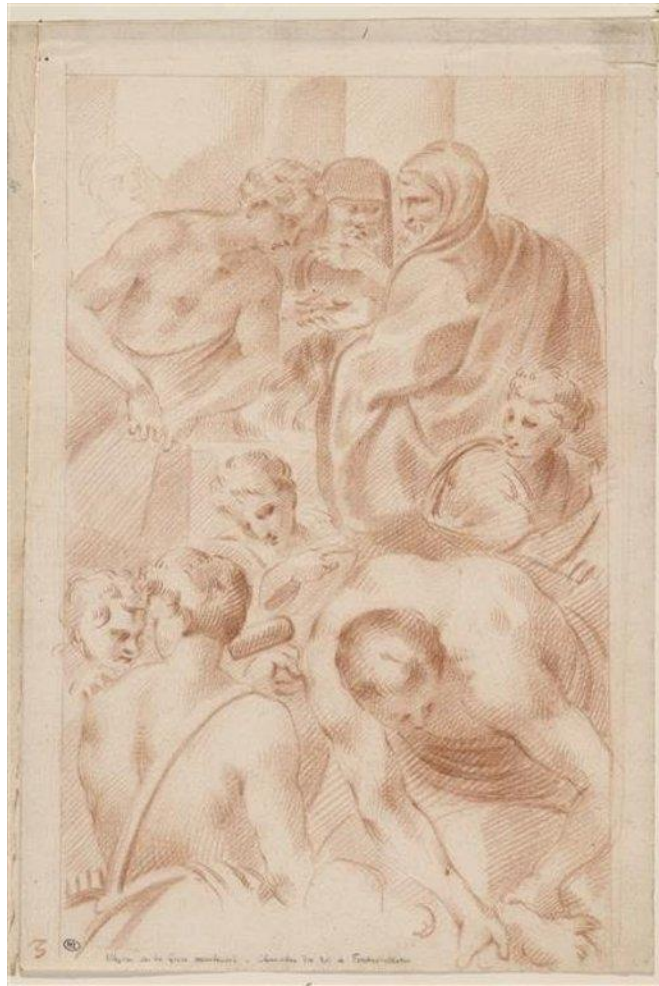


Fig. 18. Jacques Bellamy de La Cour, *Odysseus and the Greeks sacrificing*, c. 1609-1674. Drawing, red chalk, 328 x 216 mm. Paris, Louvre.

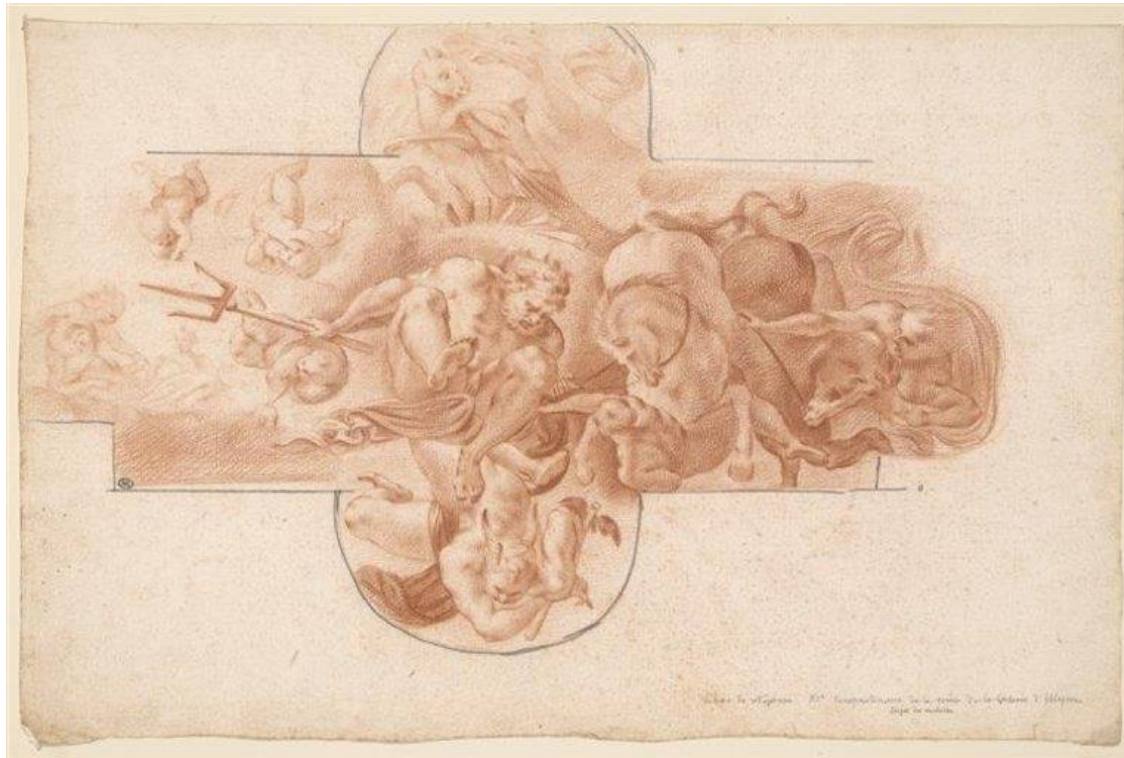


Fig. 19. Jacques Belly, *Neptune on his chariot*, c. 1609-1674. Drawing, red chalk, 280 x 428 mm. Paris, Louvre.

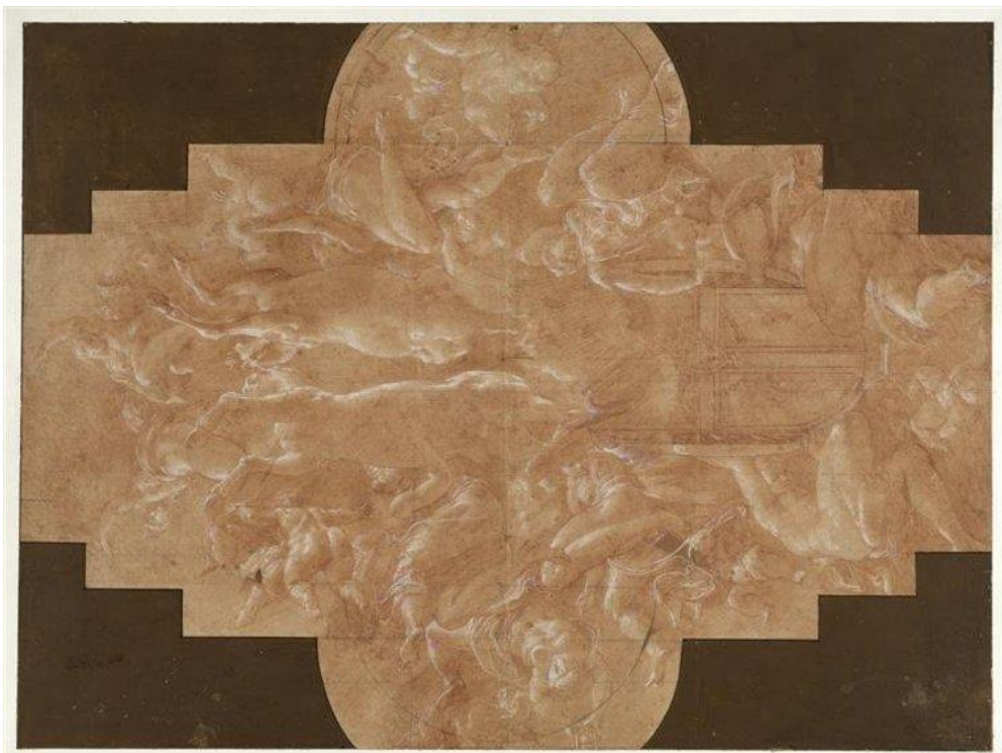


Fig. 20. Francesco Primaticcio, *The chariot of the Sun surrounded by the Hours*, c. 1547-1546. Drawing, red chalk with white highlight, 343 x 461 mm. Paris, Musée du Louvre



Fig. 21. Detail of figure 20.



Fig. 22. Detail of figure 12



Fig. 23. Detail Cat. 14



Fig. 24. Detail of figure 20



Fig. 25. Rubens after Francesco Primaticcio, *The Chariot of Apollo*. Whereabouts unknown.



Fig. 26. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, *Charon carrying people across the Styx*, c. 1630-1669.
Drawing, graphite and red chalk on paper, 335 x 233 mm. Leeuwarden, Fries Museum.



Fig. 27a. Theodoor Van Thulden, *Ulysses on the Island of the Cyclopes*, c. 1631-1633.
Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts.



Fig. 27b. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, *Ulysses on the Island of the Cyclopes*. Drawing, black
chalk, 194 x 288 mm. Vienna, Albertina.



Fig. 27c. Theodoor Van Thulden, *Ulysses on the Island of the Cyclopes*, c. 1630. Etching, 237 x 281 mm. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Fig. 28a. Theodoor Van Thulden, *Ulysses and the Sirens*, c. 1631-1633. Drawing. Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-Arts



Fig. 28b. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck, *Ulysses and the Sirens*. Drawing, black chalk, 225 x 314 mm. Vienna, Albertina.



Fig. 28c. Theodoor Van Thulden, *Ulysses and the Sirens*, c. 1632-1633. Etching, 195 x 252 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.



Fig. 29. Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio, *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon's Boat*. Drawing. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques.



Fig. 30. Francesco Primaticcio, *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon's Boat*. Drawing. Genoa, Palazzo Rosso.



Fig. 31. Rubens' Workshop after Abraham Van Diepenbeeck after Francesco Primaticcio, *The Souls of the Dead clustering around Charon's Boat*. Drawing. Whereabouts unknown.



Fig. 32. Unknown painter from the Low Countries, *Old Age (?)*, c. 1550. Oil on panel, 104 x 128 cm. Athens, National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum.

8. Illustrations credits

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Figure 32. Downloaded from National Gallery – Alexandros Soutsos Museum, Athens.

<https://www.nationalgallery.gr/en/artwork/old-age/>

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- . ‘Rubens as Thief. His Use of Past Art and Some Adaptations from Primaticcio’. In *Concept, Design, and Execution in Flemish Painting (1550–1700)*, Hans Vlieghe, Arnout Balis, C. Van de Velde. Museums at the Crossroads 5. Turnhout: Brepols, 2000.
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Marques de Collections. <https://marquesdecollections.fr>

National Gallery Alexandros Soutsos Museum. “Collection”.

<https://nationalgallery.gr/en/artworks>

Rijksmuseum. “Rijks Studio”. <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/rijksstudio>

RKD – Nederlands Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis. <https://rkd.nl>

Rubenianum – Onderzoeksinstituut voor Vlaamse Kunst van de 16de en de 17de eeuw.

<https://rubenianum.be>

Städel Museum. “Digital Collection”. <https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en>

The Met. “Godfroy de Bouillon”.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/208127>

11. Declaration of originality

2

We hope this information reaches you in good health



Universiteit
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Declaration of originality

By submitting this test, I certify that:

- ✓ this work has been drafted by me without any assistance from others (not applicable to group work);
- ✓ I have not discussed, shared, or copied submitted work from/with other students
- ✓ I have not used sources that are not explicitly allowed by the course instructors and I have clearly referenced all sources (either from a printed source, internet or any other source) used in the work in accordance with the course requirements and the indications of the course instructors;
- ✓ this work has not been previously used for other courses in the programme or for course of another programme or university unless explicitly allowed by the course instructors.

I understand that any false claim in respect to this work will result in disciplinary action in accordance with university regulations and the programme regulations, and that any false claim will be reported to the Board of Examiners. Disciplinary measures can result in exclusion from the course and/or the programme.

I understand that my work may be checked for plagiarism, by the use of plagiarism detection software as well as through other measures taken by the university to prevent and check on fraud and plagiarism.

I understand and endorse the significance of the prevention of fraud and I acknowledge that in case of (gross) fraud the Board of Examiners could declare the examination invalid, which may have consequences for all students.

Date and signature

A handwritten signature in blue ink, consisting of a stylized 'A' followed by a long horizontal stroke.