



With a little help from his friends

Rubens and the acquisition of Caravaggio's *Rosary Madonna* for the Dominican church in Antwerp

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Of all the elegant artworks in this Dominican church, the one Michael Angelo Caravaggio painted in Naples stands out.

Detail fig. 2

Antonius Sanderus, *Chorographia sacra Brabantiae*.¹

The *Rosary Madonna* is a monumental altarpiece by Caravaggio (1571-1610) which hangs today in the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna (fig. 1).² Painted in Rome circa 1601,³ it shows the Virgin commanding St Dominic to distribute rosaries to the unshod supplicants who clamour to fondle the beads. While affirmatively Tridentine, the *Rosary Madonna* bears Caravaggio's hallmarks of chiaroscuro and realistic detail in the pilgrims' dirty feet.⁴ The painting's first known display context is the Dominican church in Antwerp (St Paul's),⁵ to which it was gifted by a coalition of patrons spearheaded by Rubens (1577-1640).⁶ This article demonstrates how this corporate venture was underwritten and thus characterised by friendship. Just as palaces in Renaissance Florence were 'held to embody' the personalities of their occupants, so the *Rosary Madonna* reflected the social capital and good taste of Antwerp's elite circles, out of which the coalition grew.⁷

The *Rosary Madonna* is first documented in 1607, when, as one of 'two very beautiful paintings' by Caravaggio, it was offered to Vincenzo I Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1562-1612), through Frans Pourbus II (1569-1622), his court portraitist.⁸ The painting was then owned by two Netherlandish artist-dealers, Louis Finson (c. 1574-1617) and Abraham Vinck (c. 1574-1619). Refused by the duke, it was taken by Finson to Amsterdam, site of a burgeoning market for Italian art.⁹ At Finson's death in 1617, full ownership passed to Vinck, who sold the altarpiece before his death in 1619.¹⁰

The gifting of the 'great painting' to the Dominican church was recorded in 1651. Among the 'diverse amateurs' (*liefhebbers*) credited are the artists Rubens, Jan Brueghel I (1568-1625) and Hendrick van Balen (1573-1632) as well as Jan Baptist Cooymans, who in 1607 registered with the guild of St Luke as a 'merchant and lover of paintings'.¹¹ The *Rosary Madonna* was bought 'out of affection for the chapel, and to have a rare piece within Antwerp'. Having 'seen in this piece outstandingly great art', the *liefhebbers* called upon 'diverse others' to help purchase it, including members of the church's rosary brotherhood and, by extension, Antwerp city council.¹² At 1,800 gulden, the price was deemed 'not high'.¹³

The *Rosary Madonna* was destined for the *Fifteen mysteries of the rosary*, a cycle of paintings by 11 Antwerp masters – including Rubens, Van

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Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio,
The Rosary Madonna, c. 1601, oil
 on canvas, 364.5 x 249.5 cm, Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum (photo: ©
 KHM-Museumsverband)



Balen and Frans Francken II (1581-1642) – depicting episodes from the lives of Christ and the Virgin which comprise the joyful, sorrowful and glorious mysteries.¹⁴ The cycle was commissioned by the monastery prior, Joannes Boucquet (c. 1580-1640), around 1616 and installed along the north aisle in 1618.¹⁵ The panels were financed by elite donors, some of whom served as chaplains of the rosary brotherhood. Circumstantial evidence suggests that Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen coordinated the cycle together.¹⁶ Caravaggio's altarpiece was installed at the centre,¹⁷ as can be seen in the interior view by Pieter Neefs I (c. 1578-c. 1660) dated 1636 (fig. 2).¹⁸

The *Mysteries* cycle and the *Rosary Madonna* were sponsored by different corporate bodies. While patronage of the cycle can be interpreted as an act of collective piety, none of the 'diverse *liefhebbers*' are known to

have joined the brotherhood. Only in 1651 did the *Rosary Madonna* come to serve an explicitly devotional purpose, when it was extracted and placed above 'a costly altar of marble' in the adjacent transept (fig. 3).¹⁹ Instead of 'affection for the chapel', this article focuses on the coalition's real objective: to obtain a 'rare piece' for Antwerp.

The *Rosary Madonna* was Caravaggio's first major work to travel north of the Alps.²⁰ Moreover, its gifting by 'diverse amateurs' for public display was unprecedented.²¹ Yet beyond Caravaggism and its 'dismal dark subjects',²² the painting's acquisition by St Paul's is mostly unstudied.²³ By focusing on the friendships uniting Rubens and fellow *liefhebbers* in their endeavour, this article rehabilitates the *Rosary Madonna* within the early modern political economy, or as Bart Ramakers calls it, the 'accumulation regime' of Antwerp's elite circles in which gift-giving was a means of amassing moral and cultural capital.²⁴ In a virtuous circle of reciprocal altruism, donating an altarpiece to a church fulfilled humanist ideals of magnificence and public good which Guido Guerzoni outlines.²⁵

Rubens, Brueghel, Van Balen and Cooymans together formed a quadrumvirate, whose moral foundation was the love that is friendship (*amor amicitiae*). Like marriage, *amicitia* was a social contract based on love, trust and family allegiance.²⁶ More than just colleagues, the *liefhebbers* stood godfather to each other's children, shared intellectual passions and partook in Antwerp's 'collaborative circles'.²⁷ Elite culture clubs were a mainstay of urban life and crucibles for forging *burgher* (bourgeois) identity.²⁸ Acting as a cor-

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Pieter Neefs I, *Interior view of the Dominican church in Antwerp*, 1636, oil on panel, 68 x 105.5 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



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Pieter Verbruggen I & Jan Pieter van Bourschiet I, *Our Lady of the Rosary altar*, 1654/1728, marble, Antwerp, Sint-Pauluskerk (photo: © KIK-IRPA, Brussels)



porate body but benefitting as individuals, the quadrumvirate enacted *amor amicitiae* in public, which expedited their social advancement in the 1610s.²⁹ Having won the respect and trust of important citizens, the quadrumvirate could then ask for contributions towards the *Rosary Madonna*.

This process is examined in a series of case studies, building upon Ramakers' 2014 article 'Sophonisba's dress', by extending 'the convivial circumstances of gift-giving' to prestige artworks in the wider public sphere.³⁰ First is Rubens' friendship with Brueghel via objects in miniature. Second is the election of Cooymans in 1619 as 'prince' (*prins*) of the 'Stock-Gillyflowers' (*Violieren*), a chamber of rhetoric run by artists in which Brueghel and Van Balen served as 'regents' (*dekens*).³¹ Sebastiaan Vrancx (1573-1647) commemorated the chamber's revival that year with an ornamental manuscript, *Het ionstich versaem der Violieren*, in which friendship takes centre stage.³² Third

is the guild or confraternity of Romanists; the three artist-*liefhebbers* were successively elected deans (*dekenen*), honouring the office by hosting dinner at their houses. The final section looks at the artist-triumvirate's friendship with Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617), whom they visited in Haarlem in 1612. Goltzius' funeral in 1617 may have been the catalyst for discovering the *Rosary Madonna* at Vinck's house in Amsterdam. While Rubens led the operation on the strength of his Italian sojourn (1600-1608),³³ the other *liefhebbers* were no less capable of taking cultural leadership.

The *Rosary Madonna* was gifted in pursuit of profit, fame and love, three reasons to make art according to Karel van Mander (1548-1606).³⁴ Acquiring art in the name of love likewise promised fame and fortune in tow. The *liefhebbers'* *amor amicitiae* was supra-personal, extending to the city and its sacred topography which Caravaggio's 'rare piece' was procured to embellish.³⁵ As for profit, the quadrumvirate stood to reap social dividends and receive lucrative patronage from Antwerp's patrician elite.³⁶

Friends with benefits

Now friendship may be thus defined: a complete accord on all subjects human and divine, joined with mutual goodwill and affection (...) Without friendship there is no [noble] life.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De amicitia*.³⁷

This section argues for the centrality of *amor amicitiae* to the *liefhebber* quadrumvirate. Connoisseurship, godparenthood and participation in civic life were all aspects of love, each being wedded to the pursuit of virtue. While scholastics considered selfless and desirous love (*amicitia* vs. *concupiscentiae*) mutually incompatible,³⁸ friendship and conjugal love were interchangeable in humanist discourse.³⁹ The etymological root of *amicitia* is *amor* (love). According to Cicero (106-47 BCE), ideal friendship sprang 'from an inclination of the heart, combined with a certain instinctive feeling of love' rather than calculated material advantage.⁴⁰ By employing wedding iconography such as Cupid's flame, emblematic representations of male friendship in the Low Countries blurred the boundary with marital love, as Joanna Woodall shows.⁴¹

One of Netherlandish art theory's *idées fixes* was 'love begets art' (*liefde baart kunst*).⁴² According to Van Mander, an artist wanting only profit was mired by greed, and those seeking fame plucked unripe the fruit from 'art's tree'. Meanwhile, the 'painful effort' of toiling for love was eased 'with Money and Honour'.⁴³ Less self-interested still was the '*liefhebber der schilderyen*' (lover of paintings), who patronised artists at great personal expense.⁴⁴

The word *liefhebber* translates as 'amateur' or 'lover of',⁴⁵ connoting one in possession of virtue. Henry Peacham (1576-1643) equated '*Leefhebbers* [sic]' with those 'by the Italians teamed *Virtuosi*', whose knowledge of Antiquity 'could perswade a man, that he now seeth two thousand yeeres agoe'.⁴⁶ Aristotle (384-322 BCE) defined moral virtue as a state of character acquired through virtuous acts, facilitated by friendships with men of corresponding goodness, mutual love being 'the characteristic virtue of

friends'.⁴⁷ For humanist-inspired Netherlanders, love was virtue in action, whereby 'possession of the virtue of love (*liefde*) substituted for the direct exercise of *virtù*', as Woodall explains.⁴⁸

Part of a new elite, *liefhebbers* were known for their 'special expertise in or appreciation of works of art',⁴⁹ which were commensurate with artistic virtuosity. Aristotle considered art, defined as 'knowledge of how to make things', a chief intellectual virtue which involved 'true reasoning'.⁵⁰ As Tine Meganck demonstrates, antiquarianism became professionalised in the Renaissance on account of 'an influx of artisanal knowledge', with which Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) cultivated 'erudite eyes'.⁵¹ The practice of connoisseurship was facilitated by *amor amicitiae*, as Cicero prophesised.

If a man could ascend to heaven and get a clear view of the natural order of the universe (...), that wonderful spectacle would give him small pleasure (...) if he had but had someone to whom to tell what he had seen.⁵²

As Seneca (4 BCE-65 CE) implied, friendship had the power to activate the imagination, allowing one's thoughts to travel to far-off places just as two friends 'may hold converse [even] when they are absent' by writing letters.⁵³

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Willem van Haecht II, *The gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, 1628, oil on panel, 102.5 x 137.5 cm, Antwerp, Rubenshuis (photo: © Stad Antwerpen / Bart Huysmans, Michel Wuyts)



Gentlemanly friendships were essential to any connoisseurly enterprise, not least because they freed artists from the stigma of manual labour.⁵⁴ The *Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* by Willem van Haecht II (1593-1637) illustrates the visit of Archdukes Albert and Isabella (reigned 1598-1621) to the *liefhebber's* townhouse in 1615.⁵⁵ It portrays Rubens and fellow artists as gentlemen-virtuosi, who, in the presence of royalty, exercise their virtue through *amor amicitiae* (fig. 4).⁵⁶ Behind a table, Peter Snayers (1592-1667) and collector Peeter Stevens (c. 1590-1668) examine a portrait miniature, one's hand on the other's shoulder. To the right, Van Balen and others cluster tightly around a terrestrial globe. Buttressed by their intimate friendships, artists are given privileged status as mediators of *artificialia*, their knowledge and skill indexed by paintings and scientific instruments.⁵⁷

With so many *liefhebbers* present, love actually is all around. Accompanied by Rubens and Van Dyck (1599-1641), the archdukes have an audience with a Virgin and child by Quinten Massijs (c. 1465-1530). Hand on heart, Van der Geest looked upon his '*Maria-beeldeken*' like a lover. Having 'seen in' this painting a 'charmingly skilful technical ability', the archdukes offered to buy it, arousing Van der Geest's 'jealousy'. For connoisseurs, appreciation of outstanding art was a *liefde* so intense, it was pseudo-concupiscent. Massijs' 'flawlessly painted' paradigm made a fitting mirror of princes, their virtues reflected in the *Maria-beeldeken*.⁵⁸ The object of like affection, Caravaggio's 'rare piece' also became a looking-glass in the Dominican church's hallowed surroundings.

If friendship was virtue in action, Rubens and his circle strove to achieve moral virtue through artistic praxis. In his edition of Seneca's *Epistolae morales*, Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) explicitly equated friendship with virtue. According to Kate Bomford, Rubens' group portrait *Lipsius and his pupils* was 'a self-conscious alignment' with Neostoic ideals (fig. 5).⁵⁹ Rubens and Jan Woverius (1576-1636) flank posthumous portraits of Rubens' brother Philip (1574-1611) and Lipsius their mentor, who, presided over by the philosopher's bust, points to a passage in Seneca and gestures as if in mid-sentence. Borrowed from the emblemist Andrea Alciati (1492-1550), the painting's adage might be 'friendship lasting even beyond death' (*amicitia etiam post mortem durans*),⁶⁰ as evoked by the vase of tulips, two blown and two in the bud. The lugubrious air of *Lipsius and his pupils* urges resignation in the face of outrageous fortune's slings and arrows. According to Mark Morford, the portrait embodies 'Stoic friendship' and Seneca's philosophy of life,⁶¹ summarised by Christoffel Plantijn (1520-1589) as to wait 'very placidly for death'.⁶² Married to the intellectual virtue of art, friendship was a means of putting the moral virtues of Antiquity into practice.

In this period, as Alan Bray argues, 'kinship and friendship turned on the same axis',⁶³ most literally in the case of godparenthood, which Guido Alfani defines as 'kinship with a *heterogeneous* set of people'.⁶⁴ The *liefhebbers* cemented their alliances using the sacrament of Baptism, which created 'extended families' around their children.⁶⁵ The godparents of Van Balen's progeny included Cooymans (Jan, baptised 1611), Brueghel's second wife Catharina van Mariënbeghe (Pieter, 1613), and Rubens (Marie, 1618).⁶⁶ Rubens was also godfather to Brueghel's children Jan and Paschasia.⁶⁷ After Brueghel's death in 1625, Rubens and Van Balen were made guardians of

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Peter Paul Rubens, *Lipsius and his pupils*,
c. 1611-1612, oil on panel, 167 x 143 cm,
Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina
(photo: © Gabinetto Fotografico delle
Gallerie degli Uffizi)



his offspring.⁶⁸ By mitigating the feuds that inevitably come with blood loyalties, kinship through friendship helped orient patrician alliances towards the good of the polis.⁶⁹

The *liefhebbers*' quasi-familial intimacy is warmly conveyed in Rubens' portrait of the Brueghels (fig. 6). Embraced by Jan the paterfamilias, Catharina sits squarely at the composition's centre, hand on eldest son Pieter's shoulder. With daughter Elizabeth gazing dotingly upward, the composition is anchored in Catharina's right hand, enclosing Elizabeth's as Pieter fondles her bracelet.⁷⁰ These protective ties extend outward – through Catharina's glance – to their friend and pseudo-kin, the portrait's author Rubens, inverting the *topos* 'love begets art' to 'art begets love'.

In humanist discourse, *amor amicitiae* was love in its purest form.⁷¹ Belonging to 'common Aphrodite',⁷² carnal love was bereft of virtue and therefore unlikely to beget art. According to Plato (c. 429-347 BCE), the lover of the body 'flits away and is gone' as soon as its 'physical bloom (...) begins to fade'. With virtue being immutable, 'the lover who loves a virtuous character remains constant for life'.⁷³ Many considered virtue a masculine preserve, its etymological root being *vir* (a man).⁷⁴ In *De l'amitié*, Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) thought women too fickle to sustain 'that holy bond of friendship'.⁷⁵ For

the artist-*liefhebbers* however, marriage was an honourable institution.⁷⁶ In fact, their wives played important roles in furthering the triumvirate's professional advancement when the Romanists came to dinner (see below).

Gifting the *Rosary Madonna* to the Dominican church was the *liefhebber* coalition's political *acte de présence*. Aristotle deemed friendships which aspired to civic virtue the worthiest. Realising the coalition's professed aim to give Antwerp a masterpiece depended not on 'identity of opinion', but on agreement on 'things to be done (...) about matters of consequence', avoiding a 'state of faction' to achieve what is 'just' and 'advantageous' for the polis.⁷⁷ As Cicero remarked in *De officiis*, friendships based on a reciprocal exchange of 'kindnesses' readily translated into patriotism, which 'subsumes all the affections which we entertain'.⁷⁸ Likewise, Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert (c. 1519-1590) claimed that there was no higher good for society than friendships based on affection that strove towards virtue.⁷⁹ The ideal Christian polis, a new Jerusalem, would be 'founded on grace (...) and governed by divine love', as St Augustine (354-430) envisioned in *City of God*.⁸⁰ In the Renaissance, such ideas could be spread through printed texts and 'objects of virtue' in economic circulation.⁸¹

The dividends from gifting the *Rosary Madonna* were substantial. To sell it, the monastery was offered as much as 14,000 gulden before the prior deemed the altarpiece priceless.⁸² In the process, the order reaped 8,000 gulden in donations to spend on the rosary altar,⁸³ demanding 'the best marble and basanite' for its construction.⁸⁴ The *liefhebbers'* association with the altarpiece aggrandised their professional capital. On 28 August 1618, Rubens, Brueghel and Van Balen were summoned to authenticate precious



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Peter Paul Rubens, *The family of Jan Brueghel the Elder*, c. 1613-1615, oil on panel, 95.2 x 125.1 cm, London, The Courtauld Gallery (photo: © The Samuel Courtauld Trust)



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Jan Brueghel I & Peter Paul Rubens, *The Garden of Eden with the fall of man*, c. 1615, oil on panel, 74.3 x 114.7 cm, The Hague, Mauritshuis

tapestries from the *History of Scipio* designed by Giulio Romano (c. 1492-1546), 'famous Italian painter'.⁸⁵ The *Rosary Madonna's* unveiling seems to have won the triumvirate a vote of confidence as experts in Italian art.

In Antwerp's political economy, benefits and goodwill circulated in tandem with goods and capital. If *amor amicitiae* was a form of currency, the business of merchants was akin to the pursuit of virtue.⁸⁶ Seneca thought 'a benefit' was the 'chief bond of human society' because it 'both bestows pleasure and gains it by bestowing it'; this system of 'credit' was the opposite of usury.⁸⁷ The coalition could therefore expect to profit from the *Rosary Madonna's* investment of goodwill. As the following sections demonstrate, the *liefhebbers* were professional-class and self-made, striving to improve their station through acts of liberality and magnificence. Some argued that 'liberals' were the true nobility. While a nobleman's authority rested on 'the glory of his ancestors', self-made men 'honoured the virtue' of theirs by giving generously.⁸⁸ *Amor amicitiae* and the embodied virtue of artistic knowledge were forms of agency in themselves, working to frame the *Rosary Madonna* as a 'rare piece' but also to commemorate the virtuous actions of Rubens and his coalition.

Two become one

Rubens and Brueghel formed the nucleus of the *liefhebber* quadrumvirate. Their unity of purpose reflected humanist notions of 'spiritualized corporality', whereby, in the words of Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), 'friendship

between two souls renders them one'.⁸⁹ As Luuc Kooijmans shows, *amor amicitiae* was the bedrock of professional alliances in the Low Countries, including for merchants.⁹⁰ Inspired by Elizabeth Honig's recent monograph, this section examines Rubens and Brueghel's 'forged connections' through objects in miniature, a scale with which Brueghel is indelibly associated.⁹¹

Rubens considered Brueghel his professional equal. The *Garden of Eden with the fall of man* is jointly signed, indicating that Rubens 'adorned' Brueghel's exemplary composition 'with figures' (fig. 7).⁹² Their allegiance was also dynastic. Around 1613, Rubens painted an epitaph for Brueghel's father, Pieter I (c. 1528-1569), which was displayed in Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle, Brussels (fig. 8).⁹³ This lustrous, Raphaelesque work paid homage to Jan I's artistic inheritance.⁹⁴ The accompanying epitaph praised Pieter I's 'most exacting diligence', like father, like son.⁹⁵ In 1625, Rubens supplied Brueghel's own effigy for St George's Antwerp.⁹⁶

Brueghel maintained an international reputation in correspondence with Cardinal Federico Borromeo (1564-1631) in Milan, who called him 'famous throughout Europe' and 'a friend'.⁹⁷ After Brueghel left Borromeo's employ, the two kept a lifelong pen-friendship.⁹⁸ Rubens ghost-wrote much of Brueghel's correspondence, earning him the affectionate nickname 'my



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Peter Paul Rubens, *Christ giving the keys to St Peter*, c. 1613-1615, oil on panel, 182.5 x 159 cm, Berlin, Staatliche Museen (photo: © BPK / Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz / Jörg P. Anders)

secretary' (*mio segretario*).⁹⁹ In 1616, Brueghel described 'a little souvenir of my service', namely 'an egg of ivory painted in two bands, of the Passion of Christ in miniature figurines with the greatest accuracy I have ever used in anything'.¹⁰⁰ Later mounted into a holy water stoup,¹⁰¹ *Mary by the Cross at Calvary* showcases Brueghel's *accuratezza*, which in Borromeo's words represented 'almost everything that is magnificent and outstanding in art' (fig. 9).¹⁰² Intended for the cardinal's *studiolo*, the miniature demands the closest possible inspection. For Borromeo to press his eye against Brueghel's *piccol ricordo* was almost an act of friendly intimacy.

Borromeo's Passion miniature strengthened its maker's professional networks *en route* to Milan. Brueghel gave it to the 'Father Prior of the Dominicans of Antwerp who was going to Rome'.¹⁰³ This was Jacomo de Hazes, a friar resident in the monastery whom Rubens and Brueghel had jointly appointed for the errand.¹⁰⁴ Never having painted anything for St Paul's, Brueghel was, through this episode, introduced to senior members of the order before the *Rosary Madonna*'s gifting. For Borromeo, Rubens' presence behind the ink reinforced Brueghel's status by association with his *segretario*'s sophisticated Italian and elegant hand.¹⁰⁵ The letter concerning Brueghel's *piccol ricordo* ends with the regards of 'all [Borromeo's] most affectionate ones', among them the artist's friends Van Balen and Vrancx,¹⁰⁶ who were leading members of the *Violieren* (see below).

In 1592, Brueghel made the artistic pilgrimage to Rome, where he might have met Caravaggio. Arriving the same year, the two 'northerners' shared patrons.¹⁰⁷ Back in Antwerp, Brueghel's social position buttressed his authority as a tastemaker. His sobriquet 'the Velvety' (*den Fluweelen*) suggests a penchant for fine apparel as much as velvety technique.¹⁰⁸ If so, Brueghel cut his coat according to his cloth. His house on Lange Nieuwstraat, purchased in 1604 from Antwerp's master guardsman, was certainly well appointed.¹⁰⁹ In 1613, the archdukes granted Brueghel (their *peintre domestique*) exemption from city taxes and guard duties on Rubens' precedent.¹¹⁰





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Detail fig. 6, Peter Paul Rubens, *The family of Jan Brueghel the Elder*, c. 1613–1615, (photo: © The Samuel Courtauld Trust)



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Jan Brueghel I, *Allegory of fire*, 1608, oil on copper, 46 x 66 cm, Milan, Ambrosiana (photo: © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana / Mondadori Portfolio)

Befitting Rubens and Brueghel's aspirations as courtiers and virtuosi was their shared passion for antique cameos. In Rubens' family portrait, Brueghel's wife wears them inset in her bracelets (fig. 10, detail).¹¹¹ Such jewellery was neither fashionable nor especially expensive,¹¹² but was 'valued in other ways'.¹¹³ Brueghel surely owned the bracelets his wife wore, laying claim to a similar pair in the *Allegory of fire* by signing the edge of the table displaying them within the painting's Cyclopean palimpsest (fig. 11, detail).¹¹⁴ In *Still life with a tazza*, cameo bracelets and other trinkets spill out of a painted box with studied carelessness (fig. 12). Worn by women, such jewellery signalled their husbands' knowledge of Antiquity. Although imitations abounded, Marcia Pointon argues that 'wealthy bourgeois sitters' would not have worn 'ersatz examples' in portraiture.¹¹⁵ Incorporating authentic cameos, the bracelets connoted classical ideals of female virtue such as constancy.



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Jan Brueghel I, *Still life with a tazza*, 1618, oil on panel, 47.5 x 52.5, Brussels, Musée des Beaux-Arts (photo: © Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique / J. Geleyns).

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Peter Paul Rubens, *Self-portrait with Isabella Brant* ('*The honeysuckle bower*'), c. 1609-1610, oil on canvas, 178 x 136.5 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo: © BPK / Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)

In the '*Honeysuckle bower*', Isabella Brant (1591-1626) sports a similar pair, *dextrarum iunctio* with Rubens, her newly wedded husband (fig. 13). As Hans Vlieghe demonstrates, the composition 'in every way emphasises the strength and inviolability of the marriage bond'.¹¹⁶ The couple's contrapposto mimics Alciati's emblem '*In fidem uxoriam*', a 'representation of faithfulness', which, if nurtured by Venus' ardour, became 'a branch bearing apples'.¹¹⁷ Isabella's bracelets are part of this humanist conceit.

Italy was the *fons et origo* of antique cameos, the mounting of which was a Milanese speciality.¹¹⁸ Purchasing the stones most probably on the peninsula, Rubens and Brueghel were alike in mind. Rubens' greatest pleasure was apparently 'seeing and considering his medals, his agates, his onyxes (...) of which he had a very beautiful collection'.¹¹⁹ Brueghel's antiquarian credentials were demonstrable. As well as sketching the Colosseum,¹²⁰ he graffitied his name inside the Catacombs of Domitilla the year





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Tryphon, *Cameo with the wedding of Cupid and Psyche*, 50–25 BC, onyx, 37 x 45 x 6 mm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: © Henry Lillie Pierce Fund)

of their discovery in 1593.¹²¹ Rubens' expertise in glyptography was widely recognised. An 'avid and most experienced scholar of (...) above all cameos', according to Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655),¹²² Rubens owned the exceptionally rare *Wedding of Cupid and Psyche* (fig. 14).¹²³ Signed ΤΡΥΦΩΝ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ (Tryphon made it), this 'excellent agate', in the words of Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), had *flammei* rendered 'so thin that one can discern the ears and the face underneath'.¹²⁴

Between Rubens and Brueghel, cameo bracelets were personalised devices evoking bonds of friendship not unlike marriage vows. In Rubens' family portraits, the classical jewellery worn by their wives stood 'in an osmotic relation [to] inner virtue', clothes in this context being 'deeply put on', as Jones and Stallybrass argue.¹²⁵ Expressed in glyptic dialogues, a passion for cameos tied Rubens and Brueghel closer together. Indeed, one can imagine them poring over Rubens' collection in the intimate space of his '*studiolo secreto*'.¹²⁶

As best friends, Rubens and Brueghel were the quadrumvirate's key-master and gatekeeper, whose friendships with Coymans and Van Balen completed the alliance. The 'diverse *liefhebbers*' were brought to public attention as *Violieren* and Romanists.

The art-lover formerly known as prince

How princely each prince, who loved the noble art,
 Did serve his principality, which he honoured with worthy prizes.
 And what wise regents have honourably sought
 The prosperity of their guild, and of the flower which they served.

Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Het ionstich versaem der Violieren*.¹²⁷

This section brings to light the figure of Jan Cooymans,¹²⁸ who joined the quadrumvirate as a friend of Brueghel and Van Balen. Cooymans' role in procuring the *Rosary Madonna* can be conjectured from his involvement in the *Violieren* chamber of rhetoric, their shared collaborative circle which Ramakers was the first to discuss in detail.¹²⁹ Performative literary culture, suspended because of the Revolt, had long been a pillar of *burgher* society.¹³⁰ Having last taken place in Antwerp in 1561, the Flemish-Brabantian *landjuweel* (theatre festival) tradition was revived in 1615.¹³¹ As *Violieren*, the *liefhebbers* took part in the 1618 'blazon-poem' (*blasoen dicht*) competition. By trumpeting the benefits of *Pax Hispanica*, such festivities could repair trust between cities and their Habsburg overlords. Procured as a 'rare piece' for Antwerp, the *Rosary Madonna* furthered this agenda as a parallel act of corporate magnificence.

Liefhebbers of art were often lovers of poetry. Members of the guild of St Luke joined associated chambers of rhetoric (*rederijerskamers*), namely the *Violieren* and *Olijftak* (Olive branch).¹³² Painting and poetry were seen as sister arts. Lucas de Heere, the first Netherlander to use poetry to promote himself as 'an elite, universal master of *Pictura*', as Ramakers observes,¹³³ had extolled the *Violieren* to learn poetry and become 'the most artful of artists'.¹³⁴ Rather than arid exercises in Horatian *paragone*, vernacular literature was celebrated with raucous bonhomie.

Cooymans, Brueghel and Van Balen formed a tightly knit unit within the *Violieren*. Next-door neighbours since 1604, the artists were boon companions whose joint output was prolific and well regarded.¹³⁵ It was they who introduced the wealthy Cooymans to Rubens. Cooymans was neither artist nor art dealer. The guild of St Luke's membership roll (the *Liggeren*) distinguishes between '*coopman van*' and '*liefhebber der scilderyen*'. While not fully professionalised yet,¹³⁶ art dealers had an explicit terminology already.¹³⁷ As such, Cooymans' trade could have been textiles.¹³⁸ Pursuing his passion independently of commerce, *Violieren* membership was a way to accumulate 'cultural capital' as an *amatore*.¹³⁹

Merchants were self-made masters of the early modern universe. As Tomé Pires (c. 1468-c.1540) put it, 'Trading in merchandise is so necessary that without it the world would not go on'. In the seventeenth century, Antwerp became a global distribution centre for wool and luxury commodities.¹⁴⁰ Weathering the storm of the Price Revolution, its merchants possessed uncommon liquidity.¹⁴¹ As Marika Koblusek shows, the *mercator sapiens* was a 'cultural entrepreneur', outspending the nobility on humanist learning and the arts, including picture collecting.¹⁴² Merchants were the largest private sponsors of the Dominican church.¹⁴³ In 1633, Cooymans

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Window in the south transept of St Paul's Antwerp, before 1909, photograph, Antwerp, Sint-Pauluskerk Archieven



contributed 200 gulden towards a stained-glass window in the south transept.¹⁴⁴ Painted by Jan de Labaer (1603-1668), it depicted Christ's entry into Jerusalem and survives in fragments (figs. 15, 16).¹⁴⁵ One can assume that Cooymans had also been a liberal patron of the *Rosary Madonna*.

In 1619, Cooymans was elected prince of the *Violieren*. Described by Vranx in his commemorative manuscript as a 'most faithful *liefhebber* of both the arts',¹⁴⁶ Cooymans was by this point an established rhetorician. The chamber was run by a chief, a prince and regents,¹⁴⁷ sitting on the latter committee, Brueghel and Van Balen paid contributions towards 'the prosperity of their guild'. As prince, Cooymans worked with chief Jan Happaert, elected mayor of Antwerp in 1618;¹⁴⁸ together they officiated accountancy and chamber membership.¹⁴⁹ To qualify as prince, Cooymans had to be not just professionally competent, but also a friend the *Violieren* could trust.

'United through joyous affection' being their motto,¹⁵⁰ the *Violieren*'s merry company formed a mock principality based on friendship. Its rule by a liberal entrepreneur was entirely fitting.¹⁵¹ As Herman Pleij relates, vernacular literature – especially *rederijker* plays – reflected the spiritual and material aspirations of their bourgeois audience, 'an urban public of (...) notaries, merchants, patricians [etc.]'.¹⁵² The *Violieren* did not inherit virtue by aristocratic bloodline, but could acquire it at Cooymans' friendly court by putting their love of poetry into practice and becoming what Frijhof and Spies call 'burgher aristocrats'.¹⁵³ How to embody virtue was spelled out in the *Book of the courtier* by Baldassar Castiglione (1478-1529). As Eugenia Paulicelli relates, the purpose of *sprezzatura* (nonchalance or studied grace) was 'to conceal all art' and make one's talents 'appear to be without effort'. Just as artistic wizardry was made to seem innate, however laboriously acquired,¹⁵⁴ classical erudition was worn lightly at dinner with the Romanists (see below).

In 1618, the *Violieren* united for a 'delightful blazon or poetry competition' (*blasoenfeeste*) hosted by the *Olijftak*,¹⁵⁵ plausibly on June 17.¹⁵⁶ In 1619, the *Violieren*'s success prompted Antwerp city council to renew the cham-



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Jan de Labaer, *The entry of Christ into Jerusalem (damaged)*, c. 1632, stained glass, Antwerp, Sint-Pauluskerk (photo: © Corpus Vitrearum Belgium)

ber's privileges.¹⁵⁷ Vrancx accordingly praised 'the *Heroes*' who 'brought the old *Violier* back to the city,/ After the fearsome *Mars* had threatened to devour her'.¹⁵⁸ The same year, the 'free wise' Cooymans was elected prince 'out of friendship',¹⁵⁹ committing 'great things for funding (...) to purchase a property'. The regents' financial contributions were personally collected by Cooymans,¹⁶⁰ then put towards permanent quarters in the Spanjepand, complete with an indoor stage.¹⁶¹

Cooymans promised 'fifty guldens or more' to his 'beloved' (i.e., the winner) in future competitions.¹⁶² His affection for fellow rhetoricians was reciprocated. As Ramakers relates,¹⁶³ in 1617 the *Olijftak* playwright Willem van Nieulandt II (1584-1635) described Cooymans as 'wise, discrete and providential', a lover of Clio and 'my art-loving PICTVRA'.¹⁶⁴ In 1621, Van Nieulandt II rejoiced in their 'old friendship so fruitful'.¹⁶⁵ As the *Violieren*'s merchant-prince-to-be, Cooymans may actually be portrayed in the 1618 blazon.

Brueghel and Van Balen, together with Vrancx and Francken II, 'united through joyous affection' to paint the winning entry, a four-line Flemish poem in praise of *rederijderskamers* translated into pictograms (fig. 17).¹⁶⁶ Bordered with olive branches, stock-gillyflowers and marigolds – the insignia of the three chambers, the latter of the *Goudbloem* – the diamond-shaped panel sports an eclectic array of gods, saints, flora and fauna. Arranged along four stone plinths, the characters are each spoken as a word or syllable. The *blaoen dicht* reads thus:

Apelles' pupils, who celebrate St Luke
Please help adorn the *Olijftak* quickly.
With us, *Violieren*, and Apollo's laurels
Do flee evil manners, and Peace is steadfastly kept.¹⁶⁷

The blazon is a visually witty riddle, pairing a monstrous smoking head in the second verse with a quill, forming *hel-pen* (to help). Elsewhere, the god Apollo is accompanied by pot plants and a duck. The blazon's focal

point is the *man* in the last verse (fig. 18). Read in tandem with two *nieren* (kidneys), he forms *manieren* (manners). The *man*'s gaudy apparel is deliberately antiquated, comprising a black velvet bonnet feathered with ostrich plumes and a *Paltrock* studded with pink rosettes.¹⁶⁸ Wearing gloves and a sword, the *man*'s courtly garb parodies the aristocracy. While *rederijkers* on stage put cloaks over their town clothes, the *man*'s peacock-like attire suggests someone more important. Was this Cooymans' portrait?

To the *man*'s left is a pointing beggar, personifying Antwerp's social evils (*kwade*),¹⁶⁹ or indeed, Protestant rebels of the Revolt (*geuzen*). By contrast, the *man* stands beneath a willow tree (*wilg* or *willig*), symbolising



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Hendrick van Balen *et al.*, *Blazon of the chamber of rhetoric 'the Violieren'*, 1618, oil on panel, 73 x 73 cm, Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (photo: © Lukas - Art in Flanders VZW / Hugo Maertens)



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Detail fig. 17,
Hendrick van Balen *et al.*, *Blazon of the
chamber of rhetoric 'the Violieren'*, 1618,
(photo: © Lukas - Art in Flanders VZW /
Hugo Maertens)

steadfastness. Individualised in miniature, he looks outward as if addressing a fellow *Violier*. The *man's* shoes (*Kuhmäuler* or cow-mouths) as well as the bull directly above (part of *versieren*) may be references to Cooymans' name (cowman). If so, to be sandwiched between kidneys and a vomiting beggar was obviously a joke. The *Violieren* liked a good drink,¹⁷⁰ and one can imagine the merry company having a private chuckle at Cooymans' expense. If he was indeed the *man*, such humour was permissible only among intimate friends.

Violieren membership bound the *liefhebbers* under oath, 'united in friendship as loyal guild brothers'.¹⁷¹ By bankrolling the chamber, *rederijkers* found 'what love (...)/ And also praiseworthy deeds, have taught through the arts'.¹⁷² The *Rosary Madonna* was procured in like spirit. Within the coalition, Cooymans accounted the altarpiece's purchase as he would do for the Spanjepand premises. If not themselves connoisseurs of Caravaggio, *liefhebbers* of poetry could trust Cooymans and the regents to invest in 'outstandingly great art' on their behalf. The coalition's 'diverse others' plausibly included Vrancx, who between 1597 and 1600 resided in Rome, and Mayor Happaert. Both *Violieren* were also Romanists.

The godly feast

The most truly godlike seasoning at the dining-table is the presence of a friend or companion [who] participates in the give-and-take of conversation.

Plutarch, 'Table-talk'.¹⁷³

The triumvirate of artists first caught the public eye as deans of the guild of Romanists, which Bert Timmermans names as one of the principal forums in Antwerp 'to accumulate social and symbolic capital'.¹⁷⁴ Claudia Goldstein highlights the importance of dining culture to Antwerp's civic life in relation to paintings by Pieter Brueghel I.¹⁷⁵ With reference to the guild archives,¹⁷⁶ this section demonstrates how, by hosting dinner, the artist-*liefhebbers* persuasively enacted the virtues of connoisseurship and *amor amicitiae* in advance of the *Rosary Madonna*'s purchase. By partaking of the Romanists' ritualised friendships, 'diverse others' could be recruited from the urban patriciate, which formed the bulk of the membership.

Otherwise known as the confraternity of Saints Peter and Paul, this was an exclusive club of nominal soulmates. A prerequisite for membership, set to a maximum of 25, was having 'personally visited in Rome the relics' of the two apostles.¹⁷⁷ As with all confraternities, the point of joining was to expedite the salvation of one's soul.¹⁷⁸ On the feast of Saints Peter and Paul (June 29), Romanists held a solemn mass in Antwerp Cathedral. The day after, a requiem was given for deceased confreres, followed by dinner at the dean's.¹⁷⁹ Between 1608 and 1613, Brueghel, Van Balen and Rubens successively elected to this office.

Netherlandish artists had long been drawn to Rome, which promised 'coveted personal knowledge of Christian relics and classical monuments', as Woodall explains.¹⁸⁰ A significant minority became Romanists, including Brueghel (1599), Van Balen (1605), Rubens (1609) and Vrancx (1610). The guild registry reads like a who's who of the Antwerp elite. Painters rubbed shoulders with Mayor Happaert, canons of the cathedral, the archbishop of Cambrai and Woverius, a pupil of Lipsius (see above).¹⁸¹

In 1571, the new Dominican church was rededicated to St Paul (c. 4 BCE-c. 64 CE), the preacher-apostle.¹⁸² Monastery friars may have canvassed the Romanists for donations on the pretext of the order's foundation myth, in which St Dominic (c. 1170-1221) is visited by Saints Peter and Paul on their feast day while at prayer in the Vatican.¹⁸³ Procuring the *Rosary Madonna* 'out affection for the chapel' was one way to honour the guild's patron saint.

The triumvirate joined the Romanists partly as a business strategy,¹⁸⁴ the success of which can be gauged by their election as deans.¹⁸⁵ With surviving invoices detailing an abundance of food and wine, solemnity feasts were less than frugal.¹⁸⁶ Hosting dinner was a chance to exhibit the *liefhebbers*' prosperity and sophistication to influential Antwerpians.¹⁸⁷ As dean, Brueghel recorded hosting all the guild brothers in 1609 as per 'old custom'. His dining companions at the Meermanne included Rubens, whom Brueghel had just admitted.¹⁸⁸ With Rubens fresh out of Italy, the triumvirate may have first talked Caravaggio.¹⁸⁹ Van Balen's 1613 entry describes the religious services in some detail.¹⁹⁰ In his well-appointed house,¹⁹¹ Rubens was elected dean.¹⁹² New deans were announced at the banquet's conclu-

sion, 'before the course of cheese or fruit', having been chosen 'with common voice' by ballot.¹⁹³ Installed on the spot, Rubens swore to conserve the guild's documents and property.¹⁹⁴

As when Rubens ghost-wrote Brueghel's correspondence with Borromeo (see above), Van Balen's reputation as a *liefhebber* of Italian art enhanced Rubens' standing as a Romanist. In 1612, Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585-1646), sent Van Balen to Liège to authenticate *Ferry Carondelet with his secretaries*, then attributed to Raphael (1483-1520) (fig. 19). If 'Henry van Balen a painter who knows it well' judged the painting 'the same original', then Arundel was prepared to spend the princely sum of 500 gulden.¹⁹⁵ Comparatively, Rubens was still on the make.

Of the triumvirate, Rubens set most in store by his deanship. Saints Peter and Paul being his namesakes, Rubens gave the Romanists 'the gift of two large portraits [of the apostles] on panels by his own hand' for ceremonial use.¹⁹⁶ Rubens relinquished office in 1614 with a *coup de théâtre*, presenting the pendants to the new dean just before pudding.¹⁹⁷ That year, Rubens hosted dinner, not at his father-in-law's on the Kloosterstraat,¹⁹⁸



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Sebastiano del Piombo, *Portrait of Ferry Carondelet with his secretaries*, c. 1510-1512, oil on panel, 112.5 x 87 cm, Madrid, Museo Nacional Thyssen-Bornemisza (photo: © Fundación Colección Thyssen-Bornemisza)

but '*tot mynen huys*' – at his house on the Wapper.¹⁹⁹ Although Rubens did not move there until circa 1617,²⁰⁰ the house he purchased in 1610 possessed ample living quarters, kitchen included.²⁰¹

Rubens' *maeltyt* may have taken place outdoors, June 30 being the height of summer.²⁰² Al fresco dining nourished body and soul in humanist discourse, with gardens affording respite from the urban maelstrom. In the colloquy 'The godly feast' by Erasmus (c. 1467-1536), a luncheon is preceded by a tour of Eusebius' country villa. A fountain 'bubbling merrily with excellent water' refreshes, like 'the heavenly stream (...) according to the Psalmist'.²⁰³ Echoing Eusebius, Rubens could have played the cicerone, explaining his grand designs inspired by Vitruvius and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552-1616) to his Romanist friends.²⁰⁴ Rubens' wife, Isabella, plausibly devised the *maeltyt*'s many courses.²⁰⁵ At table, her feminine presence gave the all-male guild the chance to exercise their gallantry.²⁰⁶

According to Plutarch (c. 45-120), the best seasoning for a feast was varied conversation. At Rubens' *maeltyt*, learned discourse between friends could be interspersed with earthbound humour, particularly as drinking accelerated. The effect would have been like Alcibiades (c. 450-404 BCE) crashing the party in Plato's *Symposium*, expressing drunken outrage upon discovering Socrates (469-399 BCE) in the company of so many good-looking men.²⁰⁷ High spirits are a useful social lubricant, bonding companions through moments of intimacy. The guild all having visited Rome, enthusiasm for Caravaggio was contagious if stoked by Rubens, the Lombard's 'brand ambassador'.²⁰⁸

Before the *Rosary Madonna* appeared on the market, the triumvirate advertised their expertise in Italian art to build a network of 'diverse' patrons when deans of the guild.²⁰⁹ Although unrecorded, dinner-time conversation was a means to win over sceptics. To arrive at a universal appreciation of Caravaggio's art, disagreements had to be robustly thrashed out, for as Cicero observed, 'it is impossible to debate without refuting'. This could be done Montaigne-style 'with great ease and liberty', in the tradition of Socratic dialogue.²¹⁰

Three *liefhebbers* and a funeral

Membership of the guild of Romanists saw the artist-triumvirate exercising their friendships before Antwerp's metropolitan 'liberal' elite, to whom they signalled their virtue and virtuosity, not to mention adherence to Roman Catholicism. This concluding section argues that the triumvirate, led by Rubens, discovered the *Rosary Madonna* thanks to their cross-border friendship with Hendrick Goltzius. The *liefhebbers* purchased the altarpiece in Amsterdam, 'having seen in this piece outstandingly great art'. In this period, knowledge of art was acquired through sight and touch, as pictured in Van der Geest's *const-kamer* (see above).²¹¹ In Rome, Rubens had privileged access to Caravaggio's *Death of the Virgin*, allowing him to convince the Duke of Mantua to buy it.²¹² As with the *Scipio* tapestries, Caravaggio's 'very beautiful' altarpiece had to be seen to be believed.

The triumvirate's first voyage to the Dutch Republic took place in 1612, where they met Goltzius in person.²¹³

Rubens, Brueghel, van Balen and some more [Flemish artists] being in Holland, Goltzius and other Haarlemers travelled from that city to encounter them in a village where – having played the joke of not identifying themselves – they arrested them in order to pay honour to the noble spirits, which they did by raising an undisguisedly joking wineglass in order to drink to mutual friendship and trust.²¹⁴

Published by Balthasar Gerbier (1592-1663), this anecdote is about networks networking. Ambushing the triumvirate in disguise, Goltzius was living up to his reputation as a practical joker.²¹⁵ Toasting to each other's health on the road, the delegations from Antwerp and Haarlem forged an alliance over wine. Back by June 20 in time for Van Balen to become dean of the Romanists,²¹⁶ the *liefhebbers* could, at the table, boast of their intimate acquaintance with Goltzius, whom Van Mander had famously compared to Michelangelo (1475-1564).²¹⁷

Rubens went to Haarlem with an eye towards starting a print business,²¹⁸ while Brueghel and Van Balen saw opportunity in the burgeoning Dutch art market.²¹⁹ Representing Antwerp as part of a larger delegation, the triumvirate's purpose was also goodwill, desiring the 'mutual friendship and trust' of Holland's most famous artist.²²⁰ Likewise, the effort Goltzius put into his joke honoured their 'noble spirits' backhandedly. The *liefhebbers* must have been intrigued by Goltzius' self-reinvention as a painter.²²¹ As for Goltzius, he eagerly responded to Rubens' prototypes, as Vermeylen and De Clippel show.²²² Goltzius never forgot his friendships with the triumvirate, and neither did they.

Rubens is next recorded in Holland in 1627 but could easily have gone back before.²²³ Early modern artists did not hesitate 'to travel great distances on a temporary basis'. The Low Countries had excellent infrastructure and no border restrictions during the Truce.²²⁴ The triumvirate returned to Holland circa 1617-1619 when the *Rosary Madonna* was sold. This may have been alluded to in from Gerbier's *Eer ende claght-dicht*, an extravagant panegyric – penned shortly after Goltzius' death – which begins with an overblown funeral procession mimicking royalty.²²⁵ All three *liefhebbers* are listed as mourners, together with Abraham Vinck, the altarpiece's co-owner, who features twice. Rubens – 'the greatest of all, whose brain is full of art' – leads the cortege, conjuring 'the unholy rock where Andromeda was chained,/ And a thousand things more' in painterly pyrotechnics.²²⁶ Hot on Rubens' heels is Van Balen, whose 'sweet light (...) here doth shine'.²²⁷ Later on, Brueghel – a flower-painter 'without compare' – lays 'a white lily' on his friend's tomb.²²⁸

David Freedberg describes the procession as 'purely literary', but calls it 'most instructive' nevertheless.²²⁹ Hyperbole notwithstanding, the eulogy tallies with factual evidence.²³⁰ Goltzius' corpse was not jettisoned unceremoniously.²³¹ The engraver-turned-painter received abundant praise in death as in life.²³² His burial in Haarlem's Grote Kerk was marked by 'bells ringing [for] half an hour',²³³ while Goltzius' laudatory epitaph was written by the classicist Theodorus Schrevelius (1572-1649).²³⁴

Who actually attended Goltzius' funeral? In the *Claght-dicht*, Cornelis Drebbel (1572-1633) festoons his tomb with a perpetuum mobile. Feted as

Archimedes reincarnate,²³⁵ Drebbel was Goltzius' brother-in-law and heir to a quarter of his estate.²³⁶ However unhappy his marriage,²³⁷ a no-show on Drebbel's part would have been embarrassing.²³⁸ Among Goltzius' 'wide and varied circle of friends' were poet Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585-1618) and painter Jan Badens (1576-1618) from Amsterdam.²³⁹ According to Gerbier, other Amsterdam mourners included Pieter Lastman (1583-1633),²⁴⁰ as well as Vinck.²⁴¹ Having painted portraits of Neapolitan *belles* for the Duke of Mantua's *Camerino delle Dame* circa 1607,²⁴² Vinck was otherwise known as an art dealer, whose estate included a volume of Goltzius prints.²⁴³ If Lastman was present, his knowledge of the *Rosary Madonna* made it a likely conversation topic.²⁴⁴ In 1630, he would authenticate Finson's lost copy of the altarpiece.²⁴⁵ Moreover, *Odysseus before Nausicaa*, dated 1619, betrays Caravaggio's influence, combining Odysseus' dirty feet with a melee of hands in mimicry of the suppliant pilgrims (fig. 20).²⁴⁶

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Pieter Lastman, *Odysseus before Nausicaa*, 1619, oil on panel, 91.5 x 117.2 cm, Munich, Alte Pinakothek (photo: © BPK / Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen)

Goltzius' protracted illness gave admirers ample warning of his impending death.²⁴⁷ As well as 'voluntary [statements] of emotional or political solidarity',²⁴⁸ early modern funerals were also a chance to buy up the deceased's estate. Goltzius apparently owned a substantial collection of 'beautiful' artworks.²⁴⁹ In 1612, the triumvirate had a pre-sale viewing of



Goltzius' household effects. As with confraternities, funerals were likely forums for doing business also.²⁵⁰

If the triumvirate met Vinck during the wake, they would have proceeded to Amsterdam, harbourer of the *Rosary Madonna's* 'outstandingly great art'. Rubens knew about the painting when *fameglio* of the Duke of Mantua through his contact with Pourbus II (see above).²⁵¹ Sold 'not high in price', the *liefhebbers* personally negotiated a deal with Vinck, their reputation preceding them as with Goltzius in 1612. Promise of a prestigious display in St Paul's, near where Vinck was born,²⁵² may have persuaded him to undersell the altarpiece.²⁵³ If so, the wheels of commerce were oiled by *amor amicitiae*. By extending their hand to the elderly Antwerpian, the triumvirate underwrote the exchange with guarantees of trust. Having inherited the *Rosary Madonna* from Finson and, ultimately, Caravaggio himself,²⁵⁴ friendship was needed for Vinck to sign the deal.

Conclusion

The *Rosary Madonna* was more than a flashy foreign import. Procured in the name of *amor amicitiae*, it came packaged with metropolitan 'liberal' values and was viewed through the same prism in the Dominican church. Participation in Antwerp's elite circles enabled the quadrumvirate to market the altarpiece for corporate investment and pull off their Italian job. Instrumental to this process was the artist-triumvirate's internationalisation through their friendship with Goltzius, who had welcomed them to Holland in high spirits.

The *Rosary Madonna* was assimilated into the early modern political economy like few other artworks, having been bought with contributions from the *Violieren*, the Romanists and the rosary brotherhood. The 'diverse others' most likely included merchants, city councillors and perhaps Mayor Happaert. Within Antwerp's sacred topography, the altarpiece stood to benefit the polis by attracting aristocratic foreign visitors.²⁵⁵ Action was needed because Antwerp was foundering behind Amsterdam, its immediate mercantile rival. As Sir Dudley Carleton (1574-1632) commented in 1617, '*magna civitas, magna solitudo*' (great city, great desert). To counter, in Rubens' words, the city's decline 'every day, little by little', he and clubbable *liefhebbers* staged what Simon Schama calls 'a burst of cultural exuberance'.²⁵⁶ Fulfilling the quadrumvirate's moral *raison d'être*, the *Rosary Madonna* arrived in Antwerp on a wave of local patriotism.

As well as profits in fame and honour, the gift of the *Rosary Madonna* promised spiritual dividends by reminding viewers of the *liefhebbers*' virtuous friendship.²⁵⁷ According to Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), friendship and painting made 'the absent be present' and showed to the living 'after long centuries, the dead', who were recognised 'with the artist's great admiration and the viewer's pleasure'.²⁵⁸ The effect was symbiotic. Just as 'ivory, gems, and all precious things' became more so 'in the painter's hands',²⁵⁹ so Rubens and company burnished Caravaggio's 'rare piece' by their act of procurement. As expressed in painting, poetry and at dinner, the quadrumvirate really loved each other in the humanist sense. Installing 'a rare piece within Antwerp' had them come forth and let it show.

Notes

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- 1 'Eminet porro inter alias non inelegantes huius ædis Dominicanæ imagines, illa quam pinxit Neapoli Michael Angelus Caravaccius, in qua B. Virgo S. Dominico Rosarium tradit'. Sanderus 1726-1727, iii.6.
- 2 For Emperor Joseph II's acquisition of the *Rosary Madonna*, see Goovaerts 1873, 25-26.
- 3 Cat. Vienna 2010, 26-31, 74-84.
- 4 See McCormack 2017, 146, 163.
- 5 For the history of St Paul's as a Dominican monastery, see Sammut 2020; Mannaerts 2012; Van Damme 2010; and Baisier 2008, 179-199.
- 6 For coalitions of art patrons in Antwerp between the commercial, political and clerical elite, see Timmermans 2008, 87-101.
- 7 Burke 2004, 35-39. For the 'social construction' of art patronage, see Timmermans 2008 (for a summary, see Grijzenhout 2010). For more on taste and 'class fraction', see Bourdieu 1986.
- 8 'Ho visto qui doi quadri bellissimi di mano de M. Ange'o da Caravaggio: l'uno è d'un rosario'. Luzio 1913, 278.
- 9 See Worp 1891, 130-131.
- 10 Osnabrugge 2019, 111; Bodart 2007, 28.
- 11 '[1607] Jan Cooymans, coopman ende liefhebber der scilderyen'. Rombouts & Van Lierus 1864-1876, i.440. For more on the term *liefhebber*, see Doherty 2019, 147-154; and Ramakers 2014, 329.
- 12 Before 1688, the archives of the rosary brotherhood are fragmentary. The *cappelmeeesters* who registered before 1620 include treasurers (*tresoorier*), officials (*amptman*) and lawyers (*advocaet*) from Antwerp city council. Anonymous 1688-1771, unpaginated.
- 13 'De groote schilderije (...) geprocureert door diversche liefhebbers naementlijk mijn Heer Rubbens, Brugel, van Bael, Cooijmans en diverse andere gemaect van Michael Angelo Caravage gesien hebbende in dit stuk een uijtnemende groote konst en nochtans niet hoogh van prijs, hebben uijt affectie tot de cappel en om een raer stuck binnen Antwerpen te hebben, het selve gekocht niet meer als 1800 guld.'. Anonymous 1651, v. First published in Goovaerts 1873, 22-24. The manuscript is a 19th-century copy, of which two versions exist, the second dated 1671. Robbroeckx 1972, 5-8. Here 'cappel' is interpreted as the monastery church, i.e., St Paul's.
- 14 See Sirjacobs & Coolens 1993. For more on rosary prayer, see Winston-Allen 1997, 111-116.
- 15 Sammut 2020; cat. Madrid 2012, 149, no. 21.
- 16 Sammut 2020; Robbroeckx 1972. The role of Rubens has been contested. Van Hout 2006, 443-477.
- 17 Traces of the original brackets were discovered behind the *Mysteries* cycle during the church's restoration in 1996. Steenmeijer 2016. See also Van Hout 2006, 443-444; and Schaudies 2006, 353.
- 18 Baisier 2008, 183-185. A Madonna is essential to any mysteries of the rosary ensemble. Examples include the miniature altarpiece associated with Goswijn van der Weyden (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 1987.290.3a-p) and the composite altarpiece by the Carracci and others in the rosary chapel, San Domenico, Bologna, dated circa 1601. Borghi 2012, 150-171.
- 19 'Hetwelk ons veel gemoveert heeft, om een kostelycken autæer van marber te maeken, om het stuck daer in het midden te stellen, en alsoo de cappel en het stuck saemen te vereeren tot Godts eer en de glorie van Maria'. Anonymous 1651, recto. '(...) en glorie van Maria de Moeder Godts en onsen H. Vader Dominicus'. Anonymous 1671, verso.
- 20 The *Annunciation* in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy notwithstanding. See Orr 1997, 102.
- 21 The closest precedent was Michelangelo's *Bruges Madonna*, which was commissioned by Flemish cloth merchants and donated to Bruges Cathedral in the early 16th century. Carlisle 2019; Mancusi-Ungaro 1971, 35-43.
- 22 Best summarised as 'ship-loads of dead Christs, Holy Families, Madonas [sic] neither entertaining nor ornamental'. Hogarth 1833, 40.
- 23 Exceptions include Osnabrugge 2019, 77-78, 110-111, 244; Schaudies 2006, 353-361; and Manuth 2006, 183.
- 24 Ramakers 2014, 305.
- 25 Guerzoni 1999. See also Burke 2004, 35-61; and Various 2004, i.29-31.
- 26 McCue Gill 2011, unpaginated.
- 27 See Farrell 2001.
- 28 Timmermans 2008, 243-248; Various 2004, i.217-219.
- 29 See Österberg 2010, 23-90.
- 30 Ramakers 2014, 303.
- 31 Ramakers 2014, 314. While Cooymans became prince in 1619, the years in which Brueghel and Van Balen became deans is unspecified. Donnet 1907, 81-84, 96-98, 114-115.
- 32 For the original, see Vrancx 1619. For a facsimile, see Donnet 1907. For commentary, see Ramakers 2014, 306-307.
- 33 Sammut 2020. See also Jaffé 1977.
- 34 Woodall 1996.
- 35 For art as civic benefit in 16th-century Antwerp, see Vandommele 2018, 70-71.
- 36 Timmermans 2008, 227-255.
- 37 Cicero 1909, 15, 37-38.
- 38 Miner 2009, 122-126.
- 39 For an overview of early modern philosophies of friendship, see Lochman & López 2011; and James & Kent 2009.
- 40 Cicero 1909, 18.
- 41 Woodall 2017, 656-657. See also Meganck 2017, 211.
- 42 Woodall 1996, 220.
- 43 'Die Geldt soeckt, giericheyt hier op den wegh comt teghen,/ Belet zijn voortgang hem, dies hy maer leert op 'trondst./ Maer die nae Eere staet, verwerft wat meerder Ionst,/ Midts ydel glory can ten Consten boom toleyden:/ Dan soo hy om de vrucht, niet om den boom begonst,/ Hy onrijp plocken sal geen recht ghenot van beyden./ Die d'aengheboren lust den wegh hier gaet bereyden,/ En staegh met vlam de Liefd' daer toe drijft voort met cracht,/ Van dees sal neersticheyt noch patiency scheyden,/ Waer door in arbeydt hy tot Consten werdt ghebracht./ Wiens oefning naemaels Faem met Geldt en Eer versacht'. Van Mander 1604, 276 recto.
- 44 Filipczak 1987, 51-53.
- 45 Ramakers 2014, 299.
- 46 Peacham 1906, 105.

- 47 Aristotle 2009, 152. See also Lochman & López 2011, 3-6.
- 48 Woodall 2004, 13-14.
- 49 Woodall 2004, 7. See also Chapman & Weststeijn 2019, 26-31.
- 50 Aristotle 2009, 105.
- 51 Meganck 2017, 1-13.
- 52 Cicero 1909, 38.
- 53 Cited in Meganck 2017, 199.
- 54 For scepticism about connoisseurship in this period, see Chapman & Weststeijn 2019, 10-13; and Blanc 2019, 89-97.
- 55 Anonymous 1648, 15. See also Van Beneden 2013, 18; and Held *et al.* 1982, 38.
- 56 Ramakers 2014, 309-311.
- 57 For more on connoisseurship in the *Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest*, see Doherty 2019; and Marr 2019.
- 58 'By *Batholomeus Ferrerius* is noth een Mari-beeldecken daermen een seker aerdighe veerdigheyt van handelinge' in sien can; maer al het welck op veel naer soo nu teghenwoordigh in eyghendom zijnde by Mijn Heere Stevens: het ghene soo destigh door-kuyert is / soo suyver gheschildert / soo soet aengheleyt / dat eertijts in't Jaer 1615. den 23 Augusti sijne Hoogheydt den Art-hertogh *Albertus* met *Isabella Clara Eugenia* sijn huysvrouwe inde Const-camer van Cornelius vander Gheest (alsdoen den eyghenaer) het Ternoyspel op het schelde besichtende / het selve Mari-beeldecken noch meer befinden / Ja oock tot een stille groote half openbare vrijagie: maer wiert afgheslaghen door eenen stilswijghenden yver vanden eyghenaer / den welcken groote gunsten door eyghen liefde liet passeren'. Anonymous 1648, 15. See also Woodall 2016, 89; and Van Beneden 2013, 17-18.
- 59 Bomford 2004, 54.
- 60 Alciati 1542, 34.
- 61 Morford 1991, 3-13 and *passim*. See also Heinen 2010, 48-57.
- 62 'Conserver l'esprit libre, et le jugement fort,/ Dire son Chapelet en cultivant ses entes,/ C'est attendre chez soi bien doucement la mort'. Cited in Morford 1991, vi.
- 63 Bray 2003, 214.
- 64 Alfani 2009, 196.
- 65 See Verberckmoes 2015, 127.
- 66 Werche 2004, 255-256, appendices 32-33 and 46.
- 67 Woollett 2006, 30.
- 68 'Signor Peeter Paolo Rubbens (...) ende Henrick van Baelen, als testamentelijcke momboiren over de vier naerkinderen van den voors. wijlen Jan Brueghel daer de voors. Joffrouwe Catharina van Marienberge moeder van is'. Denucé 1934, 51, document 20.
- 69 For the evolutionary psychology of feudalism, see Pinker 1997, 429-440. For the utopian solution to family feuds, see Plato 2007, 167-173.
- 70 Vlieghe 1987, 60-62, cat. no. 79.
- 71 For more on the friendship-marriage dichotomy, see Furey 2011, 29-36.
- 72 Plato 2008, 12.
- 73 Plato 2008, 15-16. See also Woodall 2017, 662-664.
- 74 Woodall 2004, 7.
- 75 Montaigne 2003, 210, i.28. Montaigne changed his tune in old age, finding the 'most perfect hallowed loving friendship' in Marie de Gournay le Jars, his adopted daughter. Montaigne 2003, 751-752, ii.17.
- 76 Coymans was still a bachelor in 1633. Anonymous 1616-1794, 22 verso.
- 77 Aristotle 2009, 171-172.
- 78 Cicero 2008, 21.
- 79 Kooijmans 1997, 15.
- 80 Woodall 2017, 657.
- 81 See Jardine 1996.
- 82 'eenigen tijd daer naer is ghevraegt of het stuck soud te geven sijn, voor 13000 of 14000 guld waer op geantwoord is dat het stuck voor geen gelt te koop is. Hetwelk ons veel moveert heeft, om een kostelycken autaar van marber te maecken'. Anonymous 1651, verso. The *Rosary Madonna's* dramatic increase in monetary value was pegged to its international celebrity, aided by the circulation of Lucas Vorsterman I's reproductive engraving. Sammut 2017; cat. Antwerp & Amsterdam 1999, 209-212, no. 29; Hollstein 1949-, xliii.53, cat. no. 47.
- 83 Schütze 2015, 268-269, cat. no. 37.
- 84 'alles van den besten marwer ende toetsteen'. Jansen 1941, 145, appendix 2.
- 85 'eenige stucken tapisserijen, gevocht met gout, silver, sijde ende saeijet vande Historei van Chipion ende Hannibal, ende dat het patroon, daernaer die gemaect zijn, is de teekninge van Julio Romano, fameux Italiaens schilder, disciple was van Raphael d'Urbino, metten welcken hij in compaignie werckende was ende oyck de selfs Durbino eerffgenaem geinstituteert, ende oversulckx, een van de fraeijste patroonen die sij attestanten alhier binnen deser stadt gesien hebben. Affirmerende tgene voorschreven geseegt te hebben voor de gerechte waarheijt'. Werche 2004, 256, appendix 47. For the tapestries, see cat. Paris 1978, 88-93.
- 86 See Woodall 2017, 668-683.
- 87 Seneca 1912, 9-11, 47-50.
- 88 Guerzoni 1999, 340.
- 89 Furey 2011, 31.
- 90 Kooijmans 1997, 10.
- 91 See Honig 2016.
- 92 *IBRVEGHEL FEC[IT] and PETRI PAVLI RVBENS FIG[VRAVIT]*. Having underdrawn Adam and Eve, Brueghel added 'small retouches' along their contours, integrating Rubens' figures into his zoological arcadia. Cat. Los Angeles 2006, 64-65, no. 4; Doherty *et al.* 2006, 233-234.
- 93 Freedberg 1984, 91-94, cat. no. 23.
- 94 Vlieghe 2000; Freedberg 1978, 60-61.
- 95 *PETRO BRUGELIO/ EXACTISSIMÆ INDUSTRIÆ/ ARTIS VENUSTISSIMÆ/ PICTORI/ QUEM IPSA RERUM PARENS NATURA LAUDAT/ PERITISSIMI ARTIFICES SUSPICIUNT/ ÆMULI FRUSTRÀ IMITANTUR/ ITEMQ MARLE COUCKE EIUS CONIUGE/ IOANNES BRUGELIUS PARENTIBUS OPTIMIS/ PIO AFFECTU POSUIT/ OBIT ILLE ANNO M.D.LX.IX HAEC M.D.LXXVIII/ D TENIERS IUN RENOVAVIT AO EX HÆRDIBUS MDCLXXVI*. Brussels, Notre-Dame-de-la-Chapelle. See also Cutler 2004.
- 96 Anonymous 1856-1903, ii.448-451.
- 97 Borromeo 2010, 166-167. 'quae propria Artificis illius fuit celebratae per Europam famae et familiaris olim nostri'.
- 98 Cutler 2003, 42-45. Their surviving letters document the cardinal's long-term patronage of Brueghel's oeuvre. Borromeo owned 29 works by Brueghel, most of which are still in the Ambrosiana, Milan. Cutler 2003, 38.
- 99 Crivelli 1868, 241, 293, 322, 352.
- 100 'Io haueua mandato al sig. Cardinale un piccol ricordo della mia seruittù; d un ouato d' auorio dipinto di due bande, della passione di Cristo in figurette minime con la maggior accuratezza ch' usassi mai in cosa alcuna'. Crivelli 1868, 224.
- 101 Honig 2016, 42.
- 102 Borromeo 2010, 164-167. 'Ioannis Brugueli manu sunt tenuissima molis opera complexa quidquid fere in arte magnificum, praeclarumque est, ut magnitudinem uno tempore, et subtilitatem admirari possis. Christi Passionem repraesentant extremo diligentia conatu'.
- 103 'per il Padre Priore de Domenicani d Anuersa ch' andaua a Roma, ma hauendo ordine che lo indirici subito a VS, che da sè saprà il resto, per chè cognosco chiaramente che tutte le cose mie riescono più felicemente passando per mano sua che d altra persona'. Crivelli 1868, 224.
- 104 'Per ordine dil sig. Juan Brúgel, et insieme ricomandato me del sig. Petro Paulo Rübens mandò a V. S. per la posta un Oüato d'aüolio dipinto da doj bande de mano del sig. Brúgel: si non fosse capitato in mane süo, V. S. fara diligentia d auerlo della posta: con questo me ricomando in

- la sua buona gratia, pregando il Signor Dio lo conseruia in iugni felicità'. Crivelli 1868, 231. NB, Hazes was never elected prior.
- 105 Cutler 2003, 46-47.
- 106 'Il sig. Rubens il sig. Van Balen, Momper, et Sebastiano Franck, et sopra tutti Giouanni Brueghel, tutti vostri affettionatissimi si raccomandano di cuore, et la ringratianno per la memoria che ritiene d'essi'. Crivelli 1868, 224-225.
- 107 Honig 2016, 3, 12-14, 48.
- 108 'Hans Breughel (Brueghel, de fluweele, schilder,) meesterssone'. Rombouts & Van Lerijs 1864-1876, i.397.
- 109 'Peeter Geerardi wachtheester deser stadt, gaff terve ende in erfelycken rechte Jannen Breugel, eene huysinge geheeten Meereminne, met poorte, plaetse, sale, coeckene, neercamere, hove, diversche oppercameren, keldere, pompe, regenbacke, gronde ende allen den toebehoorten, gestaen en de gelegen in de Langen Nieustrate alhier'. Denucé 1934, 21-22, document 3.
- 110 Honig 2016, 21; Van Sprang 2005, 41; De Maeyer 1955, 144-159; Denucé 1934, 25-27, document 6; Duvivier 1860, 439-444.
- 111 A surviving necklace featuring two cameos was probably made out of two such bracelets (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. 262). Zander-Seidel 2007, ii.240-241.
- 112 Rubens' posthumous inventory estimates 'een paer agaete braseletten' at 36 gulden. Duverger 1984-2009, v.266, no. 1383; Pointon 2017, 110.
- 113 See also Peter Paul Rubens, *Portrait of a married couple with a child*, c. 1609 (Karlsruhe, Staatliches Kunsthalle, inv. no. 177).
- 114 See Borromeo 2010, 168-169.
- 115 Pointon 2017, 110.
- 116 Vlieghe 1987, 163-164, cat. no. 138.
- 117 'Hæc fidei est species: Veneris quam si educat ardor, / Malorum in læva non malè ramus erit'. Alciati 1542, 262.
- 118 Piacenti 1997, 127-135.
- 119 'Son plus grand Plaisir estoit (...) de voir & de considerer ses medailles, ses agates, ses cornalines & autres pierres gravées, dont il avoit un tres beau recueil'. De Piles 1677, 215.
- 120 See Winner 1972.
- 121 Göttler 2007, 25; Hoogewerff 1961, 224.
- 122 'Petrus Paulum Rubenium Antuerpiensem, pictorem celeberrimum, & totius antiquitatis, sed Cameorum imprimis studiosissimum, peritissimumque'. Gassendi 1651, 180.
- 123 For identified cameos from Rubens' collection, see Healy 2004, 270-291, cat. nos. 66-67, 69-71, 73.
- 124 'Le mariage des genies en camayeu d'excellente agathe (...) ayants leurs testes couvertes d'un flammeum si mince que les oreilles & le visage se peuvent discerner par dessous'. Van der Meulen 1994, i.203, appendix v.4.
- 125 Cited in Van Wyhe 2015, 99-104.
- 126 Muller 2004, 59-62; Chapman & Weststeijn 2019, 29.
- 127 'Oock hoe prinslijck elck prins, die dédel const beminden/ Sijn prinsdom heeft vereert, met prijzen weert ghe-acht/ End' wat voor dekens vroet, hebben met eer getracht/ De welvaert van haer guld', end' blom die sy bedinden'. Donnet 1907, 40.
- 128 For what is known of Coymans' biography, see Ramakers 2014, 332-333.
- 129 Ramakers 2014.
- 130 See Pleij 1990.
- 131 For more on the 1561 Antwerp *landjuweel*, see Vandommele 2018, 69-72; Vandommele 2011; Pleij 2007, 709-717; and Gibson 1981, 428.
- 132 Ramakers 2014, 299, 305; Gielen 2004, 27. *Violieren* were flowers of the genus *matthiola*, hence 'Stock-Gillyflowers'. Gibson 1981, 428.
- 133 Ramakers 2010, 188.
- 134 'Princelicke *Violieren* zeer excellentaant./ V conste is verclaert, voor de constichste van al,/ Het welc men mach goed doen (als met een argument)/ Met veel constenaers die zijn onder u ghetal:/ Wiens excellentie niemand te bouen gaen zal:/ Dus sal ick van u en uws ghelijcke verclaren/ (Spijtt alle benijders ende haer boose gheschal)/ Dit zijn de constichste van alle constenaren'. De Heere 1565, 110.
- 135 Werche 2004, 252-253, app. 15; Werche 1997, 67-74; cat. Los Angeles 2006, 157, no. 21.
- 136 Timmermans 2010, 116-118.
- 137 For example, 'coomenscap doende met scilderye' or 'constvercoper'. Rombouts & Van Lerijs 1864-1876, ii.421-422.
- 138 The ambiguity of the '*ende*' in his guild of St Luke entry is usually glossed over. Büttner 2006, 138; Filipczak 1987, 51.
- 139 See Bourdieu 1986.
- 140 Braudel 1981-1984, ii.143-153.
- 141 Timmermans 2008, 47-71. See also Fischer 1996, 91-92.
- 142 Keblusek 2011, 95-109.
- 143 'præcipuorum mercatorum ac Civium cresceret'. Sanderus 1726-1727, iii.3.
- 144 'Ontfanghen van S. Nicolas Cassier Talania ende Gillis Boone ende Jan Baptist Coymans tot den verderinghe vanden gelase venster vanden Triomphe van Jherusalem de somme van tweehondert guldens'. Anonymous 1616-1794, 22v.
- 145 The stained glass in the south transept was blown out during the 1830 siege of Antwerp. The surviving fragments have been reassembled in the old monastery entrance hall window. Van Damme 2018, 150. After Abraham van Diepenbeeck, Labaer was the leading stained-glass painter in Brabant at the time. Van Ruyven-Zeman 2018, 51-52.
- 146 'De welcke is gheweest een liefhebber van beyden de consten seer ieverich'. Donnet 1907, 114. For more on Vrancx's role in reviving the *Violieren*, see Donnet 1907, 103-104.
- 147 'Heer hooftman, prins en deken/ die naermaels volghen suldt/ regeert alsoo de gult'. Donnet 1907, 44. See also Gielen 2004, 27-28.
- 148 Donnet 1907, 66.
- 149 Gielen 2004, 27-28.
- 150 Ramakers 2014, 311.
- 151 Jacobs 2006, 117-138.
- 152 Pleij 2002, 691-695. For a more recent overview, see Pleij 2007, 296-333, 670-717. For the latest research into Netherlandish chambers of rhetoric, see the 2018 special issue of *Renaissance Studies*, in particular Van Dixhoorn 2018; Van Dixhoorn *et al.* 2018; Ramakers 2018; and Vandommele 2018.
- 153 Various 2004, i.100-104.
- 154 Paulicelli 2014, 54-59.
- 155 'heerlyck blasoen oft refereyn feeste'. Donnet 1907, 50.
- 156 Keersmaekers 1952, 41.
- 157 Donnet 1907, 45-47.
- 158 'Wie dat de *Helden* sijn, (...) End' d'oude *Volier* in staet hebben gebracht,/ Naer dat den weeden *Mars*, haer meenden te verslinden'. Donnet 1907, 40.
- 159 'aLs heer Ian Happaert WYs, Was ons hooft VerheVen/ adrlaen staelbent CorneLLs de Vos dekens goet/ sYn dIe vIoLLer doUde VrYheYt Weer gegeVen/ Ian Coomans Wt Ionsten Wert Nu VrY prInCe Vroet'. Donnet 1907, 43.
- 160 'had groote dinghen voor begost, eenich gelt te vergaren om metter tyt een erve oft huys te coopen, daer hy, een meest allen de oude dekens toe gegeven hebben'. Donnet 1907, 114.
- 161 De Paepe 2006, 325-332.
- 162 'De prince sal gehouden syn syn prinsdom te verheffen binnen synen tyt met een heerlyck blasoen oft refereyn feeste tot welcken hy sal gehouden syn prysen op te stellen ten minsten weerdich wesende vyftich guldens oft meer naer syne geliefte'. Donnet 1907, 50.
- 163 Ramakers 2014, 332-333.

- 164 'Aen den wysen, discreten, ende voorzienighen, Ioan Coomans (...) die niet alleen en bemint de droef-singhende CLIO, maer oock mijne const-lieuende PICTVRA'. Van Nieulandt II 1617, a2.
- 165 'versekert sijnde dat ons oude vrintschap soo vruchtbaer is geweest dat daer geen ender vrucht af voort-comen en can'. Van Nieulandt II 1621, 5.
- 166 Ramakers 2014, 312-314; Keersmaekers 1957, 344-346.
- 167 'Apelles' scholieren, die Sint-Lucas viëren/ Wilt helpen versieren den *Olijftak* snel./ Met ons, *Violieren*, end Apollo's laurieren,/ Vlucht kwade manieren, willig houdt Pax wel'. Keersmaekers 1957, 345-346.
- 168 Kinderen-Besier 1933.
- 169 Silver 1976, 253-257.
- 170 To judge from the goblets they owned, pictured in Cornelis de Vos' *Portrait of Abraham Grapheus* (Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, inv. no. 104). Ramakers 2014, 308-309.
- 171 'Om als trouw gulden broers te sijn versaempt vuit jonsten'. Donnet 1907, 40.
- 172 'Ghij vindt oock wat de liefd' (...)/ Als med'die lofbaer daet, betoocht hebben door consten'. Donnet 1907, 40.
- 173 Plutarch 1927, viii.5.
- 174 Timmermans 2008, 243-244.
- 175 Goldstein 2013, 37-73.
- 176 For the archives, see Anonymous 1574-1786. For published excerpts, see Dilis 1923.
- 177 'van zeker getal van personen die de reliquien van de voors. heylige Apostelen personelyck te Roomen hadden besocht'. Dilis 1923, 65. A pilgrim badge could have been used as proof. See Birch 2000, 77-79.
- 178 Dilis 1923, 17-20.
- 179 Dilis 1923, 17-20.
- 180 Woodall 2007, 95-97.
- 181 Dilis 1923, 38-48.
- 182 '[6 February 1571] consecravimus in monasterio fratrum predicatorum civitatis Antwerpiensis templum sive ecclesiam in honorem Sancti Pauli, apostoli'. Van den Nieuwenhuizen 2010, 1510, no. 43.
- 183 Voragine 2012, 113.
- 184 Brueghel and Rubens were admitted soon after returning from Italy, while Van Balen had to wait, perhaps because his sojourn lacked distinguished patronage. Werche 2004, 19-20.
- 185 Deans wrote their statements upon giving up office. In 1613, for example, Van Balen 'cancelled the deanship' (*deken-schap aenulleert heeft*) and handed the reins to Rubens. Anonymous 1574-1786, 50.
- 186 Dilis 1923, 26.
- 187 Timmermans 2006, 353.
- 188 'Anno 1609 in feste St Petro et St Paulo is deken geweest Jean Brueghel schildere die naer oude costume (...) sanderdaghs naer de misse van requiem den maeltyt gegeven tot huer huys daer moest alle de guldenbroeders syn geweest (...) Cornelis Schut de inscuelingen vande gulden syn geweest Sr Pietro Paulo Rubens ende Michiel Tjacobus die uyt donati heeft gekogt de gulden te dienen voor cnape'. Anonymous 1574-1786, 46.
- 189 At that time Rubens may have been working on his *Entombment* oil sketch, a free copy after Caravaggio (Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada, acc. no. 6431). With aspects integrated into the *Descent from the Cross* (Antwerp Cathedral), the sketch should be dated before 1612. Van Hout 2017, 72-74; Glen 1988, 22.
- 190 'Anno 1613 desen 30 Junij in festo divini Petri et Pauli is deken geweest Hendrick van Balen, en heeft na ouder gewoonten op den feestdach den heijlige Apostelen doen singen een solemnel misse, het heijlig sacraments choor, van onser lieve vrouwen kerke, ende de bullo apostolique van de aflaten, deser broederschap verleent, laken voorhangen, ende op de stoelen doen vercondigen, ende den selven dage na noenes in den selven choor een solemneel loff laten singen, met musiecke ende orgelen, volgende de ordonnantie Anno 1610 bijde confreerij ghemackt, shanderendaegs in den selven choor een misse van requiem laten celebreren'. Anonymous 1574-1786, 50.
- 191 'een huijs met vloere coeckene plaetse borneputte regenbacke achterhuijse hove gronde ende allen den toebehoorten'. Werche 2004, 252, appendix 15.
- 192 'Ten selven dage na ouder usantien over maltijt is met gemeynen vooschreve gecosen tot deken Sr Peetro Paulo Rubens'. Anonymous 1574-1786, 50.
- 193 'Guldebroeders zal hebben doen bereyden, en sal den zelven keuse geschieden ten tyde vander maeltyt voor het opdienen van keese off fruyte (...) Sal den Deken jaerlycx met gemeyne voyse van Guldebroeders met billietten worden gecosen ten zelve Dage Sanctorum Petri et Pauli naer de misse ter plaatsen daer den affgaende Deken best duncken sal'. Dilis 1923, 68.
- 194 Dilis 1923, 19-20.
- 195 Howarth 1985, 33, 66-67.
- 196 Vlieghe 1972-1973, i.61-63, cat. nos. 47-48. These were sold in 1786 and since lost. Dilis 1923, 35-37.
- 197 'gheconsigneert hebbe het cofferken met alle de stucken volgende de inventaris daer in leggende'. Anonymous 1574-1786, 51.
- 198 'Ipse paulo post se maritali vinculo, ducta filia Joannis Brantii, senatoris Antverpiensis (...) In contubernio soceri aliquot annos vixit (...) Intérim ædes proprias magnamque juxta aream Antverpiæ emit, ubi diætam amplissimam romanâ formâ ædificat, picturæ studio aptam, hortumque latissimum omnis generis arboribus conserit'. Rubens 1837, 6-7; Tijs 1984, 96.
- 199 'Ic Petrus Paulus Rubens hebbe voleijnt het jaer van myn dekenschap ende volcomelijck volbrocht (...) voor een maeltyt tot mynen huysse'. Dilis 1923, 30.
- 200 Muller 2004, 35.
- 201 'Eene huysinge met eender grooter poorten plaetse gaelderij coeckene camers gronde ende allen den toebehoorten'. Tijs 1984, 90. See also Van de Kerckhof 2004, 14.
- 202 In 1604, dinner had been served in the Del Plano guesthouse meadows. Dilis 1923, 29.
- 203 Erasmus 1965, 48-51.
- 204 Tijs 1984, 96-106.
- 205 Goldstein 2013, 60-62. Antwerp ladies took charge of housekeeping, including food preparation, hence why Peter Scholier addressed his 1613 Flemish cookbook to 'alle Edel-Vrouwen ende Iouffrouwen van dese Neder-landen'. Scholier 1663, 3.
- 206 Goldstein 2013, 75-76.
- 207 Plato 2008, 51-63; McGrath 1983.
- 208 Schaudies 2006, 339-346.
- 209 For the role of trust in Renaissance commercial and civic life, see Kent 2009, 157-218.
- 210 Montaigne 2003, 1045-1047, iii.8. See also Guazzo 1925.
- 211 Woodall 2016, 78.
- 212 Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 54. Spike 2010, 258-265, cat. no. 45.
- 213 See De Smet 1977, 199-220.
- 214 Schwartz 2018, 72. 'Rubens Brueghel van Baelen ende sommige meer in Hollant zijnde, werden rijsende van Haerlem van Goltius en andere gheesten derselver Stadt in een Dorp, (hun boerrighs onbekent toeghemaeckt hebbende) gearsteert om de Edele Gheesten Eer aen te doen, ende om voor het leste, uyt eenen onbevynsen boertighen Roomer malcanderen de Vrientschap ende de foy toe drincken'. Gerbier 1620, 44. For commentary, see Nichols 2013, 59; Vermeylen & De Clippel 2012, 146-155; Freedberg 1983, 240, note 59; Van Gelder 1950-1951, 119-125; Stechow 1927, 138-139; and Hirschmann 1920.
- 215 For the anecdote about Goltzius fooling

- connoisseurs with a fake Dürer engraving of his own invention, see Van Mander 1604, 284 verso.
- 216 See De Smet 1977, 199-220.
- 217 'in dat en anders ghelijckende den uyt-nemenden *Michael Agnolo*'. Van Mander 1604, 285 verso. See also Miedema 1993, passim.
- 218 Vermeylen & De Clippel 2012, 146-151.
- 219 Brueghel visited Holland in 1600 and 1604, exporting four of his artworks there. De Clippel & Van der Linden 2015, 83-85.
- 220 Brueghel and Van Balen accompanied Rubens everywhere. Honig 2016, 20; Werche 2004, 20.
- 221 'Teyckende hy yet, de naeckten sonderlingh mosten met den cryons hun verwen hebben: soo dat hy eyndlijck tot den Pinceelen en Oly-verwe hem heeft begheven, doe hy maer twee laer van het suyghen oft borst ghewend oft gespeent was, doch zijns ouderdoms 42. laer, A'. 1600'. Van Mander 1604, 285 verso. See also Vermeylen & De Clippel 2012, 151-155.
- 222 Vermeylen & De Clippel 2012, 155-159.
- 223 This was previously ruled out. Van Gelder 1950-1951, 134.
- 224 Vermeylen & De Clippel 2012, 144-145.
- 225 Nichols 2013, 40, note 61; 45, note 88. For contemporary sources about Goltzius, see also Nichols 1993.
- 226 'Hier staet een, d'eerst van al, die vol Const 'tvoorhooft verght (...) Hier beeld hy Constich by de neghen wijfe Maeghden, / Daer toe d'onheyl'ghe Rots' daer *Andromeda* claecheden, / En duysent dinghen meer'. Gerbier 1620, 5-6; Freedberg 1983, 241-243.
- 227 'Siet wat een soete *strael* van Balen hier doet schijnen, / Siet hoe dat men'ghen gheest sijn eer t'uytsetten pijnen, / Siet hoe van allen cant de gheesten sijn versaemt, / Gheluckich t'leven was, wiens doot wert soo befaemt'. While Van Balen was still alive, Gerbier allocated him a place in Valhalla. Gerbier 1620, 7.
- 228 'Die veel zijn int 'tghetal, doch die niet zijn ghemeyn, / Want *Ceres Breughel* kipt (...) Van Cranssen van gheluck, die in den Hemel groeyen, / En siet een Lely wit de spits sijns Tombs doet bloeyen'. Gerbier 1620, 12.
- 229 Freedberg 1983, 244, n. 101. The panegyric has been subject to general floccinaucinihilipilification as a factual source. Nichols 2013, 40, note 59.
- 230 For more on Gerbier's early life, see Wood 2004 and Freedberg 1983, 241.
- 231 Gerbier pretends otherwise. 'u Haerlemers tot weynighe eere verstreckende dat ghy sijne stralen gheniet, ende 'tLichaem in de aerde hebt ghedouwt sonder dat yemant lesen can waer hy leyt'. Gerbier 1620, 41.
- 232 Nichols 2013, 32-33, 38-41; Nichols 1993, 108-120.
- 233 'Een opening voor Hendrick Goltsius een halff uuyr beluigt f. 7'. Nichols 2013, 44-45, 316.
- 234 *HENRICO GOLTZIO, VIRO INCOMPARABILI, CALCO-/GRAPHO EXCELLENTISSIMO, PICTORI CELEBERRIMO./ATQUE ADEO OMNIS ARTIS GRAPHICÆ PERITISSIMO (...) OBIIT HARLEMI AN. MDCXVII*. Nichols 2013, 45, 316.
- 235 'Comt *Archimedes* hier (...) 't *Perpetuum Mobile* door sijn vernuft verkregen / Stelt hy op dese Tomb', tot teeken van een zeghen'. Gerbier 1620, 11.
- 236 Nichols 2013, 45, 317-319.
- 237 Snelders 2004.
- 238 Freedberg 1983, 243.
- 239 Schepers 1924, 153-159.
- 240 '*Lastman*, d'eer d'Amstels voet, die wil ick hier aen voeghen, / Op wiens Const 'tweeld'rigst oogh moet sterren met genoegen / Liefhebbers sit vry neer, en met aendacht eens siet / Oft niet der Consten mergh *Pictura* u daer biet'. Gerbier 1620, 9.
- 241 'Hier volght Abraham Vinck, dies waert sijn Const doet blijcken (...) Abraham Vinck vereert het zijn *Vrania*'. Gerbier 1620, 9, 13.
- 242 Ducos 2011, 67.
- 243 'Een deel printen van GOLTZIUS'. Cited in De Roever 1885, 185.
- 244 For Lastman's affinity with Rubens, see Van der Meulen 1985, 309, 314, appendix 2..
- 245 Bodart 1970, i.236, no. 23.
- 246 Golahny 2010, 193-196.
- 247 Nichols 2013, 44.
- 248 Harding 2002, 235.
- 249 Nichols 2013, 34.
- 250 As the Rt. Hon. Jim Hacker puts it in *Yes, Prime Minister*, 'This is a working funeral (...) It's a heaven-sent opportunity'. 'Literally!' his wife interjects. Jay & Lynn 1987.
- 251 See Morselli 2016, 23.
- 252 Osnabrugge 2019, 115.
- 253 In 1639, Raphael's *Portrait of Baldassare Castiglione* (Paris, Musée du Louvre, inv. no. 611) sold for 3,500 gulden at auction in Amsterdam, 'almost five times the value of the most expensive work of art sold in the previous 41 years'. Montias 2002, 16.
- 254 Denunzio 2016.
- 255 For visits to St Paul's by Prince Władysław Sigismund Vasa (1624), Queen Christina of Sweden (1654) and Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici III (1668), see Wyganowska 1997, 45; De Cupere & Zetterström 1993, ii.45, ii.165; and Hoogewerff 1919, 213. For the *Rosary Madonna*'s reception at the French court, see Berger 1972, 476-477. For the elite phenomenon of art tourism in the Low Countries, see Verhoeven 2012.
- 256 Schama 1999, 168-170.
- 257 For the comparable example of early modern friendship tombs, see Bray 2003, 140-176.
- 258 Alberti 2011, 44.
- 259 Alberti 2011, 45.

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