

*studije
muzeja
mimara*

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PETER PAUL RUBENS,
PORTRET
NICOLAASA RUBENSA,
UMJETNIKOVA SINA

PETER PAUL RUBENS,
THE PORTRAIT OF
NICOLAAS RUBENS,
THE ARTIST'S SON

Tugomir Lukšić



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Odabrani članci
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Gotički lovački rog
od morževe kljove

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1. P. P. Rubens, Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina, oko 1634–1636; ulje na drvu, 60,3 x 45,5 cm; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
P. P. Rubens, Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, ca. 1634–1636; oil on wood, 60.3 x 45.5 cms; Zagreb, Mimara Museum



U Kraljevskoj zbirci Palače Buckingham u Londonu nalazi se slika *Sokolar* koju su kritičari često pripisivali P. P. Rubensu, a u crtama lica mladoga lovca prepoznavali slikareva sina Nicolaasa (sl. 3). No to mišljenje nije bilo jednoglasno, pa su se češće javljali oni koji su osporavali takvu atribuciju, a i sumnjali u identitet portretiranog mladića. Činilo se u jednom času da pojava drugog sokolara ili *Portreta Nicolasa Rubensa* na umjetničkom tržištu Chicaga između dva rata može rasvijetliti taj problem (sl. 2). Vladalo je mišljenje da je pronađena skica za londonsku sliku. Međutim, ubrzo se među stručnjacima javila ista dilema – čikaškoj slici počela se osporavati vrijednost autografa, tako da se ona danas u Umjetničkom institutu u Chicagu, gdje se čuva, vodi pod oznakom »atribuirano Peteru Paulu Rubensu«. Smatramo da tek pojava trećeg slikanog *Portreta Nicolaasa Rubensa* u Zbirci umjetnina Ante Topića Mimare u Zagrebu rješava to pitanje (sl. 1). Prema mnogim svojstvima moguće je zaključiti da je riječ o autentičnoj Rubensovoj skici iz kasnog perioda, koja je poslužila kao preliminarna studija za sliku u Chicagu, odnosno za finalnu kompoziciju *Sokolara* u Londonu.

Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa iz Zagreba

Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa, o kojem je riječ, dospio je u Zagreb kao dio donacije Ante Topića Mimare iz 1973. god. (sl. 1). Donedavno je to bila posve nepoznata slika, koja je prvi put objavljena 1982. i prvi put izložena tek 1983. god. u Zagrebu na izložbi jednog dijela Mimarine zbirke.¹ Historijat vlasništva do ulaska u zbirku nije poznat. God. 1987. slika je trajno izložena u novoosnovanom Muzeju Mimara u Zagrebu i reproducirana u muzejskim publikacijama.² Taj je portret od prvog izlaganja višekratno komentiran u domaćem i stranom tisku – kadšto kao autentični Rubens, kadšto kao kopija ili čak krivotvorina.³ Međutim, visoka umjetnička kvaliteta djela, prepoznatljiva Rubensova tehnika, cehovske

The Royal Collection in Buckingham Palace, London, includes a portrait entitled The Falconer which critics have frequently ascribed to P. P. Rubens, while in the young huntsman's features they have detected the artist's son Nicolaas (Ill. 3). This verdict has never been unanimous, however, and there have been those who disputed the attribution and questioned the identity of the youth in the painting. At one point it seemed as if the emergence on the Chicago art market between the wars of a second Falconer or Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens might throw new light on the issue (Ill. 2). The prevailing view was that the newly discovered picture was a sketch for the London portrait. But the same dilemma rapidly cropped up again among the experts: doubts began to be cast on the authenticity of the Chicago painting, so that now it is listed in the Chicago Art Institute, where it is housed, merely as »attributed to Peter Paul Rubens«. We consider that the question was not settled until a third portrait in oil of Nicolaas Rubens turned up in the Ante Topić Mimara Collection in Zagreb (Ill. 1). There are a good many features of the picture that lead us to the conclusion that what we have here is an authentic Rubens sketch from the artist's late period, a sketch which served as a preliminary study for the Chicago painting, i.e. for the final composition of The Falconer in London.

The Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens in Zagreb

The portrait of Nicolaas Rubens (Ill. 1) in question came to Zagreb as part of a bequest made by Ante Topić Mimara in 1973. It was until recently a totally unknown picture, first recorded in 1982 and shown for the first time in 1983 as an item in an exhibition in Zagreb of part of the Mimara Collection.¹ There is no record of its ownership before it was incorporated in the Collection. Since 1987 the painting has been on permanent display in the newly established Mimara Museum in Zagreb and has been reproduced in the Museum's publications.² Ever since it was first put on display the picture has been the subject of frequent comments in the domestic and foreign press – sometimes designated as a ge-

name Rubens, sometimes as a copy, or even as a fake.¹ The work's considerable artistic merit, however, its recognisably Rubenian technique, the hallmarks on the back of the panel, and the logical feasibility of placing it within the body of Rubens' work all go to suggest, not only that Mimar's attribution is correct, but also support the claim that this portrait is one of the major products of the master's late phase.

The portrait is painted in oil on an oak panel (height: 60.3 cms; width: 45.5 cms). The layer of pigment is well preserved and traces of restoration are visible. The back of the picture is cradled, and within a square formed by the intersection of the laths the municipal coat-of-arms of Antwerp – a castle with three turrets and two spread hands – has been burned into the panel (Ill. 12, 13). We shall have occasion later to revert to the significance of this mark.

The picture shows the head-and-shoulders of a youth in three-quarters left profile. But while the shoulders and chest are more nearly full profile, the head – inclined very slightly forward – is depicted at a true three-quarters angle, which gives the impression of an abrupt movement towards the onlooker, on whom the young man has fixed his penetrating gaze. The adolescent face is distinctly long, with a straight nose, short, powerful jaw and a pronounced double chin. Prominent, tense and not particularly attractive lips catch the eye, and there is just the suggestion of a moustache above them. Long, wavy, chestnut-brown hair descends over his shoulders and down his back, giving way here and there to blonde curls. The young man is wearing a broad-brimmed black hat adorned with a ribbon. His jacket is bordered with fur and is also black, with a broad collar falling over it. In the bottom left-hand corner part of a sleeve in golden yellow silk can be discerned, together with the edge of a leather glove. The background is brown and greenish, vigorously painted with short, rapid, casual strokes.

From this background the youth's face emerges in a diffused light with no marked chiaroscuro. The handling of the flesh tints displays Rubens' bold use of colour in the bluish and yellowish tints of the brightest areas and the ruddy browns of the shadows. The youth's face is animated by a vibrant and fugitive luminosity. The skin seems to breathe, every facial muscle seems to move,

oznake na poleđini daske i mogućnost logičnog situiranja slike u Rubensov opus idu u prilog ne samo ispravnosti Mimarine atribucije već i tvrdnji da je taj portret jedno od značajnih ostvarenja iz majstorove kasne faze.

Portret je slikan uljem na hrastovoj dasci (vis. 60,3 cm; šir. 45,5 cm). Slikani sloj dobro je ušćuvan, a uočljivi su tragovi restauracija. Na poleđini je izvedena parketaža. Unutar jednog pravokutnog polja stvorenog presjecima letvica parketa videti se gradski grb Antwerpena – dvorac sa tri kule i povrh njega dva raširena dlana – u dasku utisnut paljenjem (sl. 12, 13). O značenju toga znaka bit će još riječi.

Slika prikazuje poprsje mladića u tročetvrtinskom lijevom profilu. Dok su ramena i prsni koš bliži profilu, glava je – posve lagano nagnuta naprijed – izvedena u pravilnih tri četvrtine, što stvara dojam naglog okreta prema promatraču, kojem mladić upućuje prodorni pogled. Naglašeno je adolescentno duguljasto lice, pravilna nosa, kratke i snažne čelju-



1. P. P. Rubens, Portret Nicolaa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina, oko 1634–1636; ulje na drvu, 60,3 x 45,5 cm; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
P. P. Rubens, Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, ca. 1634–1636; oil on wood, 60.3 x 45.5 cms; Zagreb, Mimara Museum

sti i brade sa izraženim podbratkom. Pažnju privlače visoke, ispupčene i nervozne, ne baš lijepe usne, iznad kojih su vidljivi rijetki brčići. Smedecrvenkasta, duga i valovita kosa pada na ramena i leđa, prelazeći mjestimice u plave uvojke. Mladić nosi crni šešir široka oboda ukrašen mašnom. Crn je također krznom opšiveni haljetak, preko kojega je položen široki ovratnik. U donjem lijevom kutu vidi se dio svilenog, zlatnožutog rukava i rub kožne rukavice. Pozadina je smeđe zelenkasta, slikana kratkim, brzim, slobodnim potezima.

Iz takve pozadine izranja mladićevo lice osvijetljeno difuznim svjetlom, bez jačeg chiaroscuro. Izvedba inkarnata pokazuje bravuroznost Rubensove boje u plavičastim i žučkastim tonovima najosvijetljenijih dijelova i u crvenkastosmeđim tonovima u sjeni. Treperavom i neuhvatljivom svjetlošću mladićevo je lice oživjelo. Epiderma diše, svaki mišić lica je u pokretu, a pogled usmjeruju dvije bijele svjetlosne točke u zjenicama očiju. Odsjaje svjetla i obojene sjene nalazimo i na drugim dijelovima poprsja, a u



while his gaze is focussed by twin highlights on the pupils of the eyes. We find luminous reflections and tinted shadows on other parts of the bust, but the only more striking accents in the picture's chromatic unity are the golden yellow of the glove and the scarlet of the lips.

The layers of pigment form a thin glaze, giving an effect of enamelled transparency which is entirely in keeping with the technique of Rubens' late phase. But this transparency in no way detracts from the painting's firm contours – the vigorous and confident draughtsmanship ensures a powerful plastic effect. The brushwork is tense and graphic, in the manner of a sketch (Ill. 14, 15). The fact that this is indeed a sketch is also suggested by the disparity in the treatment of the face and the sitter's clothing. The face is painted in a number of glazed layers – it is 'done' in terms of painting, because at that stage the painter's main concern was to fix his sitter's character. Thus, only the head and the collar and sleeve in part have been fully elaborated, while the other parts of the painting have been filled in with no more than an initial coat of paint. This is confirmed by an infrared reflectogram on which it may be observed that, in the lower layer of paint on the face, which is not visible to the naked eye, the painter was modelling the facial features and searching for that authentic touch by which he could fix the sitter's character (Ill. 18).⁴ At various points traces of the preliminary drawing may be seen by which the artist outlined the shape of the picture (Ill. 17, 18).

Would a copyist take so much trouble over the initial design of a portrait, if he had a finished model in front of him? Surely he would not. The unbridled impetuosity of the youth's temperament, his personality and facial features could be expressed with such sovereign and yet utterly precise craftsmanship only by a superb observer, such a direct and vital impact could be achieved by none other than a great artist.

The enduring merits of Rubens' portraits – the natural pose, the refusal to flatter or to improve on the sitter's appearance, the captivating directness of expression by which the onlooker is instantly attracted – all this is epitomised in the Zagreb portrait. To quote H. Vlieghe's description of Rubens' portraits, here, too, the painter has caught his sitter: "... at a moment of extreme ten-

2. Radionica P. P. Rubensa, Nicolaas Rubens, umjetnikov sin, kasne 1630. godine; ulje na drvu, 74,6 x 70 cm; Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago
Studio of P. P. Rubens, Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, late 1630. oil on wood, 74.6 x 70 cms; Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago

sion or emotion. In so doing he naturally sought inspiration from his great predecessor Titian, the first to have conceived of a portrait as a live, instantaneous scene.³ At the same time, the picture was painted in a single burst of inspiration, so that, even as a sketch, it possesses all the quality of the final version.

The identity of the sitter

In the case of the London and Chicago portraits a majority of critics of Rubens' work identified the features of Nicolaas Rubens (born 1618), the younger son of the painter from his first marriage to Isabella Brant. There is no reason not to accept this assumption in the case of the Zagreb portrait as well. The freshness of the youth's face, the ardour with which it has been painted and the artist's evident emotional bond with his sitter which radiates from the painting – all this tends to support the supposition. The striking likeness of the young man to the painter himself (Ill. 7) also suggests that this is Rubens' son, and we may arrive at the same conclusion if we compare the sitter's features with the faces of young men that we know for certain represent Nicolaas.

The earliest known picture of Nicolaas is reckoned to be the drawing Child with a coral necklace (Albertina Print Collection, Vienna), although the sitter's identity is not absolutely certain.⁶ As compared with this drawing, made about 1619, in which the face does not offer sufficiently distinctive features, another drawing from approximately 1625–1627 is more rewarding (Ill. 8). Nicolaas Rubens with a felt cap is shown as a child of about eight years of age with features that already manifest the constituent elements of the adult: the eyes and their setting, the straight nose, slightly retroussé, the full, heart-shaped lips, and the prominent, already distinctively masculine double chin.⁷

It was almost at the same time (1626–1627) that the memorable double portrait of Rubens' sons, Albert and Nicolaas Rubens, from the Prince of Liechtenstein's collection in Vaduz was painted (Ill. 9).⁸ No portrait by Rubens of Isabella together with the children is known,⁹ and individual portraits of his children by the artist are few and far between, so that the double portrait in Vaduz is the only full-length representation of his sons. This fact alone supports the claim that it is indeed Nicolaas who is shown in the Zagreb portrait: it is, after all, hardly probable that Rubens, who was exceptionally fond of his children from both marriages, would have remained so indifferent to their daily presence when choosing his sitters.

In this double portrait Rubens obviously treats the twelve-year old Albert and eight-year old Nicolaas differently. Differences in clothing and facial expression are

kromatskom jedinstvu slike jedini su jači naglasci zlatnožuti rukav i crvene usne.

Namazi boje tanki su i lazurni. Oni stvaraju dojam emajlne prozirnosti tvari, što je posve u skladu s Rubensovom tehnikom u kasnoj fazi. No prozirnost nije narušila čvrstoću oblika – siguran i energičan crtež osigurava mu snažnu plastičnost. Potez kista je nervozan i crtački, skicozan (sl. 14, 15). Da je riječ o skici ukazuje i očigledna neujednačenost u tretmanu lica i odjeće. Lice je izvedeno u više lazurnih slojeva – ono je slikarski »dovršeno«, jer je slikaru u tom času najvažnije bilo fiksirati karakter modela. Tako su jedino glava i donekle ovratnik i rukav razrađeni, dok su ostali dijelovi slike izvedeni samo u prvom sloju boje. To potvrđuje i infracrveni reflektogram na kojem se vidi da slikar i u donjem, prostim okom nevidljivom sloju modelira lice, tražeći onaj pravi *touch* kojim će fiksirati karakter modela (sl. 18).⁴ Na pojedinim dijelovima vidljivi su i tragovi potcrteža kojim je majstor naznačio formu (sl. 17, 18).

Da li bi se kopist s tolikim marom trudio oko prve koncepcije portreta, imajući pred sobom već gotovi predložak? Sigurno ne bi. Dinamičnost i neobuzdanost mladičeva temperamenta, njegovu osobnost i fizionomiju mogao je takvom slobodnom, ali preciznom izvedbom izraziti samo vrhunski opservator, a takvu životnu neposrednost samo velik majstor.

Trajne odlike Rubensovih portreta – prirodno poze, odbijanje svakog laskanja i uljepšavanja modela, opčinjavajuća neposrednost izraza kojom je promatrač naglo privučen – na najbolji su način izvedene i na ovom portretu u Zagrebu. I tu je slikar – da se poslužimo riječima H. Vlieghea kojima opisuje Rubensove portrete – uhvatio »trenutak krajnje napestosti ili emocije... nadahnjujući se svojim velikim prethodnikom Tizianom, prvim koji je zamislio portret kao živi, trenutačni prizor«. ⁵ Pritom je slika izvedena u jednom dahu, posjedujući i kao skica uvjerljivost konačnog rješenja.

Identifikacija modela

Na spomenutim portretima u Londonu i Chicagu većina je kritičara Rubensova opusa prepoznala crte lica Nicolaasa Rubensa (rođenog 1618. god.), mladić slikareva sina iz braka s prvom ženom Isabellom Brant. Nema razloga da se takva pretpostavka ne prihvati i u slučaju zagrebačke slike. Svježina mladičeva lica, žar kojim je ono slikano i očiti emotivni odnos majstorov prema modelu koji iz slike zrači –

3. Radionica P. P. Rubensa, Sokolar, kasne 1630. godine; ulje na platnu, 213,5 x 106 cm; London, Palača Buckingham
Studio of P. P. Rubens, *The Falconer*, late 1630; oil on canvas, 213.5 x 106 cms; London, Buckingham Palace



clues to differences in temperament. Albert is scholarly (he is holding a book), in his case the mind is dominant, while Nicolaas is a carefree and playful little boy (he is playing with a bird), more inclined to physical activities. This dichotomy has deeper allegorical roots.¹⁰ In Rubens' perception of his sons, whom he paints in the manner of an aristocratic portrait, we see Albert as the student and scholar, and Nicolaas as homey country lad, less highly educated and of a more vivacious temperament. And this view which Rubens took of his younger son may also be detected in the Zagreb portrait of Nicolaas.

There is another feature of the double portrait from the Liechtenstein collection which ought to be pointed out. Since it was painted shortly after Isabella's death (1626), as may perhaps be indicated by Albert's dark clothing, the portrait is an attempt by Rubens to record the appearance of the sons born from his marriage with Isabella (a daughter, Clara Serena, had died in 1623). Rubens had been profoundly affected by Isabella's death, which plunged him into a depression that lasted for several years. This is the reason why the artist here stresses the physical differences between the two boys - Albert is more of a Brant, the image of his mother, while Nicolaas takes after his father.¹¹ And since Nicolaas here, as in the Albertina drawing is very like the youth in the Zagreb portrait, then the search for physical resemblances between the sitter and P. P. Rubens is entirely justified, for it would follow logically that the young man in question is indeed the son of Rubens.

Changes in Nicolaas's features may be traced even further. Not long after marrying his second wife Helena Fourment (at the end of 1630), Rubens painted his *Walk in the Garden* (Munich, Alte Pinakothek, Ill. 10 and 11). The picture was painted about 1631, so that Nicolaas was thirteen years old at the time. Here, too, we may detect in his profile the elongated face, the prominent lips and the familiar heavy chin, features which were to assume a more mature form a few years later.

In short, although there is no positive proof that Nicolaas Rubens is depicted in the Zagreb painting, comparisons with other known and certified representations of the artist's younger son remove any doubt that we are dealing with the same person.

4. Flamanska škola, Nicolaas Rubens, 17. st.; crtež ugljenom i perom, 178 x 137 mm; Pariz, Kabinet crteža Louvrea
Flemish school, Nicolaas Rubens, 17th cent.; charcoal and pen drawing, 178 x 137 mm; Paris, Cabinet des Dessins du Musée du Louvre



govori tomu u prilog. Da je riječ o Rubensovom sinu svjedoči i velika sličnost mladića i samog slikara (sl. 7), a do istog se zaključka dolazi uspoređi li se lice s onima licima mladića za koje se pouzdano zna da prikazuju Nicolaasa.

Najranijim poznatim prikazom Nicolaasa smatra se crtež *Dijete s koraljnom ogrlicom* (Grafička zbirka Albertina, Beč), premda i tu identitet modela nije posve pouzdan.⁶ Za razliku od tog crteža, koji je nastao približno 1619. god. i na kojem lice još ne pruža dovoljno prepoznatljivih crta, drugi jedan crtež iz približno 1625–1627. god. mnogo je zahvalniji za usporedbu (sl. 8). *Nicolaas Rubens s pustenom kapom* prikazan je dakle približno kao osmogodišnji dječak, čije lice već pokazuje konstitutivne elemente odraslog lika: oči i njihov položaj, pravilan i pri vrhu pomalo izvijen nos, srollike, pune usne i jaku, već muževnu bradu s podbratkom.⁷

Približno u isto vrijeme (1626–1627. god.) nastao je nezaboravni dvostruki portret *Albert i Nicolaas Rubens* iz zbirke kneza Liechtensteina u Vaduzu (sl.

9).⁸ Nijedan Rubensov zajednički portret Isabelle s djecom nije poznat,⁹ a i slikarevi samostalni portreti djece su rijetki, tako da je ovaj dvostruki portret iz Vaduza jedini njegov prikaz sinova u punoj figuri. To već samo po sebi učvršćuje tvrdnju da je na zagrebačkom portretu Nicolaas: mala je, naime, vjerojatnost da bi Rubens, koji je neizmerno volio svoju djecu iz oba braka, u izboru modela ostao u tolikoj mjeri ravnodušan na njihovu svakodnevnu prisutnost.

Na tom dvostrukom portretu Rubens očito različito tretira dvanaestgodišnjeg Alberta i osmogodišnjeg Nicolaasa. Razlike u odjeći i izražaju lica ukazuju na razlike u njihovim temperamentima. Albert je učen (nosi knjigu), u njega dominira um, Nicolaas je zaigran i bezbrižan dječarac (igra s pticom), predisponiran za aktivitet tijela. Ta dihotomija ima dublje alegorijske korijene.¹⁰ U Rubensovoj percepciji sinova, prikazanih prema modi aristokratskih portreta, vidimo Alberta kao studenta i znanstvenika i Nicolaasa kao priprostijeg, manje obrazovanog, rustikalnijeg i temperamentom žesćeg mladića. A takav pogled Rubensov na mlađega sina moguće je prepoznati i na portretu Nicolaasa u Zagrebu.

Na dvostrukom portretu iz zbirke Liechtenstein evidentna je još jedna pojedinost na koju treba ukazati. Budući da je nastao kratko nakon Isabelline

It is appropriate, perhaps, to record a few biographical details concerning Nicolaas, to whom his father bequeathed his collection of «coins and medals»,¹² and to whom his elder brother assigned the family manor-house, Hof van Ursele, in Ekeren in the year 1646. Nicolaas Rubens, future seigneur et châtelain de Rameyen, was christened in Antwerp on 23 May 1618 in St. James's Church. His god-parents were a Genoese nobleman and friend of Rubens, Count Nicolas Palavicini (represented by Andreas Pichenotti), and Maria de Moy. Nicolaas was so christened after Count Palavicini. By a contract dated 26 September 1640 he married the daughter of an Antwerp magistrate Ferdinand Van der Vecken, and his wife Catherine; the

5. Simon Vouet (1590–1649), Portret mladića, 1614–1627; ulje na drvu, 42 x 37 cm; Grenoble, Muzej Grenoble
Simon Vouet (1590–1649), Portrait of a Young Man, 1614–1627; oil on wood, 42 x 37 cms; Grenoble, Musée Grenoble

6. Pripisano Janu Cossiersu (1600–1671), Mladić duge kose; ulje na platnu, 46 x 36 cm; Stockholm, Nacionalni muzej
Attrib. to Jan Cossiers (1600–1671), Youth with long hair; oil on canvas, 46 x 36 cms; Stockholm Nationalmuseum



smrti (umrla 1626. god.), o čemu možda svjedoči i Albertova tamna odjeća, taj portret je i Rubensov pokušaj memoriranja izgleda sinova (kćer Clara Serena umrla je 1623. god.) rođenih u braku s Isabelom, čija ga je smrt duboko potresla, izazvavši višegodišnje melankolično raspoloženje. Zato je slikar tu namjerno naglasio fizičke razlike između dvaju dječaka – Albert je više Brant, potpuno nalik majci, a Nicolaas je, suprotno, sličan ocu.¹¹ A budući da je Nicolaas ovdje, baš kao i na crtežu iz Albertine, vrlo sličan mladiću na portretu u Zagrebu, onda traženje fizičke sličnosti između toga mladića i P. P. Rubensa nalazi svoje puno opravdanje, na osnovi čega logično proizlazi da je prikazani mladić uistinu Rubensov sin.

Promjene Nicolaasove fizionomije mogu se pratiti i nadalje. Nedugo nakon sklapanja braka s drugom ženom, Helenom Fourment (kraj 1630. god.), Rubens je naslikao *Šetnju vrtom* (Stara Pinakoteka, München). Slika je nastala oko 1631. god., tako da Nicolaas ovdje ima trinaest godina (*sl. 10 i 11*). I tu se u profilu lica prepoznaju duguljasto lice, ispupčene usne i već poznata jaka brada s podbratkom, što će svoj zreliji oblik poprimiti koju godinu kasnije.

Ukratko, premda nema nekog eksplicitnog dokaza da je na slici u Zagrebu prikazan baš Nicolaas Ru-

bens, usporedba s drugim poznatim i provjerenim prikazima slikareva mlađeg sina otklanjaju sumnju da je riječ o istoj osobi.

Prilika je spomenuti nekoliko biografskih podataka o Nicolaasu, kome je otac ostavio zbirku »kovanica i medalja«,¹² a stariji brat prepustio 1646. god. obiteljski dvorac Hof van Ursele u Ekerenu. Nicolaas Rubens, budući *seigneur et châtelain de Rameyen*, kršten je u Antwerpenu 23. 5. 1618. god. u crkvi Sv. Jakova. Kumovi su bili genovski plemić i Rubensov prijatelj grof Nicolas Palavicini (predstavljao ga je Andreas Pichenotti) i Maria de Moy. Po grofu Palaviciniju Nicolaas je dobio ime. Ugovorom od 26. 9.

witnesses at the ceremony were Daniel Fourment and D. Pierre Helman. Seven children were born of the marriage. Nicolaas Rubens' descendants included a number of noble Belgian and French families (Lunden, Gobau, van Esbeeck), and following the French Revolution one branch found a new home in America. Nicolaas made his will on 27 May 1655 and died in Antwerp on 25 September of that same year.¹²

The hallmark

The back of the wooden panel on which the picture is painted has a fresh appearance and was most probably sanded when the cradle was applied (Ill. 12). The square in the centre has not been touched and it shows the colour and the pattern of old wood fibres (Ill. 13). Into this square a device has been burned – a castle with three turrets surmounted by a pair of outstretched hands.

The practice of thus branding carved panels, statues and, later on, easel paintings began in the 15th century in Brussels and was rapidly adopted by the cities of Antwerp and Mechelen.¹⁴ These three cities are the only centres so far known where marks of this kind were placed on works of art, mostly as guild marks or hallmarks denoting a particular phase in the production of the work, or else as a specific warranty of the work's proper technical execution and quality. Artists of Baroque period submitted voluntarily to this kind of control on the part of the guild, so that the practice of using these marks continued until the close of the 17th century. The practice is an expression of an artistic mode of life and professional organization which was confined to the southern districts of the Netherlands, so that such marks do not appear outside this area, not even in Holland. But such hallmarks are known to have had additional significance, and M. Schuster-Gawlow-ska divides their meaning into five separate groups: quality marks or guild hallmarks, studio marks, panel-makers' marks, letters denoting the year of production, and the ownership marks of particular collectors. It is only the quality or guild hallmarks that are branded into the surface of the panel; other marks are either engraved, or else simply stamped on.

Works produced in Antwerp have a recognizable hallmark: the castle surmounted by two open hands, which are in fact parts

9. P. P. Rubens, Albert i Nicolaas Rubens, oko 1626–1627; Vaduz, Zbirka kneza od Liechtensteina
P. P. Rubens, Albert and Nicolaas Rubens, ca. 1626–1627; Vaduz, Collections of Prince of Liechtenstein

7. P. P. Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, oko 1630.; Antwerpen, Rubensova kuća
P. P. Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, ca. 1630; Antwerp, Rubenshuis

8. P. P. Rubens, Nicolaas Rubens s pustenom kapom, oko 1625–1627; Beč, Grafička zbirka Albertina
P. P. Rubens, Nicolaas Rubens with a felt cap, ca. 1625–1627; Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina



10. P. P. Rubens, Šetnja vrtom, oko 1631.; München, Stara Pinakoteka
P. P. Rubens, *Walk in the Garden*, ca. 1631; Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*

11. P. P. Rubens, Šetnja vrtom, detalj, oko 1631.; München, Stara Pinakoteka
P. P. Rubens, *Walk in the Garden*, detail, ca. 1631; Munich, *Alte Pinakothek*

1640. god. oženio se kćerkom antverpenskog magistrata Ferdinanda i Catherine Van der Vecken, a svjedoci na vjenčanju bili su Daniel Fourment i D. Pierre Helman. U tome braku rodilo se sedmero djece. Potomstvo Nicolaasa Rubensa obuhvaća nekoliko belgijskih i francuskih aristokratskih obitelji (Lunden, Gobau, van Esbeeck), a jedan je ogranak nakon Francuske revolucije našao novu domovinu u Americi. Nicolaas je sačinio oporuku 27. 5. 1655. a umro u Antwerpenu 28. 9. te iste godine.¹³



Cehovski znak

Poledina drvene podloge slike djeluje svježije i najvjerojatnije je izbrušena prilikom parketiranja (sl. 12). Pravokutnik u sredini (vis. 10 cm; šir. 8 cm) nije diran, te pokazuje boju i strukturu vlakna starog drva (sl. 13). U tom je pravokutniku paljenjem utisnut figuralni znak – dvorac iznad kojeg su dva raširena dlana.

Tradicija stavljanja znakova na rezbarene retable, kipove i kasnije štafelajne slike začeta je u 15. st. u Brusellu, da bi je ubrzo prihvatili gradovi Antwerpen i Mechelen.¹⁴ Ta su tri grada jedina dosad poznata središta gdje se takvi znakovi na umjetničkim djelima javljaju, većinom kao cehovske oznake pojedine faze izrade djela, odnosno kao svojevrsno jamstvo dobre tehničke izvedbe i kvalitete djela. Takvoj cehovskoj kontroli dragovoljno su se podvrgli i umjetnici baroknog razdoblja, pa se praksa stavljanja znakova nastavila sve do kraja 17. st. Ona je izraz umjetničkog života i cehovskog organiziranja, ograničena samo na južne pokrajine stare Nizozemske, tako da se izvan toga područja znakovi ne javljaju, čak ni u Holandiji. No poznata su i dodatna značenja takvih puncija, pa ih M. Schuster-Gawłowska dijeli u pet skupina: znakove kvalitete ili cehovske kontrole, radioničke znakove, znakove izrađivača dasaka, slova kao godine nastanka djela, vlasničke znakove sabirača. Jedino su znakovi kvalitete ili cehovske kontrole nanošeni paljenjem, dok su ostale vrste znakova ubilježavane suhim utiskivanjem ili rezbaranjem.

Djela koja su nastala u Antwerpenu imaju prepoznatljiv znak: dvorac i dvije ruke, što su zapravo dijelovi grba grada Antwerpena. Oni se na umjetnini mogu javiti pojedinačno, zajedno ili u različitim kombinacijama. Kad se uz dvorac i ruke nađu i izrezbarena slova, znači da je antverpanski proizvođač dasaka (*tafereelmaker*) uz jamstvo ceha – u ovom slučaju gilde Sv. Luke – potpisao svoj proizvod inicijalima. Primjer za to su slova MV, koja je G. Gepts 1954. god. identificirala kao inicijale Michiela Vriendta, koji je živio u Antwerpenu i tu umro 1636/37. god.¹⁵ Vriendt je jedan od proizvođača dasaka kod kojeg je Rubens naručivao podloge svojih slika u većim količinama, što potvrđuju istraživanja slikarevih djela sa cehovskim oznakama uz koje se često javljaju inicijali MV.

Danas istraživači sve više obraćaju pozornost takvim oznakama, budući da one mogu biti značajne

of the municipal arms of Antwerp. These emblems may figure on artistic products individually, together, or in various combinations. When letters are engraved along with the castle and hands, this means that the Antwerp panel-maker (*tafereelmaker*) has signed his work with his initials as well as with the hallmark of his guild – in this case the Guild of Saint Luke. The letters MV are an example: in 1954 G. Gepts identified these as the initials of Michiel Vriendt, who lived in Antwerp and died there in 1636/37.¹⁵ Vriendt was one of the panel-makers from whom Rubens ordered panels for his pictures in considerable quantities, as is confirmed by examination of hallmarked works by the artist in which the initials MV often figure.

Nowadays researchers are paying increasing attention to hallmarks of this kind, since they may be significant for the dating of particular works or for determining where they were produced.¹⁶ The number of hallmarks and other such marks is surprisingly small in proportion to the number of surviving paintings from the Flemish school. The reason for this may be damage to the pictures of one kind or another, the sealing of the back of the picture with wax, sanding before the application of cradle, the transfer of paintings from wood to canvas, etc. And if we add to this the existence of forged marks, then the importance of investigating them becomes even clearer. Bearing this in mind, we see that every one of these marks, including that on the painting in the Mimara Museum, is of value through the very fact of its existence, augmenting as it does the meagre repertoire of known hallmark «certificates» on pictures by old Flemish masters.

In the case of easel pictures hallmarks make their appearance during the second half of the 16th century and in the 17th century, being placed in the centre of the reverse side of the picture. The mark branded on the back of the Zagreb portrait of Nicolaas Rubens does in fact occupy this position, which is an important clue if we apply M. Schuster-Gawłowska's observation: the picture has not been subsequently cut down or otherwise reduced following its completion, because in that case the mark would not be in the centre. On this basis the head-and-shoulders portrait would represent the original composition. This location of the hallmark, however, does not exclude the possibility that the picture was cut down equally on all four sides. Might this be the reason why the falcon's tail and the fringe of the collar on the right-hand side are missing?

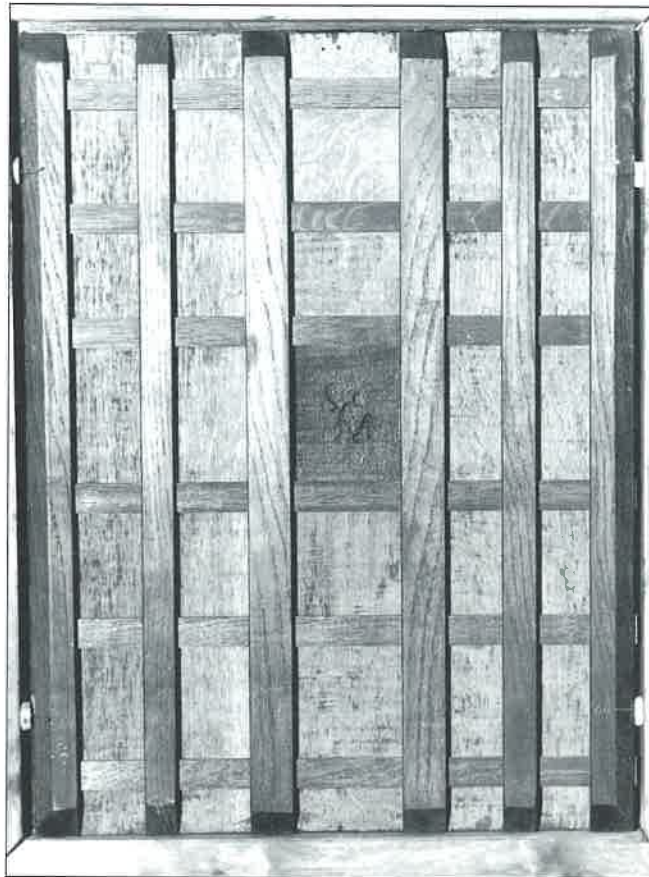
Another vital clue provided by the hallmark points to the picture's place of origin: it was painted in Antwerp during the 17th century, which, together with the other evidence already quoted, provides strong support for the claim that the painting is a Rubens autograph.

pri dataciji djela ili određivanju mjesta njegova nastanka.¹⁶ U odnosu na broj sačuvanih djela flamske umjetnosti, broj cehovskih ili drugih oznaka začuđujuće je mali. Uzrok tomu mogu biti različita oštećenja slika, premazivanje poledine voskom, struganje poledine pri parketiranju, prenošenje slike s drva na platno i dr. A pribroji li se tomu i postojeće krivotvorenih znakova, onda još više dolazi do izražaja važnost tih istraživanja. Imajući to u vidu, svaki znak, pa tako i ovaj na slici u Muzeju Mimara, ima vrijednost već samim postojanjem, obogaćujući skućeni repertoar poznatih cehovskih »certifikata« na slikama starih flamskih majstora.

Na štafelajnim se slikama znakovi javljaju u drugoj pol. 16. i u 17. st., smještajući se u sredinu poledine slike. Takav položaj ima i znak upečen u poledinu portreta Nicolaasa Rubensa u Zagrebu što je, primijenimo li upozorenje M. Schuster-Gawłowske, značajna indikacija: slika po svemu sudeći nije naknadno piljena, odnosno skraćivana, jer bi se u protiv-

12. Poledina portreta Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
Back of the Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son; Zagreb, Mimara Museum

13. Znak utisnut paljenjem na poledini Portreta Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
Hallmark burnt into the back of the Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son; Zagreb, Mimara Museum



nom znak našao izvan njenog središta. Na osnovi toga bi i kompozicija ovog *en buste* portreta bila izvorna. Takav položaj znaka, međutim, ne isključuje mogućnost da je slika skraćivana podjednako na sve četiri strane. Da li bi se time moglo objasniti to što na slici nema sokolovog repa niti završetka ovratnika na desnoj strani?

Drugo bitno upozorenje znaka kazuje o porijeklu slike: ona je nastala u Antwerpenu u 17. st., što uz ostalo već spomenuto još jednom potkrepljuje tvrdnju da je riječ o Rubensovom autografu.

Datacija

U datiranju zagrebačkog portreta osnovna je referenca Nicolaasova životna dob. Na prikazima dječaka iz Beča, Vaduza i Münchena vidi se kako je mladić izgledao kao trinaestgodišnjak, tako da ovdje on može imati između šesnaest i osamnaest godina. Zbroji li se to s godinom njegovog rođenja (1618), onda je slika nastala u periodu između 1634. i 1636. godine. S tom se datacijom podudara skicozna tehnika i fluidnost poteza, što je tipično za Rubensov stil kasne faze (1630–1640).

Da li je moguća preciznija datacija? Teško, bez čvrstih činjenica ili arhivskih podataka u kojima bi slika bila spomenuta. Međutim, iznijet ću ipak jednu pretpostavku, premda zasnovanu na pukoj slutnji.

Poznato je da je Rubens u svojoj oporuci zahtijevao da njegova velika zbirka crteža i skica bude sačuvana netaknuta sve dok mu najmlađe dijete ne navrší osamnaest godina, i to za slučaj da neki od sinova (ili budućih zetova) izabere umjetničku karijeru.¹⁷ Taj podatak naglašavam iz dva razloga. Prvo, da ukažem na to da se u Flandriji u 17. st. kao prag zrelosti računala navršena osamnaesta godina i, drugo, da je Rubens pridavao značajnu pažnju punoljetnosti svoje djece. Taj je dakle datum u Nicolaasovom životu mogao biti motivacijom Rubensu da naslika sinovljevi portret, što bi značilo da je slika nastala 1636. godine. A pritom bi i alegorija sokolara, koja je sa zagrebačkim portretom povezana (kasnije ćemo vidjeti kako), dobila funkcionalnije objašnjenje. Bila bi to moralna poruka sinu koji ulazi u zrelu dob. Ako bi to bilo točno, onda bi, također posve hipotetično, i nepostojanje inicijala MV uz cehovski žig na poledini slike bilo moguće objasniti smrću Michiela Vriendta 1636/37. god., odnosno godina 1636. bi se potvrdila kao vrijeme prije kojeg ovaj portret nije mogao nastati.¹⁸

Dating

A basic point of reference for the dating of the Zagreb portrait is Nicolaas's age. From the representations in Vienna, Vaduz and Munich we can ascertain what the boy looked like when he was thirteen, so that here he might be anything between sixteen and eighteen years old. If we add this figure to the year of his birth (1618), then the picture would have been painted between 1634 and 1636. The sketch-like manner and the fluidity of touch characteristic of Rubens' late phase are consistent with this dating.

Is it possible to arrive at a more precise dating? It is difficult in the absence of firm facts or documentary records actually referring to the painting. Nevertheless, we would like to put forward a suggestion, although it is based on pure coincidence.

It is known that Rubens stipulated in his will that his large collection of drawings and sketches should be preserved intact until his youngest child had reached the age of eighteen, in case either of his sons (or any future sons-in-law) should choose to embark on an artistic career.¹⁷ I stress this fact for two reasons: firstly to point out that in Flanders during the 17th century eighteen was reckoned to mark a boy's coming of age; secondly to suggest that Rubens devoted considerable attention to the coming of age of his children. Consequently, this date in Nicolaas's life might have been the occasion that prompted Rubens to paint his son's portrait – which would imply that the picture was painted in 1636. Besides, the allegory of the falcon which is linked to the Zagreb portrait (we shall see how later) would then acquire a functional explanation. That would be a moral message to his son on the threshold of maturity. If this were so, then the absence of the initials MV alongside the hallmark could be explained – again, quite hypothetically – by the death of Michiel Vriendt in 1636/37, and 1636 would once more be confirmed as the point in time before which this portrait could not have come into existence.¹⁸

In the absence of positive proof of this hypothesis, however, we shall have to content ourselves with the approximate dating of the picture in the period between 1634 and 1636.

The portraits of Nicolaas Rubens in London, Chicago and Paris

A number of other representations of the same youth are linked to the head-and-shoulders portrait in Zagreb. The Royal Collection in Buckingham Palace includes a large-scale painting entitled The Falconer (oil on canvas, height: 213.5 cms; width: 106 cms) which was acquired by King George IV (1762–1830) and which had previously been in the Gildemeester and Bourg collections.¹⁹ The figure of a young huntsman holding a falcon in his

extended right hand, which is clad in a leather glove, is depicted in three-quarter length, down as far as the knees. A landscape extends deep into the background behind the youth, who is in the foreground (Ill. 3).

The lower part of the body is in profile, but the head and shoulders repeat the pose of the sitter in the Zagreb portrait. The head is inclined rather further forward, however, so that the figure loses something of its self-confident posture. In spite of the similarities between the two figures it is possible to detect significant differences which completely alter the youth's expression in the London painting. His face is broader, more square than oval. The penetrating, confident gaze of the almond-shaped eyes has vanished: the eye-lids are more elongated, more angular and rigid. The lips are fuller and more relaxed, lacking that firmness and voluptuousness which reveal the strong will and character we have in the Zagreb portrait. Altogether, the Falconer's face is more static, more abstracted. It is melancholy, dreamy or, rather, «beautified», without those tensions that mark the Zagreb Nicolas (Ill. 1). If we add to this certain simplifications that enabled the painter to work more rapidly, like the straightened line of the hat-brim, then we can detect more and more clearly the rigid hand that was governed by a model – a sketch the artist is converting to a larger scale. This is even more evident in that part of the figure extending from the waist down to the knees where the artist had no model and where the poverty of detail and invention is strikingly obvious. Rubens would certainly not indulge in such a degree of inconsistency.

The design of this portrait coincides with a series of family portraits which Rubens painted in his later years,²⁰ following his return from Spain and England, where he had a chance to study Titian and the Venetian masters in the royal galleries. The more marked influence of Titian is evident in that type of portrait which has the full or three-quarter length figure and a deep prospect extending far into the background. Examples are Helena Fourment as Hagar in the wilderness (ca. 1635, Dulwich Art Gallery, London), or Helena Fourment leaving «her» house (ca. 1631, Louvre, Paris). This type of Venetian design is also evident in The Falconer in Buckingham Palace.

The picture became familiar to the public at a very early stage, and critics have frequently expressed conflicting views about it. In his study of the Flemish masters Alfred Rosenberg listed it in a supplement to the book under the heading *Die unechten Bilder* (spurious pictures), designating it a work of inferior quality, i.e. a copy from a Rubens original.²¹ Wilhelm von Bode reported, expressing astonishment that «a

No u nedostatku dokaza za takve pretpostavke treba ostati pri približnoj dataciji slike u period između 1634. i 1636. god.

Prikazi Nicolaasa Rubensa iz Londona, Chicaga i Pariza

Sa zagrebačkim poprsjem u izravnoj je vezi nekoliko drugih prikaza istog mladića. U Kraljevskoj zbirci u Palači Buckingham čuva se slika velikog formata pod nazivom *Sokolari* (ulje na platnu, vis. 213,5 cm; šir. 106 cm), koju je pribavio engleski kralj George IV (1762–1830). Prije toga je bila u zbirka Gildermeester i Bourg.¹⁹ Lik mladog lovca koji na ispruženoj ljevici položenoj u kožnu rukavicu drži sokola prikazan je u tročetvrtinskoj figuri do koljena. Duboko iza mladića, koji je u prvom planu, prostire se krajolik (sl. 3).

Donji dio tijela je u profilu, dok poprsje ponavlja postav modela sa zagrebačke slike. Jedino je glava više nagnuta naprijed, čime je lik izgubio na ponosnom držanju. Unatoč sličnosti između dvaju likova, moguće je uočiti i znatne razlike, koje su mladiću na londonskoj slici dale posve drukčiji izraz. Njegovo je lice šire, četvrtastije, nije toliko ovalno. Nestalo je prodornog, samosvjesnog pogleda bademastih očiju: kapci su izduženiji, više uglati i ukočeni. Usne su veće i opuštenije, bez one čvrstine i strastvenosti koje imaju na zagrebačkoj slici. U cjelini je lice sokolara statičnije, odsutnije. Ono je melankolično, sanjarsko ili bolje »proljepečano«, bez one napetosti koja krasi zagrebačkog Nicolaasa (sl. 1). Pribrojimo li tomu neka pojednostavljena kojima je slikar ubrzao izvedbu, kao što je poravnata linija oboda šešira, sve više otkrivamo ukočenu ruku koju obavezuje predložak – skica koju slikar prenosi u veći format. To je još očitije u dijelu figure od struka do koljena, za koji slikar nije imao predložak i gdje je napadno uočljivo siromaštvo detalja i invencije. Takvu ujednačenost Rubens sebi sigurno ne bi dopustio.

Koncepcija ovog portreta podudara se s nizom obiteljskih portreta koje je Rubens ostvario u svojim kasnim godinama,²⁰ po povratku iz Španjolske i Engleske gdje je u kraljevskim zbirka imao priliku studirati Tiziana i venecijanske majstore. Snažni utjecaj Tizianov uočljiv je u tipu portreta s likom u punoj ili tričetvrtinskoj figuri u prvom planu s dubokom vedutom u pozadini. Primjeri za to su *Helena Fourment kao Hagar u pustinji* (oko 1635. god.,

Dulwich Art Gallery, London) ili *Helena Fourment izlazi iz »svoje« kuće* (oko 1631. god., Louvre, Pariz). Takvu venecijansku koncepciju pokazuje i *Sokolari* iz Buckinghamske palače.

Ta je slika vrlo rano publicirana i o njoj su kritičari često izražavali suprotna mišljenja. U monografiji o flamanskom majstoru Adolf Rosenberg ju je uvrstio u dodatak knjizi, u rubriku *Die unechten Bilder*, označivši je djelom slabije kvalitete, to jest kopijom po Rubensu.²¹ Na to je reagirao Wilhelm von Bode, izrazivši čuđenje što se tako označavaju »pojedine odlične Rubensove originalne slike, kao što je veliki portret njegova sina sa sokolom u Buckinghamskoj palači«.²² Rosenbergovom određenju suprotstavio se i Gustav Glück, o čemu govori Ludwig Burchard kao izdavač Glückovih tekstova objavljenih pod naslovom *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis*.²³ U istom tekstu spominje se Oldenburgova monografija o Rubensu objavljena 1921. god. (K.d.K.). Iz toga je izdanja londonski portret posve isključen, budući da ga je Oldenburg još 1915. god. pripisao Janu Boeckhorstu.²⁴ Pritom se najavljuje da bi pitanje autorstva Sokolara možda mogao osvjetliti jedan drugi portret istog mladića, onaj iz zbirke Epstein u Chicagu (sl. 2).

Riječ je o slici koja se danas nalazi u Umjetničkom institutu u Chicagu i vodi kao *Portret Nicolasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina*, »pripisan Peteru Paulu Rubensu« (ulje na dasci, vis. 74,6 cm; šir. 70 cm). Slika je datirana u kasne tridesete godine 17. st. Na-



number of excellent paintings by Rubens, like the large portrait of his son with a falcon in Buckingham Palace,²² had been thus stigmatized. Rosenberg's attribution was also contested by Gustav Glück, who is quoted by Ludwig Burchard, the editor of Glück's articles published under the title of «Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis».²³ In the same article Oldenburg's monograph on Rubens published in 1921 (K.d.K.), is also mentioned. The London portrait is excluded from this edition, since in 1915 Oldenburg was still attributing it to Jan Boeckhorst.²⁴ In this connection it was mentioned that another portrait of the same youth, a picture from the Epstein Collection in Chicago, might possibly throw light on the authorship of The Falconer. (Ill. 2).

The painting in question is now in the Chicago Art Institute and listed as a portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, and «attributed to Peter Paul Rubens» (oil on wood, height: 74.6 cms; 70 cms). The picture is dated as the late thirties of the 17th century. After having long been in private ownership in England it appeared on the New York art market (Reinhard) in 1923. At that time it was purchased by Max and Lola Epstein of Hubbard Wood, Illinois and was bequeathed by them to the Institute in 1954. In the meantime the painting had been put on show in New York in 1927 and in Detroit in 1936.²⁵

This portrait certainly possesses many fine qualities: it is subtle, relatively fluent in manner, with a rich range of colours. It is only when we compare it with the Zagreb portrait, however, that we realise how many signs of hesitation there are in the artist's rendering of the face, how much more subdued it is. The directness and vitality that are so outstanding in the Mimara Museum portrait have gone. The head is too obviously in contrast to the hat, the junction of hat and hair is uncertainly treated. And the hat itself offers an intriguing subject for comparison. On the left side the lower part of the brim has changed direction, so that this part is elongated and shows more similarity to the hat in the London painting. There is no longer a decorative bow or ribbon, while the drawing of the brim manifests a certain hesitancy as compared with the clear draughtsmanship of the Zagreb painting. Such discrepancies may be ascribed, however, to later overpainting which can be detected even with the naked eye. On the other hand, an infrared reflectogram shows that the Zagreb picture has not been overpainted, and that

14. P. P. Rubens, Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina, detalj; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
P. P. Rubens, Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, detail; Zagreb, Mimara Museum

the shape of the bat is what was originally intended. (Ill. 16).

In the lower left-hand corner of the Chicago picture we can see the falcon's tail and the tips of its wings, which are not in the Zagreb painting, while a patch of colour behind the youth's back is probably a hint of landscape.

A number of commentaries treat this portrait as a Rubens beyond any doubt. In a publication issued by H. Reinhard the anonymous author contributes an extensive article about the portrait of Nicolaas, describing his family circle.²⁶ He depicts Nicolaas as an affluent country squire with a taste for the good things in life, alluding at the same time to other compositions where Nicolaas had served as his father's sitter, and on the basis of which it is possible to identify the sitter in this portrait. On these grounds the author also identifies the London Falconer as being beyond any doubt the artist's second son. In the Chicago head-and-shoulders portrait he sees the brilliant Rubens sketch in which there is more vitality than in the completed Buckingham Palace painting: «... the existence of this sketch strengthens further the identification of the sitter with the young Nicolas Rubens.»

In a second brief description dated 1923, the author, who signs himself with the initials W.A.P., detects in the Chicago painting the hand of Rubens, rating it one of the artist's most interesting portraits.²⁷ He dates the picture as 1640 and also observes that «the final glazes apparently had not yet been put on when the portrait left the artist's studio.» In this respect the picture is similar to the Zagreb painting, because here, too, the artist has merely sketched in all the parts of the picture, apart from the face.

In his exhaustive catalogue of works by Rubens in the United States Erik Larsen identifies the picture from the Epstein Collection simply as «Nicolaas Rubens» and dates it approximately 1630; he reckons that the London painting is a studio enlargement.²⁸

A few years earlier, however, J. S. Held had already expressed doubts as to whether the painting was indeed a Rubens autograph, at the same time disputing the authenticity of the picture in Buckingham Palace: «A larger version of the same portrait (54 x 41 inches) with the addition of a landscape and a hunting falcon is in Buckingham Palace (Rosenberg, p. 460 right). It was formerly attributed to Rubens, but has been

kon što je nekoć bila u privatnom posjedu u Engleskoj, pojavljuje se 1923. god. na umjetničkom tržištu u New Yorku (Reinhard). Tada je kupuju Max i Lola Epstein iz Hubbarda Wooda u Illinoisu, da bi je 1954. god. darovali Institutu. Slika je u međuvremenu izlagana u New Yorku 1927. god. i Detroitu 1936. god.²⁵

Taj portret ima sigurno mnogih kvaliteta, fine je, prilično slobodne fakture i bogatstva u boji. Međutim, tek usporedbom sa zagrebačkim portretom vidljivo je kolika su kolebanja slikara u izražaju lica, koliko je ono ugašenije. Nestalo je neposrednosti i životnosti toliko zamjetljive na portretu u Muzeju Mimara. Glava je u prevelikom kontrastu prema šeširu, spoj kose i šešira nesigurno je izveden. A i sam šešir je zahvalan za usporedbu. Na lijevoj strani donji dio oboda promijenio je smjer, čime se taj dio produžio, pokazujući veće sličnosti sa šeširom na londonskoj slici. Također tu nema više ni ukrasne mašne, a crtež oboda pokazuje kolebanje u odnosu na jasni crtež zagrebačke slike. No takve se razlike



15. P. P. Rubens, Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina, detalj; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
P. P. Rubens, Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son, detail; Zagreb, Mimara Museum

moгу pripisati i kasnijim preslicima, koji se daju naslutiti i prostim okom. Nasuprot tomu, infracrveni reflektogram pokazuje da zagrebačka slika nema preslika i da je upravo taj oblik šešira onaj izvorno zamišljen (sl. 16).

Na portretu u Chicagu na lijevom su donjem kutu vidljivi sokolov rep i završeci krila čega na zagrebačkoj slici nema, a i mrlja iza mladićevih leđa vjerojatno je naznakom krajolika.

U različitim komentarima taj se portret često tretira kao nedvojbni Rubens. Tako u publikaciji H. Reinharda nepotpisani autor donosi opsežniji tekst o portretu Nicolaasa, opisujući njegovo obiteljsko okruženje.²⁶ Nicolaasa prikazuje kao dobrostojećeg, životnim radostima sklonog seoskog plemića, navodeći ujedno i druge kompozicije na kojima je Nicolaas poslužio ocu za model, a prema kojima je moguće identificirati model portreta. Na osnovu toga autor i u londonskom sokolaru nedvojbno prepoznaje umjetnikova drugog sina. U poprsju iz Chicaga on vidi sjajnu Rubensovu skicu u kojoj ima više vitalnosti negoli u dovršenijoj slici u Palači Buckingham, «a postojanje te skice još više osnažuje identifikaciju s mladim Nicolasom Rubensom».

U drugom kraćem opisu iz 1923. god. autor, potpisan inicijalima W.A.P., prepoznaje na slici iz Chicaga Rubensovu ruku, ocjenjujući ga jednim od najzanimljivijih Rubensovih portreta.²⁷ Sliku datira u 1640. god., a uočava također da «završni pikturnalni slojevi nisu bili naneseni u času kad je ona napustila majstorovu radionicu». Po tome je slika slična zagrebačkoj, jer i na njoj je slikar sve dijelove osim lica samo skicozno naznačio.

U svom iscrpnom katalogu Rubensovih djela u SAD, Erik Larsen je sliku iz zbirke Epstein jednostavno označio kao *Nicolas Rubens* i datirao približno u 1630. god., dok je onu londonsku odredio kao uvećanje radionice.²⁸

Međutim, već je nekoliko godina prije toga J. S. Held izrazio sumnju da je riječ o Rubensovu autografu, osporivši ujedno i originalnost slici u Palači Buckingham: «Veća verzija istog portreta (54 x 41 inča) s pridodanim krajolikom i lovačkim sokolom nalazi se u Buckinghamskoj palači (Rosenberg, str. 460 desno). Prije je bila pripisana Rubensu, što su odbacili gotovo svi stručnjaci. Slika iz zbirke Epstein, također, kao da ne pokazuje odlike slobodnog, luminoznog slikarstva kakve se moraju očekivati od jednog originala iz posljednjeg perioda Rubensova

rejected by almost all scholars. The Epstein picture, too, does not seem to have the qualities of free, luminous painting which one must expect of an original from the last period of Rubens' life. The model has features which recall those of Nicolas Rubens (1618-1655), Rubens' second son from his marriage with Isabella Brant.»²⁹

This fairly lengthy quotation was necessary in order to stress those qualities of the painting which Held expected to find in a Rubens autograph, but which he failed to find in the picture from the Epstein Collection. And it is precisely those «qualities of free, luminous painting» that constitute the chief aesthetic merits of the Zagreb portrait. This is probably also the reason why he is so reticent about the identity of the sitter, designating the painting as A portrait of a young man (Nicolas Rubens?). For, would Rubens produce a mediocre work if he was painting a person with whom he had an emotional tie? Portraits of Isabella Brant, Helena Fourment and the children of both his marriages emphatically refute any such idea.

Apart from the three portraits already referred to, it is possible to discover a direct link with another representation of the same youth - a small charcoal sketch in the Louvre's collection of drawings (Ill. 4).³⁰ In his catalogue of drawings from the Nordic schools Fritz Lugt comments on this drawing. Listing it under the title Portrait of the artist?, Lugt links it to the portrait in the Epstein Collection, at the same time questioning the identity of the sitter in both representations: «... both these identifications seem to us arbitrary. In this drawing we see the work of a relatively independent artist from the immediate vicinity of Rubens, and the drawing might be a self-portrait. The drawing of the face bears a marked likeness to the portrait of a youth attributed to Simon de Vos in the Museum of Grenoble ...»³¹

It is interesting that Lugt refers only to the Chicago picture and not to the London portrait. It should be emphasised that the Grenoble picture referred to (Ill. 5) is no longer ascribed to Simon de Vos.³² Bernard Dorival changed the attribution in favour of a French painter Simon Vouet, regarding it as an «old replica» of a picture which is in the Magnin Museum in Dijon, and which may in its turn be connected with paintings by Vouet in Brnmswick and in the Riette Museum in Arles. B. Dorival reckons that the painting in Dijon was produced during Vouet's years in Italy (1614-1627).³³

The Louvre drawing has so many similarities with portraits of Nicolaas that it is impossible not to connect it with the same sitter. The figure of the youth from Grenoble most probably represents another person and belongs to another cycle of portraits mentioned by Dorival. To this cycle also

belongs the portrait A youth with long hair (Ill. 6) from the National Museum in Stockholm (NM 2569, oil on canvas, height: 46 cms; width: 36 cms) attributed to the Flemish painter Jan Cossiers (1600–1671), who, incidentally, had collaborated with Rubens in 1635. Of the three portraits of Nicolaas, the Louvre drawing is closest in its detail to the London painting. Judging by all appearances it was the last in the series of portraits of Nicolaas and probably its anonymous author modelled it on the full-scale Falconer before George IV acquired the latter for his collection.

The relationship between the portraits of Nicolaas

On the basis of what we have ascertained up to this point it is possible to reconstruct the relationship which prevailed between these various representations of the same person. In keeping with the iconographic conventions of 17th century painting, Rubens imagined the portrait of his son as a falconer. Possibly what seemed to him most important was to record Nicolaas's features, and this initial sketch is the portrait from the Mimara Museum. The vitality and directness of expression in this portrait confirm that the study was made with a live sitter. Writing about Rubens' portraits, Gustav Glück has stated emphatically: «It seems improbable that he painted the whole of his portraits from life although exceptions might be stated for small pictures, heads or busts. As a rule the head only was studied by him from life in delicate drawings or – but rarely – in elaborate painted sketches.»²⁴ Obviously the rarity of the Zagreb portrait acquires even greater significance if this factor is taken into account.

This concentration on the sitter's facial features and expression, without detailed treatment of other parts of the figure or accessories that would be included in the final composition, is by no means unusual in the case of Rubens. A good example of this may be found in the Portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1629–1630) from the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, for which Rubens made a sketch in oil which is in the National Portrait Gallery in London.²⁵ The sketch in oil in the Mimara Museum would stand in an analogous relationship to the large-scale Falconer in London.

However, it is obvious that the final version of The Falconer was not painted by Rubens; this is evident from the mediocre quality of the painting. He was led by certain considerations to entrust that task to some pupil or collaborator from his studio. To carry out this commission the pupil or collaborator first copied Rubens' head-and-shoulders portrait of a young man, and then, concentrating on the head alone but lacking spontaneity of touch, lost the

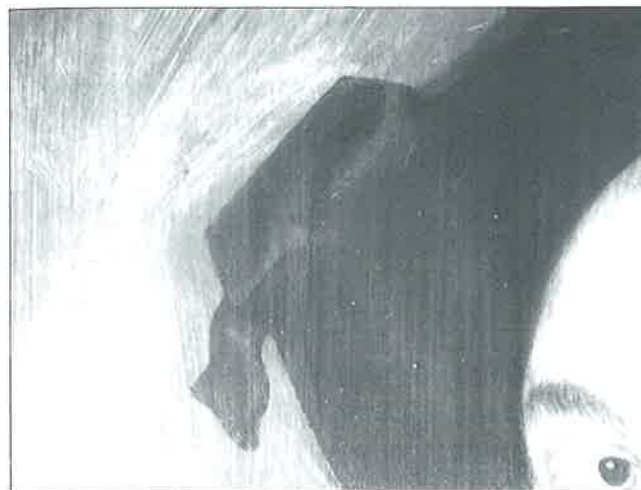
života. Crte lica jako podsjećaju na crte Nicolasa Rubensa (1618–1655), Rubensovog drugog sina iz braka s Isabellom Brant«.²⁹

Ovaj duži citat bio je potreban da se naglase one kvalitete koje je Held očekivao naći na Rubensovu autografu, no koje na slici u zbirci Epstein nije pronašao. A upravo su »odlike slobodnog, luminoznog slikarstva« glavne slikarske vrijednosti portreta iz Zagreba. Vjerojatno je to isti razlog da je Held ostao suzdržan i u pitanju identiteta modela, označivši sliku kao *Portret mladića (Nicolas Rubens?)*. Jer da li bi Rubens napravio osrednje djelo slikajući dragi mu lik za koji je emotivno vezan? Portreti Isabelle Brant, Helene Fourment i djece iz oba njegova braka to čvrsto opovrgavaju.

Uz spomenuta tri portreta moguće je izravno vezati još jedan prikaz istoga mladića – crtež ugljenom malog formata, koji se čuva u Kabinetu crteža Louvrea (sl. 4).³⁰ U svom katalogu crteža sjevernjačkih škola prokomentirao ga je Fritz Lugt. Vodeći ga pod naslovom *Portret umjetnika?* Lugt crtež dovodi u vezu sa slikom iz zbirke Epstein, ujedno stavlajući pod upitnik identitet modela na oba prikaza: »... Objе te identifikacije nam se čine dvojbenim. U ovom crtežu vidimo rad jednog dosta nezavisnog umjetnika iz Rubensove okoline i crtež bi mogao biti njegov vlastiti portret. Crtež lica pokazuje veliku sličnost s portretom mladića pripisanom Simonu de Vosu u Muzeju u Grenobleu...«.³¹

Zanimljivo je da u svom komentaru Lugt spominje samo sliku u Chicagu, ali ne i portret iz Londona. Valja također naglasiti da spomenuta slika u Grenobleu (sl. 5) više nije pripisana Simonu de Vosu.³² Atribuciju je u korist francuskog slikara Simona Voueta (1590–1649) promijenio Bernard Dorival, smatrajući je »starom replikom« slike koja se danas nalazi u Muzeju Magnin u Dijonu, a koju je moguće povezati s Vouetovim slikama u Brunswicku i u Muzeju Riette u Arlesu. Za sliku u Dijonu Dorival smatra da pripada Vouetovim talijanskim godinama (1614–1627).³³

Crtež iz Louvrea međutim pokazuje toliku sličnost s portretima Nicolaasa da je nemoguće ne povezati ga s istim modelom. Lik mladića iz Grenoblea najvjerojatnije prikazuje drugu osobu i pripada drugom krugu portreta, o čemu govori Dorival. Tome krugu pripada i *Portret mladića duge kose* (sl. 6) iz Nacionalnog muzeja u Stockholmu (NM 2569, ulje na platnu, vis. 46 cm; šir. 36 cm) pripisan flaman-



16, 17, 18. P. P. Rubens, Portret Nicolaasa Rubensa, umjetnikova sina, infracrveni reflektogrami; Zagreb, Muzej Mimara
P. P. Rubens, Portrait of Nicolaas Rubens, the artist's son; infrared reflectograms; Zagreb, Mimara Museum

directness and amplitude of expression. This is the enlarged study which is now in the Chicago Art Institute.

Why did Rubens not complete the final version of The Falconer himself, and why did his pupil or collaborator make yet another preliminary study for his own use? There is no precise answer to these questions, but we may hazard a number of conjectures.

Possibly Rubens thought that he himself would paint Nicolaas as a falconer, but simply never found the time to do so. It is known that he was overwhelmed with commissions during his final years, that he was late in delivering work and that there were any number of complaints from clients. Perhaps it seemed to him that it would be less trouble to hand over his son's portrait to someone else, thus saving time, rather than to face more unpleasantness from peevish customers.

The answer to the second question might be found in Rubens' possible reluctance to be parted from his son's portrait, to which he was particularly attached and which he regarded as an eminently successful painting. And if his pupil or collaborator had been obliged to paint The Falconer somewhere else and not in Rubens' studio, then it was only logical that he should make a further study which he could take away with him. By enlarging this study, he may have wished to approximate it to the scale of the final composition.

Rubens' reluctance to be parted from the picture would not be unusual, since it is known that the artist kept for himself a collection of «private» pictures, including portraits, which he wished to possess for his own gratification. Another factor which should be taken into account derives from the «private» character of certain pictures: «Some pictures are indisputably of a private character; let us recall, for instance... Rubens' family portraits, not forgetting the self-portraits, as a very common genre. This private character guarantees, as we might say, that these works are from the artist's own hand, in so far as we are not dealing merely with copies.»³⁶

In short, the Rubens autograph sketch (Zagreb) served his pupil or collaborator as a model to paint the study (Chicago) from which he carried out the large-scale work, The Falconer (London).³⁷ It was from the latter that an unknown artist was subsequently to make the charcoal drawing (Paris).

The iconography of the falconer

Although the falcon does not appear on the Zagreb painting, its presence in the London and Chicago pictures calls for some comment on the falcon as an iconographic motif. It is in fact a very popular motif in the Baroque painting of Flanders and Holland.³⁸ Ferdinand Bol, for example, sho-

skom slikaru Janu Cossiersu (1600–1671) koji je, usput rečeno, bio 1635. god. Rubensov suradnik. Od tri slikana prikaza Nicolaasa, crtež iz Louvrea najbliži je po detaljima onom u Londonu. Sudeći po svemu, bio je posljednji koji je nastao u kronologiji poznatih prikaza Nicolaasa i vjerojatno ga je nepoznati autor izveo prema velikoj kompoziciji Sokolara prije nego ju je George IV pribavio za svoju zbirku.

Odnosi među prikazima Nicolaasa

Na temelju dosad rečenog moguće je uspostaviti porijeklo među ovim različitim prikazima istoga lika. Rubens je, u skladu s ikonografskim konvencijama karakterističnim za 17. st., zamislio portret sina kao sokolara. Ono što se njemu možda činilo važnim to je naslikati Nicolaasovo lice i ta prva skica je portret u muzeju Mimara. Životnost i neposrednost izraza na tom portretu potvrđuju da je studija nastala prema živom modelu. Pišući o Rubensovim portretima, Gustav Glück je naglasio: »Čini se nevjerojatnim da je sve svoje portrete slikao po živom modelu, iako se mogu dopustiti iznimke za male slike, glave ili poprsja. Po pravilu samo je glavu on studirao uživo putem finih crteža ili – rjeđe – u razrađenim slikanim skicama.«³⁴ Očigledno i po tom kriteriju rijetkosti portret u Zagrebu dobiva na važnosti.

Koncentracija na lice modela bez detaljnog rješavanja ostalih dijelova figure, odnosno akcesorija koji će se nalaziti u finalnoj kompoziciji, nije neobična za Rubensa. Dobar primjer za to nalazimo u *Portretu Thomasa Howarda, Earla od Arundela* (1629–30) iz Muzeja Isabella Stewart Gardner u Bostonu, za koji je Rubens napravio slikanu skicu koja se nalazi u National Portrait Gallery u Londonu.³⁵ U analognom odnosu bila bi slikana skica iz Muzeja Mimara prema kompoziciji Sokolara u Londonu.

Međutim, očigledno je da finalnu kompoziciju Sokolara nije izveo Rubens, o čemu svjedoči slabija kvaliteta slike. On je, rukovođen nekim razlozima, taj zadatak povjerio učeniku ili suradniku radionice. Da bi ga izvršio, učenik je ili suradnik najprije kopirao Rubensovo poprsje mladića i pritom, usredotočivši se također samo na glavu, ali nemajući spontanost ruke, izgubio neposrednost i punoću izraza. Ta je uvećana studija danas u Umjetničkom institutu u Chicagu.

Zašto Rubens nije sam izveo finalnu kompoziciju

Sokolara i zašto je učenik ili suradnik radio za svoje potrebe još jednu studiju? Točnog odgovora nema, ali su moguće neke pretpostavke.

Možda je Rubens zamislio sâm naslikati Nicolaasa kao sokolara, ali to jednostavno nije stigao učiniti. Zna se da je posljednjih godina bio pretrpan naruđbama, da je kasnio s rokovima i da je zbog toga bilo protesta od strane naručilaca. Možda mu se činilo bezbolnijim odustati od portreta sina i tako uštedjeti vrijeme negoli se izlagati većim neugodnostima od pomalo čangrizavih naručilaca.

Odgovor na drugo pitanje moguće je tražiti u eventualnoj želji Rubensovoj da se ne odvajaju od sinovljeva portreta, smatrajući ga dragom ili posebno uspješnom slikom. A ako je k tomu još učenik ili suradnik bio prisiljen izvesti Sokolara negdje izvan radionice, onda je logično da je izradio još jednu studiju koju je mogao ponijeti. Uvećanjem te studije možda se želio približiti formatu buduće finalne kompozicije.

Rubensova želja da se ne odvajaju od slike ne bi bila neobična, budući da je poznato kako je slikar čuvao za sebe skupinu »privatnih« slika, među kojima i portrete, koje je želio posjedovati za vlastito zadovoljstvo. A iz karaktera »privatnosti« proizlazi još nešto što valja uzeti u obzir: »Neke slike su neosporno privatnog karaktera; sjetimo se primjerice... i Rubensovih obiteljskih portreta, ne zaboravljajući autportret kao vrlo česti genre. Taj karakter privatnosti osigurava, reći ćemo, vlastoručnu izvedbu djela, pod uvjetom da nije riječ o kopiji.«³⁶

Ukratko, Rubensova vlastoručna skica (Zagreb) mogla je poslužiti učeniku ili suradniku da po njoj naslika studiju (Chicago) po kojoj će zatim izvesti veću kompoziciju Sokolara (London).³⁷ Po ovoj posljednjoj će nepoznati umjetnik načiniti crtež ugljenom (Pariz).

Ikonografija sokolara

Premda na zagrebačkoj slici sokol nije prikazan, njegova prisutnost na slikama u Londonu i Chicagu nameće potrebu za komentarom sokolara kao ikonografskog motiva. Taj je motiv vrlo omiljen u baroknom razdoblju u Flandriji i Holandiji.³⁸ Sokolara je primjerice prikazao Ferdinand Bol kao *Eneju u lovu* (sl. 27) vjerojatno pod utjecajem Rembrandtova Sokolara iz zbirke lorda od Westminstera (sl. 26). I ovi »historizirani« portreti ukazuju na važnu značajku sjevernjačkog slikarstva u 17. st. Oni naime posjeduju emblematično značenje, koje je najčešće

used a falconer as Aeneas hunting (Ill. 27), probably under the influence of Rembrandt's Falconer from the Duke of Westminster's collection (Ill. 26). These «historicizing» portraits point to an important feature of Nordic painting in the 17th century. They actually have an emblematic significance which is most often linked to allegories of the elements, virtues, the senses, seasons of the year and of human life.³⁹ This symbolism was inherited from Christian iconography, especially from the international Gothic and Renaissance period down to 1500 A.D. (Ills. 19–23). During that period a rich repertoire of astrological symbols was assembled, and these were regarded as interpreters and determinants of human destiny. Not even the 16th century, which was imbued with the spirit of empiricism, could afford to dispense with the cryptic significance of such visual metaphors, so that the secular art of the 17th century was merely continuing a long tradition of contemplative and didactic systems in European art.⁴⁰

Emblematic representations of the falcon come from various sources and may be interpreted on different levels. The falcon has always been a highly prized bird, and hunting with trained falcons was first practised in the East, from where it spread to other areas.⁴¹ The falcon features in the mythologies of the ancient nations and occupies a special place in Graeco-Roman mythology, where, together with the eagle, it acts the part of Jupiter's messenger. Jupiter is, amongst other things, the patron of huntsmen, but also of everything that comes from the air. It was the patronage of Jupiter which had repercussions in the symbolism of medieval art: a man born under this planet would have nobility and optimism, gentleness, youthful impetuosity and erotic passion – he would be sanguine, the most ardent of the four temperaments, with a close affinity to the element of air.⁴²

Falcons are also represented in Gothic myths, as well as in medieval German literature. The Falkenlied of the German Minnesänger Kurenberger (ca. 1160) is a work in which the poet most comprehensively evokes «the poetic expression of chivalrous sentiments and cultural ideals.»⁴³ Here the essential significance of the falcon in European culture is epitomised – the bird becomes a symbol of nobility and of chivalry itself; this is confirmed by its place in the everyday life and social customs of feudal Europe.⁴⁴ The cultic status of the falcon was significantly enhanced by the Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II, who elevated the breeding and training of falcons and hunting with them to the level of a supreme art, devoting unprecedented passion to the subject. From his treatise, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, it may be gathered that the ultimate aim is to train the bird – «the freest and most perfect creature

among birds (Solms-Laubach) – to fly back to its master's hand, although it has been set free.⁴¹ It is this loyalty that constitutes the basic moral virtue in the chivalrous code. The chivalrous ideal demands loyalty and constancy, in relation to women in particular the chivalrous ideal demands loyalty and constancy in love from the male. Thus, the falconers who appear as individual figures or as a group in innumerable frescoes, tapestries, miniatures, ivories and decorated caskets from the late Gothic and Renaissance period have their significance in the context of this ideal: the domination of the falcon is a metaphor for the conquest of the man by the woman, the falcon's loyalty is a metaphor for fidelity in love (Ill. 20).

Representations of falconers in Western art make their appearance as early as the 11th century, most frequently in the late Gothic and early Renaissance period.⁴² They mainly figure in ceremonial processions as brilliant accessories to the scene (Ill. 19). These squires and their ladies in sumptuous costumes bearing falcons on their wrists are very often the artist's way of embodying in his picture true scenes de genre as an expression of refined courtly culture in which hunting featured as a popular sport, pastime and privilege of the aristocracy (Ill. 21).⁴³

The falcon also appears as an attribute of saints of aristocratic descent or of those with chivalrous or military connections – St. Bavon (Ill. 23), St. Julian, St. Agilolf, St. Jeron, St. Ottho Arianns.⁴⁴ It also features as a symbol of allegorical significance in portraits, where it underlines the chivalrous status of the sitter (Ill. 22). This tradition was to persist into the 16th century, which was particularly insistent on the cultivation of chivalry and the acquisition of the qualities of the ideal courter,⁴⁵ i.e. in an age when strict Spanish rules of aristocratic etiquette prevailed in the European courts.

In the 16th century, however, the visual interpretation of the falconer gradually became increasingly associated with the symbolism of the senses or of the four elements; there was an evolution from idealised female nudes with animal symbols towards scenes from everyday life, or else portraits as the realistic personification of allegorical meaning. We know of interpretations of the senses by the Antwerp painters Frans Floris, Abraham de Bruyn and Marten de Vos in which the falcon is a symbol of the sense of touch. Its meaning is

povezano s alegorijama elemenata, krijeposti, osjetila, godišnjih i starosnih doba.³⁹

Taj simbolizam naslijeđen je od kršćanske ikonografije, osobito one iz perioda internacionalne gotike i renesanse do 1500. U tom je razdoblju stvoren bogat repertoar astroloških simbola kao fatalističkih tumača i odreditelja čovjekove sudbine. Ni empirizmom prožeto 16. st. nije odustalo od kriptičkih značenja vizualnih metafora, tako da profana umjetnost u 17. st. samo kontinuirala dugu tradiciju konceptualnih i didaktičkih sustava evropske umjetnosti.⁴⁰

Emblematičnost prikaza sokola ima raznovrsne izvore, pa tako i različite slojeve značenja. Sokol je oduvijek bio skupocjena ptica, a lov s dresiranim sokolovima ponajprije se uobičajio na istoku, da bi se poslije raširio drugamo.⁴¹ Sokol je prisutan i u mitologijama starih naroda, a posebno mjesto zauzima u grčko-rimskoj mitologiji, gdje uz orla ima ulogu Jupiterova glasnika. Jupiter je, između ostalog, zaštitnik lovaca ali i svega onog što dolazi iz zraka. Upravo je Jupiterova zaštita imala reperkusija u simboli-



19. Simone Martini (oko 1248–1344), Pretvaranje Sv. Martina u viteza, detalj; Assisi, donja crkva Simone Martini (ca. 1248–1344), *The Knighting of St. Martin*, detail; Assisi, lower church

zmu srednjovjekovne umjetnosti: čovjek rođen pod znakom ovog planeta imat će plemenitosti i optimizma, blagosti, mladenačkog poleta i ljubavnog žara – bit će sangvinik, najtopliji od četiri temperamenta, blisko povezan s elementom zrakom.⁴²

Sokolovi su zastupljeni i u gotskim mitovima i u njemačkoj srednjovjekovnoj književnosti. *Pjesma o sokolu* njemačkog Minnesängera Kurenbergera (oko 1160. god.) djelo je u kojem se najcjelovitije ostvario »pjesnički izraz viteških životnih osjećaja i kulturnih ideala«.⁴³ Upravo tu dolazi do izražaja bitno značenje sokola u evropskoj kulturi – ta ptica postaje simbolom plemstva i samog viteštva, što potvrđuje i mjesto sokola u svakodnevnom životu i društvenim običajima feudalne Evrope.⁴⁴ Učvršćivanju kulturnog statusa sokola znatno je pridonio car Friedrich II Hohenstaufovac koji je uzgoj, dresuru i sam lov sa sokolovima uzdigao na razinu vrhunskog umijeća, unoseći u to neviđenu strast. Iz njegova traktata *De arte venandi cum avibus* vidi se da je krajnji cilj postići da se sokola – »to najslobodnije i najsavršenije biće među pticama« (Solms-Laubach) – prisili da bez obzira na stečenu slobodu ponovno sleti na ru-



20. Majstor amsterdamskog kabineta (ca. 1470–1500), Stojeći ljubavnici viđeni straga, Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (ca. 1470–1500), *Standing lovers seen from behind*; Leipzig, Museum der bildenden Künste

21. Les Limbourg (14. st. – prije 1416), Mjesec kolovoz; iluminacija iz Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry; Chantilly, Muzej Condé
Les Limbourg (14th century – before 1416), *The Month of August*; illumination from the Très Riches Heures du duc de Berry; Chantilly, Musée Condé



ku gospodara.⁴⁵ A upravo je vjernost osnovnom moralnom vrlinom viteškog kodeksa. Osobito u odnosu prema ženi viteški ideal zahtijeva od muškarca vjernost i trajnost ljubavnih osjećaja. Tako sokolari koji se, kao izdvojene figure ili u mnoštvu, javljaju na mnogim freskama, tapiserijama, minijaturama, bjelokosti, oslikanim škrinjama kasne gotike i rane renesanse dobivaju značenje u kontekstu toga ideala: dominacija nad sokolom metafora je ženino osvajanja, vjernost sokola metafora je vjernosti u ljubavi (sl. 20).

Prikazi sokolara u zapadnoj umjetnosti javljaju se već od 11. st., a najčešće u periodu kasne gotike i rane renesanse.⁴⁶ Sokolari tada uglavnom sudjeluju u svečanim povorkama kao blještavim asistencijama osnovnom prizoru (sl. 19). Svi ti plemići i plemkinje u raskošnim kostimima, koji znaju nositi sokola na ruci, vrlo su često samo izgovorom majstoru da naslika prave *scènes de genre* kao izraz rafinirane dvorske kulture, u kojima lov ima značenje omiljenog sporta, razbibrige i povlastice plemstva (sl. 21).⁴⁷

Sokol se također javlja kao atribut svetaca plemićkog podrijetla, odnosno svetaca vitezova i vojnika – Sv. Bavona (sl. 23), Sv. Julijana, Sv. Agilolffa, Sv. Jerona, Sv. Otha Arianskog.⁴⁸ Kao simbol istih alegorijskih značenja javlja se i na portretima, gdje je naglasak na viteštvu prikazanog lika (sl. 22). Kontinuitet takve tradicije ostat će neprekinut i u 16. st. koje

22. Krug Jana Van Eycka (1390/1400 – 1441), Čovjek sa sokolom; Frankfurt n/M, Städelschen Kunstinstitut

Jan van Eyck's circle (1390/1400 – 1441), *Man with the Falcon*; Frankfurt a/M, Städelschen Kunstinstitut

23. Geertgen Tot Sint Jans? (djel. u 2. pol. 15. st.), Sv. Bavon; Leningrad, Ermitaž
Geertgen Tot Sint Jans? (active in the 2nd half of 15th cent.), St. Bavon; Leningrad, Ermitage



je bilo osobito zahtjevno u njegovanju viteštva i u dosizanju kvalitete *idealnog dvorjanina*,⁴⁹ dakle u vremenu kad stroga španjolska pravila nobilnog ponašanja vladaju evropskim dvorovima.

No postupno će se u 16. st. prikazi sokolara sve više vezivati uz simbolizam osjetila ili četiriju elemenata, pri čemu razvoj teče od idealiziranih ženskih aktova sa životinjskim simbolima prema prizorima iz svakodnevnog života, odnosno portretu kao realističnoj personifikaciji alegorijskog značenja. Poznate su interpretacije osjetila antverpenskih slikara Fransa Florisa, Abrahama de Bruyna, Martena de Vosa, pri čemu je sokol simbol opipa. Njegovo je značenje u moralnoj poduci i u upozorenju da ne treba biti preskroman zadovoljstvima tjelesne ljubavi.⁵⁰ Slične moralističke intencije sadrži i alegorija četiriju elemenata i tu je sokol simbol zraka. Lijepi primjer za

to be found in the moral lesson warning against excessive addiction to the pleasures of physical love.⁵⁰ The allegory of the four elements involves similar moralistic intentions, and here the falcon is the symbol of the air. A fine example of this is offered by a print made by an anonymous artist from a picture by Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), where the realistic interpretation is particularly striking.

In the light of this iconographic tradition we may adopt a more informed view of the portrait of Nicolaas Rubens as a falconer. It is well known how imaginatively Rubens interpreted ancient iconographic motifs and how far his painting is rooted in the Flemish tradition. He had already once painted a boy with a falcon as Robin the Dwarf in his portrait of Aetha Talbot, Duchess of Arundel with her Train (1620), and here we have an adumbration of the London Falconer (Ill. 25).



24. Nepoznati autor prema Hendricku Goltziusu, Element zrak, iz serije Četiri elemenata
Unknown artist after Hendrick Goltzius, *The Element of Air*, from the series *The Four Elements*

Rubens' portraits are generally characterized by his endeavour to express the sitter's basic qualities of character, his vocation or his social position through his pose and his accessories. Possibly Rubens wished to stress his son's social standing, now that he, the father, had been knighted in 1630 both by Charles I and by the Spanish king, Philip IV. Just as he most often portrayed Helena Fourment as a patrician lady, in spite of her middle-class origins, so it is not beyond the bounds of possibility that he wished to depict Nicolaas also as a young knight – a nobleman who would soon bear the title of seigneur de Rameyen. In the London Falconer Nicolaas is depicted as an aristocrat for whom the hunt is a favorite pastime. The falcon and the sitter's youth imply the importance which love has in the young man's life, but the falcon also draws attention to fidelity and constancy in love as a chivalrous ideal. That is why, in the context of the allegory of the sense of touch, the young man must avoid the perils of exaggerated indulgence in physical love. The youthfulness, the vivacity and cheerfulness that emanate from Nicolaas's features suggest what the idea of the hunt and of

to pruža grafički list nepoznatog autora prema Hendricku Goltziusu (1558–1617), gdje je realistična interpretacija već snažno zamjetljiva (sl. 24).

Imajući u vidu takvu ikonografsku tradiciju može se bolje sagledati i portret Nicolaasa Rubensa kao sokolara. Poznato je s koliko je invencije Rubens reinterpretirao stare ikonografske motive i koliko je njegovo slikarstvo utemeljeno u flamanskoj tradiciji. Samog dječaka sa sokolom već je jednom vlastoručno slikao kao patuljka Robina na portretu *Alathea Talbot, grofica od Arundela sa svojom pratnjom* (1620. god.) i on ovdje već najavljuje londonskog Sokolara (sl. 25).

Rubensove portrete općenito obilježuje težnja da samim držanjem modela i atributima bude izražena osnovna karakterna osobina portretirane osobe, njezina vokacija ili društveni položaj. Možda je Rubens želio naglasiti društveni položaj svoga sina, čijeg su oca 1630. god. vitezom proglasili i španjolski kralj Filip IV i engleski kralj Charles I.⁵¹ Baš kao što je



25. P. P. Rubens, Patuljak Robin kao sokolar, detalj slike *Alatheia Talbot, grofica od Arundela i njena pratnja*, 1620. g.; München, Stara Pinakoteka
P. P. Rubens, *Robin the Dwarf*, detail from the *Portrait of Alatheia Talbot, the Countess of Arundel and her Train*, 1620.; Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Helenu Fourment znao najčešće portretirati kao patricijku unatoč njenom građanskom podrijetlu, nije isključeno da je i Nicolaasa želio prikazati kao mladog viteza – plemića koji će uskoro ponijeti titulu *seigneur de Rameyen*.

Nicolaas je na londonskoj slici prikazan kao aristokrat kome je lov omiljena zabava i sport. Sokol i adolescencija lika sugeriraju važnost koju ljubav zauzima u mladićevom životu, upozoravajući istovremeno na vjernost i trajnost u ljubavi kao viteškom idealu. Zato, u kontekstu alegorije opipa, mladić mora izbjegavati opasnost od pretjeranog prepustanja tjelesnoj ljubavi. Mladost, temperament i vedrina koji izbijaju iz Nicolaasova lika sugeriraju ono što ideja lova i sokolarstva priopćavaju – mladić je pun životnog poleta, blage čudi sangvinika i u kontekstu alegorije zraka – pravo Jupiterovo dijete.

S tim u vezi još jedna je pojedinost koju valja naglasiti. Suptilno poigravanje alegorijama Rubens nije koristio kod svake osobe koju je portretirao. Emblematične konotacije vezuje samo uz osobe za koje je bio posebno vezan, ili kako precizira H. Vlieghe: »Taj emblematički simbolizam korišten je prije svega u Rubensovim intimnijim portretima u kojima je prisutna jasna namjera da izrazi osobitu sklonost prema modelu.«⁵² Iz toga je moguće izvući još jednu potvrdu da je u liku sokolara iz Londona (a time i na slikama u Chicagu i Zagrebu) uistinu prikazan Ni-

falconry denote – a youth full of vital energy with the mild temperament of the sanguine male – and, in the context of the allegory of the air – a true child of Jupiter.

In this connection there is one more detail which is worth mentioning. Rubens did not avail himself of this subtle play with allegorical meanings in the case of all his sitters. He links emblematic connotations only with those persons with whom he feels a special bond, or, as H. Vlieghe puts it: «This emblematic symbolism was to be used above all in Rubens's more intimate portraits, which were clearly intended to express particular affection for the sitter.»⁵² From this it is possible to draw one further piece of evidence that the figure of the Falconer from London (and hence from the paintings in Chicago and Zagreb) does indeed represent Nicolaas. Indirectly this also supports the claim that the sketch in Zagreb is by the hand of Rubens himself.

26. Rembrandt (1606–1669), Sokolar; London, Zbirka vojvode od Westminstera
Rembrandt (1606–1669), *The Falconer*; London, Duke of Westminster Collection

27. Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), Sokolar (Eneja u lovu); Blackheath, Greenwich, Ranger's House
Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680), *The Falconer (Aeneas Hunting)*; Blackheath, Greenwich, Ranger's House



Conclusion

Although he painted a great many portraits, Rubens was throughout his life reluctant to undertake the task.¹¹ This was especially obvious during the later years of his life. At that time the artist was captivated by Helena Fourment, and his young spouse and the children he had by her most often served as his sitters. But there are relatively few, even of these portraits. This is why the newly discovered portrait in the Mimara Museum in Zagreb acquires such importance. It illustrates in the best possible way the painter's swifter style of the 1630's and, given its artistic merit, it represents a significant addition to Rubens' oeuvre of the late period. We are dealing with a study that served as a model for the paintings in Chicago, i.e. in London. This claim is powerfully backed by the hallmark on the back of the painting, which is lacking in the case of the Chicago picture. On the basis of the evidence adduced here it may be claimed that the portrait depicts the artist's son Nicolaas. The vitality and the distinction manifested in the picture's execution, the precise and fluent brushwork confirm that what we have here is an valuable work of Rubens' late phase.

colaas. Na posredni način to potkrepljuje i tvrdnju da je skica u Zagrebu Rubensovo vlastoručno djelo.

Zaključak

Premda ih je mnogo naslikao, Rubens se cijelog života nevoljko odlučivao na slikanje portreta.⁵³ Osobito je to došlo do izražaja u kasnim godinama života. U to je vrijeme majstor bio opčinjen Helenom Fourment, pa mu je mlada supruga, uz djecu koju je s njom imao, najčešće služila kao model. No i tih portreta je relativno malo. Tim više dobiva na značenju novootkriveni portret iz Muzeja Mimara u Zagrebu, koji na najbolji način ilustrira omekšani slikarev stil iz tridesetih godina i svojom kvalitetom pruža značajnu dopunu kasnom Rubensovom opusu. Riječ je o studiji koja je poslužila kao predložak za slike u Chicagu, odnosno Londonu. To snažno potkrepljuje i cehovski znak na poledini slike, kojeg na čikaškom portretu nema. Na osnovi iznesenih indikacija moguće je tvrditi da je na portretu prikazan slikarev sin Nicolaas. Živost i plemenitost fakture zatrebačke slike, slobodan i precizan potez kista potvrđuju da je riječ o jednom vrijednom djelu iz Rubensove kasne faze.

Bilješke:

1. *Kalendar Privredne banke Zagreb za 1983.*, Zagreb 1982; *Vodič kroz dio Zbirke Ante Topića Mimare*, Zagreb 1983, pod br. 78, str. 39.
2. *Katalog Muzeja Mimara*, Zagreb 1987, str. 92. i 398; *Vodič po zbirka Muzeja Mimara*, Zagreb 1988, str. 123. i 124.
3. *Vjesnik*, 28. 9. 1983; *Financial Times*, 27. 3. 1984; *The Sunday Times Magazine*, 25. 3. 1984. i dr.
4. Postoji stanovita razlika između konačnog oblika usana i oblika vidljivog na infracrvenom reflektogramu. Crtež usana u donjem sloju je slobodniji i razrađeniji, dok su u površinskom sloju uočljiva pojednostavljenja, naročito u kutu usana.
5. Hans Vlieghe, *Rubens Portraits of identified sitters painted in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard II, New York - London - Bruxelles 1987, str. 24.
6. *Catalogue of the exhibition P.P. Rubens, Peintures-Esquisse à l'huile-Dessins*, Antwerp 1977 under no. 152, pp. 340-341; Julius S. Held, *Rubens Selected Drawings*, Oxford 1986, under no. 144, p. 124, ill. 156.
7. *Idem*, under no. 157, pp. 350-351; under no. 164, p. 133, ill. 249.
8. Oil on wood, height: 186 cms; width: 92 cms; a painting in Dresden with the same technique and of about the same size is regarded by some authors as a work produced in Rubens' studio under his supervision. H. Vlieghe (op. cit., under no. 142, pp. 176-177) adduces a series of known copies from the Liechtenstein Collection. To these should be added another fine, but more recent copy in the Castle of Trakošćan in the Croatian Zagorje, the work of the Croatian painter, Julia, Countess Drašković (1847-1901).
9. Rüdiger an der Heiden, *Peter Paul Rubens und die Bildnisse seiner Familie in der Alten Pinakothek*, München 1982, p. 6.
10. Rubens je najvjerojatnije imao na umu Plinijev opis portreta dvaju dječaka grčkog slikara Parrhasiusa, od kojih jedno lice izražava mir i samopouzdanje, a drugo priprostu neukost. Igra pticom ima također dublje alegorijsko značenje i kao ikonografski motiv tradiciju staru još od antičkih vremena. *Vidjeti*: Christopher White, *Peter Paul Rubens*, New Haven - London 1987, str. 199; Charles Scribner III, *Peter Paul Rubens*, New York 1989, str. 88; Hans Vlieghe, *nav. dj.*, str. 177.
11. Ch. White, *nav. dj.*, str. 199.
12. H. G. Evers, *Peter Paul Rubens*, München 1942, str. 474.
13. *La Famille Rubens, Notes généalogiques*, Antwerpen 1920, str. 11; *Rubens et ses descendants*, u *Le Parchemin, recueil généalogique et héraldique XXV*, Bruxelles 1977, str. 187-199 et passim.
14. The information about these marks I have gathered from an article by Malgorzata Schuster-Gawlowska, *Marques de corporations, poinçons d'ateliers et autres marques apposées sur les supports de bois des tableaux et des retables sculptés flamands. Essai de documentation à partir des collections polonaises*, in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1989, pp. 211-261. Apart from a scheme for categorizing these marks and suggestion for recording them systematically, the author provides an exhaustive bibliography of research carried out on the subject to date.
15. G. Gept, Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens, in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen*, 1954-1960, p. 83-84.

Notes:

1. Calendar of the Privredna banka Zagreb for 1983, Zagreb 1982; Guide to the Ante Topić Mimara Collection, Zagreb 1983, no. 78, p. 39.
2. Mimara Museum Catalogue, Zagreb 1987, pp. 92 and 398; Guide to the collections of the Mimara Museum, Zagreb 1988, pp. 123 and 124.
3. Vjesnik, 28. 9. 1983; The Financial Times, 27. 3. 1984; The Sunday Times Magazine, 25. 3. 1984.
4. There are certain differences between the final shape of lips and the shape revealed by the infrared reflectogram. The drawing of the lips in the lower layer is more fluent and detailed, while the surface layer shows certain simplifications, especially at the corner.
5. Hans Vlieghe, Rubens portrait of identified sitters painted in Antwerp, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, New York - London - Bruxelles 1987, p. 24.
6. Catalogue of the exhibition P.P. Rubens, Peintures-Esquisse à l'huile-Dessins, Antwerp 1977 under no. 152, pp. 340-341; Julius S. Held, Rubens Selected Drawings, Oxford 1986, under no. 144, p. 124, ill. 156.
7. *Idem*, under no. 157, pp. 350-351; under no. 164, p. 133, ill. 249.
8. Oil on wood, height: 186 cms; width: 92 cms; a painting in Dresden with the same technique and of about the same size is regarded by some authors as a work produced in Rubens' studio under his supervision. H. Vlieghe (op. cit., under no. 142, pp. 176-177) adduces a series of known copies from the Liechtenstein Collection. To these should be added another fine, but more recent copy in the Castle of Trakošćan in the Croatian Zagorje, the work of the Croatian painter, Julia, Countess Drašković (1847-1901).
9. Rüdiger an der Heiden, Peter Paul Rubens und die Bildnisse seiner Familie in der Alten Pinakothek, Munich 1982, p. 6.
10. Rubens most probably had in mind Pliny's description of a portrait of two boys by the Greek painter Parrhasius, where one boy's face expresses serenity and self-confidence, while the other expresses a kind of naive ignorance. The playing with a bird also has a deeper allegorical significance and stems from a tradition dating back to the Classical era. See Christopher White, Peter Paul Rubens, New Haven - London 1987, p. 199; Charles Scribner III, Peter Paul Rubens, New York 1989, p. 88; Hans Vlieghe, op.cit., p. 177.
11. Ch White, op.cit., p. 199.
12. H.G. Evers, Peter Paul Rubens, Munich 1942, p. 474.
13. La Famille Rubens, Notes généalogiques, Antwerp 1920, p. 11; Rubens et ses descendants, in Le Parchemin, recueil généalogique et héraldique XXV, Bruxelles 1977, pp. 187-199 et passim.
14. The information about these marks I have gathered from an article by Malgorzata Schuster-Gawlowska, Marques de corporations, poinçons d'ateliers et autres marques apposées sur les supports de bois des tableaux et des retables sculptés flamands. Essai de documentation à partir des collections polonaises, in Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 1989, pp. 211-261. Apart from a scheme for categorizing these marks and suggestion for recording them systematically, the author provides an exhaustive bibliography of research carried out on the subject to date.
15. G. Gept, Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens, in Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 1954-1960, p. 83-84.

16. E. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard X, Bruxelles - New York - London*, pp. 45-46; Hubert von Sonnenburg, *Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik, in Maltechnik-Restauro 2* i 3, second edition, Munich 1980, pp. 3 and 5.
17. *Rubens et ses descendants*, p. 164 (cf. note 13).
18. E. Haverkamp Begemann sees such a possibility of dating those wooden panels in the *Achilles series which bear the initials MV*: "One other, less tentative and more significant conclusion can be drawn: if the initials of Michiel Vriendt were not used after his death, the panels must have been made before 1636-37", op.cit., p. 46.
19. Anonymous author, *A Portrait of Nicolas Rubens by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Born 1577, Died 1640, New York, ca. 1923*, p. 9.
20. H. Vlieghe, op.cit., p. 28.
21. Adolf Rosenberg, *Peter Paul Rubens, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1905*, p. 460, right.
22. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 1905*, p. 201.
23. Gustav Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis, herausgegeben von Ludwig Burchard und Robert Eigenberger, Vienna 1933*, p. 391-392.
24. *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen 1913*, p. 174; quoted from Gustav Glück, op.cit., p. 392.
25. I am grateful to the staff of the archive department of the Chicago Art Institute for records and bibliography relating to this picture.
26. Cf. note 19.
27. W.A.P., *The Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Max Epstein, in The Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago 17, September 1923*, p. 55.
28. Erik Larsen, *Rubens, with a complete catalogue of his works in America, Antwerp 1952, under no 86*, p. 218.
29. Julius S. Held in *Jan Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, Rubens in America, New York 1947*, p. 46, ill. 6 app.
30. *17th cent., charcoal and ink, height: 178 mm; width: 137 mm, inv. no. 19.940; the drawing entered the Louvre at the time of the French Revolution as an item confiscated from the property of emigrants (Saisie des Emigrés), at which time it belonged to M. de Saint Morys. I owe this information to Mme. Roseline Bacou, the Curator in Chief of the Cabinet of Drawings of Louvre Museum.*
31. Fritz Lugt, *Musée du Louvre, Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord. Ecole flamande, Paris 1949, vol. II, under no. 1244 (19.940)*, p. 57, ill. LXXV.
32. *My attention was drawn to the change of attribution by M. Pierre Gaudibert, Chief Curator of the Grenoble Museum, and I would like to record my thanks to him.*
33. I am grateful to M. Bernard Dorival for this information.
34. Gustav Glück, *Rubens as Portrait Painter, in The Burlington Magazine, no. 447, June 1940*, pp. 174-183.
35. Ch. White, op.cit., pp. 225-226; G. Glück, op.cit., pp. 173-174 (cf. note 34).
36. R. H. Marijnissen, *Tableaux - authentiques, maquillés, faux, Bruxelles 1985*, p. 21.
37. If we compare the Chicago picture with the London Falconer, it may be observed that at some points (the tufts of hair on the forehead) the London picture is closer to the Zagreb painting. This might be explained by certain pictorial reminiscences of details of Rubens' work that have not been noted in the artist's preliminary sketch which is in Chicago. On the basis of these discrepancies the question might
15. G. Gepts, *Tafereelmaker Michiel Vriendt, leverancier van Rubens*, u *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen, 1954-1960*, str. 83-87.
16. Haverkamp Begemann, *The Achilles Series, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard X, Bruxelles - New York - London 1975*, str. 45-46; Hubert von Sonnenburg, *Rubens' Bildaufbau und Technik, u Maltechnik-Restauro 2* i 3, drugo izdanje München 1980, str. 3. i 5.
17. *Rubens et ses descendants*, str. 164. (vidjeti bilj. 13).
18. E. Haverkamp Begemann vidi takvu mogućnost za dataciju onih drvenih podloga u seriji o Ahilu koje imaju inicijale MV: "One other, less tentative and more significant conclusion can be drawn: if the initials of Michiel Vriendt were not used after his death, the panels must have been made before 1636-37", nav. dj., str. 46.
19. Nepotpisani autor, *A Portrait of Nicolas Rubens by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Born 1577, Died 1640, New York oko 1923*, str. 9.
20. H. Vlieghe, nav. dj., str. 28.
21. Adolf Rosenberg, *Peter Paul Rubens, Klassiker der Kunst, Stuttgart - Leipzig 1905*, str. 460 desno.
22. *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, 1905*, str. 201.
23. Gustav Glück, *Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis, herausgegeben von Ludwig Burchard und Robert Eigenberger*, Beč 1933, str. 391-392.
24. *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen 1915*, str. 174; citirano iz: Gustav Glück, nav. dj., str. 392.
25. Zahvaljujem osoblju dokumentacijskog odjela Umjetničkog instituta u Chicagu na dokumentaciji i bibliografiji za ovu sliku.
26. Vidjeti bilješku 19.
27. W.A.P., *Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Max Epstein, u Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago 17, rujana 1923*, str. 55.
28. Erik Larsen, *Rubens, with a complete catalogue of his works in America*, Antwerpen 1952, pod. br. 86, str. 218.
29. Julius S. Held, u *Jan Albert Goris and Julius S. Held, Rubens in America*, New York 1947, str. 46, sl. 6 app.
30. 17. st.; ugljen i pero, vis. 178 mm; šir. 137 mm; inv. br. 19.940; crtež je u Louvre ušao za vrijeme Francuske revolucije plijenidbom emigranata (*Saisie des Emigrés*), i u to je vrijeme pripadao M. de Saint Morysu. Zahvaljujem gospođi Roseline Bacou, glavnom kustosu Kabineta crteža Louvrea, na ovim podacima.
31. Fritz Lugt, *Musée du Louvre. Inventaire général des dessins des écoles du nord. Ecole flamande*, Pariz 1949, Vol. II, pod br. 1244, str. 57, sl. LXXV.
32. Na promjenu atribucije me upozorio g. Pierre Gaudibert, glavni kustos Muzeja u Grenobleu, na čemu mu zahvaljujem.
33. Zahvaljujem g. Bernardu Dorivalu za te podatke.
34. Gustav Glück, *Rubens as Portrait Painter*, u *The Burlington Magazine*, br. 447, lipanj 1940, str. 174-183.
35. Ch. White, nav. dj., str. 225-226; G. Glück, nav. dj., str. 173-174 (bilj. 34).
36. R. H. Marijnissen, *Tableaux - authentiques, maquillés, faux, Bruxelles 1985*, str. 21.

37. Usporedimo li sliku iz Chicaga s londonskim *Sokolarovom*, može se uočiti da je u nekim dijelovima (čuperci kose na čelu) londonska slika bliža zagrebačkoj. To bi se moglo objasniti i nekim slikarevim zapamćenjima Rubensovih pojednosti koje nije bio zabilježio u svojoj prethodnoj skici koja se nalazi u Chicagu. Naravno da bi se na temelju tih razlika moglo postaviti i pitanje da li je londonsku i čikašku sliku radio isti Rubensov učenik ili suradnik. Odgovor na to pitanje dala bi tek pomna usporedba oba originala.
38. Na primjer: dvije slike Joana van Noorta (oko 1620 - nakon 1676) u Wallace Collection, London; slika Aelberta Cuyppa (1620-1691) iz zbirke Backer u Amsterdamu; sokolar prikazan na *Obiteljskom portretu* njemačkog slikara Daniela Schulza (1615-1683), koji je radio pod utjecajem Snydersa i flamanskih slikara, Ermitaž, Lenjingrad. S motivom sokolara možemo se susresti i u slikarstvu 19. st.: Christoffel Bischof (1828 - 1904), *Sokolar*, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
39. Tekstovi sa simpozija o nizozemskom manirizmu održanom 1984. u Stockholmu, objavljeni pod naslovom *The Netherlandish Mannerism*, posebno Carl Nordenfalk, *The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600*, Nationalmuseum Stockholm 1985, str. 135-154; Bob Haak, *Das Goldene Zeitalter der holländischen Malerei, chapter on Realismus and Symbolismus, Cologne 1984*. On Ferdinand Bol's Falconer: *Sumowski, Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler I, Landau/Pfalz 1983*, under no. 137, p. 376.
40. Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen-Age en France*, poglavlje *La Vie humaine, le vice et la vertu*, Pariz 1949, revised edition, Pariz 1969, pp. 295-346. As an example of the continued use of emblematic devices into the 16th century E. Mâle quotes A. Dürer's Four Apostles as symbols of the four temperaments. Titian's painting Man with a Falcon (*Jocelyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska*) is also a good example. See also note 39.
41. It was prized as a sublime art among the Arabs and Mongols, in China and in Japan. In Persia and India falcons feature in miniatures and are referred to in poetry. The Crusades were important for the spread of falconry in Europe. For the historical, cultural, mythological and social aspects of falconry cf.: Eryk Pepinski, *Falkenjägeri, in Atlantis*, no. 7, 1931, pp. 402-412; Heinz Peters, *Falke, Falkenjagd, Falkner, Falkenbuch, RDA VI, 1973, 1251-1366*; Ernstotto Graf zu Solms-Laubach, *Die schönsten Jagdbilder aus europäischen Sammlungen, Bayreuth 1976*, pp. 15-19 et passim.
42. On the symbolism of Jupiter: Otto Seemann, *Mythologia Græca i Rimljana*, Zagreb 1890; Thomas Bulfinch, *Myths of Greece and Rome*, Penguin Inc. 1979; *New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology*, New York 1989.
43. Fritz Martini, *Deutsche Literaturgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Stuttgart 1968, str. 60. i 63-64. Falkenlied u novonjemačkoj transkripciji: *Ich zog mir einen Falken / mehr als ein Jahr lang. / Als ich ihn zähmte / wie ich ihn haben wollte / Und ich ihm sein Gefieder / mit Gold schön umwand / Da hob er sich zur Höhe / und flog in andere Land! / Seit her sah ich den Falken / schön fliegen: Er führte an seinem Fusse / seidene Riemen. / Und war ihm sein Gefieder / ganz rot von Gold. / Gott lasse sie zusammenkommen / die liebend beieinander wollen sein.*

of course be asked, whether the London and Chicago paintings were both the work of the same pupil or collaborator of Rubens. Only a careful scrutiny of both originals would give an answer to this question.

38. For example: two paintings by Joan van Noort (ca. 1620 - after 1676) in the Wallace Collection, London; a picture by Aelbert Cuypp (1620-1691) in the Backer Collection, Amsterdam; the falconer featured in the Family Portrait by the German painter Daniel Schulz (1615-1683), who worked under the influence of Snyders and the Flemish school, Eremitage, Leningrad. We may also encounter the falcon motif in 19th century painting: Christoffel Bischof (1828-1904), *The Falconer, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam*.

39. Papers given at a symposium on Mannerism in the Netherlands held in Stockholm in 1984 and published under the title *The Netherlandish Mannerism, especially Carl Nordenfalk, The Five Senses in Flemish Art before 1600, Nationalmuseum Stockholm 1985*, pp. 135-154; Bob Haak, *Das goldene Zeitalter der holländischen Malerei, chapter on Realismus and Symbolismus, Cologne 1984*. On Ferdinand Bol's Falconer: *Sumowski, Gemälde der Rembrandt-Schüler I, Landau/Pfalz 1983*, under no. 137, p. 376.

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The note on Kärenbergs' poem I owe to the catalogue of the exhibition, *Liveller than Life, the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master, ca. 1470-1500, where it occurs in a note on a drawing, Standing lovers seen from behind, Amsterdam 1988*, under no. 122, p. 252. The notes on the following prints are also relevant to the theme of the falconer: The Falconer and his Attendant (no. 70); Departure for the Hunt (no. 72). Articles in the catalogue (by K. G. Boon, J. P. Filedt Kok, M. D. Hays, J. Campbell Hutchinson, M. J. H. Madon, P. F. Mosey, P. Monart) provide not only a summary of what is known about the

Master, but also give a broad account of the age, its chivalry and the courtly style of the late Middle Ages, when the falconer frequently crops up as an iconographic motif.

43. The Merovingian rulers issued special decrees conferring the right to breed falcons; the ritual of dubbing a young man knight involved him being given his spurs, lance and a falcon by the king; the prevalence of falconry may be deduced from numerous place-names in Europe: Eryk Pepinski, op. cit. (cf. note 41).
44. E. G. zu Solms-Laubach, op. cit., pp. 15–16 (cf. note 41).
45. Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Den Haag 1926, vol. VII, p. 67.
46. There are numerous examples of falconers being included in a throng of bystanders at a signal event, and it would be superfluous to list such scenes here. We might just mention that falconers may be found in works by S. Martini, B. Daddi, Lorenzetti, Gentile, F. Traini, Pisanello, Mariotto di Nardo, Sassetta, Carpaccio, J. Bellini, as well as in numerous anonymous works. Cf. also: Raimond Van Marle, op. cit., Vol. II–XVIII; K. Christiansen, L. B. Canter, C. Brandon Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena, 1420–1500*, Catalogue of the exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, 1989.
48. Rudolf Pfeiderer, *Die Attribute der Heiligen*, Ulm 1989 (reprint of 1898 edition); Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1943.
49. Jacob Burchardt, *Kultura renesanse u Italiji*, Zagreb 1953, pp. 215–218; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Klasična umjetnost*, Zagreb 1969, pp. 124–125.
50. See note 39.
51. For a detailed account of all the honours and distinctions conferred on Rubens cf. Rubens et ses descendants, p. 105 (cf. note 13).
52. H. Vlieghe, op. cit., p. 23.
53. G. Glück, op. cit., p. 1 (cf. note 34).

Pjesma je bila naročito omiljena u 16. st. u obliku narodne pjesme i vjerojatno znatno utjecala na ikonografsku obnovu motiva sokolara. Podatak o Kürenbergerovoj pjesmi preuzeo sam iz kataloga izložbe *Livelier than Life, the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master ca. 1470–1500*, u komentaru crteža *Stojeći ljubavnici viđeni straga*, Amsterdam 1985, pod br. 122, str. 252. Za eksplikaciju teme sokolara relevantni su i komentari grafičkih listova *Sokolar i njegov pratilac* (br. 70), *Polazak u lov* (br. 72). U tekstovima kataloga (autori K. G. Boon, J. P. Filedt Kok, M. D. Hagan, J. Campbell Hutchinson, M. J. H. Madou, P. F. Moxey, P. Moraw) ponuđen je ne samo sažetak znanja o Majstoru amsterdamskog kabineta već i polivalentna slika vremena, viteštva i dvorskog stila kasnog srednjeg vijeka, kad se često javlja sokolar kao ikonografski motiv.

44. Merovinski vladari posebnim uredbama dodjeljuju prava na uzgoj sokolova; ritual pretvaranja mladića u viteza predviđao je da kandidat od kralja primi mamuze, koplje i sokola; rasprostranjenost sokolarstva može se prepoznati iz brojnih evropskih toponima: Eryk Pepinski, *nav. dj.*, (vidjeti bilj. 41).
45. E. G. zu Solms-Laubach, *nav. dj.*, str. 15–16. (vidjeti bilj. 41).
46. Raimond Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, Haag 1926, Vol. VII, str. 67.
47. Brojni su primjeri uvođenja sokolara u mnoštvo koje asistira osnovnom događaju i iscrpno nabranje takvih prizora ovdje je izlišno. Spomenimo samo da sokolara nalazimo u djelima S. Martinija, B. Daddija, Lorenzettija, Gentilea, F. Trainija, Pisanella, Mariotta di Nardo, Sassetta, Carpaccia, J. Bellinija kao i na mnogim djelima anonimnih autora. Vidjeti također: Raimond Van Marle, *nav. dj.*, vol. II – XVIII; K. Christiansen, L. B. Canter, C. Brandon Strehlke, *Painting in Renaissance Siena 1420–1500*, katalog izložbe u Metropolitan Museum u New Yorku, održane 1989. god.
48. Rudolf Pfeiderer, *Die Attribute der Heiligen*, Ulm 1989 (reprint izdanja iz 1898); Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der Deutschen Kunst*, Stuttgart 1943.
49. Jacob Burchardt, *Kultura renesanse u Italiji*, Zagreb 1953, str. 215–218; Heinrich Wölfflin, *Klasična umjetnost*, Zagreb 1969, str. 124–125.
50. Vidjeti bilj. 39.
51. Za detaljni prikaz svih odlikovanja i počasti koje je Rubens primio: *Rubens et ses descendants*, str. 105. (vidjeti bilj. 13).
52. H. Vlieghe, *nav. dj.*, str. 23.
53. G. Glück, *nav. dj.*, str. 1 (vidjeti bilj. 34)

Izdavač / *Publisher*
Muzejsko-galerijski centar,
Zagreb
Za izdavača / *For the publisher*
Ante Sorić
Direktor
Muzejsko-galerijskog centra
Recenzenti / *Readers*
Prof. Dr. Wiltrud
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Nedjeljko Čaće
Design / *Design*
Ranko Novak, Studio Znak
Tisak / *Printed by*
Offset »Naša djeca«, Zagreb
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Printed in Yugoslavia

