

The Rubenianum Quarterly

2022
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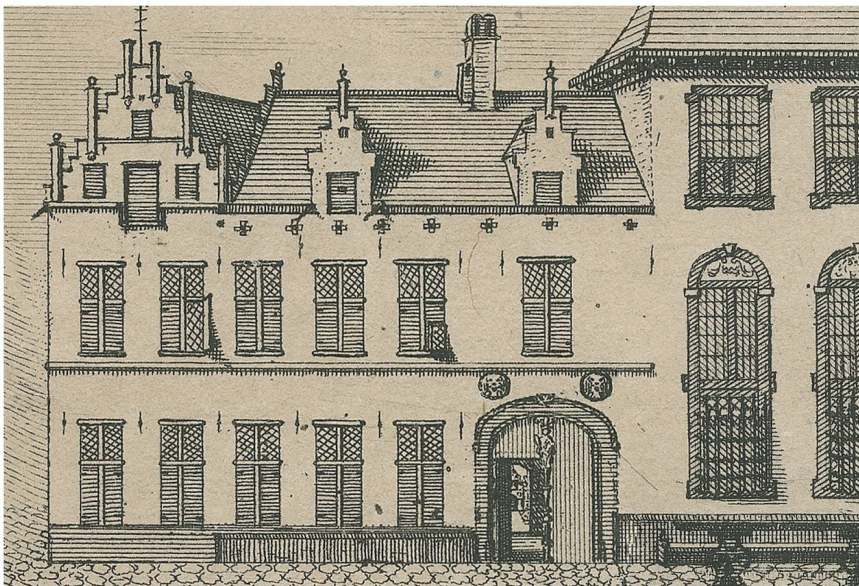
'Siet toch wel toe, als ghij vertrecken sult, dat alles wel opgesloten sij'

'Take good care, when you leave, that everything is well locked up.' With these words, written on 17 August 1638, Rubens asked his friend and pupil Lucas Faydherbe to shut up his palatial home on the Wapper before joining him on his country estate, Het Steen, near Mechelen. The closure of the Antwerp house must have been of short duration, as Rubens tended to spend only the summer months in the country. On the eve of 8 January 2023, museum staff will once again lock the wooden gate to the artist's residence, only to open it again on 28 June 2027, Rubens's 450th birthday.

In the four and a half years running up to that day, the entire collection will be removed from the building. Much of it will be lent out or restored; some of it will be put in storage, only to return in the spring of 2027. But rest assured, the team will not be retreating to Het Steen after the closure! While the museum receives some thousand visitors a day, a much smaller group of engineers, contractors and conservation architects will now replace them. Although we very much look forward to making the house more accessible and sustainable and to opening more of it to the public, we are acutely aware that the absence of visitors will rob the museum of its lively atmosphere.

However firmly the wooden gate on the Wapper will remain shut to visitors, we fully intend to keep you informed of our activities on and off site through *The Rubenianum Quarterly*. As in the detail (see below) from Jacobus Harrewijn's famous print of the façade of Rubens's house showing a small open door in one of the wings of the gate, we will offer a perspective on the whereabouts of our collections, on the introduction of a lift and of climate control, and inform you about the progress of the interior restoration and the preparations for the reopening.

Of course, we hope to receive as many visitors as possible in the coming months before closing up. The museum team and I are more than ever keen to welcome you, in the bittersweet knowledge that we'll have to miss our dear guests for a considerable stretch of time. I heartily invite you to visit the museum before 9 January 2023. And take good care, when you leave, that everything is well locked up. | Bert Watteeuw



Jacobus Harrewijn. Façade of the Rubens House (detail). Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp.

Dear Friends of the Rubenianum,

A bronze likeness of Rubens on Groenplaats makes it clear that the artist occupies a central place in Antwerp's cultural identity. Inventiveness, entrepreneurship, ambition and a collaborative nature make him into a lodestar for the city and a source of great pride for its notoriously boastful inhabitants.

Such public veneration of a major artist is, of course, not unique to Antwerp. What sets the city apart is a sustained effort to support not just tourism or exhibitions or the conservation and display of Rubens's work in Antwerp's many museums and churches, but also fundamental scholarly research into the artist's life and work.

In 1962 the City of Antwerp acquired the documentation of the esteemed Rubens scholar Ludwig Burchard. This treasure trove of information was to become the raw material for the *Corpus Rubenianum* Ludwig Burchard, the single largest publication ever devoted to a single artist. While the City of Antwerp has supported the project from the very beginning, shifts in funding for research and mounting publication costs made it impossible for the municipal administration to fund the project in a way that could guarantee a steady pace of publication.

By 2010 the situation had become dire. It is through the launch of the Rubenianum Fund that, from that year on, 3.2 million euros could be raised. In 2022, a full sixty years after the City of Antwerp acquired Burchard's documentation, the project is finally nearing completion, with a further 0.7 million euros needed to reach the finish line. In gratitude to the generosity of the initiators and many contributors to the Rubenianum Fund, I have decided to renew a previously awarded €150,000 grant from the City of Antwerp.

With this gesture from the citizens of Antwerp, we pay homage to generations of scholars who have devoted their careers to Rubens. Their fundamental work in many ways forms the pedestal on which Rubens's bronze likeness on Groenplaats rests.

Nabilla Ait Daoud
Vice-Mayor for Culture, City of Antwerp

Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, Part XXII.2

Rubens's House by Nora De Poorter and Frans Baudouin

The house that Rubens built on the Wapper in Antwerp a few years after his return from Italy, and where he lived till the end of his life, was essentially lost in the course of the substantial alterations carried out over the years, especially after 1763. Only two original parts survive: the portico, an impressive witness of the former magnificence of the house, and the garden pavilion.

When the house came to be reconstructed in 1938–46 as the Rubens House Museum, a great many unresolved questions had to be tackled, though eventually the difficult project was concluded successfully, even if the result in many ways departs from what is historically correct.

The book is the result of a quest to establish as much as can be learned about the original appearance of this unique building, and about the uses and functions of its various rooms. It gathers together and analyses the architectural elements that have been preserved, the relevant archaeological information, and all written and visual sources.

Contrary to what one might expect, the book deals only partially with architecture and sculpture. A chapter and a large part of the catalogue have as their subject the frieze running around the studio wing, grisaille wall paintings representing *trompe l'œil* 'antique' reliefs.

Other topics are: the history of Rubens's plot on the Wapper, the visitors and later inhabitants of the house, and, last but not least, the layout and organization of the studio (or rather studios) in the south wing.

The house, which included the family's living quarters and the famous studio, was undoubtedly built or adapted to the master's own ideas. So it must be considered part of Rubens's oeuvre and cannot be omitted from the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*. Indeed, there can be no doubt that Rubens made designs for architectural components and decorative elements of his house, yet almost nothing of this material survives,

not even in copied form. At present we know of only two drawings for scenes that decorated the studio façades (Nos. 10a and 13a of the Catalogue; see Fig. 1) and indistinct architectural studies in black chalk that can be found on the verso of two of Rubens's drawings (Nos. 7a and 13b).

Like many other volumes of the *Corpus*, the present volume has a history going back decades. Perhaps it even has the longest history of all: already in the 1960s Frans Baudouin, then director of the *Corpus* project (together with Roger-A. d'Hulst), decided to take on the wide-ranging Part XXII that deals with Rubens's involvement in architecture and sculpture. Frans Baudouin was certainly the right person for the task. Not only did the subject fit in with his interests and studies in the fields of architecture and sculpture, but he was also – for thirty-one years (1950–81) – the director of the Rubens House, the restored and reconstructed house of the master.

It had never been planned that I would be the co-author of the present book, but fate decided otherwise. When Frans Baudouin died unexpectedly on 1 January 2005, the unfinished manuscript and his notes remained in his room at the Rubenianum – the room to which he came almost daily to work on his *Corpus* volume after his retirement.

As Director of the Rubenianum and member of the Editorial Board of the *Corpus* I thereupon took charge – as an editor – of the unfinished material: six extensive essays, each with the character of an advanced 'first draft' rather than a fully finished text. Above all, and crucially, there was no indication of a catalogue.

Accordingly, I have supplemented the text as bequeathed by Frans Baudouin with a catalogue that corresponds as far as possible to the usual format of the *Corpus*. I have also modified the texts of the chapters, restructuring them fundamentally and

making extensive additions. Nevertheless, a considerable part of the text is still based on the wealth of data collected by Baudouin, on his observations and on his knowledge of architectural history.

One of the circumstances that necessitated a thorough revision of the chapters was the fact that a great deal of new information on the house that has come to light since 2005 had to be added to and integrated into the existing texts. It also meant that many passages had to be rewritten when quite a number of hypotheses or conclusions about the house or its decoration proved no longer tenable. The subject-matter was reorganized in such a way that the original six chapters were expanded to eleven. In short, my involvement in the text shifted from editor to editor and author.

Three examples of these addenda may suffice. As regards the visual sources, the image of the garden pavilion in the anonymous *Portrait of a Couple in a Garden* in Berlin (Fig. 2) had not yet been considered, and the important *View of the Courtyard of Rubens's House* in Aylesbury was only brought to our attention in 2009. Also, the very rare surviving archival sources could be supplemented with the discovery of a statement by Rubens himself concerning the boarding of the roof of his house in 1615.

In terms of publications on the house, important new material had also to be added. In the course of the last decades, the literature has been supplemented considerably, not least by the exhibition catalogue *Palazzo Rubens: The Master as Architect* (Rubens House, 2011), which focused on the Italian sources for the house, and the symbolism that can (perhaps) be detected in the architectural and decorative elements. Moreover, in recent decades, there has been a renewed interest in the history of the house and its restoration, which resulted in extensive articles and reports. Finally, following the restoration of the portico and the garden pavilion (completed in 2019), the archaeological and material-technical aspects of these important survivals from the building were studied thoroughly.

However, many questions about the lost parts of the house have to remain unanswered. This frustrating situation reminds me of Rubens's words when he wrote about the lost masterpieces of the famous Greek painters: 'They present themselves to us in imagination alone; ... they are "thrice grasped at in vain" (as Eurydice's shade by Orpheus) and often escape to disappoint us in our hope.' | Nora De Poorter

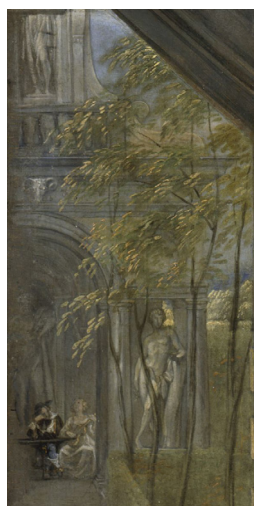


Fig. 1 Rubens. *The Calumny of Apelles*, drawing. The Courtauld Gallery, The Princes Gate Collection, London.

Fig. 2 Anonymous seventeenth-century artist. *Portrait of a Couple in a Garden* (detail). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie.

Lise, Monique, Michiel and Liene

The new staff members of the Rubens House and Rubenianum introduce themselves

Lise Van Camp

Since July 2021 I have been Business Manager at the Rubens House and Rubenianum. My background includes a variety of jobs in the cultural sector. I began my career in the Arca Theater as an all-round staffer involved in administration, press and sponsorship, before becoming a management assistant at the Ghent municipal theater, NTGent. In the 2000s I returned to my native city of Antwerp, where during the past decade I pursued a master's degree in philosophy, while also working in the central administration of Antwerp's museums. Utterly fascinating, though I felt a certain distance from the actual museum galleries where it all happens. In the Rubens House I have now found, quite literally, a direct connection to the shop floor – a feeling of being *at home* in my job.

In my job, I facilitate and create the conditions that allow my colleagues to do their jobs in working with the collections and patrimony of the Rubens House and Rubenianum. My work is primarily administrative, focused on processes and protocols, but with enthusiastic attention to nourishing our collective work atmosphere, whether in internal communications with colleagues (such as staff newsletters) or in fostering connections and mutual appreciation among co-workers.

We are an organization in transition, and staff members experience these changes in their own particular ways. The transition is concrete for those determining the new directions and concrete in the form of the new building we see rising up. Yet this transition can also be vague for those colleagues who less frequently gather around the drawing board. To successfully realize the ambitions of the Rubens House and Rubenianum, a safe, open atmosphere is essential. Alongside acquisitions, contracts, subsidies and additional financing, I am therefore also – and happily – occupied with raising awareness about diversity and inclusion, and drawing attention to such themes as empowerment and sustainability. I respect the professionalism and enthusiasm with which this team is envisioning the future of the Rubens House and Rubenianum and am proud to be able to provide support in this process.



Lise Van Camp, Monique Kontzen, Michiel Schul and Liene Conard

In rereading these paragraphs, I note my heavily forward-looking tone and my focus on the future of these institutions. After this first year of working at the Rubens House and Rubenianum, I can also begin to cast a backward glance. The team has expanded with new colleagues, construction on the new building has begun, and the plans for the closing of the museum in January 2023 are now ready – what remarkable changes in a matter of mere months. This house is inspired by the dynamism and zest for life that Rubens himself embodied!

Monique Kontzen

In February 2022 I began my job as Conservation and Collection Management Associate for the museum, archival and documentation collections of the Rubens House and Rubenianum. Given my background – I have a master's degree in painting conservation and restoration – I certainly feel that I have landed in the right place. After my studies, I worked for ten years as an independent restorer of

Old Master paintings and as a restorer of contemporary art at the SMAK in Ghent. Thereafter, I worked for seven years at Hoboken's Cultural Center and for six years as a production associate for temporary exhibitions at Antwerp's Red Star Line Museum, where I also took on various tasks related to conservation and collection management.

With the forthcoming move, the preparations for the restoration of the historic house, and the construction of the new building, there are a number of interesting challenges to confront. As a team, it is in our hands to ensure that the collections are preserved in the best climatic circumstances possible, that they are presented and interpreted for the public, and that the installation and visitor trajectory are reconceptualized to provide viewers with a new experience. I always approach these issues from the perspective of conservation, aiming to secure the safest presentation of the objects. That often entails reaching a compromise between colleagues in conservation and collection management and those in public programmes.

At the Rubens House, I am responsible for monitoring the gallery temperature and the security and condition of the museum collections. I advise on the handling, transportation and presentation of objects, and I sometimes serve as a courier when collection objects are loaned to other institutions. In addition, I supervise our integrated pest management and remain constantly occupied with the safety of the collections, to that end collaborating with the museum's guards and cleaning staff.

To support the collection's imminent move, I oversee the conducting of condition reports by internal and external restorers; in particular, their recommendations about packing and transport to an external storage facility are extremely useful. The restorers always check to see if the objects have specific conservation or restoration needs in advance of their position in the new installation, and in what way they can be safely presented. Finally, I monitor the restoration of works in the collection. This year, for example, there are several restoration projects under way, including those of the herms (wooden sculptures that will eventually be integrated into the renovated garden), Philip Rubens's epitaph (which will be visible in the Rubens House's new installation), Otto van Veen's drawing *The Lamentation* and Christian Wilhelm Dietrich's painting *Albert and Nicholas*.

To support the activities of colleagues in public programmes, I draw up guidelines to follow for special events and make relevant recordings so as to ensure the safety of the collection. With the new building and the restored Rubens House in sight, the drafting of a revised conservation and collection management plan and emergency plan is also on the agenda.

For the Rubenianum, I am also responsible for the archival, documentation and library collections: overseeing the cleaning and repacking of paper materials, detecting mould and conducting mould tests, and following up on the restoration of rare books and indeed any books requiring special care. Together with colleagues, I am currently preparing to move the Rubenianum's collections into the new building.

Michiel Schul

In my job as Site Manager of the Rubens House and Rubenianum – which began in June 2022 – I monitor the daily functioning of these institutions and think every day about calamities, safety and

technical interventions. I keep tabs on the construction of the new building and the renovation of both the garden and the house. To that end, I bring together everyone who plays a role in the planning and execution of these projects so that we can provide the architects and contractors with a clear, unified vision on how to proceed.

From my post, I aspire to bring every Antwerp resident, tourist and chance passer-by into the Rubens House for a unique experience. Everyone should feel welcome and safe during visits and special events. To do this, we strive to combine state-of-the-art technical infrastructure with a carefully preserved historic house. Together, we aim to make this a unique place that can provide a model on an international level.

As Site Manager, I bring to bear my experiences of the past decade working for the City of Antwerp. In 2011 I joined the MAS, Museum aan de Stroom, where I began as a security guard. After many evening openings, special events and temporary exhibitions, organized by the museum's energetic public activities team, I moved in 2013 to the city's technical department. There, I began as a team leader, working subsequently as a work leader, supervising the projects of the plumbers, carpenters, metalworkers and masons who execute the work necessary to maintain and protect the city's cultural heritage. I picked up a great deal of technical expertise along the way. Following the destructive 'Pentecost Storm' of 2014, I came in contact with the Rubens House for the first time. I was involved in reattaching the pieces of the slate roof that had blown off in the storm and in cleaning the flooded gutters.

In 2016 I transferred to the municipal youth department, where I served as a policy adviser also responsible for patrimony. I oversaw the building of a youth centre in Zandvliet, renovated a daycare centre in the centre of Antwerp, and helped establish a youth centre in Kiel. In my role developing policy, I worked out a plan to guide young people in their free time towards education and employment – the 'ComPas' (Competence Passport). This programme enables young people to hone particular skills recognized by the VDAB (the public employment service of Flanders) via avenues outside of traditional education. Such skills can be learned not only in schools but also during one's free time and in a range of contexts and locations, such as in the

Rubens House. Still, I felt compelled to return to museums even more directly in 2022. Working at the Rubens House feels like the logical culmination of my professional trajectory thus far, though, of course, it is also the beginning of a new one.

Liene Conard

At twenty-one years old and fresh out of my third-year internship in Art/Culture (part of my bachelor's degree in Social Work at Karel de Grote-Hogeschool), I started work in public programmes at the MAS, Museum aan de Stroom, in 2010. I coordinated the first youth exhibition in the vitrines of the pedestrian boulevard for the opening of the MAS, and I helped bring to life the youth organization MAS in Jonge Handen (MAS in Young Hands).

After eight years of events, activities and smaller interventions in the museum, MAS in Jonge Handen opened its own exhibition on 26 October 2018, *Instinct*, a project in which the young members of this group took the reins from start to finish. The exhibition was nominated for the international Museums + Heritage Award. Alongside public programmes and youth participation, I also had the opportunity to curate exhibitions, including the semi-permanent exhibitions *Feest!* (Party!) and *Luister* (Listen) at the MAS.

After more than eleven years, it was time to try something new. The Rubens House had long been on my radar. I always said that I would love to work here someday. I was fascinated by its iconic aura and its thousands of visitors – a unique spot in Antwerp that seemed to me to have exceptional potential for growth: the potential to develop into something even larger than life than it has been in the past.

As Coordinator of Public Programmes, I hope to be able to surprise the viewer and showcase the great potential of the museum and the entire site. This coming autumn, we hope to go all out with extensive programming to see the Rubens House off in an appropriate fashion. After this, exciting challenges await, and we aim to make the new building, the experience centre, the garden and the renovated house an accessible place where everyone feels at home. I can't wait! To embark on creating new viewer experiences while at once reconciling innovative ideas with a historical context – it thrills me just thinking about it.

*With thanks to Abigail Newman
for the translation*

The Bagpipe Player in Rubens's Garden Grotto: A New Acquisition for the Rubens House by Abigail Newman

A charming and intriguing new acquisition for the Rubens House – a bronze *Bagpipe Player*, designed by Giambologna and probably cast by Gianfrancesco Susini in the early seventeenth century (Fig. 1) – enables us to more vividly imagine Peter Paul Rubens's grand scheme in designing and decorating his home, studio and garden. In reconstructing Rubens's house, various materials have served as guides – everything from the 1640 inventory of his collection at the time of his death to his prolific oeuvre. Two fascinating prints, engraved by Jacobus Harrewijn after drawings by Jacob van Croes, have been essential to the reconstruction of the exterior of Rubens's home. Although dating to 1684 (Fig. 2) and 1692, decades after Rubens's death in 1640, these prints nevertheless represent the temporally closest, most detailed visualizations we have of the seventeenth-century state of the house.

Most relevant for the *Bagpipe Player* is Harrewijn's 1684 engraving, in which we see in the back right-hand corner of the courtyard – nestled between the portico and the studio – a grotto with a fountain. The fountain sculpture is a seated peasant, wearing a broad-brimmed hat and boots, playing the bagpipes. Two of his instrument's pipes point upward, and out of one of them spurts a long, straight gale of water stretching up to the height of the portico's broken pediment to the left. Beside this seated peasant stands a delicate deer, reinforcing the pastoral theme.

The figure of the bagpiper on this fountain, as has already been recognized, appears extremely close to a sculpture by Giambologna, the renowned Flemish sculptor who spent most of his career at the Medici court in Florence.¹ While the Rubens House's *Bagpipe Player* and the numerous other surviving casts of this sculpture differ in slight details from one another, they all bear a close resemblance to the fountain figure in Harrewijn's print: from the hat, wavy hair, clothing and posture of the peasant to the positioning of his arms around the bagpipe.² In one version – the only known gilt bronze example (Bargello, Florence) – there is even a large pipe pointing upward, as in the engraving. The known versions are small – about 10 cm each – while the fountain sculpture represented in Harrewijn's engraving appears to be much larger.

The earliest certain mention of Giambologna's *Bagpipe Player* appears in a 1611 list of fifteen small bronzes, which were sent the following year as a gift from the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo II de' Medici, to Prince Henry of Wales. The Grand Duke thereby hoped to entice the young English prince into marriage with Cosimo's sister – a futile plan, as it happened, since Henry would die in 1612. Among the bronzes, designed by the Grand Duke's sculptor, Giambologna, was a figure of a bagpiper, described as 'uno Pastore che suona la Piva' (a Shepherd who is playing the Bagpipe).³



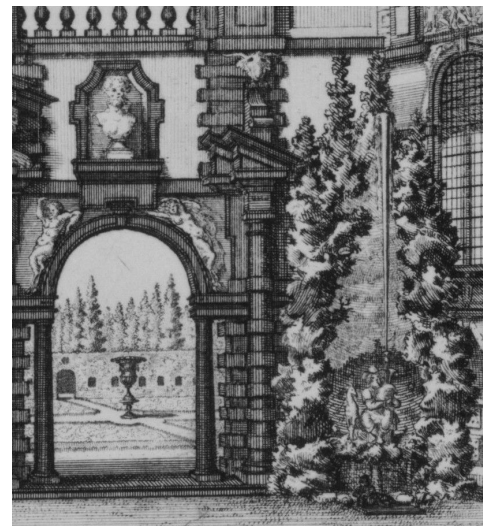
Fig. 1 Attributed to Gianfrancesco Susini after a model by Giambologna. *Bagpipe Player*, early 17th century. Bronze, dark brown patina, on an ebonized wooden base, H (overall) 16.5 cm, (bronze) 10 cm. Rubenshuis, Antwerp, acquired by the *Vrienden van het Rubenshuis*.

It was not uncommon for Giambologna to design a model which, in its subsequent bronze iterations, would have additional functions, as an inkpot or nightlight, for example, not to mention as a fountain. Especially late in Giambologna's career and in the years after his death, his close associates cast replicas in different sizes and materials, with fidelity to Giambologna's 'brand' prioritized over individualized approaches.⁴ Consequently, the authorship of such versions often remains uncertain. Likely candidates for authorship of the Rubens House's *Bagpipe Player* include Antonio Susini and his nephew, Gianfrancesco: the former worked closely with Giambologna in the master's shop from about 1580, setting up his own independent workshop in about 1600 and continuing production of replicas long after Giambologna's death in 1608. Gianfrancesco, in turn, did the same for his uncle, continuing to produce sculptures based on Giambologna's designs until his own death in 1653.

Small bronze sculptures by and after Giambologna found tremendous popularity across Europe, both during and after the master's lifetime. Seventeenth-century Antwerp collection inventories and *kunstkamer* paintings attest to this popularity: the Rubens House's renowned *Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* (1628) by Willem van Haecht contains a table in the foreground with five small bronzes by Giambologna, and collection inventories contain traces of works probably quite close to the Rubens House *Bagpipe Player*.⁵

That the fountain depicted on the Harrewijn print accurately reflects a fountain that once

Fig. 2 Jacobus Harrewijn after Jacob van Croes. View of Rubens's house in Antwerp (detail), 1584, engraving, 28.7 × 35.7 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



stood in the courtyard is suggested not only by the high degree of accuracy these prints have generally been shown to represent, with many aspects confirmed in other sources, but also by the presence of this same fountain in an engraving (1840) of the Rubens House courtyard by Erin Corr after a design by Nicaise de Keyser.⁶

- 1 Rutger Tijs, 'De herdersgrot met fontein in de patio van het oorspronkelijke huis van Rubens te Antwerpen', *BRABOM: Berichten en rapporten over het Antwerps bodemonderzoek en monumentenzorg* 5 (2002): 115–38.
- 2 For casts of this sculpture, see Katharine Watson and Charles Avery, 'Medici and Stuart: A Grand Ducal Gift of "Giovanni Bologna" Bronzes for Henry Prince of Wales (1612)', *The Burlington Magazine* 115, 845 (1973): 493–507, esp. 496, fig. 14, 502–3, 505–6; Charles Avery and Anthony Radcliffe, *Giambologna, 1529–1608: Sculptor to the Medici* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 160, 164, nos. 135–36; James D. Draper, Johanna Hecht, and Olga Raggio, eds., *Die Bronzen der fürstlichen Sammlung Liechtenstein* (Frankfurt: Liebieghaus, 1986), 183, no. 22; Filippo Carinci, Herbert Keutner and Eduard A. Safarik, *Catalogo della Galleria Colonna in Roma: Sculture* (Busto Arsizio: Bramante, 1990), 299–300, no. xiv; Nicholas Penny, *Catalogue of European Sculpture in the Ashmolean Museum: 1540 to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 56–57, no. 44; Victoria Avery and Jo Dillon, *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (London: Daniel Katz/Gli Ori, 2002), 307, no. 4; Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi and Dimitrios Zikos, eds., *Giambologna: Gli dei, gli eroi* (Florence: Giunti, 2006), 240, no. 43.
- 3 Watson/Avery 1973, 494, 505–6, Appendix VIII, in a bill of lading of March 1611.
- 4 Watson 1978, 36, 40; Anthony Radcliffe and Nicholas Penny, *Art of the Renaissance Bronze, 1500–1650* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2004), 69, 155.
- 5 Watson/Avery 1973, 494, 502; Avery/Radcliffe 1978, 164; Tijs 2002, 136; Radcliffe/Penny 2004, 178; Ben van Beneden, 'Willem van Haecht: An Erudite and Talented Copyist', in *Room for Art in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp*, Ariane van Suchtelen and Ben van Beneden, eds. (Zwolle: Waanders, 2009), 56–92, esp. 68, 90 n. 57, 128–29; Patricia Wengraf, ed., *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Hill Collection* (London: Paul Holberton, 2014, 132); Manfred Leithe-Jasper, 'Bronze Statuettes by Giambologna in the Imperial and Other Early Collections', in Avery/Radcliffe 1978, 50–60, esp. 59.
- 6 Tijs 2002, 115, 117, fig. 3.

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