

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b>	9
<b>2. Innovation and Art: Antwerp as a Centre of Production and Sale</b>	17
2.1. An Evolving Art Market	17
2.2. Changes in Painting Processes and Workshop Organisation	21
2.3. Catalysts for Changes in Subject Matter	24
<b>3. Individual Style and Workshop Production</b>	27
3.1. The Value of Authorship in Rubens's Time	27
3.2. Single-Handed Execution: Valued or Disregarded?	29
<b>4. Rubens's Studio</b>	37
4.1. The Return to Antwerp – Setting up a Business	37
4.2. A Multi-Person Business? Selected Literary Sources on Rubens's Studio Practices	40
4.3. The Preparatory Process in Rubens's Studio	44
4.3.1. Drawings	45
4.3.1.1. Ricordi	49
4.3.1.2. Drawings from Life	51
4.3.1.3. Compositional Aides	56
4.3.2. Oil Sketches	58
4.3.3. Supports and Underdrawings	63
<b>5. Determining Single-Handedness in Rubens's Œuvre</b>	69
5.1. Connoisseurship	69
5.2. Rubens's Elusive Core Œuvre	75
<b>6. Case Study: Madonna Enthroned with Child and Saints</b>	79
6.1. The Commission	81
6.2. Two Preparatory Drawings	86
6.2.1. The Stockholm Drawing	87
6.2.2. The Drawing in the Metropolitan Museum	100

6.3.	The Oil Sketch in the Städel Museum and its Twins .....	103
6.3.1.	The Frankfurt Sketch's Intended Purpose .....	109
6.3.2.	The Oil Sketch in the Salzburg Museum and Other Similar Versions .....	113
6.4.	Saint Sebastian and Saint George .....	117
6.5.	The modello in Berlin .....	121
6.5.1.	Copies After the Oil Sketch in the Gemäldegalerie Berlin: A Painting in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the Lost Copy from the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, and a Painting Attributed to Willem Panneels .....	125
6.6.	“La Virgen Rodeada de Santos” – The Reduced Version in the Prado ...	132
6.6.1.	Numerous Copies after the Painting in the Prado .....	137
6.6.2.	A Hybrid Copy .....	141
6.7.	The Altarpiece for the Sint Augustinuskerk .....	143
6.8.	The Saints – Identities and Inspiration .....	146
6.8.1.	From Marble to Flesh – Rubens's Application of Mirror-Inverted Antique Models for the Figure of Saint Sebastian .....	146
6.8.2.	Figures Revisited – Adaptations of Rubens's Own Compositions .....	153
6.9.	Changed Details and Additional Meanings .....	159
6.10.	The Engravings by Hendrick Snyers and Remoldus Eynhoudt .....	165
6.11.	Adaptations of the Subject .....	166
<b>7.</b>	<b>Conclusion</b> .....	<b>169</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b> .....	<b>175</b>
	<b>Illustration Credits</b> .....	<b>199</b>