Jacob Jordaeens

A Rediscovered Cartoon for a Tapestry
JACOB JORDAENS, Odysseus and Nausicaa. Detail.
Jean-Luc Baroni

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Odysseus and Nausicaa

Jean-Luc Baroni Ltd.
7-8 Mason’s Yard,
Duke Street, St. James’s, London SW1Y 6BU
Tel: [44] (20) 7930-5347  Fax: [44] (20) 7839-8151
www.jlbaroni.com   e-mail: info@jlbaroni.com
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Jean-Luc Baroni

All enquiries should be addressed to Jean-Luc Baroni or Novella Baroni at Jean-Luc Baroni Ltd., 7-8 Mason’s Yard, Duke Street, St. James’s, London SW1Y 6BU Tel. [44] (20) 7930-5347, or Fax. [44] (20) 7839-8151 e-mail: info@jlbaroni.com  www.jlbaroni.com

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JACOB JORDAENS

Odyssenus and Nausicëa

A Rediscovered Cartoon for a Tapestry
Jacob Jordaens
1593–Antwerp–1678

Odysseus and Nausicaa

Watercolour and aqueous medium (probably tempera) over an underdrawing in black chalk on sixteen sheets of light brown paper laid down on canvas: 96.2 x 193.6 cm (37 7/8 x 76 1/4 in.).


In the fourteenth century, cities in the Southern Netherlands had begun to challenge the position of Paris as the chief centre for the production and marketing of tapestries, which were regarded by princes and great nobles as tangible symbols of their wealth and worldly power. Arras, then in Flanders, had, in fact, surpassed the French capital by the end of the century, and the supremacy of the region in this art was consolidated in the fifteenth century. For the next three hundred years, the finest tapestries in Europe were manufactured at Arras, Tournai and, especially, Brussels. The pre-eminence of the latter was established early in the sixteenth century when tapestries of Raphael’s Acts of the Apostles for the Sistine Chapel were woven there in Pieter Coecke van Aelst’s studio.

The artistic development of tapestry continued to evolve in Flanders during the first part of the seventeenth century, although the recently established royal manufactories in France were to provide the Brussels’s workshops with stiff competition. Sir Peter Paul Rubens lead the way with his dynamic and magnificent designs for tapestry, such as the Decius Mus (1617–18)
and the *Triumph of the Eucharist* (1625-27) series which emphasized the painterly direction the art was to take in the future. Jacob Jordaens was even more prolific in the field of tapestry design than Rubens, and obtained an equal renown. In fact, until Charles Lebrun executed his series of the *History of Alexander the Great* in 1665-73 for Louis XIV, Jordaens’s cartoons for tapestries of the same subject were the most famous of the Baroque period.

The son of a linen merchant whose family had lived in Antwerp for many generations, Jacob Jordaens was born in 1593 in the Hoogstraat. In 1607, he entered the studio of Adam van Noort, whose daughter he was later to marry. Both families were extremely prosperous; as a result of inherited wealth, Jordaens lived in great comfort, and was considered one of the richest and most respected citizens of Antwerp by his contemporaries.

Jordaens was enrolled in the Register of the St. Luke’s Guild in 1615 as a "waterpainter". Although it is not clear if some artists in this category painted large-scale cartoons for tapestry, they generally did not do so. Paintings in watercolour on canvas, and occasionally on paper, were used as a cheaper form of wall-covering instead of tapestries and Spanish gilded leather, and were usually produced by less talented artists who specialised in this genre. The most important centre for this type of painting was Malines. According to Van Mander (1604), by the mid-sixteenth century, there were over 150 studios of watercolour-painters in the city, and these continued to flourish into the seventeenth. However, encouraged by the authorities in Antwerp, many of these artisans moved to the port city during the troubles with Spain in the 1570s.

There was a brisk trade in these wares, which were exported from Antwerp to Spain, Portugal and Vienna. It would, therefore, be hardly surprising if Jordaens, trained as a watercolour painter, had not executed works of this type early in his career before he had established himself as one of Antwerp’s major painters in oils, especially as his father provided these artisans with their raw material and knew their market well. However, no works of this type by Jordaens are known. An anonymous early eighteenth-century writer whose notes were collected by François Mols in the album *Analecta Rubeniana II* stated: "The great tapestries of the court ["Triumph of the Eucharist" series] were afterwards copied in watercolour by Jordaens because the method of weaving from oil paintings was not yet known ... Jordaens worked in watercolour and otherwise for Rubens to such purpose that in one year his account with Rubens amounted to 8,000 guilders". Mols remarked dryly that it was a pity that these interesting anecdotes were "not better attested".

According to François Mols, a number of tapestry cartoons by Jordaens with the date 1620 were sold at Antwerp in 1774. This fact led many to believe that the artist had begun to make his own tapestry designs as early as the 1620s. As has been amply demonstrated by R.-A. d’Hulst and Kriati Nelson, this was not the case. The earliest documented tapestries by Jordaens are the *Proverbs* which were executed between 1644 and 1647 by the Brussels weavers Frans van Copheem, Jan Cordys, and Boudewyn van Beveren. However, it seems that Jordaens was active in the design of tapestries by the 1630s. For example, there is no documentation for the *History of Alexander* or the *Adventures of Odysseus*, but elements of style indicate that they were
likely to have been planned between 1630 and 1635\textsuperscript{14}, as were the Scenes from Country Life\textsuperscript{15}. Unlike Rubens who preferred to work out his first ideas for tapestry in oil on panel\textsuperscript{16}, Jordaens was more traditional in his approach, given his origins as a watercolour painter. He conceived tapestries by executing preparatory drawings, the earliest of which are those for the History of Alexander the Great and the Adventures of Odysseus. In style and technique, they compare with the innovative watercolour drawings of the late 1620s for the two large altarpieces – the Martyrdom of St. Apollonia of about 1628 and St. Martin of Tours, healing the Possessed Servant of Tetrodius of 1630 – which were Jordaens’s first major public commissions in Antwerp (Fig.1)\textsuperscript{17}. For these drawings, Jordaens frequently pasted several pieces of paper together to form a larger sheet\textsuperscript{18}. He then made a sketch in black chalk or pen and brown ink, the former being
the more frequently used. He strengthened the outlines of the figures and other details with a brush before applying watercolour in brilliant hues with highlights in bodycolour to indicate the tonality the tapestry was to assume. The next stage was the preparation of modelli in oil on a variety of supports, which elaborated and clarified details, as well as defining colour more accurately. It may also be that some of the canvases, like the *Odysseus threatening Circe*, that are thematically related to tapestries were created as independent works of art with an eye to the market. Finally, Jordaens prepared with probable studio assistance full-scale paper cartoons [patroon] to serve as the working patterns for the weavers. Like the preliminary drawings, they were executed in watercolour and bodycolour over an underdrawing in black chalk on large sheets of thick paper that were glued together. Four of these patroon and several fragments for tapestries of the 1640s and 1650s by Jordaens in his heavy, late style have survived, and give an excellent idea of the appearance and scale of these artefacts (Fig. 2).
Generally thought to have been inspired by knowledge of Primaticcio’s lost frescoes of the same subject at Fontainebleau21, the Adventures of Odysseus survive in two incomplete sets. Two exemplars of the first series are in a private collection, Mexico, while seven tapestries with different borders from a later weaving, commissioned by Duke Carlo Emanuele II of Savoy on occasion of his marriage to Maria Giovanna Battista of Savoy-Nemours in 1665, are divided between the Quirinal Palace, Rome, and the Royal Palace, Turin22. There is a total of six scenes in the two series: Mercury visiting Calypso [Rome]; Odysseus building a Raft before Leaving Calypso [Turin]; Circe transforming Odysseus’s Men into Swine [Mexico] (Fig.3); Odysseus threatening Circe [Rome]; Odysseus taking Leave of Alcinous [Rome (right half) and Turin (left half)]; and Telemaclus leading Theoclymenus to Penelope [Rome (left half) and Turin (entre-fenêtre)]. An additional tapestry of about 1650 with the Return of Odysseus to Penelope from an unrecorded series is in Fulda. Six preparatory drawings and four modelli for the extant tapestries are housed in public and private collections23; no
full-scale cartoons have survived. As well as providing sumptuous decoration for palace walls, the unfolding narrative of these tapestries often had an ethical significance for their owners; in the case of the Adventures of Odysseus, the victory of a wise and virtuous man over adverse circumstances. It could be, given the incomplete story line of the Odysseus cycle, that Jordaens designed other tapestries for it that have been lost or were never executed. This is suggested by the existence of a number of thematically related works in a variety of mediums, including oils on paper and canvas laid onto panel of Odysseus and Polyphemus in the Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence, Kansas, and the Pushkin Museum, Moscow respectively, a canvas of Odysseus taking leave of Circe in Ponce, a drawing of Calypso stocking Odysseus’s Raft with Provisions in the Antwerp Print Room, and the present large preparatory sketch.

This magnificent, many figured composition represents the meeting between Nausicaa and Odysseus after the latter had been cast ashore on the island of Phaeacia. Emerging naked from the trees where he had been sheltering, the hero startled the princess’s handmaidens who were playing on the shore while their laundry dried. Nausicaa alone stood firm, and, after listening to Odysseus’s tale, fed and clothed him. She also indicated the way to her father’s palace where Odysseus was fitted out with boats, men and supplies for his return to Ithaca. Odysseus’s farewell to King Alcinous and Queen Arete is the subject of one of the tapestries in the series.

This Odysseus and Nausicaa came to public attention for the first time at the sale of the Collection D ... at Drouot in Paris on 23-24 April 1909, when it was given in full to Jacob Jordaens and called a “Projet définitif pour le Triomphe de Nausicaa. Très intéressante et importante étude peinte à l’essence sur papier et marouflé sur toile”. It featured again in auction at Drouot on 14 December 1912, where it was identified in the same manner as three years earlier. The
picture then disappeared for most of the twentieth century until it reappeared in the Florence J. Gould sale at Sotheby Parke-Bernet, New York, on 25 April 1985, after which it transited briefly on the American art market.\(^3\)

Although the present *Odysseus and Nausicaa* featured continuously in the literature on Jordaens since the 1950s, scholars relied on the turn-of-the-century image and description from the Drouot catalogues in forming their opinions of the work. R.-A. d’Hulst (1956) published it for the first time as likely to be a *modello* for an unexecuted tapestry in the *Odysseus* cycle.\(^3\) Michael Jaffé (1968) followed d’Hulst’s lead by suggesting that the sketch could have been “a cartoon painted by Jordaens c. 1645, although the purpose of such an elaborate preparation on that scale in the medium is unclear”\(^3\). In 1974, d’Hulst classified it as a cartoon, which he did again in 1982. Kristi Nelson (1988) called it a “petit patron (?)” because of its relatively small size when compared to the full-scale cartoons used by the weavers.\(^3\)

Like the cartoons and the preparatory drawings, this sketch is made up of joined sheets of paper, although this was less apparent before restoration because the surface had been heavily varnished and over-paint in oil had been applied on more than one occasion to the joins and other areas, such as the sky, in order to make it look like a finished picture (Fig.4 & 4a). The removal of this layer has revealed that the present *Odysseus and Nausicaa* is more similar in technique and style – watercolour and aqueous medium (probably tempera), over extensive black chalk underdrawing – to the preparatory drawings for the tapestries of the 1630s than it is to full-scale cartoons, such as the *Eye of the Master Makes the Horse Fat* (Fig. 2) in the Louvre for the *Proverbs* of the mid-1640s or the *Homage of Caliph Harun al-Rashid to Charlemagne* also in the Louvre for the *Charlemagne* series of the early 1660s,\(^3\) which are like finished paintings. These preparatory drawings and this sketch share the same use of brilliant colour and white highlights on foreheads and arms, attention to narrative essentials,
spontaneity and lightness of touch and the use of more aristocratic types than was usual with Jordaens. The rather abbreviated faces with indications for eyes and mouths of some of the women, including Nausicaa, is again characteristic of these preparatory drawings, as can be seen in the Telemachus leading Theoclymenus before Penelope of the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (Fig.5), as well as, for example, in sheets with Odysseus and Calypso in Besançon, Paris, and Antwerp.

Several figurative elements in the present sketch recur in other works by Jordaens. The same horse appears on the left in the Gentleman and Lady with a Groom saddling a Horse, one of three large preparatory drawings of 1635-40 at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, which have been related thematically to the Riding School tapestries (Fig.6). More importantly, the correspondence in scale between the two works has, so far, gone unnoticed. As a result, the two horses are almost identical in size, and the proportion of the figures of the nobleman and Nausicaa in relation to the animals is the same. Furthermore, recent cleaning and infra-red examination of the present sketch have revealed the same black chalk underdrawing with extensive pentiments and use of watercolour and a similar aqueous medium, that is found in all Jordaens’s preparatory drawings. These two considerations, together with a similar degree of finish, would suggest that the present work is to be placed in the same category as the drawings at Castle Ashby, and, like them, is probably a modello for a tapestry of the years 1630-45.

A similar horse, likewise, features on the right of the Presentation of the Horses, a tapestry from the Riding School series in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, of which an oil modello on canvas is in the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Havanna. It appears again in a tapestry of Musica Recreat Cor Hominis, woven in the 1670s, and now in the Diocesan Museum, Tarragona.

5. Jacob Jordaens, Telemachus leading Theoclymenus before Penelope, c.1630-35. Brush, brown ink, watercolour and bodycolour over an underdrawing in black chalk, 283 x 507 mm. The National Museum, Stockholm.
Jordaens also made use of a copse similar to the one from which Odysseus emerges, as a shelter for Gideon at prayer in the right-hand section of a full-scale cartoon of *Gideon and the Three-hundred Warriors* in the Louvre for an unidentified tapestry; as was Jordaens’s late working practice, the section with Gideon was reworked into an image of Charlemagne at prayer for an *entre-fenêtre* of the *Charlemagne* tapestries of the 1660s. Finally, the old woman and the girl shading her face with a straw hat behind Nausicaa are found in the celebrated *St. Peter finding the Tribute Money in the Fish’s Mouth* of about 1623 in the Statens Museum, Copenhagen.
At a certain point in its evolution, Jordaens decided to enlarge the composition by adding a join of 15 centimetres along the top and to broaden it by inserting a vertical addition of 11 centimetres between Odysseus and the women. This enhances the atmospheric effects of the sky with its clouds, renders more effective the startled reaction of the women to the Greek wanderer by introducing more space between them, and generally improves the perspective, with which the artist is known to have always struggled.

It has been suggested that an oil painting (107.5 x 153 cm.) of the same subject but different composition, and now in the Noordbrabants Museum, ’s-Hertogenbosch, is the related *modello* to the present *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. It shows a simplified version of the composition with a reduced number of figures, a half-kneeling, half-standing Odysseus, a less elaborately costumed Nausicaa, and only a hint of the golden chariot (Fig.7).
Conservation Report
This sketch consists of sixteen sheets of paper. Each sheet was overlaid and glued to its neighbour with an overlap of approximately 2.5 cm. There is evidence to show that the initial format of the sketch was different from that which we see now, being altered and extended during the evolution of the composition. The proposed sequence of events is the following: the sketch originally consisted of eight sheets (numbered 1 to 8 on Fig. 8). These sheets contain the main parts of the composition; the figures, foreground and trees. The underdrawing on these sheets shows great skill and dexterity, and includes numerous pentiments. This underdrawing was then worked up with dashes of colour, leaving large areas of bare paper to act as the middle tone. The paint covers joins in the paper, showing that the latter have remained as they were originally.

It is notable that sheets 2, 3, 6 and 7 were very similar in dimensions (c. 40 x 56 cm) before sheets 2 and 6 were cut into those now labelled as 2a and 6a respectively. The original height of the composition was twice that of the paper sheets, totalling about 80 cm.

Four fold lines which are consistent across pairs of vertical sheets (1-5, 2a-6a, 3-7, 4-8) show that the cartoon was folded and put aside, long enough for the paper to conform to the folded shape. A fainter fold line along the bottom of the composition may have also occurred at this point.

When Jordaens resumed work on this sketch, six further sheets of paper were added, by cutting vertically through sheets 2 and 6 and adding two thinner sheets (9 and 10). As has been mentioned earlier in the main text, this had the effect not only of increasing the width of the composition, but also of expanding the pictorial distance between Odysseus and the other figures. Four further sheets (11-14) were added along the top edge to extend the sky (Fig. 9). Each of the top four sheets also has a fold line running vertically to the picture plane, but these are not consistent with the earlier connecting ones. Sheets 11 and 12 have diagonal crease marks running into the corner.

The underdrawing which denotes the clouds and additions to the trees is consistent with that of the rest of the composition, indicating that is most likely to be by the same hand. Once the drawing was added, there was a further stage of painting to link the original sheets to the additions. This included the bright blue and pink applied to the sky in thick brushstrokes, as well as adjustments, such as the pentiment to the drapery of the female figure nearest to Odysseus. There was, however, much less painting in the trees at this stage, the underdrawing being left largely visible.

The sketch then consisted of 16 sheets (the cutting of sheets 2 and 6 increasing the total number of “initial” sheets from 8 to 10) in the form we see now. At some early date, two inserts were added, one at the bottom edge and a smaller insert down the left side. These may have been added due to damage to the original, or in the case of the one on the bottom edge, to fit the work into an architectural setting. The smaller inset is virtually butt-joined to the other sheet and is more likely to be a repair. It is possible that one or both of these additions were added prior to the first lining onto canvas.
8. **Jacob Jordaens, Odysseus and Nausicaa.** The original composition before Jordaens’s intervention to enlarge the cartoon.

9. **Jacob Jordaens, Odysseus and Nausicaa.** The final composition after Jordaens’s intervention. The lighter areas correspond to the artist’s additions.
EARLIER RESTORATION

It is not possible to say how many linings the cartoon has had, but there has been at least one former lining besides the current one.

At some early date, the sketch was cleaned and the sky overpainted. This oil overpaint covered the white filling of the paper joins in the sky and trees and some areas of loss and abrasion to the blue pigment (possibly azurite). Remnants of a very early grey filling show that there may have been an even earlier stage of restoration. The figures are in remarkably good condition, showing only minimal abrasion in the dark tones. There are two possibilities to explain why the blue in the sky was more damaged than the rest by this early cleaning. The first is that the blue may have been physically vulnerable due to the pigment’s large particle size, while the second could be that the colour was applied in a fugitive medium. The first overpainting included a dark blue, which was applied over areas of bare paper and a lighter blue that covered the top section of the trees in the upper right-hand corner. The clouds were made darker and heavier with grey and brown colours. A subsequent campaign of overpainting left this early restoration largely intact, but covered more of the sky with a greenish-blue tone. At the same time, further brownish and pinkish colours were added to the sky. The most recent restoration consisted of soluble overpaint and a layer of thick discoloured varnish. Two or three cleaning tests during removal of the varnish revealed that some investigation of the overpaint in the sky had been carried out. These tests were then closed during the subsequent restoration.

RECENT TREATMENT

The recent treatment removed all layers of previous restoration to reveal the sketch as it left the artist’s studio. The heavy overpaint in the sky had obscured a much lighter and more sketchy application of dark cloud and light blue sky, through which the underdrawing was visible. The removal of the dark blue overpaint from the sky around the figures exposed the bare paper, as Jordaens had intended. This made a dramatic difference to the overall appearance of the sketch. After cleaning, a thin brush varnish of a stable synthetic resin was applied. Retouching was carried out using dry pigments in the same medium.

THE BINDING MEDIUM

After having taken into consideration other possibilities, egg tempera seems to be the medium most likely to have been used by Jordaens for this large sketch. Body colour and gouache handle well on paper, allowing considerable flow and even some body in the paint, where white or other opaque colour is present. However, it remains water soluble, and the shadows show limited depth of tone. Tempera is a rather vague term, which indicates an aqueous medium, and has been mistakenly used for size paint [distemper from the French]. It too remains water soluble.

Classic egg tempera is unusual in so far as the yolk contains a drying oil, lending the medium a considerable richness. Both the egg-oil and the albumen found in the white
and the yolk, dry insolubly. The cleaning of this picture did not indicate that the medium was soluble either in water or organic solvents.

The broken edge of the underdrawing indicates a crumbly substance that catches on the upper fibres of the paper without filling the interstices, and also forms its edge according to the way in which the substance breaks. Modern graphite pencils yield fine lines with a relatively smooth edge. Charcoal and black chalk give a coarser effect. The latter medium is softer, less brittle than charcoal, permitting delicate modulations and smooth transitions, as in the present work. It has also much less tendency to be picked up when paint is applied over it.

Alison Smith, Tom Caley

**Infra-red**

The following images are taken in infra-red. They are made with special equipment sensitive to invisible radiation. Infra-red penetrates some types of paint, revealing information that is dependent on the materials used by the artist.

Black substances, especially those based on carbon, absorb infra-red very strongly, creating contrast with adjacent areas not containing black or green. White and red, common colours for painters’ grounds, also reflect infra-red well. This happy coincidence causes underdrawing in some kind of black material – particularly carbonaceous material such as graphite or black chalk – to show strongly on the screen of an infra-red imaging device. It can be very instructive in the study of an artist’s creative process, since the finished work may deviate from the drawing.

In the case of *Odysseus and Nausicaa*, we see Jordaens’s free and searching draughtsmanship, evolving the forms from rudimentary but definite indications through to the simple, but highly descriptive, end result. Most of the heads appear to have begun as geometric shapes: ovoid forms suggesting placement and inclination (Figs.10-10a and 11-11a). With a number of strokes they became fully articulated heads. An apparent softness found in parts of the outline when seen in infra-red (Figs.12-12a) is the result of the myriad changes which redefined the forms. For example, the face of the lady-in-waiting between the two horses was originally placed more to the left and slightly higher than in the final version, as can be seen with infra-red. The implication is that design and drawing were worked out as the piece progressed, and this is borne out by the added sheets of paper to extend the design during the execution of the sketch.

In the figure group at the left, the economy of the drawing is clearly shown (Figs.13-13a). Line is used to follow the forms, subtly transcending the outlines in order to create volume with a minimum of marks. This is consistent with the subsequent use of colour; the deliberate use of line, limited in tonal and chromatic range, but very expressive of form. This makes an interesting contrast to Jordaens’s handling of oil paint, where the forms are very fully worked from highlight to deep shadow, with little or none of the abbreviation shown here.

Tager Stonor Richardson

10a. Infra-red photograph of the two kneeling handmaidens, showing the black chalk underdrawing.
11. JACOB JORDAENS. *Odysseus and Nausicaa*. Detail of the female heads at the centre of the final composition.

11a. Infra-red photograph of female heads in the centre of the composition, showing the black chalk underdrawing.
12. **Jacob Jordaens, Odysseus and Nausicaa.** Detail of the head of the lady-in-waiting between the two horses in the final composition.

12a. Infra-red photograph of the head of the lady-in-waiting between the two horses, showing the pentiment in black chalk.

13a. Infra-red photograph of the handmaidens in the coach, showing the black chalk underdrawing.
Notes


5. *ibid.*, pp. 16-19, figs. 3-4.


10. N. De Poorter, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. The Eucharist Series*, London/Philadelphia, 1978, II, document 25 b, p. 461 [original Flemish text] and 462 [translation from the Flemish]. Joachim von Sandrart (1675) stated that Rubens, jealous of Jordaens’s gifts, used the young man as a watercolourist on tapestry cartoons in order to keep him from emerging as an artist (Rooses, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9). Sandrart does say, however, that Rubens and Jordaens, “like very sensible men, continued to live in friendship” (ibid., p. 8). Jordaens assisted Rubens on projects, such as the decorations for the entry into Antwerp of the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand of Austria and the paintings for the Torre de la Parada for Philip IV, of the mid to late 1630s when Rubens’s health and energy had begun to fail him (d’Hulst, *op. cit.*, p. 23). Jordaens may have collaborated with Rubens on the execution of the full-scale cartoons on paper for the latter’s *Constantine series* of the early 1620s, and added two cartoons to Rubens’s *Life of Achilles* in the 1640s (Nelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 and 49).


18. Nelson, op. cit., p. 7. For example, the final modello for the St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, healing the Possessed Servant of Tetrodius (546 x 384 mm., watercolour and bodycolour over an underdrawing in black chalk), formerly with Jean-Luc Baroni (An Exhibition of Master Drawings, New York and London, 1991, no. 20) and now in The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, is made up of four joined sheets of paper with a further strip of paper at the top, while the modello (oil (?) on paper on canvas, 50 x 75 cm) in a Danish private collection of Hermes visiting Calypso for the Odysseus series is made up of several joined sheets (ibid., p. 77, cat. no. 10a).


22. D’Hulst, “Jordaens and His Early Activities in the Field of Tapestry”, pp. 240-43, figs. 5 and 7-9; d’Hulst, Jacob Jordaens, p. 297, pls. 104, 107 and 110; Nelson, op. cit., p. 72, pls. 16, 18, 21 and 23.


24. The same anonymous eighteenth-century writer who claimed that Jordaens executed the paper cartoons for Rubens’s Triumph of the Eucharist tapestries also stated that the Count of Monterey took the Odysseus cartoons to Spain and that they were either lost at sea or destroyed in a fire (De Poorter, op. cit., I, document 25b, p. 461 [original Flemish text] and p. 462 [English translation]).


27. ibid., p. 76, cat. no. 9b.


29. Rubens also depicted Odysseus and Nausicaa in a panel with small figures in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence.

30. See: Provenance.

31. idem.

32. See: Literature.

33. idem. Following the description of the 1909 Drouot catalogue, Jaffé thought the medium of this sketch to be oil, as did others.

34. idem.
35. *idem.*
36. *idem.*
37. D’Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, pls. 172 (the *Eye of the Master makes the Horse Fat*) and 230 (the *Homage of Caliph Harun al-Rashid to Charlemagne*).
38. D’Hulst, “Jordaens and His Early Activities in the Field of Tapestry”, p. 245. In fact, Nausicaa in the present work shares the same elongated *hauteur* of the various Calypsos and Penelopes in the preparatory drawings.
42. In fact, before the later addition of 15 centimetres along the top, the height of the present sketch was virtually the same as the Castle Ashby drawings [81.2 versus 83 cm.]
43. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 125, cat. no. 36 [2H] and 36a, pls. 85 [tapestry] and 86 [modello]. Eight tapestries of the Large Horses series of the *Riding School* were acquired in 1666 by the Emperor Leopold I on occasion of his marriage to the Spanish Infanta Margarita. The importance of the commission is emphasized by the use of gold and silver thread in addition to the usual wool and silk.
45. *ibid.*, pp. 141-42, cat. nos. 53-53a, pls. 116-117 and 119. Exemplars are to be found in the Quirinal Palace, Rome, and the château d’Antoing, Belgium.
46. D’Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens*, illustrated in colour as pl. 82 with full-page details.
47. Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 80, cat. no. 12b, pl. 28. This picture belonged to P. van der Ouderaa of Antwerp in 1906, and critics, following Rooses’s lead, believe that it featured in the Nicholas-Cornelis Hasselaer Sale in Amsterdam on 26 April 1741 (Rooses, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 and 261). For a list of paintings of *Odysseus and Nausicaa* by Jordaens in late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century auctions see: Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 30. None of these paintings would seem to correspond in size to the present sketch. In a sale by Lebrun in Paris on 14 April 1784, Lot 11 (106 x 172. 22 cm.), there was a picture of this subject by Jordaens which had a similar complex composition with ten standing figures in the artist’s “*best manner and most beautiful colour*”.

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