The J. Paul Getty Museum

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Contents

A Late Flavian Cuirassed Torso in the J. Paul Getty Museum*

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The J. Paul Getty Museum acquired an over-life-size Roman imperial cuirassed torso in 1971 (figs. 1a–h).[1] Carved of white Pentelic marble, the torso has a preserved height of 107.5 centimeters.[2] Although both legs, the right arm, and the head are missing, the Museum's torso illustrates the primary characteristics of the Roman imperial portrait type known as a cuirassed statue. Depicting its subject in full military costume, the Museum's torso belongs to an important class of Roman portrait statues set up to honor military heroes, triumphant generals, and male members of the imperial family.[3] Over six hundred surviving examples attest to the popularity of the cuirassed statue in the Roman world.[4] Often decorated with rich allegorical compositions, the cuirassed statue also served as a primary vehicle for the dissemination of imperial victory propaganda. Although not as richly decorated as some, the Museum's torso, upon close inspection, reveals much about its date, iconographic context, and possible identity.

On the basis of strictly stylistic criteria, the Museum's torso dates to the late Flavian period. The pronounced shift of the hips to the left and the resultant sway of the leather straps to the right occur in the same fashion on numerous late Flavian examples.[5] Other late Flavian characteristics include the three-dimensional overlapping of the leather straps across the front of the

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Fundamental to the study of Roman imperial cuirassed statues are the annotated catalogue of known works and supplements published by C. C. Vermeule and the typological examination of classical-style cuirassed statues with two rows of lappets by K. Stemmer: C. C. Vermeule, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues," *Berytus* 13 (1959), pp. 1–82 (hereafter Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959]); idem, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues: A Supplement," *Berytus* 15 (1964), pp. 95–110 (hereafter Vermeule, *Berytus* 15 [1964]); idem, "Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues: Second Supplement," *Berytus* 17 (1966), pp. 49–59 (hereafter Vermeule, *Berytus* 17 [1966]); idem, "Cuirassed Statues: 1974 Supplement," *Berytus* 23 (1974), pp. 5–26 (hereafter Vermeule, *Berytus* 23 [1974]); and K. Stemmer, *Untersuchungen zur Typologie, Chronologie und Ikonographie der Panzerstatuen* (Berlin, 1978) (hereafter Stemmer).

1. Inv. 71.AA.436. Bibliography: C. C. Vermeule and N. Neuerburg, *Catalogue of the Ancient Art in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1973), pp. 28–29, no. 60; B. B. Frederickson, et al., *The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1975), p. 48; Vermeule, *Berytus* 23 (1974), pp. 12–13, no. 113b, figs. 1, 2; Stemmer VII 12, pp. 81–82, pl. 55, figs. 3–5; J. Frel, *Roman Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum,* exh. cat. (Philbrook Art Center, Tulsa, and The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1981), pp. 50–51, 124, no. 35, fig. 35; C. C. Vermeule, *Art of Antiquity,* vol. 4, pt. 2, *Jewish Relationships with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (Boston, 1981), pp. 21–22.

2. Frel (note 1), p. 124, no. 35.

3. For recent discussions on primary source evidence related to the cuirassed statue as an honorific dedication, see G. Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom: Literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse* (Rome, 1983), pp. 51–53; T. Pékary, *Das römische Herrscherbild,* Abt. 3, Bd. 5, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1985), pp. 97–100.

4. See Stemmer, pp. 168–180, for a list of 603 known works. See also C. C. Vermeule's concordance of his *Berytus* articles and Stemmer's list in *Hellenistic and Roman Cuirassed Statues: Concordance of Greek and Roman Cuirassed Statues in Marble and Bronze* (Boston, 1980).

5. For a similar treatment of the leather straps, see Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.346 (Stemmer VII 11, pp. 80–81, pl. 55, fig. 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 47, no. 112, pl. 9, fig. 29); Paris, Musée du Louvre 1235 (Stemmer VII 7, pp. 78–79, pl. 52, figs. 1, 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 52, no. 159); Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue 248 (Stemmer VII 10, p. 80, pl. 55, fig. 1; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 47, no. 111).

Figure 1a. Late Flavian cuirassed torso, front view. Pentelic marble. H:107.5cm (42^{5}/$_{16}$ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.436.

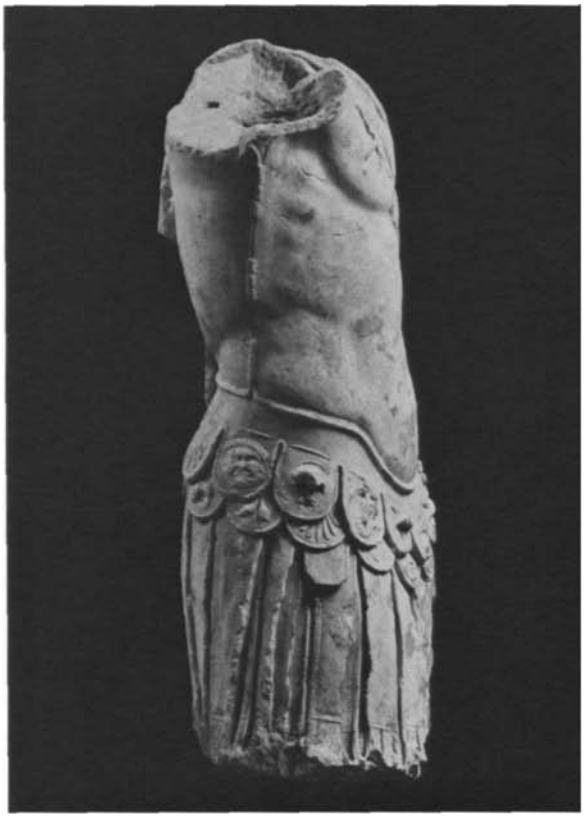

Figure 1b. Right profile of figure 1a.

Figure 1c. Left profile of figure 1a.

figure, the rich carving of the fringe on the leather straps, the detailed representation of the stitching on the lappets, and the varied height of relief in the modeling of the lappet motifs (figs. 1e–h). Stylistic criteria suggest that the Museum's torso dates to the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96), the last of the Flavian emperors, and that it was commissioned to commemorate one of his northern wars. The subject may be the emperor himself or, more likely, a victorious commander from one of Domitian's campaigns. Discussion of the date and identity of the torso follows an examination of the work's costume, condition, pose, and iconography.

Dressed in the full military parade costume of a triumphant Roman general, the figure wears a classical-style cuirass with two rows of lappets over a single row of long leather straps. As was the custom in the design of Greek and Roman armor, the surface of the cuirass imitates the musculature of the human torso. The cuirass comprises a front and rear plate that join together with three hinges along the right side of the torso (fig. 1b) and fasten with a pin (not visible on the Museum's torso) at the left side. Shoulder straps help join the front and rear plates together and attach to the face of the cuirass by means of a system of leather thongs and ring hooks. Beneath the cuirass the figure

Figure 1d. Rear view of figure 1a.

Figure 1e. Detail of figure 1a: lappets over right hip.

Figure 1f. Detail of figure 1a: lappets over right leg.

wears a leather jacket with a skirt of long leather straps that drapes over and protects the upper legs. The figure also wears a wool tunic beneath the cuirass and leather jacket. Although the lower hem of the garment has not survived on this torso, a portion of the tunic sleeve is visible across the front and sides of the upper left arm (fig. 1c). In addition a baldric is strapped diagonally across the torso from the right shoulder to support a scabbard over the left hip. Lastly, the figure wears a paludamentum over the cuirass. A fibula, now lost, once fastened the paludamentum at the left shoulder. The folds of the paludamentum, largely added as a separate piece but now lost, fell down the back of the torso from the left shoulder and were gathered together at the left hip to drape over the left forearm.

In its present condition, the torso comprises a single piece preserved without any major breaks. Cuirass, shoulder straps, baldric, and paludamentum survive in relatively fine condition, but numerous chips and minor breaks mar the leather straps, especially those that fall over the front of the left leg. Projecting detail work on the lappets also displays extensive damage through breakage and abrasion. In addition the surface of the breastplate shows numerous traces of the sculptor's rasp and the less fully worked condition of the back suggests an intended placement before a wall or within a niche. Furthermore the surface of the statue has been cleaned and thoroughly washed in modern times, but traces of soil remain in some of the more deeply carved recesses. Unusual for the Flavian period is the undecorated breastplate and the general absence of drill work in the execution of the lappet motifs.

Missing limbs and attributes of the Museum's torso were added originally as separate pieces. The head, most likely carved by a portrait specialist, would have fit into the top of the torso by means of a tenon. The right arm with its attribute (fig. 1b), and the left elbow with the accompanying paludamentum folds along the left side and back (figs. 1c–d), were fastened to the torso by means of large iron pins. The missing fingers of the left hand also may have been attached separately along with the implement they once held. The sword hilt, too, was added as a separate piece and attached to the scabbard by means of an iron pin that rusted and exploded in 1975.[6] Two pins positioned on either side of the baldric (fig. 1c) helped secure the sword hilt to the surface of the cuirass. Lastly, the legs, along with the tunic folds below the fringe of the leather straps, were

6. Frel (note 1), p. 124, no. 35. Report on file in Department of Antiquities.

7. For a thorough examination of statue supports, see F. Muthmann, *Statuenstützen* (Heidelberg, 1951), esp. pp. 58–71.

8. Stemmer VII 12, pp. 81–82, pl. 55, figs. 3–5.

9. For the works included in Group VII, see Stemmer, pp. 76–98. Most likely Flavian are: (VII 4) Vaison, Musée Archéologique; (VII 6) Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 218; (VII 7) Paris, Musée du Louvre 1235; (VII 8) Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen 343; (VII 9) Paris, Musée du Louvre 1137; (VII 10) Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria

Figure 1g. Detail of figure 1a: lappets over left leg.

Figure 1h. Detail of figure 1a: lappets over left hip.

added as a separate piece that fit into the bottom of the torso by means of a deep quadrangular tenon, an unusual feature. On most cuirassed statues the torso, legs, plinth, and adjacent statue support comprise a single block of marble.[7] While it is possible that the legs and tunic hem on this torso were conceived originally as a separate piece, it is more probable that the present method for incorporating the legs and tunic hem derives from a restoration carried out in antiquity.

Although the head, right arm, and legs are missing, an accurate reconstruction of the figure's original appearance is possible. The figure's left hip stands higher than its right, and the upper torso shifts to the viewer's right so that its center of gravity lies more directly over the weight-bearing left leg. The position of the hips, that of the shoulders, and the sway of the drapery indicate clearly that the figure demonstrates the weight-shift stance of the contrapposto pose. Thus the left leg is the active one and provides the primary means for supporting the weight of the figure. The right leg is relaxed and would have been bent at the knee and lifted slightly to rest on the ball of the right foot. The disposition of the upper limbs, in chiastic fashion, reverses that of the legs. Thus the left arm is relaxed. Bent at the elbow to project slightly forward, the left arm may once have cradled a parazonium or a scepter. The lost right arm, however, was active. The condition of the surface at the right shoulder (fig. 1b) and the position of the pin for attaching the missing limb indicate that the right arm was raised high above the head either in a gesture of address or to grasp a baton or the shaft of a spear. Klaus Stemmer published a typological study of Roman imperial cuirassed statues in 1978 and included the Museum's torso in Group VII of his classification system.[8] Of the thirty-five examples included by Stemmer in this category, probably thirteen, or close to one-third, are Flavian.[9] A further parallel to the pose of the reconstructed torso can be drawn with a sestertius reverse type issued A.D. 85–87 and 90–91 depicting Domitian in full military costume and cradling a parazonium.[10] While the disposition of the legs is the same on both, that of the upper arms is reversed.

The most unusual feature of the Museum's torso is the absence of decoration from the face of the breastplate. Produced during an age when the richly embellished cuirass was the rule rather than the exception, the torso remains unique as the only published Flavian example to have an undecorated breastplate. Only the bal-

delle Statue 243; (VII 11) Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 99.346; (VII 12) Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 71.AA.436; (VII 13) Naples, Museo Nazionale 6072; (VII 14) Rome, Villa Torlonia 246; (VII 15) Rome, Palazzo Colonna (garden); (VII 17) Paris, Musée du Louvre 1152; (VII 18) Tunis, Musée du Bardo, inv. C. 18.

10. For examples of this numismatic reverse type, see H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum,* vol. 2, *Vespasian to Domitian,* 2nd edn. (London, 1976), pp. 363, no. 298, pl. 71, fig. 2; 371, no. 334, pl. 72, fig. 12; 377, no. *; 381, no. 377, pl. 75, fig. 5; 386, no. 396, pl. 76, fig. 7; 398, no. 442 *bis.*

Figure 2a. Cuirassed torso of Domitian, front view. Princeton University, The Art Museum, Caroline G. Mather Fund 84-2. Photo: Clem Fiori, courtesy Trustees of Princeton University.

Figure 2b. Detail of figure 2a: breastplate. Photo: Clem Fiori, courtesy Trustees of Princeton University.

dric strapped diagonally across the torso from the right shoulder to the left hip interrupts the modeled musculature of the breastplate. While baldrics can be found on other Flavian examples, in every other instance a combination of allegorical, figural, and/or floral decoration embellishes the face of the cuirass.[11] One would expect, at least, the presence of a talismanic Medusa head on the chest of the figure. An arrangement of pendant griffins or winged Victories flanking a candelabrum or thymiaterion, standard decorations on Flavian cuirassed statues, would also be appropriate. A more complex composition featuring trophies, captives, and allegorical personifications might also be possible. The absence of decoration on the breastplate is difficult to explain. Perhaps the original iconographic program has been lost. It is possible that a sculpted program may have been removed in antiquity and the surface of the breastplate reworked. A painted composition is also possible, but it may have faded with the passage of time and in earlier cleanings of the piece.[12] Lacking substantive evidence to support either of these possibilities, the likelihood must be considered that the breastplate may never have been decorated, and that the sculpture represented one of Domitian's generals rather than the emperor himself.

The complete absence of decoration on the face of the breastplate provides striking contrast to the rich embellishment of the lappets. While those across the front of the torso are arranged in a generally symmetrical fashion, a random sequence continues around the right side and back of the statue. Going around the torso in counterclockwise fashion, beginning along the back of the fig-

11. Flavian statues with baldrics include: Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen 343 (see Stemmer VII 8, p. 79, pl. 52, fig. 3; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 55, no. 18); Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen 218 (see Stemmer VII 6, p. 78, pl. 51, fig. 5; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 45, no. 87); Naples, Museo Nazionale 6072 (see Stemmer VII 13, p. 82, pl. 56, figs. 1–3; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, nos. 122–123); Paris, Musée du Louvre 1067 (see Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 44, no. 82).

12. In a report on file with the Department of Antiquities, J. C. Podany finds no trace of paint and no certain evidence for recarving

Figure 2c. Detail of figure 2a: German captive on breastplate. Photo: R. Gergel.

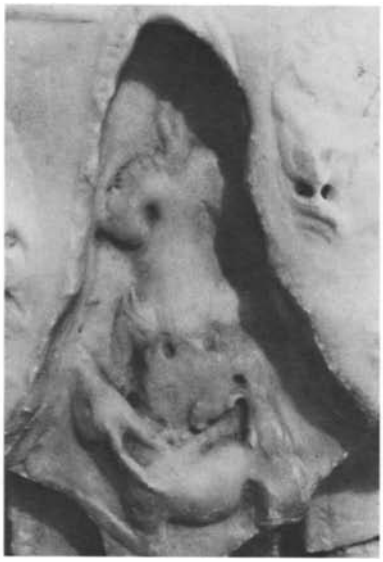

Figure 2d. Detail of figure 2a: wolf-and-stag lappet. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 2e. Detail of figure 2a: eagle-and-hare lappet. Photo: R. Gergel.

ure, the lappets of the upper row depict an inverted palmette (fig. 1d), a honeysuckle blossom, an inverted palmette, a gorgoneion (fig. 1e), a short-maned lion's head with a long tongue above a single rosette, an eagle in three-quarter view facing right with its talons grasping the underbelly of a hare moving right (fig. 1f), and a lynx head with a long tongue. A short-maned lion's head with a long tongue above a single rosette decorates the center lappet of the upper row (fig. 1g). The remaining lappets of the upper row portray a lynx head with a long tongue, an eagle in three-quarter view facing left grasping the underbelly of a hare moving left (fig. 1h), and paired rams' heads. The lappets of the lower row, starting with the back of the figure, depict an inverted lotus blossom (fig. 1d), a rosette, an inverted lotus blossom, a rosette, an inverted lotus blossom (fig. 1e), an inverted palmette, paired rams' heads (fig. 1f), a gorgoneion, another gorgoneion (fig. 1g), paired rams' heads (fig. 1h), and an inverted palmette.

Since the breastplate on the Museum's torso is undecorated, evidence relevant to the date and iconographic context of the work can be derived only from the lappets. The majority of the lappet motifs are of a very general iconographic nature, however. Gorgoneia, lions' heads, paired rams' heads, palmettes, and rosettes appear with great frequence in the repertory of lappet motifs employed in the decoration of Flavian cuirassed statues, but hardly aid in establishing a specific date within the Flavian period. For example the palmette and rosette are standard decorative motifs on all Flavian cuirassed statues, and the gorgoneion, an apotropaic device that protects the bearer from evil, appears on cuirassed statues of all periods. The lion and lynx heads are characteristically Flavian, but have no specific meaning other than symbolizing the power of the reigning house. The ram's head is also a standard Flavian motif, and, since the ram is sacred to Minerva, the paired rams' heads in this context probably allude to Domitian's life-long veneration of the warrior-maiden.[13]

While the motifs discussed above support a date in the Flavian period, they fail to establish an iconographic context within this period for the manufacture of the torso. The particular motif of a predatory eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare, however, is very rare and provides the primary basis for associating the sculpture with a small group of iconographically related works dated to the early years of the reign of Domitian. The most important of these is a cuirassed torso in the collection of the Art Museum, Princeton University (figs. 2a–e).[14]

on the face of the cuirass. Rasp marks, clearly visible on the central area of the breastplate, might suggest recarving, but similar rasp marks occur on the back plate. Furthermore the area around the navel on the front plate shows no evidence of reworking.

13. For an examination of Domitian's veneration of Minerva, see K. Scott, *The Imperial Cult under the Flavians* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1936), pp. 168–188; R. A. Gergel, "Domitian and Minerva," *Stentor,* n. s. 4, nos. 1, 2 (1985–1986), pp. 1–5.

14. Published: Sotheby's, London, *Catalogue of Antiquities,* July 15, 1980, lot 207; *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 44, no. 1

Figure 3a. Aureus of Domitian (obverse), A.D. 84. New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 3b. Reverse of figure 3a. Photo: R. Gergel.

The Princeton torso features a classical-style cuirass with two rows of richly embellished lappets.[15] An elaborate allegorical composition decorates the face of the breastplate (fig. 2b). On a groundline at the center stands a trophy decorated with a cloak and surmounted by a helmet. Winged Victories carrying shields approach from the left and right. At the base of the trophy appears a single barbarian captive (fig. 2c). The captive sits with his buttocks on the groundline. He crouches forward with his knees drawn to his chest and his feet extended over the groundline immediately before him. Although badly damaged, close examination demonstrates that the captive is male, bare chested, wears trousers, and has his hands tied behind his back. The date of the torso depends on the identity of the captive tied to the base of the trophy.

Stylistic criteria date the Princeton torso to the reign of Domitian, and, since the breastplate composition celebrates a military victory, the torso must commemorate one of his northern campaigns. Domitian celebrated a triumph over the Chatti in 83, a double triumph over the Marcomanni and the Dacians in 89, and a victory over the Sarmatians in 92. Since the captive on the Princeton torso is bare chested and wears neither a long-sleeved jacket nor a Phrygian cap, he must be a German rather than a Dacian or Sarmatian; and since the breastplate composition displays no evidence of the dual iconographic formulas employed by Domitian in the celebration of his triumph over the Marcomanni and the Dacians in 89, the torso must commemorate the Chatti triumph of 83.

Domitian initiated his campaign against the Chatti in the spring of 83.[16] On the pretext of undertaking a census in Gaul, he led an expedition into Upper Germany to suppress an uprising among the Chatti.[17] Domitian assembled a large force to fight in this war, employing all four of the legions stationed in Upper Germany. These included Legion XI Claudia at Vin-

(1985), pp. 45–46 (ill.); R. A. Gergel, "An Allegory of Imperial Victory on a Cuirassed Statue of Domitian," *Record of The Art Museum, Princeton University* 45, no. 1 (1986), pp. 3–15; *Selections from The Art Museum, Princeton University* (Princeton, 1986), p. 40 (ill.).

15. Unique to the Princeton torso is a richly embellished zone of shields, helmets, and weapons between the lower edge of the cuirass and the double row of lappets.

16. For recent discussions on the date of Domitian's Chatti campaign, see B. W. Jones, "The Dating of Domitian's War against the Chatti," *Historia* 22 (1973), pp. 79–90; J. E. Evans, "The Dating of Domitian's War against the Chatti Again," *Historia* 24 (1975), pp. 121–124.

17. Frontinus, *Stratagems* 1.1.8.

18. For discussions on the legions deployed by Domitian in the Chatti campaign, see H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (Cambridge, 1928), pp. 150–151; R. Syme, "Rhine and Danube Legions under Domitian," *Journal of Roman Studies* 18 (1928), pp. 41–43.

19. Parker (note 18), pp. 150–151; ILS 2279.

20. According to Scott (note 13), pp. 179–180, Domitian changed the name of Legion I Flavia Minervia to I Flavia Minervia pia fidelis Domitiana to reward it for its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus in 88–89. After the death of Domitian the name of the legion was

Figure 4. Sestertius of Domitian (reverse), A.D. 85. New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo: D. Darst (from a cast).

Figure 5. Aureus of Domitian (reverse), A.D. 84. New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo: R. Gergel.

donissa (Windisch, near Brug, in present-day Switzerland), Legion VIII Augusta at Argentorate (Strasbourg), and Legions I Adiutrix and XIV Gemina at Moguntiacum (Mainz).[18] Domitian augmented these forces with the transfer of Legion XXI Rapax from Bonna (Bonn) in Lower Germany.[19] To maintain the legionary forces of the army in Lower Germany, he raised a new legion, I Flavia Minervia, to replace Legion XXI Rapax at Bonna.[20] In addition Domitian summoned vexillations from four legions in Britain to serve in the war.[21] C. Vellius Rufus held command over the vexillations of the nine legions assembled for service.[22]

Domitian remained at the front only a short time. He returned to Rome by late August and celebrated his triumph over the Chatti no later than the fall of that year. He subsequently assumed the title *GERMANICVS,* Conqueror of Germany. Much has been written concerning the date that Domitian incorporated the name *GERMANICVS* into his official titulature.[23] The most recent evidence, advanced by Theodore Buttrey, demonstrates conclusively that the title was already current by August 28, 83.[24]

Domitian also received three imperatorial salutations during the course of his involvement in the Chatti war. Salutation *IMP III* occurs in a military diploma dated June 9, 83, and most likely celebrates a personal victory of the emperor in the early stages of the war.[25] *IMP IV* probably acknowledges one of Agricola's victories in Caledonia.[26] Salutations *IMP III* and *IMP IV* do not, however, appear on coins. The mint in Rome closed, apparently, for reorganization during the last months of 83, and no coins from Rome for that year date later than September 13.[27] *IMP V,* still current on coins struck when the mint reopened early in 84 (figs. 3a, b), must have been awarded before the end of 83 and probably celebrates Domitian's Chatti triumph.[28] The war continued, however, until 85. A sestertius reverse type bearing the inscription *GERMANIA CAPTA* appears for

shortened to I Flavia Minervia pia fidelis.

21. On Domitian's withdrawal of vexillations from the four legions in Britain for service in the Chatti campaign, see T. D. Pryce and E. Birley, "The Fate of Agricola's Northern Conquests," *Journal of Roman Studies* 28 (1938), pp. 150–151. ILS 1025 notes the withdrawal of a vexillation from Legion IX Hispana. ILS 9200 identifies the four British legions as II Adiutrix, II Augusta, IX Hispana, and XX Victrix.

22. ILS 9200; see also Syme (note 18), p. 42, n. 7, on the identification of the nine legions.

23. See esp. H. Braunnert, "Zum Chattenkriege Domitians," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 153 (1953), pp. 97–100; P. Kneissl, *Die Siegestitulatur des römischen Kaiser* (Göttingen, 1969), pp. 43–57.

24. T. V. Buttrey, *Documentary Evidence for the Chronology of the Flavian Titulature* (Meisenheim-am-Glan, 1980), pp. 52–56.

25. Evans (note 16), p. 124; ILS 1996.

26. Evans, p. 124; Tacitus, *Agricola* 24.

27. C. M. Kray, "Two New Sestertii of Domitian," *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 9 (1960), p. 112.

28. Ibid.; Mattingly (note 10), pp. 307–309, nos. 45–50A, bear variations on the reverse legend *PM TR POT III IMP V COS X PP.*

the first time in 85 to announce the final resolution of the conflict (fig. 4).[29] On the specimen depicted, a mourning female figure and a standing bound male captive flank a trophy. Other issues, struck as early as 84, depict a mourning female captive, nude to the waist, seated on a shield above a broken lance (fig. 5).[30]

The allegory of imperial victory on the breastplate of the Princeton torso (fig. 2b) reflects the spirit of these numismatic issues and certainly celebrates the Chatti triumph of Domitian. Considering the high quality of its execution and the sophistication of its iconographic program, the Princeton statue can only represent the emperor himself, Domitian, as *GERMANICVS,* Conqueror of Germany. The work dates no earlier than Domitian's assumption of this title in August 83, but may date as late as the final completion of the war in 85 or shortly thereafter. Similar breastplate compositions embellish statues in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (fig. 6), in the Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie, Auch, and in the Palazzo Colonna, Rome (fig. 7).[31] Iconographic considerations suggest that all of these works originally may have been portraits of Domitian and have been set up to commemorate his war against the Chatti. The Princeton torso, however, is the most important example in this group. Unrestored and bearing a rich allegorical program on both its breastplate and lappets, the Princeton torso establishes iconographic criteria for associating other works, including the Getty Museum's torso, with Domitian's Chatti campaign.

Included among the standard Flavian lappet motifs that decorate the Princeton torso are single and paired rams' heads, elephant heads, lynx heads, lions' heads, gorgoneia, palmettes, and rosettes. Unique, however, to the Princeton torso is a pendant arrangement of two lappets at the center of the lower row that depict a wolf descending on a stag (fig. 2d). Certainly a symbol for Roman military strength, the wolf and stag may represent actual legionary insignia or allude to the locale, course of action, or outcome of one of the Flavian campaigns against the peoples of northern Europe. The important motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare also decorates two lappets on the front of the Princeton torso (fig. 2e). They appear, in fact, in the same location on the upper row as their counterparts on the Getty Museum's torso. A pendant arrangement of paired rams' heads also occupies the same location in the lower row of lappets on both statues. Although the subject of the eagle-and-hare motif is the same on both works, stylistic and technical differences should be noted. While the outspread wings of the eagles are similar, the legs and talons are arranged differently to adapt to different modes for representing the bodies of the hares. On the Princeton example the hare's body is stretched out in a straight line, while that on the Getty Museum's torso bends backward in a pronounced arch. Furthermore while the latter sculpture shows minimal use of the drill, the Princeton torso demonstrates extensive drill work to heighten an illusionistic play of light and shadow across the surface of the lappets. Despite these differences, the same pendant arrangement of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare in the upper row of lappets and of paired rams' heads in the lower row suggests that the two works may have been produced in the same workshop or that they reflect a common iconographic prototype.

A late Flavian cuirassed statue in the Palazzo Altieri (stair hall), Rome (figs. 8a, b),[32] and a similarly dated cuirassed torso in the Antiquarium Lunense, Luni,[33] also reflect types erected to celebrate the Chatti triumph of Domitian. Both depict winged Victories dressed in long chitons on the face of the breastplate. On the Palazzo Altieri statue the Victories jointly hold a wreath over an incense burner, while their counterparts on the torso in the Antiquarium Lunense flank a trophy decorated with a helmet, paludamentum, and shields. Standard Flavian lappet motifs decorate both works. Lynx heads, lions' heads, a gorgoneion, and paired rams' heads decorate lappets of the upper row on the statue in the Palazzo Altieri, and bearded river gods, weapons, lynx heads, and a lion attacking a steer decorate those of the lower row. On the torso in the Antiquarium Lunense, elephant heads, lynx heads, a lion's head, and a bearded river god decorate lappets on the upper row while a palmette, flowers, and various other blossoms decorate those of the lower. Most importantly, both works display a similar pendant arrangement of the motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare in the lappets of the upper row. Similarities in lappet decorations and breastplate compositions suggest that the Getty Museum, Princeton, Palazzo Altieri, and Anti-

29. The *GERMANIA CAPTA* series commenced in A.D. 85 (see Mattingly [note 10], pp. 362, no. 294, pl. 70, fig. 8; 369, nos. 325, 326, pl. 72, fig. 8; 376, no. 361, pl. 74, fig. 2), continued into 86 (ibid., p. 380, no. 372, pl. 75, fig. 4), and terminated in 87 (ibid., p. 385, no. 395, pl. 76, fig. 6).

30. For a seated mourning woman as a *GERMANIA CAPTA* type, see Mattingly (note 10), pp. 307, no. *; 315–316, nos. 81–82, pl. 62, fig. 1; 317, no. 85, pl. 62, fig. 6; 318, no. 91, pl. 62, fig. 9; 319, no. 94, pl. 62, fig. 11; 321, no. 99, pl. 62, fig. 16; 322, no. *; 323, no. 114 bis; 325, no. 125, pl. 63, fig. 13; 329, no. 143, pl. 64, fig. 8; 334, no. 174, pl. 65, fig. 6; 340, no. 211, pl. 66, fig. 5; 343, no. 228, pl. 66, fig. 15.

31. Paris, Musée du Louvre 1150 (see Stemmer I 9, pp. 14–15, pl. 6, figs. 1, 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 46, no. 101); Auch, Musée d'Art et d'Archéologie (previously Paris, Musée du Louvre 2413) (see

Figure 6. Breastplate of a late Flavian cuirassed statue with a head of Trajan. Paris, Musée du Louvre MA 1150. Photo: M. Chuzeville, courtesy Musée du Louvre.

Figure 7. Late Flavian cuirassed statue with modern head, front view. Rome, Palazzo Colonna, garden. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

quarium Lunense examples all commemorate Domitian's campaign against the Chatti, perhaps dating to the celebration of Domitian's triumph in the fall of 83 or to the final termination of the war in 85.

A pendant arrangement of lappets depicting an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare also appears on a slightly later Domitianic cuirassed statue, restored with a head of Lucius Verus, in the Musei Vaticani (fig. 9).[34] Blossoms, dolphins with anchors, lynx heads, and a bearded river god decorate the remaining lappets of the upper row, while various floral motifs decorate the lappets of the lower row. The most outstanding feature of the Vatican statue is its richly embellished breastplate. At the center appears Victoria Augusta carrying a cornucopia in her left hand and holding a palm of victory with her right. Below her reclines Tellus displaying the fruits of the earth within the folds of her mantle. To the left and right appear barbarian captives tied to decorated trophies. The captive on the left is clearly a German. He has a full beard and long hair, is bare chested, wears tight-fitting leather trousers, and has a cloak fastened around his neck.[35] The captive on the right is either a Dacian or a Sarmatian. He wears trousers, a jacket with long sleeves, a cloak, and a Phrygian cap.

Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 46, no. 100); Rome, Palazzo Colonna (garden) (see Stemmer VII 15, p. 83, pl. 56, fig. 6; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 50, no. 141).

32. Rome, Palazzo Altieri (stair hall) (see Stemmer VII 3, pp. 99–100, pl. 67, figs. 1–3; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], pp. 54–55, no. 178).

33. Luni, Antiquarium Lunense (see Stemmer VIIIa 1, pp. 106–107, pl. 72, fig. 1).

34. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue 420 (see Stemmer V 9, pp. 61–62, pl. 37, figs. 1–4; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 45, no. 88).

35. The German captive wears the cloak and tight-fitting garments described in Tacitus *Germania* 17.

Figure 8a. Late Flavian cuirassed statue with head of Septimius Severus. Rome, Palazzo Altieri, stair hall. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

Figure 8b. Detail of figure 8a: breastplate. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome.

A version of the Vatican statue is in the British Museum, London (currently on display at Hampton Court).[36] Restored with a head of Hadrian, the London statue displays a nearly identical breastplate composition, but with a Hellenistic-style arrangement of the cuirass with two rows of leather straps instead of lappets (fig. 10). Both works date to the late Flavian period on the basis of style and must either have been produced in the same workshop or derived from a common prototype set up to celebrate one of Domitian's northern campaigns. Breastplate compositions featuring one or two captives tied to a single trophy, with or without flanking Victories, occur frequently, but the Vatican and British Museum statues are the only published examples to depict a single goddess of imperial victory flanked by two captives of different ethnic backgrounds tied to two different trophies. The iconographic message is clear: the breastplate celebrates a double victory. Domitian waged wars against the Chatti in 83, the Marcomanni and the Dacians in 89, and the Sarmatians in 92. The dual iconographic program shared by the Vatican and British Museum statues can only commemorate Domitian's double war against the Marcomanni and the Dacians and must date to the time of his double triumph in 89 or shortly thereafter.

36. London, British Museum 1895 (see Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 45, no. 89).

37. Mérida, Museo Arqueológico 1.113 (see Stemmer VIII 4, p. 100, pl. 68, figs. 1, 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, no. 118).

38. In addition to the two examples from Mérida, facing centaurs bearing trophies decorate the breastplate on Seville, Museo Arqueológico 1.057 (see Stemmer VIII 5, pp. 100–101, pls. 69, fig. 1; 70, fig. 1; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, no. 119, *Berytus* 15 [1964], p. 102, no. 119). A single centaur moving to left appears on a breastplate fragment from Oudna, Tunisia, in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, inv. MND 965 (see Stemmer VIII 10, pp. 102–104, pl. 71, fig. 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, no. 120). All examples of the facing centaur motif appear to be late Flavian. I have also recognized the two rear hooves of a centaur moving to right, above the head of Oceanus, on a Flavian cuirassed torso fragment in the collection of Mr. Thomas B. Wilbur, Elizabeth, New Jersey (see Stemmer IIa 10, p. 30, pl. 16, fig 3; Vermeule, *Berytus* 23 [1974], p. 13, no. 114A, fig. 3, p. 14). The Wilbur fragment belongs to a group of Flavian breastplate compositions depicting allegorical personifications of earth and sea along the lower edge of the cuirass.

39. The theater was built by Agrippa in 24 B.C. and reconstructed in A.D. 135 after a fire. For bibliography on the history of the theater at Mérida, see Stemmer, p. 99.

40. Mérida, Museo Arqueológico 950 (see Stemmer VIII 2, p. 99, pl. 66, figs. 3, 4; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, no. 117, pl. 19, fig. 32).

The only other cuirassed statue to employ the lappet motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare is in the Museo Arqueológico, Mérida (fig. 11).[37] A pendant arrangement of the motif decorates two lappets of the upper row, but the subject is barely recognizable on the badly deteriorated lappet above the figure's left leg. A bearded river god, lynx heads, palmettes, floral motifs, weapons, and a lion's skin(?) decorate the remaining lappets. Galloping, facing centaurs bearing trophies decorate the breastplate.[38] The statue was discovered in excavations at the site of the Roman theater in Mérida.[39] Centaurs bearing trophies decorate a second cuirassed statue from the theater.[40] A third depicts a palladium brandishing weapons with an acanthus vine decorating the lower edge of the breastplate.[41] All three derive, apparently, from a sculpture cycle set up in the theater during the reign of Domitian.[42]

While the foregoing examples demonstrate that the motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare is characteristically late Flavian, additional evidence, also gleaned from lappet decorations on cuirassed statues, indicates that the related motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare is early Flavian. The key example in this group decorates the center lappet of the upper row on a cuirassed statue in the Museum of Antiquities, Sabratha (fig. 12).[43] Rosettes, elephant heads, Medusa heads, lynx heads, palmettes, crossed shields, and helmets decorate the remaining lappets. An allegory of imperial victory appears on the face of the cuirass. A date palm at the center establishes an eastern locale. To the left a winged Victory in the pose and costume of the Venus of Capua inscribes a victory message on a shield.[44] A male captive, wearing only a mantle, stands to the right with his hands tied behind his back. A second captive, wearing trousers and a mantle, sits below on a pile of oval and polygonal shields.

Numismatic parallels demonstrate that the Sabratha breastplate commemorates the early Flavian conquest of Judea.[45] Titus captured Jerusalem in A.D. 70 and celebrated his Judean triumph in Rome in 71. The Judean victory of Titus provided Vespasian with the military success he needed to secure popular approval for his dynastic ambitions. The statue probably represents Vespasian as emperor at the time of the victory over Judea. It was discovered in the exedra of the basilica in the Forum of Sabratha along with a cuirassed statue of Titus.[46] The Sabratha statues date around 71 or shortly thereafter and establish a secure context for associating

Figure 9. Late Flavian cuirassed statue, front view (detail). Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria delle Statue 420. Photo: Alinari Art Resource, New York.

41. Mérida, Museo Arqueológico 1. 138 (see Stemmer III 6, p. 34, pls. 18, fig. 2; 19, fig. 1; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 48, no. 116).

42. Stemmer, p. 100, tentatively identifies Mérida 950 (Stemmer VIII 2) as Vespasian; Mérida 1.138 (Stemmer III 6) as Titus; and Mérida 1.113 (Stemmer VIII 4) as Domitian.

43. Sabratha, Museum of Antiquities 659 (see Stemmer V 10, p. 62, pl. 38, figs. 1, 2; Vermeule, *Berytus* 13 [1959], p. 44, no. 85, pl. 8, fig. 25).

44. A winged Victory, in the pose of the Venus of Capua, inscribing a victory message on a shield hung on a palm tree occurs as a sestertius reverse type on issues struck in Rome from A.D. 71–73 (see Mattingly [note 10], pp. 125, nos. 577–581, pl. 22, figs. 11, 12; 138, no. 625, pl. 24, fig. 10; 141, nos. 637–638, pl. 25, fig. 4) and in Tarraco from A.D. 69–71 (ibid., pp. 181, no. 749 bis, pl. 31, fig. 6; 190–191, nos. 783–785, pls. 35, fig. 7; 36, fig. 1).

45. Sestertius reverse types, struck in 71, bear the inscription *IVDEA CAPTA* and depict a standing male Jewish captive and a seated, mourning female captive flanking a palm tree. For examples from Rome, see Mattingly (note 10), pp. 115–117, nos. 532–542, pl. 20, figs. 4–7, 9; for examples from Tarraco, see ibid., p. 185, nos 761–764, pl. 33, figs. 1–3.

46. Sabratha, Museum of Antiquities, Statue of Titus (see Stemmer V 11, p. 63, pl. 39, fig. 1; Vermeule, *Berytus* 17 [1966], addendum, p. 59, no. 92A).

Figure 10. Breastplate of a late Flavian cuirassed statue with head of Hadrian. London, British Museum 1895. Photo courtesy Trustees of British Museum.

Figure 11. Late Flavian cuirassed torso, front view. Mérida, Museo Arqueológico 1.113. Photo: P. Witte, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Madrid.

the motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare with the early Flavian celebration of the conquest of Judea.[47]

Two additional examples of the motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare decorate lappets on an early Flavian torso in the Liebieghaus, Frankfurt, and on a fragmentary cuirassed statue in the Musée Archéologique, Saintes. As on the statue of Vespasian at Sabratha, the torso in Frankfurt displays the motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare on the center lappet of the upper row (fig. 13).[48] Gorgoneia, crossed shields, lynx heads, a round shield, a rosette, and a helmet(?) decorate the remaining lappets of the upper row, while floral motifs, palmettes, paired elephant heads, paired rams' heads, helmets, a gorgoneion, and crossed shields embellish those of the lower. The breastplate composition depicts a candelabrum supported by dancing winged Victories wearing short chitons. The Victories dance over the tendrils and blossoms of an acanthus vine that decorates the lower edge of the breastplate.

The fragmentary statue in Saintes is a local find from a Roman military camp.[49] Only the lappets, leather straps, and leg fragments have been preserved. The loricate torso above the lappet zone comprised a separate piece that fit into the lower portion of the torso by means of a large quadrangular tenon. Standard early Flavian motifs decorate the surviving lappets. Paired rams' heads, lions' heads, crossed shields, and a Medusa head embellish lappets of the upper row, and a rosette, crossed shields, and helmets decorate those of the lower. The motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare survives on a lappet in the upper row over the right hip. A badly deteriorated pendant can be recognized on a poorly preserved lappet over the left hip.

Clearly a symbol of victory, the motif of an eagle

47. The Sabratha statues of Vespasian and Titus date no earlier than 71, the year Titus celebrated his triumph, but may date as late as 81, the year he died. The absence of a third statue honoring Domitian precludes a date during the late Flavian period. If the two statues had been erected after the death of Titus, they certainly would have been accompanied by a statue of Domitian.

48. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus (see Stemmer VI 2, pp. 73–74, pl. 74, figs. 1–3; Vermeule, *Berytus* 15 [1964], p. 102, no. 94, pl. 20, figs. 7, 7A).

Figure 12. Cuirassed statue of Vespasian, front view. Sabratha, Museum of Antiquities 659. Photo: Deutsches Archäologisches Intitut, Rome.

Figure 13. Late Flavian cuirassed torso, front view. Frankfurt, Liebieghaus. Photo courtesy Liebieghaus.

vanquishing a hare allegorizes the military strength of the Flavian dynasty. The particular motif of an eagle grasping the underbelly of a hare demonstrates the total helplessness of the enemy in the face of the greater military strength of the Roman army. It is also possible that the eagle grasping the hare's underbelly alludes to Legion XXI Rapax. Although the official emblem of this legion was the zodiacal sign Capricorn, the motif of a predatory eagle descending on its prey certainly reflects the meaning of the name "Rapax."[50] Stationed at Bonna during the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, Legion XXI Rapax was transferred to Moguntiacum to serve in the war against the Chatti.[51] Remaining there until 89 or 90, Legion XXI Rapax may have played a role in the war against the Marcomanni. After it had disgraced itself through participation in the revolt of Saturninus in 88–89, Domitian transferred Legion XXI Rapax to the Danube frontier to fight in his war against the Sarmatians.[52] Since nothing further is known of its history, Legion XXI Rapax must have been lost or disbanded shortly thereafter. Perhaps the deployment of an eagle grasping the underbelly of a hare as a lappet motif on late Flavian cuirassed statues reflects the successes of Legion XXI Rapax in Domitian's northern wars. The consequent absence of this subject in the repertory of lappet motifs on late and post-Domitianic cuirassed statues may therefore have been precipitated by the disgrace and later disbandment of the legion.

Prior to its use as a lappet motif on Flavian cuirassed statues, the subject of an eagle vanquishing a hare appeared as a decorative type on Greek coins struck in the late fifth century B.C. Those from Sicilian Acragas are the best known and the most admired. The motif occurs on *decadrachms, tetradrachms, hemidrachms, hemilitrae,*

49. Saintes, Musée Archéologique (see Stemmer V 25a, p. 69, pl. 45, fig. 2).

50. L. Keppie, *The Making of the Roman Army* (Totowa, 1984), p. 21.

51. Parker (note 18), p. 150; Syme (note 18), p. 41; H. Schönberger, "The Roman Frontier in Germany: An Archaeological Survey," *Journal of Roman Studies* 59 (1969), p. 158.

52. Parker (note 18), pp. 158–159; Syme (note 18), pp. 43–45.

Figure 14a. *Tetradrachm* from Acragas (obverse), late fifth century B.C. (SNG. ANS III 1000). New York, American Numismatic Society. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 14b. Reverse of figure 14a. Photo: R. Gergel.

triantes, and *hexantes* minted in that city.[53] A *tetradrachm* in the American Numismatic Society, New York, demonstrates the major characteristics of the type.[54] On the obverse appears Helios (fig. 14a), dressed in a long billowing chiton, driving a chariot to left. The reverse depicts two eagles devouring a hare (fig. 14b). The eagles stand in profile, facing right, with their talons grasping the underbelly of the hapless creature. The eagle in the background, with its wings partially spread, bends down to tear at the body of the hare while its mate in the foreground, with closed wings, raises its head to drink the animal's blood.

The victory of Exanaetus of Acragas in the Olympic games in 412 B.C. may have prompted the striking of the *tetradrachm* issue with the chariot obverse type.[55] The reverse subject of two eagles devouring a hare reflects a passage in the *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus in which the chorus narrates how Agamemnon and Menelaus, the two commanders of the Greeks, were "sped with avenging spear and arm against the Teucrian land by the inspiriting omen appearing to the kings of the ships—the kingly birds, one black, one white of tail, hard by the palace, on the spear-hand, in a station full conspicuous, devouring a hare with brood unborn checked in the last effort to escape."[56] The appearance of this motif on coins minted in Acragas constitutes a tribute to the great dramatist, who died in neighboring Gela in 456 B.C. The same motif also appears as an obverse type on issues that depict a crab on the reverse with representations of either Scylla or a fish.[57] Additional specimens show a single eagle devouring a hare on the obverse.[58] These issues terminate with the de-

53. *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: The Collection of the American Numismatic Society,* vol. 3 (New York, 1975), nos. 1000 (*tetradrachm*), 1000–1014 (*hemidrachms*), 1022–1027 (*hemilitrae*), 1034–1046 (*triantes*), 1053–1055 (*hexantes*). Note also the *decadrachm* in the Arthur Stone Dewing Collection, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. See J. Oleson, *Greek Numismatic Art: Coins of the Arthur Stone Dewing Collection,* exh. cat. (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, 1975), no. 39a–b.

54. *SNG. ANS III* (note 53), no. 1000, pl. 29.

55. C. M. Kraay and M. Hirmer, *Greek Coins* (New York, 1966), p. 296.

56. Aeschylus, *Agamemnon,* ll. 108–120 (Loeb edn., trans. H. Weir Smyth).

57. Kraay and Hirmer (note 55), p. 296, nos. 174–175, pl. 60.

58. Ibid., p. 296, no. 173, pl. 60.

59. Ibid., p. 342, nos. 492, 493, 496, 497, pl. 154–156.

60. See M. Gramatopol, *Collection Latomus,* vol. 138, *Les pierres gravées du Cabinet numismatique de l'Académie Roumaine* (Brussels, 1974), p. 81, nos. 559–560, pl. 26; M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the Royal Coin Cabinet, The Hague* (The Hague, 1978), p. 288, no. 563, pl. 103; E. Zwierlein-Diehl, *Die antiken Gemmen des Kunsthistorischen Museums in Wien* (Munich, 1979), vol. 2, p. 140, no. 1160, pl 96; M. Henig, *A Corpus of Roman Engraved Gemstones from British Sites, B.A.R.* 8, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1978), p. 270, no. 704, pl. 22.

61. See Gramatopol (note 60), p. 81, no. 561, pl. 26; Maaskant-

struction of Acragas by Carthage in 406 B.C. A related motif depicting an eagle in full flight grasping the back of a hare also occurs as an obverse type on a series of fifth-century staters struck in Elis.[59] The examples from Acragas, however, correspond more closely to later representations of this subject on the lappets of Flavian cuirassed statues.

The motif of an eagle vanquishing a hare reappears on gems of the Roman period. Two different types predominate in gemstone production. One type depicts an eagle with half-spread wings bending over its victim.[60] The other shows an eagle with closed wings devouring its victim on an altar.[61] Further examples depict an eagle about to vanquish a hare that has been cornered by a dog.[62] These examples attest to a renewed popularity of this motif in the first century of the principate.

The motif of an eagle vanquishing a hare also appears on several funerary altars dated to the first century A.D. On a fragmentary altar in the Musei Vaticani, Amon heads at the front corners and bucrania at the rear support a richly carved fruit garland.[63] Below the bucrania at the rear appear swans with their young, and below the Amon heads at the front stand eagles clutching hares. On the funerary altar of Tegnatius Nicephorus in the Detroit Institute of Arts, an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare appears at each of the four corners below tall winged Victories wearing long, billowing chitons on the front, and Amon heads on the back (figs. 15a, b).[64] Elaborate garlands decorate the front and both sides of the altar. Above the garland on the front appears a three-figure group comprising a draped female figure fleeing to left, a nude male figure wearing a cloak, and a child suspended upside down in the coils of a great snake (fig. 15b). A cat fighting a cock appears below the garland. An urceus and a swan appear above the garland on the left side of the altar with a roe deer below (fig. 15a). A patera and a swan decorate the right side of the altar above the garland, with a panther attacking a stag below. The rich plasticity of the carving and the exuberant surface treatment suggest a date during the late Flavian period.

The most extraordinary example of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare decorates the front of the funerary altar of Publius Annius Eros in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Levy, New York (figs. 16a–f).[65] Dated securely to the Domitianic age on the basis of style, the carving and execution of the altar are of the highest possible quality. Despite damage to the ram's head at the front right corner, the front face and sides are miraculously well preserved. The decoration of the rear face, however, is almost completely obliterated. Apparently, the altar fell forward off a supporting base or ledge in ancient times, damaging the front right corner in the process and leaving the back surface exposed to the elements.

The four sides of the altar bear an incredibly rich iconographic program (figs. 16a–e). A luxurious garland hangs from rams' heads above ornate, sphinx-decorated candelabra at the four corners. The motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare appears above the garland on the front (fig. 16b) and is repeated on the back. An urceus occupies its customary position high on the left side of the altar, and a patera its usual corresponding position on the right. Scenes related to themes of eternity and the afterlife decorate the sides of the altar below the garland. The twins nurtured by the she-wolf can be found on the front (fig. 16a), Zeus nurtured by the goat Amalthea decorates the left side (fig. 16c), Telephus nurtured by the hind appears on the right side (fig. 16d), and a hare eating grapes embellishes the back (fig. 16e). With its wealth of imagery and high level of execution, the monument to P. Annius Eros ranks among the finest in a closely related group of funerary altars dated to the age of Domitian.[66]

Epigraphic evidence supports the stylistic attribution of this altar to the late Flavian period. The inscription (fig. 16f) on the front of the altar records that the monument was dedicated to Publius Annius Eros and to his wife, Offilia Romana, by his loyal freedmen, Trophimus and Stephanus.[67] An inscription from Pozzuoli

Kleinbrink (note 60), pp. 259–260, no. 689, pl. 120; Henig (note 60), p. 270, no. 702, pl. 21.

62. See Zwierlein-Diehl (note 60), vol. 2, p. 75, no. 871, pl. 44; P. Zazoff, *Antiken Gemmen. Eine Auswahl: Kataloge der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Kassel, Nr. 2* (Kassel, 1969), p. 20, no. 38, pl. 14, figs. 80, 81.

63. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Giardino della Pigna 24; W. Altmann, *Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit* (Berlin, 1905), p. 95.

64. Detroit Institute of Arts 38.107; inscription published: CIL VI, 17102.

65. Unpublished; currently on loan to Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, inv. L.1984.119.1.

66. The moldings and garlands on the altar of P. Annius Eros are very close to those on the grave altar of P. Fundanius Velinus in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; see Altmann (note 63), pp. 80–81, no. 42, fig. 67. The Claudian-age grave altar of L. Volusius Urbanus in the Vatican displays a similar but less exuberantly worked garland above a she-wolf and twins; see ibid., pp. 50, no. 2, fig. 40; 51. A late Claudian/early Flavian ossuarium in the Terme, Rome, also shows a similarly rich treatment of the garland and a nearly identical leaf-and-dart pattern on the cyma recta of the lower molding; see B. Candida, *Altari e cippi nel Museo Nazionale Romano* (Rome, 1979), pp. 18–20, no. 5, pl. 5.

67. Inscription unpublished: *DIS • MANIBVS • SACR / P • ANNI • EROTIS • ET / OFFILIAE • ROMANAE / VXORIS • ET / P • P • TROPHIMI • ET • STEPHANI • LIB.*

Figure 15a. Funerary altar of Tegnatius Nicephorus, three-quarter view from left, first century A.D. Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Mrs. Standish Backus, 38.107. Photo courtesy Founders Society Detroit Institute of Arts.

Figure 15b. Front view of figure 15a. Photo courtesy Founders Society Detroit Institute of Arts.

identifies P. Annius Eros as the freedman, in turn, of P. Annius Plocamus.[68] The elder Pliny records that "Annius Plocamus had obtained a contract from the Treasury to collect the taxes from the Red Sea" during the reign of Claudius.[69] Thus if Plocamus prospered during the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54), he may have lived well into the reign of Nero (54–68); and his freedman, Eros, would quite likely have lived through the reigns of Vespasian (69–79) and Titus (79–81), and perhaps even into the early years of the reign of Domitian (81–96). The eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare on the face of the altar reflects the popularity of this motif during the early years of the reign of Domitian, and its presence guarantees a share in the military glory of the Flavian dynasty for the deceased and his family.

A review of the evidence demonstrates that the lappet motif of an eagle clutching the back of a hare appears only on cuirassed statues erected during the early Flavian period and that the subject alludes, in this context, to the Judean triumph of Titus. The lappet motif of an eagle clutching the underbelly of a hare, however, appears only on cuirassed statues dated to the late Flavian period and allegorically celebrates Domitian's military successes against the peoples of northern Europe. The presence on the Getty Museum's torso of the latter motif ensures, therefore, that the work dates to the late Flavian period. Iconographic similarities shared with the Domitianic cuirassed torso in the Art Museum, Princeton, establish an association with Domitian's campaign against the Chatti. The Getty Museum's torso dates, accordingly, no earlier than the celebration of Domitian's triumph in the late summer or fall of 83, but not later than the final completion of the war against the Chatti in 85, or shortly thereafter.

68. CIL X 2389: *C • ERVCIO • HENIOCHO / C • ERVCIVS • FAVSTVS • LIB / SIBI • ET • SVIS ET / ERVCIO • OCEANO • CONL • ET / P • ANNIO • PLOCAMI • L • EROTI / AMICO.*

69. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.24.84, Loeb edn., trans. by H. Rackham. For a recent examination on the *gens* Annia and P. Annius Plocamus, see G. Camodeca, "La gens Annia puteolana in età giulio-claudia," *Puteoli: Studi di storia antica* 3 (1979), pp. 23–29. I wish to thank my colleague, Dr. Charles Ebel, History Deparment, Central Michigan University, for his assistance in researching the inscription on the altar of P. Annius Eros.

Figure 16a. Funerary altar of P. Annius Eros, front view. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Leon Levy, New York. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 16b. Detail front of figure 16a: eagle and hare. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 16c. Left side of figure 16a. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 16d. Right side of figure 16a. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 16e. Rear view of figure 16a. Photo: R. Gergel.

Figure 16f. Detail of figure 16a: inscription on front. Photo: R. Gergel.

Domitian undoubtedly commemorated his victory over the Chatti with the erection of numerous statues and trophies in the city of Rome and elsewhere.[70] The Getty Museum's torso, however, depicts its subject dressed in the undecorated cuirass of a field officer. It is unlikely, therefore, that it represents the emperor himself. If not the emperor, the torso must depict one of Domitian's generals.[71] The most likely candidate is C. Velius Rufus. With the vexillations of nine legions under his command, Velius Rufus must have been Domitian's primary military representative at the Rhine frontier during the war against the Chatti.[72] The Museum's torso accordingly may have been part of a multi-figure victory group, perhaps including the portrait of the emperor, portraits of his officers, and decorated trophies.[73]

Although always popular with the military, Domitian's increasingly autocratic rule alienated him from the Senate and the patrician class.[74] A conspiracy instituted against him by his wife and his chamberlain led to his assassination on September 18, 96.[75] While the soldiers clamored for his deification, the Senate voted to have his name stricken from inscriptions and his portrait statues removed.[76] Many of Domitian's portraits and monuments were destroyed. Works in precious metals undoubtedly were melted down. Statues in marble, if not destroyed, had their portraits recarved or replaced.[77] Like many of Domitian's monuments, the Museum's torso may have been damaged at this time; the legs and tunic hem may have been restored later as a separate piece. The breastplate, if originally painted, may have been altered or its surface recarved. The head, too, may have been replaced. Whether it represents a field officer or the emperor himself, the Museum's torso remains an important document for the celebration of Domitian's Chatti campaign.

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70. For comment on the numerous statues erected to celebrate Domitian's military successes, see Dio 67.8.1 and Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 52.3.

71. Vermeule, *Jewish Relationships with the Art of Ancient Greece and Rome* (note 1), pp. 21–22, dates the Getty Museum torso to the early Flavian period and proposes that the work might represent one of the generals who fought under Titus in the Judean war, or "perhaps one of the two Jews who served the Flavian dynasty so well, Josephus or Tiberius Alexander."

72. ILS 9200. Jones (note 16), p. 89, notes that Velius Rufus "was the first Roman equestrian since Caponius in A.D. 6 to be recorded as possessing the *ius gladius.*"

73. R. Brilliant, *Roman Art from the Republic to Constantine* (New York, 1974), p. 116, hypothesizes on the reconstruction of a similar monument, comprising the Trophies of Marius on the Capitoline combined with the fragments of a colossal portrait of Domitian in the Palazzo Farnese.

74. For a recent evaluation of the literature concerning Domitian's relationship with the Senatorial class in Rome, see B. W. Jones, *Domitian and the Senatorial Order: A Prosopographical Study of Domitian's Relationship with the Senate, A.D. 81–96* (Philadelphia, 1979), esp. pp. 83–87.

75. Dio 67.15.1–6, 17.1–2.

76. Suetonius *Domitian* 23.

77. For a recent study on recarved portraits of Nero and Domitian, see M. Bergmann and P. Zanker, " 'Damnatio Memoriae' umgearbeitete Nero- und Domitiansportrats: Zur Ikonographie der flavischen Kaiser und Nerva," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 96 (1981), pp. 317–412.

Eugène Delacroix's *Education of Achilles*

Lee Johnson

In his last will and testament, dictated on August 3, 1863, ten days before he died, Eugène Delacroix inserted a special clause directing that two of his works on paper be included in the public sale of the contents of his studio. One was a still life, a strikingly beautiful and variegated watercolor study of flowers, the other an exceptionally fine study of action, a preparatory drawing for the *Education of Achilles* (fig. 1).[1] The former was bequeathed to the Louvre in 1965, having once belonged to Cézanne, who copied it in oils; the latter was donated to the Louvre by Paul de Laage in 1868, four years after he had bought it at Delacroix's posthumous sale (lot 277).[2] Delacroix instructed that all his works, excluding personal bequests, were to go to public auction. In addition to the specific bequests designated in his will, however, he made an open-ended provision: each of the seven friends of the artist charged with classifying his drawings for the sale was permitted to select an important one for himself. The special clause relating to the *Flowers* and *Education of Achilles* was evidently intended to prevent two works he was particularly proud of from being chosen by these legatees and thus removed from public view. He would no doubt have been delighted to learn that, owing to the generosity of private benefactors, they both ended up in the Louvre, albeit nearly a century apart.

The drawing of the *Education of Achilles* is the most advanced preparatory study known for the pendentive of this subject in the so-called Poetry cupola in the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés in the Palais Bourbon (fig. 2), and scarcely differs from it in design, except that the centaur clasps only a bow, without arrows, and Achilles holds his bow at a slightly different angle.[3] The pendentive was probably painted in 1845 and is possibly the last of the twenty in the five cupolas comprising the cycle. Delacroix's two principal assistants on the scheme record that it is entirely from his hand.[4] It is exceptional among the pendentive designs not only for its intrinsic beauty and energy, but in being at once so harmoniously adapted to the intractable hexagonal field and so forcefully coordinated with the decoration of the adjoining half-dome: the centaur gallops forward and to the left, directly toward the half-dome, which closes the cycle and represents Attila and his hordes overrunning Italy and the arts, where the charging Huns on horseback in the foreground, one drawing an arrow from his quiver, extend the action and lead the eye to Attila in the center.

The centaur is of course Chiron, who instructed all the most illustrious Greek heroes in the arts of hunting, music, medicine, gymnastics, and prophecy. Accounts of the education of Achilles by Chiron are to be found in Statius *Achilleid* 2.381–452 and Ovid *Fasti* 5.385–386. As the hero of the *Iliad,* Achilles does not seem out of place in a cupola devoted to Poetry. On the other hand, the poetry of Homer is already commemorated in another pendentive in the same cupola, representing Alexander the Great preserving Homer's poems, and since Delacroix did not, in his published description of the completed scheme, assign the general titles to each cupola that have been attributed to them by later writers, he may well have intended the subject of Achilles to exemplify education as much as poetry. This is at least suggested by one of the notes he made when first drawing up a list of possible themes for the decorations: "Education: Education d'Achille. Chiron."[5]

The source of this group is clearly the Hadrianic marble *Centaur with Cupid* in the Louvre, which Delacroix would have known in the original as well as from François Perrier's two etchings of the sculpture (fig. 3), after

1. "J'entends expressément qu'on comprenne dans la vente un grand cadre brun représentant des Fleurs comme posées au hasard sur un fond gris, et un Centaure à la mine de plomb" (transcript of the will in P. Burty [ed.], *Lettres de Eugène Delacroix* [Paris, 1878], p. viii.)

2. *Flowers*: inv. RF31719; M. Sérullaz et al., *Inventaire général des dessins, école française: Dessins d'Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1984), vol. 1, no. 1233, pl. on p. 32; *Education of Achilles:* inv. MI1079; ibid., no. 307.

3. A preliminary oil sketch that passed in Delacroix's posthumous sale (lot 25) has not, to my knowledge, come to light since 1878 nor has it ever been reproduced.

4. G. Lassalle-Bordes, in P. Burty (ed.), *Lettres de Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1880), vol. 2, p. ix; L. de Planet, *Souvenirs de travaux de peinture avec M. Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1929), p. 18.

5. Santa Monica, Getty Center for the Humanities and the History of Art, Archives of the History of Art 860470. For full transcript, see P. Angrand, "Genèse des travaux d'Eugène Delacroix à la bibliothèque de la Chambre," *Archives de l'art français,* new per. 25 (1978), pp. 315–17.

Figure 1. Eugène Delacroix (French, 1798–1863). *The Education of Achilles*. Pencil. 23.4 × 36 cm (9¼ × 14³⁄₁₆ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris.

one of which he or a member of his studio made a meticulous copy (fig. 4).[6] But with a characteristically fresh and imaginative approach to the Antique, the artist transformed a relatively static image of a passive centaur supposedly tamed by a Cupid without bow or quiver into an extraordinarily dynamic one of a centaur at full gallop carrying a naked young Achilles armed with the attributes that the Cupid lacks, and directing his aim toward an unseen prey. It would be hard to find a more perfect embodiment of Delacroix's description of the true spirit of the Antique as consisting not, as he put it, in making isolated figures look like statues, but in "l'ampleur savante des formes combinée avec le sentiment de la vie, . . . la largeur des plans et la grâce de l'ensemble."[7]

Though Delacroix painted a small hexagonal replica based on the oil sketch for Constant Dutilleux in 1847,[8] the year he completed the library decorations, we do

6. The drawing was copied, possibly traced, from plate 7 of Perrier's *Segmenta nobilium signorum et statuarum que temporis dentem invidium evase* (Rome and Paris, 1638). Figure 3 illustrates Cornelis van Dalen's engraving of Perrier's plate 8 in the Dutch edition of the *Segmenta nobilium* . . . (Amsterdam, 1702). Perrier's prints reverse the statue, whereas van Dalen's show it the right way round.

7. "Prudhon," *Revue des deux mondes,* Nov. 1, 1846 (reprint. in *Eugène Delacroix: Oeuvres littéraires* [Paris, 1923], vol. 2, p. 143).

8. Now Montpellier, Musée Fabre; see M. Sérullaz, *Mémorial de l'exposition Eugène Delacroix organisée au Musée du Louvre à l'occasion du centenaire de la mort de l'artiste* (Paris, 1963), no. 392.

Figure 2. E. Delacroix. *The Education of Achilles*. Oil on canvas (applied to ceiling). 221 × 291 cm (87 × 114⁹/₁₆ in.). Paris, Palais Bourbon, Library. Photo: S.E.D.I., Paris.

Figure 3. C. van Dalen (after Perrier). *Centaur with Cupid.* Engraving. Photo: L. Johnson.

Figure 4. E. Delacroix or His Studio. *Centaur with Cupid.* Pencil on tracing paper(?). 21 × 14.5 cm (8¼ × 5¹¹/₁₆ in.). Location unknown.

not hear of another version in oils until September 1858, when he records in his *Journal* while staying in his country property at Champrosay: "J'ai avancé beaucoup quelques tableaux: . . . Le Centaure et Achille."[9] This is the splendid rectangular variant, apparently not finished before 1862, since it bears that date (fig. 5). It cannot be denied that the group loses something in being transferred from the format for which it was originally designed, particularly in the extension of Chiron's hind legs, which, cut short by the frame in the pendentive, are now seen full-length, hooves upturned, in a position that seems grotesquely unnatural, even if allowance is made for the prevailing convention of the flying gallop. But what is sacrificed in the adaptation to an oblong format is compensated for by a gain in variety and vigor of brushwork and by the added beauty of the expansive landscape and cloud-strewn sky with birds for Achilles to aim at. Also, there is some tidying up of detail in the accessories. The arrows bunched in Chiron's hand and, with the bow, overlapping his left

9. A. Joubin (ed.), *Journal de Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1950), vol. 3, p. 213.

10. P. Burty, "L'exposition du cercle de la rue de Choiseul et de la société nationale des beaux-arts," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 16 (1864), p. 368.

11. The provenance of this pastel is as follows: It passed to an unknown buyer, perhaps Khalil Bey, in the George Sand (anonymous) sale of April 23, 1864 (lot 40), which included a further ten drawings and watercolors by Delacroix and nine of his paintings. At the Khalil Bey sale of January 16, 1868 (lot 22), it was knocked down to Gavet for Fr. 3,000. It subsequently belonged to Quincy Shaw McKean of Boston, Richard S. Davis of New York and London, and, finally, to John R. Gaines of Lexington, Kentucky, in whose sale at Sotheby's, New York, on November 17, 1986 (lot 29), it was acquired by the Getty Museum. It is illustrated in color in the Sotheby's sale catalogue. On Khalil Bey as a collector, though without reference to this work, see F. Haskell, "A Turk and his Pictures in Nineteenth-Century Paris," in *Past and Present in Art and Taste* (New Haven and

foreleg, have been done away with, the angle of the bow altered, and a strap placed across his back to suggest that he is carrying a quiver to contain his arrows.

Not surprisingly, this picture was much admired by Delacroix's friends, among them the dealer Francis Petit, George Sand, and Philippe Burty, who in 1864 remarked on its rich conjunction of landscape, the nude, and a horse's croup, and how it showed above all "avec quelle liberté [Delacroix] savait traduire la fable et donner vie aux personnages héroïques."[10] He might also have mentioned the inclusion of another favorite motif of Delacroix's, not found in the pendentive, namely the bounding feline in the left middle ground.

In Francis Petit's and George Sand's admiration of this version lies the origin of Delacroix's final treatment of the subject, in the exquisite pastel recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (fig. 6).[11] Alfred Robaut, who had evidently not seen it, listed this pastel without illustration among the studies for the pendentive in the Palais Bourbon, in his catalogue raisonné of 1885.[12] The Getty Trust, however, has by an extraordinary coincidence come into possession not only of the pastel itself but also of documentary evidence indicating its date and how it came to be owned by George Sand, as I discovered when studying for a different purpose photocopies of the Delacroix autographs held by the Getty Center for the Humanities and the History of Art, which were sent to me shortly after the pastel was acquired by the museum.[13]

It was previously known that in a letter of May 2, 1862, Delacroix had offered Francis Petit the 1862 painting of the education of Achilles in return for his help in placing four large flower paintings and as an alternative to a commission: "Je pourrais, par exemple," he wrote, "m'arranger pour avoir à ma disposition un petit tableau qui a paru vous plaire chez moi, et dont je puis changer la destination, et qui a l'avantage d'être achevé: c'est le petit Achille monté sur le centaure Chiron."[14] In the event, Petit did not succeed in selling the flower pieces and did not get the *Education of Achilles* (or, presumably, a fee). Not immediately, that is. Delacroix left it to him in his will a year later.[15] George Sand, who would, it seems, have liked to have it, got instead the pastel version made specially for her. This is revealed in the following, apparently unpublished letters from Delacroix to Sand and to her son, Maurice, on the occasion of the latter's engagement to Carolina Calamatta, daughter of the engraver who in 1836, much to Delacroix's distress, had made a botched job of engraving his portrait of George Sand dressed as a man, painted in November 1834:[16]

[To Maurice Sand]

Ce l[er] mai 1862.

Cher ami,

je voudrais envoyer à ta bonne mère une petite caisse; dis-moi comment il faut l'adresser et si c'est à La Châtre comme les lettres:[17] écris-moi cela le plutôt possible tu m'obligeras beaucoup. Je t'embrasse bien en attendant.

Eug Delacroix
rue de Furstemberg 6.

[To George Sand]

Ce 4 mai 1862.

Chère amie,

je suis heureux de votre bonheur qui sera celui de Maurice: il a grand raison de ne point se lancer dans des enrichis ou des parvenus qui ne connaissent que la vanité et l'extérieur des choses. En vérité à présent toutes les têtes sont tournées et cela est plaisant dans un temps d'égalité: on veut être aristocrate par sa robe et par son ameublement; éclabousser son égal est le bonheur suprême de cette égalité. Vous auriez personnellement souffert du contraste de vos goûts si simples avec ceux d'une mijaurée. Calamatta est un homme que je crois excellent et puisque sa fille est tout ce que vous dites, rien ne me paraît plus propre à vous rendre heureux tous: c'est une si grosse affaire!

Imaginez que je vous ai broché en deux ou trois matinées un petit pastel du centaure: vous devriez l'avoir à présent et voilà un encadreur maudit qui me le retient indéfiniment. Cela est bien imparfait mais sera un souvenir de celui qui vous a plu et dont malheureusement et définitivement je n'ai pu disposer. Tout ce beau feu où vous m'avez vu est un peu cohué [sic]: je ne me porte pas bien et j'aurais cependant bien besoin d'avoir

London, 1987), pp. 175–185.

12. A. Robaut, *L'oeuvre complet de Eugène Delacroix* (Paris, 1885), no. 841.

13. I am extremely grateful to Lorenz Eitner for bringing the Delacroix holdings to my attention, and to JoAnne Paradise, Getty Center for the Humanities and the History of Art, for providing me with photocopies.

14. A. Joubin (ed.), *Correspondance générale d'Eugène Delacroix,* vol. 4 (Paris, 1938), pp. 315–316.

15. See above (note 1).

16. Santa Monica, Getty Center for the Humanities and the History of Art, Archives of the History of Art 860470. Accents omitted by Delacroix have been added. On the portrait and Calamatta's engraving, see L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix: A Critical Catalogue, 1832–1863* (Oxford, 1986), vols. 3, no. 223; 4, pl. 44.

17. That is, to George Sand's country property at Nohant.

Figure 5. E. Delacroix. *The Education of Achilles*. Oil on canvas. 38 × 46 cm (15 × 18⅛ in.). Paris, private collection. Photo: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites, Paris.

toute mon armée à mes ordres pour certains engagements que j'ai contractés pour un temps fixé. Vous avez subi une rude épreuve l'année dernière, mais vous êtes de ces robustes tempéraments qui retrouvent toutes leurs forces après une belle et bonne maladie:[18] moi je suis comme un hanneton au bout d'un fil: quand je veux prendre mon vol je me sens retenu à chaque instant par une petite santé capricieuse qui fait pour moi des montagnes de ce qui ne serait rien pour tout le monde. Heureusement je connais moins l'ennui qu'autrefois: cela vient peut-être de ce que je ne m'amuse pas autant.

Adieu chère amie, je vous embrasse bien sincèrement et vous prie de féliciter Maurice, je donne à Calamatta une bonne poignée de main. S'il vous fait un beau cadeau, il acquiert près de vous et dans votre affection tous les gages possibles de bonheur futur.

Adieu chère amie
E Delacroix

Mille choses les plus reconnaissantes et les plus amicales à M. Manceau.[19]

It may be wondered if Delacroix was being entirely frank with his old friend when he told her that the version she liked was definitely not available, for that version can only have been the picture that he had tentatively offered to Petit two days before and had at his

18. George Sand had contracted typhoid.

19. Alexandre Damien Manceau, 1817–1865, engraver and playwright, George Sand's secretary.

Figure 6. E. Delacroix. *The Education of Achilles.* Pastel. 25.5 × 46 cm (10 1/16 × 15 7/8 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.GG.728.

disposal until his death. Moreover the artist had told Petit in his letter of May 2 that he could change the destination of this picture. Was it originally earmarked for George Sand's collection?

Whatever the answer, George Sand can have had no cause for complaint in receiving the pastel as a gift instead of the painting, for it is, despite Delacroix's diffident tone in presenting it, his most mature and most refined conception of the subject. Only a few inches smaller than the painting, it appears at first sight to be a replica of it in a different medium. But closer inspection shows that Delacroix made a number of subtle adjustments to the design which add cohesion and clarity to the group, force to the action. Chiron's right foreleg, which dangles somewhat obtrusively in the painting, has been shortened and aligned with his bow, now vertical, and with Achilles' foot. Thus loose extremities are bound into a tighter, more closed vertical arrangement. At the same time the new position of Achilles' foot also brings his leg and torso into a more diagonal configuration, in unison with Chiron's upraised arm. Thus attention is directed more forcefully to the right, where the main action occurs, and here greater clarity has been achieved by lowering Achilles' bow so that it no longer overlaps Chiron's arm, a more compact unity realized by placing the quiver nearer to his thigh, closing a distracting gap.

Ever since 1827–1828, when he had painted the *Death of Sardanapalus,* in which he is reported to have wished to match with oils the "blondeur et fraîcheur" of pastel, Delacroix occasionally made preparatory studies in pastel for his paintings, but signed presentation pieces of the sort he gave to George Sand in 1862 are very rare, and I know of none more exquisitely wrought or more sensitively designed than the *Education of Achilles.* A pastel version of the small canvas of 1847, *Lélia Mourns*

over Sténio's Body, which depicts a scene from George Sand's novel *Lélia* (1839 edn.), was in her collection by December 1852 and is now in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris.[20] In this case, too, the painting went to a dealer (Beugniet), the pastel to the novelist. In 1847 Delacroix also made a signed pastel version of the *Agony in the Garden* for Madame Roché, wife of the architect who had erected the artist's brother's tomb at Bordeaux, but did not dispatch it to her until 1850. This work, which, like the pastels of *Lélia* and *Achilles,* was not illustrated by Robaut, has recently come to light.[21] Another fine example of a signed, finished pastel depicts an Arab standing with his horse. It is illustrated by Robaut (no. 981) with one of his thumbnail prints but is little known, as it is now in the Mahmoud Khalil Museum, Cairo. Robaut dates it to 1846, without giving his reasons. It, too, was presumably made for presentation, but to whom is not known.[22]

Among the many fond greetings that Delacroix addressed to George Sand over a period of thirty years, the closing sentences of a letter he wrote a decade before the one published here seem especially apt when considering his final, perhaps his supreme, gift to her during his lifetime (he also remembered her in his will): "Adieu, chère, je vous embrasse bien de coeur, vous qui avez toujours été pour moi la bonté, l'indulgence, le dévouement. J'essaye de vous rendre, et j'espère que ce sera jusqu'à la fin de ma vie."[23]

If George Sand's opinion of the pastel is not recorded, her unstinting admiration of its creator at least is not in doubt. Of the many tributes she paid to his talent and character, these lines addressed to the art historian Théophile Silvestre in 1853 are typical:

> Il y a vingt ans que je suis liée avec lui et par conséquent heureuse de pouvoir dire qu'on doit le louer sans réserve, parce que rien dans la vie de l'homme n'est endessous de la mission si largement remplie du maître. . . . je n'ai probablement rien à vous apprendre sur la constante noblesse de son caractère est l'honorable fidélité de ses amitiés.
>
> Je ne vous apprendrai pas non plus que son esprit est aussi brillant que sa couleur est aussi franc que sa verve. . . . Delacroix, vous pouvez l'affirmer, est un artiste complet.[24]

The pastel of the *Education of Achilles* bears graphic witness to the constancy of that friendship and to the plenitude of that talent extolled by George Sand.

London

20. R. Huyghe, *Delacroix* (London, 1963), pl. 367. The painting is on extended loan to the Stanford Art Museum. For a reproduction in color and full history, see Johnson (note 16), no. 289.

21. Sale: *Nineteenth-Century European Paintings and Drawings,* Sotheby's, London, June 19, 1984, lot 11 unsold (repr. in color). An unpublished letter of February 17, 1850, from Delacroix to M. Roché, announcing the dispatch, was offered with this lot.

22. Reproduced in J. Meier-Graefe, *Eugène Delacroix: Beiträge zu einer Analyse* (Munich, 1922), p. 174.

23. Joubin (note 14), vol. 3, p. 122.

24. Quoted in R. Escholier, *Delacroix: Peintre, graveur, écrivain* (Paris, 1927), vol. 2, pp. 164, 166 (further discussion of the relationship between Delacroix and George Sand, with illustrations of his portraits of her, will be found in the same chapter).

French Renaissance Manuscripts: The 1520s Hours Workshop and the Master of the Getty Epistles

Myra D. Orth

The Epistles of Saint Paul with the prefaces of pseudo-Saint Jerome is an illuminated French Renaissance manuscript now in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms. Ludwig I 15).[1] Until a few years ago the splendid French manuscripts of the sixteenth century were known only to specialists. The catalogues published in conjunction with two separate exhibitions organized by the Pierpont Morgan Library in 1982 and by the Getty Museum in 1983 have at long last provided solid background information against which manuscripts such as the Epistles can be studied in detail.[2]

In the Getty Epistles there are two miniatures: *Saint Jerome in Penitence* (figs. 1a–b) and the standing *Saint Paul* (figs. 2a–b), each enclosed by a monumental architectural frame. They face text pages decorated with lush flower borders in a format duplicating that of French manuscript books of hours attributed to a group I have called the 1520s Hours Workshop. This atelier, with its separate and anonymous masters, can be documented by some twenty richly illuminated manuscripts dating from 1524 to the early 1530s.[3] This essay will outline the evidence that argues for the existence of the workshop, and will show that the Getty Epistles represents the art of its finest master, here named the Master of the Getty Epistles.

The choice of text and the relationship of the Getty Epistles to two other workshop manuscripts with the same subject are issues that must be explored in order to situate the Museum's codex in the context of French thought and patronage in the time of the Reformation. The illuminations in one of these two other Epistles (London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. L. 1721–1921) offer new evidence in favor of locating the 1520s Hours Workshop in the Loire Valley instead of Paris, where it at first seemed likely to have originated. In the London Epistles appears the first known instance of collaboration involving the Master of Claude de France —who, as a follower of Bourdichon, worked at Tours —with two masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop. Borders in two recently discovered books of hours by the Master of Claude de France suggest further links to the workshop (see figs. 11, 12, 14, 15).[4]

MANUSCRIPT WORKSHOPS: DEFINITION AND DOCUMENTATION

Before discussing the 1520s Hours Workshop in detail, we must first define the term *workshop* in the context of manuscript production. The word is not used here to mean "in the style of," but rather as a general designation covering many of the aspects of book pro-

I would particularly like to express my appreciation to Janet Backhouse and Thomas Kren for help and encouragement. Other debts incurred during the writing of this article are detailed in the notes.

Abbreviations

Last Flowering: J. Plummer, *The Last Flowering: French Painting in Manuscripts, 1420–1530* (New York and London, 1982).

Renaissance Painting: T. Kren, ed., *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library* (N.Y. 1983).

Revue: M. Orth, "Geofroy Tory et l'enluminure. Deux livres d'heures de la collection Doheny," *Revue de l'art* 50 (1981), pp. 40–47.

1. A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig,* vol. 1 (Cologne, 1979), pp. 134–139. Dorothy Miner first drew my attention to the miniature of Saint Paul reproduced in Sotheby's, London, catalogue of July 12, 1971, lot 54. Later it appeared in J. F. T. Rogers, *Fifty Books and Manuscripts,* Catalogue Three (London, n.d.), no. 32 (my thanks to Christopher de Hamel for this reference). For a general account of the 1520s Hours Workshop, see M. Orth, "Progressive Tendencies in French Manuscript Illumination 1515–1530: Godefroy le Batave and the 1520s Hours Workshop," unpub. Ph.D. diss., Institute of Fine Arts, New York, 1976, chap. 5.

2. *Last Flowering* (1982) and *Renaissance Painting* (1983). These catalogues and my article on the Doheny Hours, cited as *Revue,* serve as basic references in this article. They should be consulted for bibliography and an overview of the period under discussion.

3. See Orth (note 1); *Last Flowering,* p. 102. (I agree with Plummer that the workshop name is not satisfactory.) These manuscripts are listed here, with bibliography, in Appendix A.

4. On these Epistles, see below (note 42). On the Claude Master, see C. Sterling, *The Master of Claude, Queen of France, a Newly Defined Miniaturist* (New York, 1975); *Last Flowering,* pp. 99–101; J. Backhouse, review of C. Sterling, *Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), pp. 524–526, and her introduction in *Renaissance Painting,* p. 150; R. Wieck, *Late Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts, 1350–1525, in the Houghton Library* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), pp. 44–45; J. J. G. Alexander and E. Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives, and the Taylor Institution*

Figure 1a. Saint Jerome in Penitence. Illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles. From Epistles of Saint Paul. Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 16.3 x 10.2 cm (6⅜ x 4 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig I 15; 83.MA. 64, fols. 4v, 5.

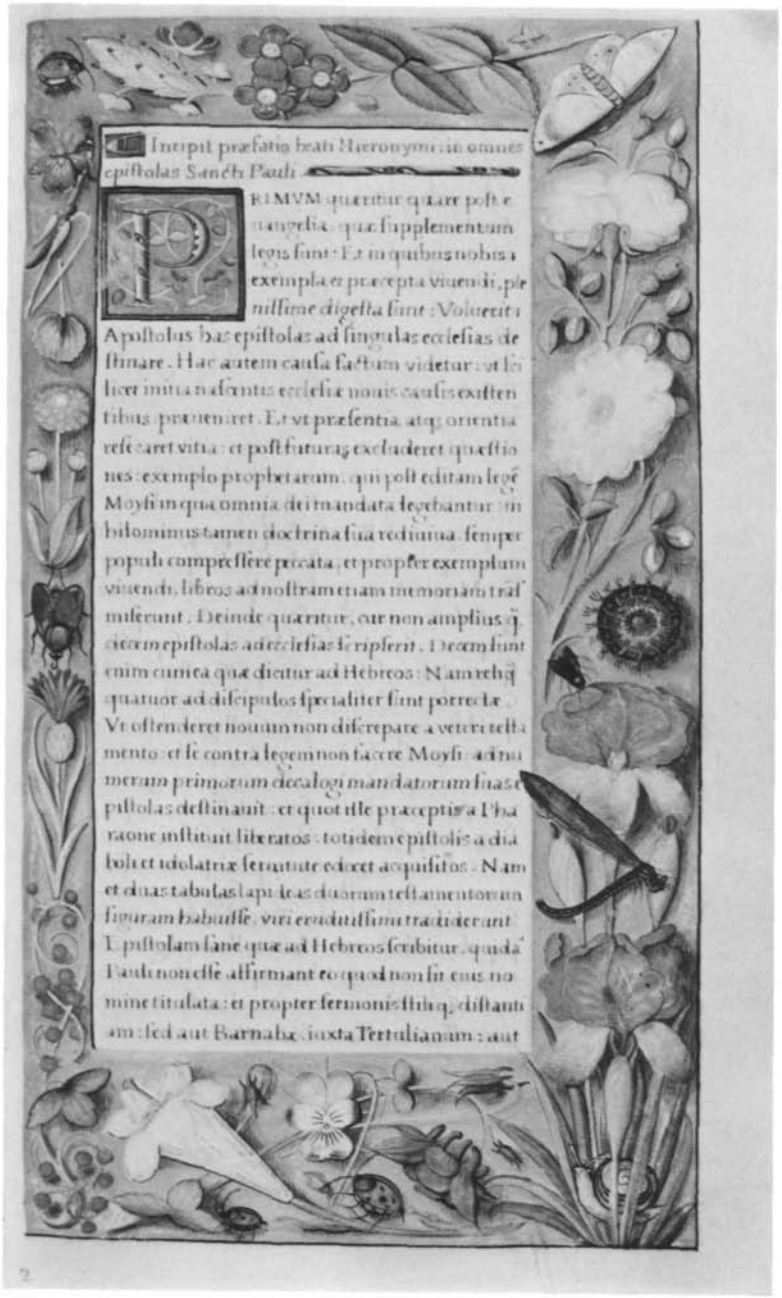

Figure 1b. Recto of figure 1a.

Figure 2a. *Saint Paul.* Illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles. From Epistles of Saint Paul. Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 16.3 x 10.2 cm ($6^3/_8$ x 4 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig I 15; 83.MA.64, fols. 7v, 8.

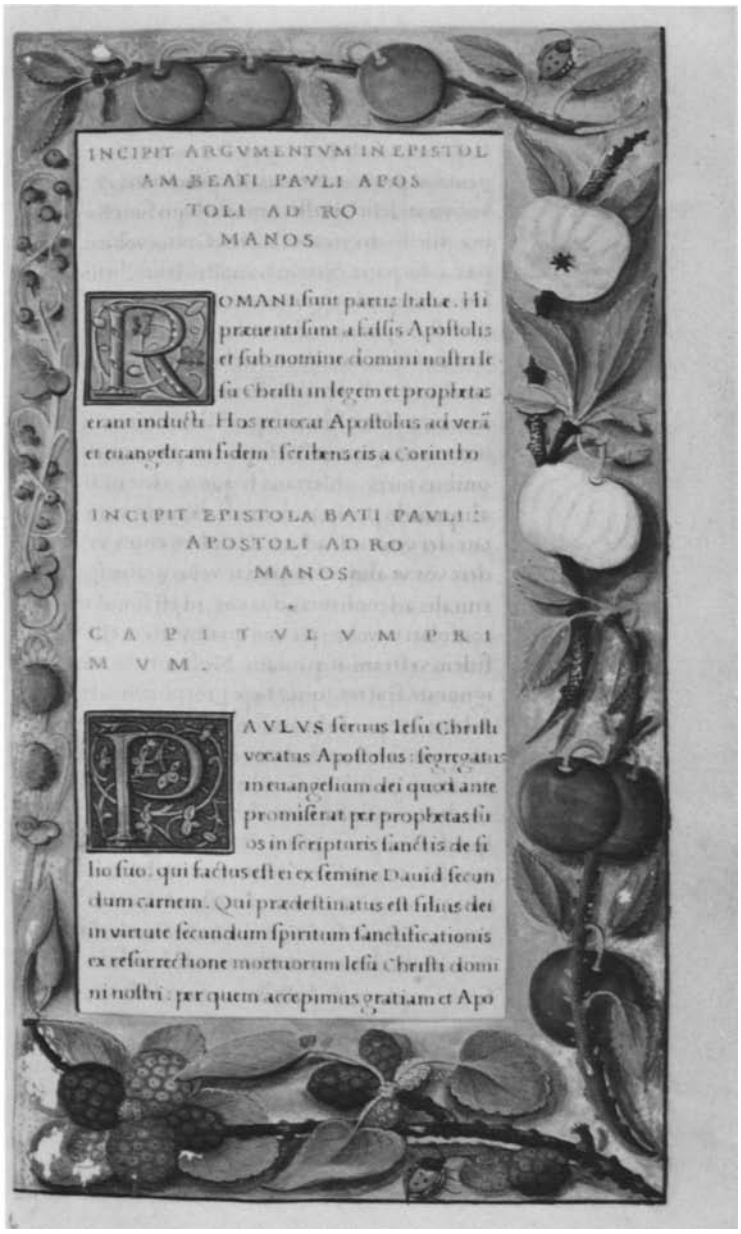

Figure 2b. Recto of figure 2a.

Figure 3a. *Rest on the Flight into Egypt.* Illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles. From Hours of Anne of Austria. Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 14.6 x 8.8 cm (5¾ x 3½ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3090, fols. 58v, 59. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.

Figure 3b. Recto of figure 3a.

duction relevant to manuscripts described in this essay. This usage is not intended to contradict the methods of analysis set forth by L. M. J. Delaissé, who clearly distinguished between the "publishing houses" and the "workshops" of miniaturists. In fact the ideas of Delaissé are central to this discussion, and what he termed the "secondary aspects" of manuscript book decoration are essential to a definition of the relationships among these manuscripts.[5] A survey of such "secondary" elements, including format, script, and decoration,

(Oxford, 1985), nos. 795 (Keble College Ms. 43), 796 (Corpus Christi College Ms. 385), and plates. Claude Master manuscripts have appeared in three recent sales: two books of hours, both Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 63 (London, private collection), and June 25, 1985, lot 104; an Evangelary (a school piece), Paris, Hôtel Drouot, November 20, 1985, lot 86 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale). On borders, see below (notes 14, 15).

5. In this section, paragraphs have all-inclusive footnotes. See the last of a number of publications in which Delaissé described his method: L. M. J. Delaissé, J. Marrow, and J. de Wit, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddeston Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg, 1977), pp. 13–18. As perusal of the individual commentaries in the Waddeston catalogue will show, the method hardly leads to easy and exact conclusions (because of the nature of the hand-produced

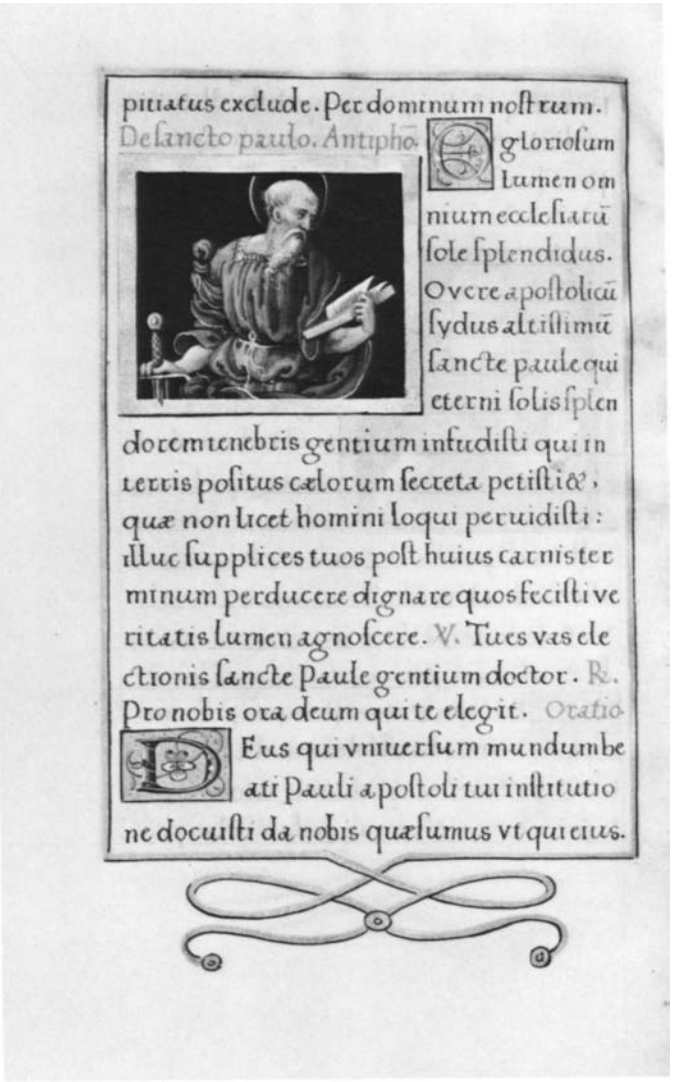

Figure 4. Saint Paul. Illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles. From *Hours for the Use of Paris.* Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 13.8 x 8.7 cm ($5^{7}/_{16}$ x $3^{7}/_{16}$ in.). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 452, fol. 130v. Photo: Morgan Library.

Figure 5. Saint Jude. Flemish, circa 1520. Pen and bister ink on paper. Diam: 24.7 cm ($9^{11}/_{16}$ in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina. Photo: Albertina.

permits the tracking of individual systems of book production in a hypothetical publishing house or workshop. Such a study yields more comprehensive information than an analysis of the miniatures alone. Frequently, manuscript quires were sent out of the workshop to independent miniaturists, itinerant masters were called in, or separately illuminated folios were taken from stock and inserted into gatherings of text.

In early sixteenth-century Paris the activities of printers are easily traceable and appear to reflect traditional arrangements of the manuscript book trade, but nothing in Parisian documents of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries allows us to make fine distinctions regarding the division of labor in a manuscript workshop. Only occasionally are specific individuals mentioned. After the early years of Bourdichon, virtually nothing is known of the prolific workshops in the Loire Valley.[6] In fact there are so many variables in the scanty documentation of sixteenth-century manuscript illumination in France that at this stage no definitive pronouncements can be made. Too many unfounded attributions persist, based only on random names found in the archives. Sixteenth-century French documents are inconsistent in distinguishing between a manuscript

book), but this carefully described approach to analysis does permit a rational discussion of physical elements of the manuscript in the logical order of their production. I am grateful to Anne Van Buren for a long and challenging discussion of the workshop problem.

6. A detailed account of the steps of manuscript manufacture and their significance in establishing the history of the codex is found in D. Farquhar, "The Manuscript as a Book," *Pen to Press,* ed. D. Farquhar and S. Hindman (Baltimore, 1977), pp. 11–99, esp. p. 63. For further remarks on the "shared world" of manuscript manufacture, refer to D. Farquhar, *Creation and Imitation* (Fort Lauderdale, 1976), pp. 41–43.

On early fifteenth-century Paris, in particular, and these workshop questions in general, see C. de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston, 1986), pp. 176–178, 185.

that was "enluminé" (with decorated initials and borders) and one that was also "historié" (with miniatures).[7] No consistent mode of payment for a manuscript existed. Often the artist was paid directly, especially in the case of royal commissions, but sometimes the publisher was paid, and in other instances the author of the text seems to have been responsible for allocating the work and paying the artisans. Whether illuminators joined printer's shops or became itinerant as printing gained acceptance remains unclear.[8] For the moment, the large number of extant manuscripts must provide its own documentation.

THE 1520S HOURS WORKSHOP

The 1520s Hours Workshop concentrated on the production of the private, luxurious books of hours which in France and Flanders had long served as a setting for illuminators' talents while satisfying the piety and material pride of wealthy patrons. By the third decade of the sixteenth century there was a brisk international trade in printed French books of hours, but conservative and ecclesiastical patrons, most of whom remain anonymous, were still willing to spend huge sums on manuscript books of hours. For court patrons, presentation copies of secular texts continued to be elaborately copied out and decorated. The most important group of vernacular treatises to which the 1520s Hours Workshop added frontispieces were commissions carried out by royal secretaries for the king, his family, and close associates.[9] The formats of some of these manuscripts are quite different from the books of hours because of their ceremonial aspect, however, and are thus not relevant to this discussion.

Referring only to the books of hours attributed to the 1520s Hours Workshop (see Appendix A), this essay will explore the remarkable consistency of format, script, and decoration—that is, those parts of the manuscript book that were executed before the miniaturist set a hand to the quires—which characterizes the manuscripts. Then the discussion will move to the main miniatures, from which practices such as incessant intercopying, use of the same figural motifs, and dependence on identical compositional models can be deduced, pointing to a group of artists working closely together. At least four distinct major miniaturists can be associated with the workshop, although no single artist seems to have been the leader. The comparisons that follow focus on the manuscripts associated with the Master of the Getty Epistles. These are a book of hours in the Morgan Library, New York (M.452; see figs. 4, 6); one much like it in the British Library, London (Add. 35318; see fig. 18); and, in particular, the Hours of Anne of Austria (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3090; see figs. 3, 7, 8), to which the Getty Museum's manuscript is especially close in format and decoration. The Morgan and British Library Hours, however similar in page size and format to the Getty Epistles and the Hours of Anne of Austria, nevertheless have distinctly different decorative borders and book hands.[10] As we shall see, all of these manuscripts share secondary

Parisian printing is comparatively well documented and has an extensive bibliography; see A. Parent, *Les métiers du livre à Paris au XVIe siècle (1535–1560)* (Geneva, 1974).

Bourdichon was resident in Tours, serving as *enlumineur et valet de chambre du roi.* Charles VIII provided him with an atelier at Plessis-lès-Tours in 1491 (cited in R. Limousin, *Jean Bourdichon, peintre et enlumineur: Son atelier et son école* [Lyons, 1954], pp. 8–9, 98–99). Other documents trace fragments of his existence, but none offers a substantial idea of how such an artist, directly patronized by successive kings of France, organized his workshop. Bourdichon died in 1521. See also below (notes 8, 13). No documentation from the Paris archives or those in the *départements* of Indre-et-Loire (Tours) and Loir-et-Cher (Blois) has ever come to light to help identify or locate the masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop or, for that matter, the Master of Claude de France.

7. Names from the lamentably fragmentary French court records formerly fueled influential hypotheses. A certain Barthélémy Guetti (particularly tempting in the present context) was cited by P. Durrieu in reference to the Dresden *Heroïdes,* now lost, which I include in the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts (Durrieu's article of 1894 is cited in Appendix A II). Guetti was first mentioned in court accounts published in L. de Laborde, *La Renaissance des arts à la cour de France* (Paris, 1850), pp. 196–198; it is now generally accepted that Guetti was Italian, although no more is known about him.

Also from de Laborde's citation (p. 283) came the name of Etienne Collault, an *enlumineur* active in Paris in 1528. Durrieu attributed to Collault miniatures accompanying royal statute books that were "escriptz et enluminez, relyez et couverts" by him and paid for by the king despite the fact that "histoires" were not mentioned; see "Les manuscrits des statuts de l'ordre de Saint-Michel," *Société française de réproduction de manuscrits à peintures* 1 (1911), pp. 3–47; 32. See also Durrieu's "L'enlumineur et le miniaturiste," *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Comptes-rendus des séances* (1910), pp. 303–313.

An example of a manuscript artisan who evidently produced decoration and miniatures and also functioned as a binder is contained in a 1544 Parisian inventory of Jehan LeClerc (mentioned only as *maître enlumineur*) published in J. Pichon and G. Vicaire, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire des libraires de Paris, 1486–1600* (Paris, 1895), pp. 225–229. The inventory notes not only the tools of his several trades, but some unfinished historiated books (i.e. with miniatures; these could also be unfinished binding projects) (p. 228). See also M. Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier Central des notaires de Paris* (Paris, 1982), p. 272. The books have not yet been identified. Did these two *enlumineurs* paint their own miniatures, or were these acquired from independent artists? Other published documents offer the same puzzling inconsistencies (Pichon and Vicaire, pp. 230–238). In documents Bourdichon (see above [note 6]) is called only *enlumineur.*

My thanks to Catherine Grodecki for generously sharing unpublished results of recent research in the Paris archives. She has uncovered nine names of *enlumineurs* and *historieurs* (carefully differentiated) in documents dating from the 1540s and 1550s, but unfortunately the trail ends with those names.

8. For royal payments to an illuminator, the case of Bourdichon is the most pertinent here. See L. Delisle, *Les Grandes Heures de la Reine*

Figure 6. Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos. From *Hours for the Use of Paris.* Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 13.8 x 8.7 cm (5 7/16 x 3 7/16 in.). New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 452, fol. 14v. Photo: Morgan Library.

Figure 7. Saint John on Patmos. Illuminated by an assistant to the Master of the Getty Epistles. From Hours of Anne of Austria. Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 14.6 x 8.8 cm (5 3/4 x 3 1/2 in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3090, fol. 14v. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.

Anne de Bretagne et l'atelier de Jean Bourdichon (Paris, 1913), p. 11. See also J. Backhouse's discussion of Bourdichon in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 166–168. For payments to a publisher, the example of the Parisian publisher of printed books Antoine Vérard is relevant. He supplied manuscripts to Charles of Angoulême in the 1490s. See, most recently, M. B. Winn, "Books for a Princess and Her Son: Louise de Savoie, François d'Angoulême, and the Parisian Libraire Antoine Vérard," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* 46 (1984), pp. 603–617; cited p. 603. The complaints of an author, Jean Thenaud, who worked exclusively for Francis I in the 1520s and 1530s, show that he was responsible for all aspects of the books he was commissioned to write for the king; cited in B. Gagnebin, "L'enluminure de Charlemagne à François I," *Genava* 24 (1976), pp. 5–200; cited p. 151.

A rare example of an *enlumineur* tied to a printer's shop was Jacques Girault, who rented a wing of the Kerver shop in Paris in 1527 but only stayed through June, when it was rented to someone else. See E. Coyecque, *Receuil des actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1905), vol. I, nos. 731, 785.

9. This collaboration provides additional evidence for locating the workshop in the area of Tours. These secretaries, René Fame, Etienne le Blanc, and Antoine Macault, were the subject of a paper, "Francis the First and the Renaissance Book," delivered by the present author at the Renaissance Seminar at Columbia University in October 1984. See also J. Guignard, "Humanistes tourangeaux," *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et renaissance* (1940), pp. 133–189, and the list of these royal manuscripts in Appendix A II. On clientele, see R. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life,* exh. cat. (Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 1988).

10. Turn to Appendix A for list and bibliography, and to Appendix B for chart of measurements. Royal provenance for two of these volumes appears well after their date of fabrication; B.N. Ms. n. a. lat. 3090 was rebound for Anne of Austria (wife of Louis XIII), the seventeenth-century owner. Morgan M. 452 bears an armorial page added for Henri, duke of Anjou before 1565, when he became Henri

elements with other books of hours in the same workshop group, even when these contain miniatures by other masters.

Format, Script, and Decoration

The sizes of the three books of hours in New York, London, and Paris are remarkably similar, considering the inevitable differences caused by rebinding. The Getty Epistles' pages are only slightly larger and, as scrutiny of the table of measurements in Appendix B will reveal, its frames, miniatures, and borders are in fact almost identical to those of the Hours of Anne of Austria. The four manuscripts are close in size to others made by the same workshop: the Dutuit, Fitzwilliam, Rosenberg, and Smith-Lesouëf Hours. The Hours of Jean de Mauléon are in a narrower format, while the Doheny and Rosenwald Hours are significantly larger.[11] A glance at Appendix B will also reveal a relatively consistent pattern of dimensions in the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts. Although several of them have missing parts (Hours of Jean de Mauléon), or have been rearranged (Smith-Lesouëf, Dutuit, and British Library), it can be stated that there is overall uniformity in the assembling of the gatherings, that no miniatures seem to have been inserted as single leaves, and that the high quality of the fine vellum is consistent. Already, then, we begin to see a distinct "family resemblance" and an overall system of design. Further scrutiny strengthens these relationships.

The text in the Getty Epistles is written in a regular, upright humanist hand that imitates the roman letter of Renaissance typography. In the 1520s Workshop Hours, variations of this delicate roman hand can be traced from the earliest manuscripts onward. The precise, tiny letter of the Rosenberg (see fig. 17) and Smith-Lesouëf Hours seems to be exactly the same as that in the Hours of Anne of Austria and the Getty Epistles (figs. 1–3).[12] The large initials in the latter are of two kinds: a faceted roman letter on a darker arabesque ground, and a more conventional floral letter (fig. 2b). These initials, the painted line fillers, and the epigraphic roman capital letters are found in almost every 1520s Hours Workshop manuscript.

The text pages in the Getty Epistles are framed by simple gold fillets that follow the perimeter of the ruling and terminate in stylized knots, fancifully varied but always geometric in nature. This treatment is common to many of the Hours, notably, again, those of Anne of Austria and the Morgan Library (fig. 4). On the pages of other 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts, the enclosing fillet becomes a pruned branch or a knotted or looped *cordelière.*

The text pages facing the framed miniatures in the 1520s Workshop Hours are given the special treatment traditional in Flemish and French books of hours, where fruit, flowers, insects, and small animals fill the borders (see figs. 1–3, 14, 17). In the sixteenth century such borders were used in harmony with classical architecture and humanist book hands.[13] In many of the workshop's products, including the Morgan and British Library Hours and the Victoria and Albert Epistles, flowers and fruit alternate with lavish borders of Italianate grotesque designs. In the Hours of Anne of Austria, only fruit and flower borders face the architectural frames. Exceptionally, in the Doheny Hours naturalistic borders were substituted for the architectural surrounds of the main miniatures.

The fruit border facing the Getty *Saint Paul* is directly

III of France. No integral armorial evidence, with the important exception of the Hours of Jean de Mauléon (Walters W. 449), and the arms of Henri Bonnet de Forez in the Doheny Hours (sale cat., Christie's, London, December 2, 1987, lot 174 ill. p. 98) can be found in the other 1520s Hours. The owner of the Walters manuscript was located in Toulouse, and Bonnet de Forez near Lyons. Perplexing anonymity also characterizes many of Bourdichon's most extravagant manuscripts. See Delaissé et al. (note 5), p. 440.

Pricking is still visible on the outer edges of some of the Getty pages—for example, fol. 40—but the other manuscripts have been more closely cropped in later rebindings. Gatherings are almost always by eights, except for the first (of ten) in the Getty codex. The British Library Hours borders and script are illustrated in *Renaissance Painting,* pls. 31, 32. The variety of stylized, narrower, and less numerous naturalistic borders in the British Library (similar to the Smith-Lesouëf Hours) and Morgan Hours is completely different from that in the Epistles.

11. In the realm of printed books of hours (ignoring for a moment the mechanics of gathering), an octavo format is roughly the size of the Getty Epistles, a quarto the size of the Rosenwald Hours, while the smaller books are comparable to the duodecimo. See Harvard College Library, Dept. of Printing and Graphic Arts, compl. R. Mortimer, *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, I: French Sixteenth-Century Books* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), vol. 2, nos. 294, 295, 313—among numerous others—for measurements. On the tendency of sixteenth-century manuscript books to adopt the format of their printed cousins, see C. Mortet, "Recherches historiques sur le format des livres," *Revue des bibliothèques* 34 (1924), pp. 349–376; C. Bozzolo and E. Ornato, *Pour une histoire du livre manuscrit au moyen âge: Trois essais de codicologie quantitative* (Paris, 1980); suppl. (1983), p. 269.

12. The Smith-Lesouëf and Anne of Austria Hours are both in the Bibliothèque Nationale and can be compared side by side, showing that the latter has smaller and blacker letters although they are identically formed. The length of the actual written lines and the number of characters are the same in the Smith-Lesouëf and Rosenberg manuscripts. The text pages of the Rosenberg codex are bordered with fillets, branches, and *cordelières,* while the Smith-Lesouëf Hours has unbordered text pages.

It is not unusual to find roman script used in contemporary Latin liturgical manuscripts from Rouen, Paris, Tours, and elsewhere. Examples abound in *Last Flowering.* The Claude Master books are usually written in a roman hand (fig. 13); the Victoria and Albert Epistles are written in both roman and italic (fig. 14). Several of the manuscripts of Godefroy le Batave, including works in the vernacular, are

comparable in style, motifs, size, and proportion to that facing the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* in the Anne of Austria book (figs. 2b, 3a). On the Getty page, the various kinds of fruit, attached to leafy stems that sinuously follow the perimeter of the page, are, in the outside vertical border, large in scale and realistic in detail—a distinctive arrangement directly comparable to the Doheny, the Fitzwilliam, and, especially, the Dutuit Hours. Quite possibly, the borders are all by the same artist, who may also have worked with, or been profoundly influenced by, the workshop of the Master of Claude of France, as we shall see.[14]

The flower border facing the Getty *Saint Jerome* (fig. 1b) is of a "scattered" design, that is, blossoms are strewn about on the gold background and only rarely attached to a rooted plant or long branch. The flowers, such as the delicate pink and blue irises, cast shadows on the gold ground. Similar borders are found in the Hours of Jean de Mauléon, the Victoria and Albert Epistles (fig. 14), and the Rosenberg Hours (fig. 17). Since these two subtly different floral designs never appear together outside the Getty Epistles, they apparently involved two border painters who were specialists, distinct from the major miniature painters.

The architectural framings of the Getty Epistles' miniatures are solidly three-dimensional combinations of classical details: swags, pilasters, capitals, and cornices. Identical motifs, variously assembled, can be found in the frames of all of the 1520s Workshop's Hours (see figs. 1–3, 7). A certain late Gothic license clearly evident in the Rosenwald Hours and the Hours of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 16), and less so in some other Hours, disappears in the Hours associated with the Getty Epistles Master, suggesting that here, too, more than one master was responsible for these workshop framings. It also appears that the illuminator who designed with a carefree disregard of "classical" composition ceased to work around 1526, after completing the calendar of the Smith-Lesouëf Hours. The equally imaginative smaller-scale framings in the Victoria and Albert Epistles (figs. 11, 12, 14, 15) are in fact close to models used in the Hours for Claude de France. Both architectural and naturalistic borders in manuscripts from the 1520s Hours Workshop are closely linked to the Loire Valley, where they first developed and found their most monumental form. Although this style of book decoration had spread throughout France by the third decade in various bastardized forms, the accomplished artistry of the decoration in the 1520s Hours Workshop argues for a close relationship to the tradition established by Bourdichon's atelier near Tours.[15]

The Illuminators

While the parallels just described in format, script, and decoration add up to evidence of close workshop collaboration, the variety among these aspects argues for a multiplicity of skilled manuscript artisans in a regular working relationship. This hypothesis is strengthened by a review of the major miniaturists, who have not been identified before. The artists seem to have been active at about the same time and even to have worked on each other's manuscripts. The style of the workshop evidences a collective response to the constraints of workshop models and formats. The artisans' work is little differentiated when it was created collectively, and adds up to an easily recognizable group style. One characteristic will serve to indicate the problem involved in identifying individual hands. This

in an elegant roman hand; see *Renaissance Painting*, pl. 30. On the Tory connection see below (notes 31, 32).

13. The finest flower and fruit borders in the French Renaissance are in a number of the manuscripts of the Claude Master, where the exterior panel borders derive from the almost palpably real flowers and fruit in Bourdichon's Hours. Similar panel borders in the prayer book for Holy Week in the Houghton Library (Ms. Typ. 252) are also remarkable (Wieck [note 4], unill.). These are different from the borders noted here as relating to the 1520s Hours Workshop. For similarities, see below (note 14). For Bourdichon's borders, see Delaissé et al. (note 5), p. 434, figs. 14, 20 (Ms. 20). See also *Last Flowering*, pp. 83–84 (Morgan Library M. 732, ill. no. 107).

On the layout of bordered pages, see J. Tschichold, "Non-Arbitrary Proportions of Page and Type Area," *Calligraphy and Paleography: Essays for Alfred Fairbank*, ed. Osley (London, 1965), pp. 179–191.

14. Doheny borders illustrated in *Revue*, figs. 4 (*Annunciation*, with berries and cherries), 7, 9, 12, 14. In the Master of Claude de France's Hours sold at Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 63, there are five four-sided borders composed much like the Doheny ones, except that the motifs are much larger. These borders occur in the first three gatherings, fols. 6v, 8v, 9v, 10v, and 18v, and are distinct from the exterior panel borders (see above, note 13) with bold single motifs which dominate the rest of the manuscript. See also the borders from another manuscript attributed to the Master of Claude de France (British Library Ms. add. 35214), illustrated in *Renaissance Painting*, p. 149, fig. 17.

15. For *Saint Paul*, see also the frame of the *Nativity* in the Hours of Anne of Austria, fol. 47v, and of the *Departure of Joseph* in Morgan Library M. 452, fol. 35. For *Saint Jerome*, see the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Hours of Anne of Austria, fol. 53v, and the same subject in the British Library Hours, fol. 51v (illustrated in *Renaissance Painting*, fig. 25a), and the *Nativity*, fol. 43. The Smith-Lesouëf calendar pages are illustrated in Leroquais (see Appendix A), pls. 29, 30. On Bourdichon's architectural frames, see Delaissé et al. (note 5), p. 442. F. Avril presented new documentation on the Hours of Ferdinand III of Aragon, long and probably rightly assumed to be the source of this style of framing in France; see *Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne*, exh. cat. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1984), p. 178. The undoubtedly Italian frames would have been painted after the pasted-in Bourdichon miniatures, thus necessitating either Bourdichon's presence at Naples (Avril's thesis) or the Italian illuminator's presence in Tours (the second logical possibility).

The architectural borders in the Hours for Claude de France are illustrated in Sterling (note 4), figs. 15, 19.

group of Hours is characterized by intricate patterns of repetition. Two miniatures in the Hours of Anne of Austria duplicate two in the Morgan Hours, while no fewer than ten of the Morgan illuminators are duplicated in the British Library Hours. Although these "identical" miniatures are not quite the same size (the Morgan miniatures are five millimeters wider and five millimeters higher), no details are omitted in the smaller miniatures, although the sure, strong facial characterizations and subtle modulations of tone that distinguish the Getty Epistles Master are lacking. The harder, planar handling of the surfaces, sharper outlines, and pastier color suggest the work of an assistant[16] whose contribution can also be identified in a few cases in the New York and Paris books.

It has always seemed difficult to situate the 1520s Hours Workshop within French art of the early Renaissance because the period has been so little studied. In fact the style of the miniatures corresponds not only to the rare scattered panel paintings from northern France and Burgundy but also to French stained glass of the 1530s and 1540s.[17] Like the glass and the panels, the miniatures suggest strong Flemish influence within the context of French art, and also suggest the existence of practices involving the use as models of Antwerp drawings and German graphics—subjects I shall discuss in a separate study.[18] Rather than being surprised by these seeming incursions, we must remember that Antwerp was a major exporter of its own art production, and that Dürer's woodcuts were among the best-known and most-admired artist's shop models in Europe at this time. Furthermore, there was nothing unusual about the presence of Flemish painters or illuminators in fifteenth-century France. One thinks immediately of the Limbourg brothers and their masterful illuminations for the duc de Berry in 1405–1416.

The art of the Loire Valley near Tours and Blois, nurtured by the patronage of the French court, had been dominated by the genius of Fouquet in the fifteenth century and had remained relatively immune to Northern incursions. At the turn of the sixteenth century, the manuscripts illuminated by Bourdichon and Poyet testify to the persistent strength of this Loire tradition, still apparent in the miniatures of the Master of Claude de France of the late teens and '20s (see figs. 11–13).[19] In a very few years the strongly particularized Flemish style of the illuminators called here the Master of Jean de Mauléon and the Rosenwald Master (see figs. 9, 14, 16, 17) was tempered in part by contact with Loire Valley artists, and expanded into the distinct expression of early French Renaissance style evident in the miniatures of the Master of the Getty Epistles.

The earliest dated manuscript from the 1520s Hours Workshop, the Rosenwald Hours (Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection Ms. 10), bears the year 1524 on one of its miniatures.[20] The artist may have been a newly arrived Fleming; his spacious compositions, large-scale figures, elaborate costumes, and exaggerated poses suggest he also worked in panel. The *Raising of Lazarus* (fig. 16) typifies the ambitious compositions of this master, who painstakingly differentiated each pose and expression, crowding the event into the foreground space and isolating us from the impressive architectural background. These miniatures have nothing to do with the work of the prolific contemporary Flemish manuscript workshop of Simon Bening in Bruges,[21] but rather are typical of the paintings and drawings of the so-called Antwerp Mannerists.

16. Through the great kindness of Janet Backhouse and William Voelkle, I was able to study the Morgan and British Library manuscripts together just before they were placed on exhibit at the Morgan Library. See *Renaissance Painting,* p. 190; compare fig. 25a and pl. 132 (Adoration of the Magi) in *Last Flowering*; *Renaissance Painting,* pl. 31, and *Last Flowering,* p. 132 (Annunciation to the Shepherds). J. Plummer attributes both manuscripts to the same master in *Last Flowering*, p. 104.

The Morgan and Anne of Austria Hours have two identical miniatures of seemingly equal quality (judging from photographs since it is impossible to compare the actual codices): the *Visitation* (Morgan, fol. 47; Anne of Austria, fol. 39v) and the *Nativity* (Morgan, fol. 54; Anne of Austria, fol. 47v). The top halves of *Gethsemane* (Morgan and Anne of Austria both, significantly, on fol 18v) are also the same.

An Hours in Liège, University Library, Wittert Collection Ms. 29, discovered by D. Farquhar (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, note in file), duplicates the British Library Hours to a great extent, but the miniatures are enclosed in distinctly Fontainebleau-style strapwork frames, dating the manuscript in the 1540s. I have not seen this codex.

For an account of the use of tracing in manuscript workshops, see Farquhar 1976, pp. 61–69, and his comments on the use of models in the 1977 *Pen to Press,* pp. 77–82; see also de Hamel's lively account, pp. 179–183 (all cited above, note 6). Tracing could not have been used in the British Library/Morgan Hours case cited above, but the Morgan and Anne of Austria miniatures seem to be the same size. The use of stock models was standard practice in manuscript workshops.

On the analysis of manuscripts in contexts that transcend the narrow confines of attribution, see S. Hindman, "The Illustrated Book: An Addendum to the State of Research in Northern European Art," *Art Bulletin* 68 (1986), pp. 536–542.

17. For studies of the paintings of this period, see M. Laclotte, "Quelques retables bourguignons du XVIe siècle," *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art Presented to Anthony Blunt on his Sixtieth Birthday* (London, 1967), pp. 83–85; *Le seizième siècle européen,* exh. cat. (Petit Palais, Paris, 1965).

I have found the connection between the styles of miniatures and stained glass particularly evident in the work of the Le Prince family in Beauvais and Rouen, in a number of anonymous windows in the cathedrals of Bourges and Auxerre, in the Rouen glass from Saint-Vincent recently replaced in the modern church of Jeanne d'Arc in Rouen, and in various Parisian churches. Systematic documentation of these similarities remains to be done. For a cross section of repro-

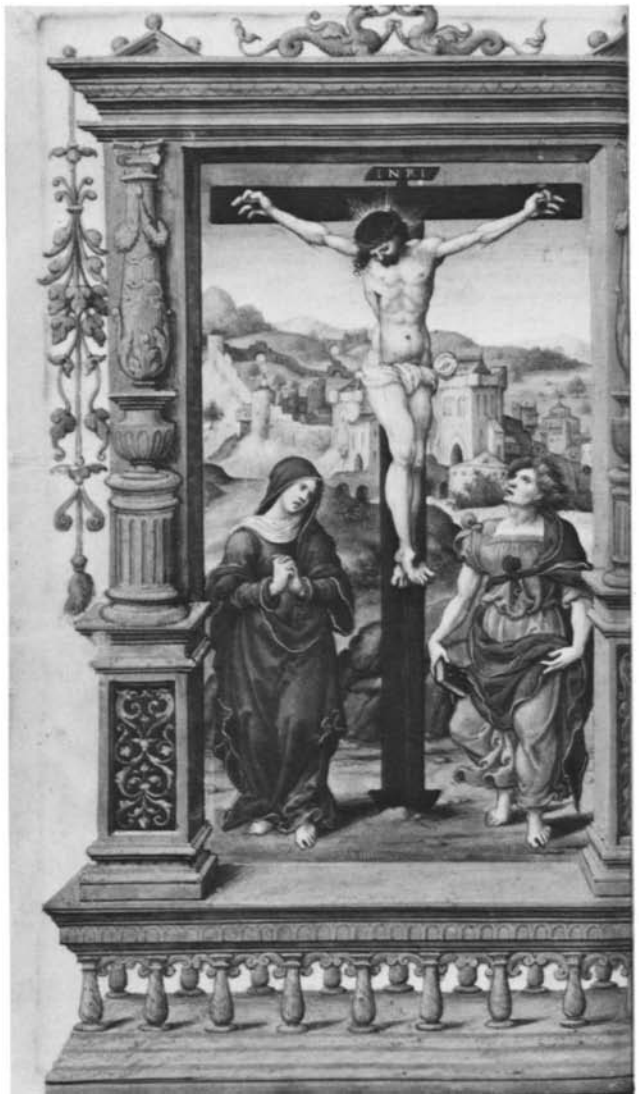

Figure 8. Crucifixion. Illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles. From Hours of Anne of Austria. Circa 1528–1530. Vellum. 14.6 x 8.8 cm ($5^{3}/_{4}$ x $3^{1}/_{2}$ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3090. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale.

Figure 9. Crucifixion. Illuminated by the Master of Jean de Mauléon. From *Hours for the Use of Toulouse.* 1524. Vellum. 16.9 x 9.8 cm ($6^{5}/_{8}$ x $3^{13}/_{16}$ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 449, fol. 116. Photo: Walters Art Gallery.

ductions of sixteenth-century glass in France, see volumes 1–3 of the French Corpus Vitrearum, série complémentaire, *Les vitraux de Paris, de la région Parisienne, de la Picardie, et du Nord-Pas-de-Calais* (Paris, 1978); *Les vitraux du centre et des pays de la Loire* (Paris, 1981); *Les vitraux de Bourgogne, Franche-Comté, et Rhône-Alpes* (Paris, 1986). See also F. Perrot, "Les vitraux de l'ancienne église Saint Vincent remontés place du Vieux-Marché," *Bulletin des amis des monuments rouennais* (July 1978–May 1979), pp. 49–98.

18. An article in preparation will concentrate on the drawings. See below (note 40), and my preliminary remarks on an Antwerp drawing in *Revue*, p. 44, n. 36, as well as further remarks on the use of the same drawing in M. Orth, "The 'Prison of Love': A Medieval Romance in the French Renaissance and Its Illustration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46 (1983), pp. 211–221, esp. p. 220, fig. 28d.

The use of Dürer's graphics in the miniatures of the Hours of Anne of Austria is discussed by F. O. Büttner in "Fortwirken in Abwandlung: Zur Verwendung von Vorlagen bei einigen Darstellungen von zwei Szenen aus der Kindheit Christi: Anbetung der Könige und Darbringung im Tempel," *Relations artistiques entre les Pays-Bas et l'Italie à la Renaissance: Etudes dédiées à Suzanne Sulzberger* (Brussels and Rome, 1980), pp. 15–42. On Antwerp methods of repeating motifs, see E. Starcky, "A propos d'un dessin maniériste anversois," *Revue du Louvre* (1981), pp. 96–102.

19. See *Last Flowering,* pp. 83–89; J. Backhouse, in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 147–150, 163–168, 175–180; idem, "The Tilliot Hours: Comparisons and Relationships," *British Library Journal* 13 (1987), pp. 211–231.

20. Dated in a cartouche hanging from the frame of the miniature of Job, fol. 79v. This is more reliable evidence than the beginning dates of the Easter calendars in the Hours of Jean de Mauléon (1524) and the Doheny Hours (1528).

21. See T. Kren's entries in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 69–85.

Active as the city of Antwerp was as a center of art export in the early sixteenth century, it has not yet been convincingly documented as a source of manuscript illumination.[22] The only recognized example of the Antwerp style in manuscript painting appears in the work of Godefroy le Batave, a Netherlandish artist active at the French court from 1516 to about 1524.[23] While Godefroy's distinctive grisaille miniatures are not related to the 1520s Hours Workshop, his presence may well have lured compatriots toward French aristocratic patronage. The courts of Spain, Portugal, and Austria patronized the Bening workshop,[24] and it is just possible that the French, in the spirit of competitive patronage as well as political jealousy, chose to infuse into their own strong manuscript tradition, typified by the Loire Valley schools, new stylistic influences from the same geographical direction but from a distinctly different area. My earlier studies have shown that with Godefroy came figural and compositional models in the form of the Antwerp drawings and graphics by Dürer already mentioned, neither of which had previously penetrated the art of the Loire Valley. The 1520s Hours Workshop used similar and sometimes identical compositional models, combining and varying the single features and architectural motifs in ways typical of Antwerp ateliers.[25] We can probably never know if the Rosenwald Master was the founder of this workshop. His hours, though unique in their large format and the scale and style of the miniatures, nevertheless introduced the stylistic orientation and compositional models of the entire workshop.

A second distinct master in the workshop was a contemporary of the Rosenwald Master. The *Hours for the Use of Toulouse* in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (W. 449), is roughly dated by its Easter calendar that begins with 1524. The bishop of Saint Bertrand de Comminges for whom the manuscript was commissioned has recently been identified by François Avril as Jean de Mauléon.[26] The Master of Jean de Mauléon was as strongly oriented toward Flemish art as the Rosenwald Master, but the more tightly drawn, restless, and lively small figures and the reduced scale of his miniatures (see figs. 9, 14, 17) differentiate him from the latter and put him closer to the master who illuminated the Doheny Hours of about 1528.[27]

The Hours in the Rosenberg collection, New York (Ms. 9; fig. 17), can be associated with some caution with the Master of Jean de Mauléon because of the similar sharp-featured and imaginatively posed figures, the intensely complex drapery patterns, and the small scale of the compositions. The Master of Jean de Mauléon, in distinction to the Rosenwald Master, was more interested in Italian architecture and in working figures into that type of space. By comparing the Rosenberg *Pentecost* to that in the British Library Hours (fig. 18) painted by an assistant to the Master of the Getty Epistles, it is obvious that the same compositional model was used, but a new orientation in the British Library codex toward generalized, "classical" facial types and drapery models differentiates the two. The contrast is analogous to that between Antwerp masters and Brussels artists around the "Raphael of the North," Bernard van Orley.[28] In fact the difference in style between the two miniaturists likewise may be the result of sustained contact with stylistically distinct Flemish workshops. The Doheny Master might be said to have subsumed the subtly variant styles of the Hours in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Ms. 134), those in the Smith-Lesouëf Collection (Ms. 42) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the majority of the miniatures in the Dutuit Hours (Paris, Petit Palais Ms. 37).[29] In the Dutuit *Annunciation* (fig. 19), identical to the same subject in the Fitzwilliam Hours, the artist moved away from the northern vernacular architecture of the Rosenwald Master to emulate a richly detailed, arcaded Renaissance rotunda (very like that in the *Annunciation* miniature in the Hours of Jean de Mauléon), and imbued his figures with a more restrained monumentality within consciously simplified compositions.

22. This subject is being researched by Jan van der Stock, to whom I am grateful for an enlightening discussion.

23. See Orth (note 1), chap. 3; idem, in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 181–186, no. 24; below (note 41).

24. In addition to T. Kren's entries in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 69–85, see A. Sarriá, *Les Rois bibliophiles,* trans. T. Glorieux de Gand (Europalia 1985, Spain) (Brussels, 1985), pp. 85ff.

25. See above (note 18).

26. François Avril visited Saint Bertrand de Comminges recently and discovered that monograms and devices identical to those found throughout W. 449 (Hours of Jean de Mauléon) were displayed on the vault of the nave and in the decoration of the choir. Jean de Mauléon was bishop of Saint Bertrand from 1523 to 1555. I am indebted to F. Avril for this information and to Lilian Randall for sharing the details with me.

27. See *Revue.* Sale, Christie's, London, December 2, 1987, lot 174, to Pierre Berès, Paris. I am indebted to Jeremy Griffiths, Hans Fellner, and John Plummer for providing me with measurements of the Doheny Hours during the writing of this article. I rechecked these before the sale.

28. See reproduction of W. 449 (Hours of Jean de Mauléon) *Pentecost* in *Last Flowering,* fig. 130b; also the miniature of the Annunciation to the Shepherds from Rosenberg Ms. 9, fig. 131, next to one from Morgan M. 452 (the latter essentially identical to the same subject in the British Library Hours, reproduced in *Renaissance Painting,* pl. 31). The Anne of Austria miniature of that subject is reproduced in *Revue,* fig. 11. The reproduction in that publication of the *Presentation* from W. 449, fig. 15, shows how similar the frame is to that of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* in Rosenberg Ms. 9, fig. 131.

On van Orley and Brussels, see N. Dacos, "Autour de Bernard van

Many of these books of hours contain calendar miniatures and small vignettes of saints common to a hand distinct from that of the main miniaturist. In the case of the Dutuit manuscript, the calendar and saints are directly comparable, and often identical, to those in manuscripts illuminated by the Master of the Getty Epistles.[30] On the August page in the Dutuit Hours (fig. 21), for example, we find a miniature virtually the same as those in the Morgan and Anne of Austria Hours. Slight differences—the height of the composition, the color of the sleeves of the man binding the sheaves, and the woman's face—do not disguise the dependence on a common model.

Dating of the 1520s Workshop Hours is facilitated by the documentation of the Rosenwald Hours (1524) and the calendars of the Walters (1524) and Doheny (1528) Hours, which give us more approximate dates. Since the Master of the Getty Epistles demonstrates a more balanced reaction to the Renaissance ideals of drapery, pose, and expression, in contrast to the lively excesses of Antwerp style evident in the 1524 manuscripts, it is tempting to situate him quite a bit later. This is not absolutely necessary or even accurate. We have remarked in passing that stylistic developments in Brussels in the 1520s may also be relevant to the Hours miniatures. We have seen that the decoration and script in the Getty Epistles also occur in dated manuscripts of 1524 and 1528. These considerations alone would support a dating of circa 1528–1530 for the manuscripts attributed to the Master of the Getty Epistles, but there is a stylistic comparison from the realm of the dated printed book that should also be considered.

As I have argued elsewhere,[31] the woodcuts in the printed Tory Hours of 1529, probably designed in 1526, are in a style very close to that of the artist here called the Master of the Getty Epistles. Compared to the woodcut *Annunciation* from these Hours published by Geofroy Tory (figs. 20a–b), the miniature of the same subject by the Doheny Master in the Dutuit Hours (fig. 19) is less surely drawn, although the two angels are somewhat similar. If the woodcut angel and Virgin are contrasted with the Master of the Getty Epistles' *Saint Paul* and *Saint John* (figs. 2, 6), even more striking similarities emerge, especially in the complicated draperies, the drawing of the muscular arms, and the low seated poses. A relatively early dating of 1528–1530 for the Getty Epistles thus seems stylistically credible whether or not one believes that the miniaturists provided the designs for the woodcuts.

In previous studies I have hesitated between locating the 1520s Hours Workshop in Tours or in Paris. My first instinct was to place it in Tours. But then, taking into account the links I postulated between the work of the miniaturists and the woodcuts Tory published in Paris, it seemed equally possible that the workshop was located in that active center of book production and that Tory acted as its "publisher." Tory, a scholar from Bourges who rose to fame as a publisher and bookseller in Paris in the 1520s, became the first royal printer in 1531. His name has long been associated with these manuscripts as both scribe and miniaturist, but as this period is studied in more depth, it is obvious that such attributions go beyond the available evidence.[32]

In 1524 and 1526 Tory actively solicited and received court patronage for his publications. He himself tells us in *Champ fleury* that he conducted research in the library at the royal château at Blois, where his visit can be dated to late 1525 and early 1526. He surely would have been aware of the work of the 1520s Hours Workshop artists who had worked on Etienne le Blanc's archival compilations for Louise de Savoie. Rather than assuming that this manuscript workshop was, for functional and practical reasons, Paris-based, we can now imagine it as a further development of the most distinguished Loire Valley manuscript tradition, turned to by Tory in his ultimately successful quest for royal patronage.[33]

The evidence provided by several royal manuscripts

Orley, Peeter de Kempeneer et son compagnon," *Revue de l'art* 75 (1987), pp. 17–29. It is de Kempeneer and his associate who are related to the miniatures; both the Brussels artists and the miniaturists filter Raphael through the same distorting Northern lenses. See my remarks on borrowings from Raphael in the British Library Hours in *Renaissance Painting*, p. 190.

29. The Dutuit manuscript contains three miniatures and three vignettes of the 1540s; seven main miniatures replicate those in Fitzwilliam Ms. 134; two are identical with those in the Rosenberg Hours. See also below (note 30).

30. In the Dutuit saints, there are several vignettes (exactly the same size, 2.8 x 2.7 cm) that are duplicates of those of the Anne of Austria Hours: (saints Paul and Peter, fol. 142 in Dutuit, 112v in Anne of Austria; Saint Christopher, fol. 145 in Dutuit, 115 in Anne of Austria; Saint Martin, fol. 147v, is identical with Anne of Austria Saint Claude, fol. 116). Others clearly used the same models (Saint Margaret, fol. 150v in Dutuit, fol. 120 in Anne of Austria; Saint Barbara, fol. 150 in Dutuit, fol. 120v in Anne of Austria). Similar observations can be made throughout the calendars.

31. See *Revue*, p. 43, figs. 8, 10.

32. Plotzek and von Euw (note 1) make too much of the Tory connection. On the Tory script attributions, see also M. Orth, "Two Books of Hours for Jean Lallemant le Jeune," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 38 (1980), pp. 70–93; also idem, "The Hours of Mary Stuart: A Study of Its Script," in the facsimile *Stundenbuch der Maria Stuart* (Darmstadt, in press).

33. Tory referred to his study of the Blois manuscripts in *Champ fleury* (Paris, 1529) on fols. 3v, 4. He was shown them by the royal historian, René Macé, who assumed that office in late 1525. The privilege for *Champ fleury* dates to September 1526. Etienne le Blanc's

on which the miniaturists collaborated with a group of court-based Tourangeau humanists is strong evidence for locating the workshop at Tours, as people from the same area tended to work together. The Loire Valley had for over half a century supported the best of French miniature painting, and only there had a tradition of extremely high quality been maintained. Recent research by John Plummer on the texts of specific prayers used in the 1520s Hours likewise has pointed toward Tours as their place of origin. Again, the introduction of printing makes the sixteenth century a complicated subject and renders the textual analysis of the manuscript Hours less sure.[34]

THE GETTY MINIATURES

A close analysis of the miniatures showing saints Jerome and Paul in the Getty Epistles can help to define the style of the master and relate it to the other manuscripts in which his hand appears. The miniature that introduces the Epistles is a penitent *Saint Jerome* draped in a twisted, pale lavender-blue cloth, crouching on a rocky ledge and gesturing passionately toward a skull, a small crucifix, and a burning candle set up in front of the mouth of a dark cave (fig. 1a). These objects appear to represent a sudden vision brought on by the saint's self-inflicted punishment, the marks of which are evident on his lean and muscular body. From the broken lower branch of a tree hang his heavy red cape and the traditional cardinal's hat, echoing and enframing the pose of the saint. The right corner is filled with a placid, smiling lion glancing in the direction of the facing text. Saint Jerome's half-naked body is silhouetted against an area of dark green which isolates him from the distant, gentle countryside, where a river and a monastery nestle in leafy green hills. In the distance loom pale blue mountain peaks.

The miniature faces the Pauline Epistles and a preface which had long been thought to be by Saint Jerome. Sixteenth-century humanists, notably Erasmus, were embroiled in a controversy over Saint Jerome's translation of the Vulgate and his authorship of these prefaces. The presentation of this saint as a penitent for his author portrait, rather than as a scholar in his study, might seem odd in a time of fascination with Christian exegesis. However, in the visual arts of France and Flanders during the early years of the sixteenth century, Saint Jerome was consistently pictured as a penitent, whether in the wilderness or in his study.[35]

Saint Jerome is rarely found in the Hours miniatures of the 1520s Hours Workshop, where indeed he would have no place except as a small vignette in the Suffrages of the Saints. A literal comparison can thus not be made, but in the Morgan and British Library Hours, the figure of a suffering, white-bearded, almost naked Job (copied from Marcantonio Raimondi) bears comparison.[36] While Saint Jerome does not share the same source, he is painted with comparable anatomical clarity and concern for the dignity of the human form. The Master of the Getty Epistles and his assistant used similar figural poses in different guises: Saint Jerome has much in common with two images of Saint John the Evangelist, one from the Hours of Anne of Austria, the other from the Morgan Hours (figs. 6, 7). Although the poses are reversed, the *Saint John* from the Hours of Anne of Austria (fig. 7) is very close to the Getty *Saint Jerome* in the hand gestures and the pose of the tucked-under foot, repeated frequently in these workshop miniatures (compare fig. 3).[37] While the strength of the figure in the Morgan *Saint John* (fig. 6) has more in common with the similarly characterized Getty *Saint Paul* (fig. 2a), the striated painting of the ground, the delicate foliage and calligraphic tree branches, the drapery, and the relation of figure to background offer pertinent comparisons to the Getty *Saint Jerome*. The subtly modeled form of that saint and the gracefully looped drapery that echoes and entwines his ecstatic figure typify the style of the Master of the Getty Epistles. In contrast to this is the miniature by the Claude Master in the Victoria and Albert Epistles (fig. 11), where the touching asceticism of the saint overrides a concern for anatomy or monumental presentation. Although the Claude Master did work with the masters of

work in the archives is attested to in his manuscripts, the *Gestes de Blanche de Castille* (fol. 1) that I date in early 1526, and the *Généalogie* (fol. 5v) of late 1522. A.-M. Lecoq, in *François I imaginaire* (Paris, 1987), pp. 477–478, dates the Blanche de Castille manuscript to 1516. This came to my attention after the present article was written, and I have not had time to discuss the problem with her. It is difficult to see the decoration as having been made that early (see details in Appendix II; above [note 9]; Orth [note 1], p. 152).

34. *Last Flowering,* pp. xiii, 103. Thanks are due to John Plummer for sharing his unique documentation and discussing unresolved problems: specifically that, although the 1520s Hours Workshop books did use text models like those in Hours from Tours, as he has observed (*Last Flowering,* on the Claude Master Prayer Book, p. 100), I have found these texts to be even closer to the same prayers in Tory's 1525 Hours published in Paris. The uniquely perplexing variety of saints in the calendars (which has misled some scholars into thinking that the Hours all come from North Italy because the saints are typical of that region) is also found in the Tory 1525 Hours. Who copied whom?

35. For details of the various depictions of Saint Jerome and of his status during the early sixteenth century, see E. Rice, *Saint Jerome and the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1985), pp. 37–43, 75–81, 104–115, n. 69. See below (notes 49, 53).

36. British Library Hours, fol. 83, illustrated in *Renaissance Paint-*

the 1520s Hours Workshop on that particular manuscript, his own style seems to have left little if any impression on them.

The miniature of the Getty *Saint Paul* faces the text of the Epistle to the Romans (figs. 2a–b). The saint is shown in a striding pose, using his sword as a walking stick. He focuses all his attention on the book balanced in the crook of his left arm, while his fingers separate pages of rubricated text. The raspberry red of the cape winding around his solid form contrasts with the varied tones of cherries, plums, and berries in the facing border. The gray-blue of his robe is repeated in an even paler tone in the distant rocky peaks that loom up on the right and slope down to a fortified seaside city. Green defines the middle ground, but no graceful, lacy trees shelter Saint Paul as they do the meditative Saint Jerome. This is Saint Paul the active preacher of the Word, going forth into the world, not the absorbed scribe long traditional in the Epistles context.[38]

There is a striking similarity between the Getty *Saint Paul* and a small vignette of a half-length Saint Paul from the Suffrages of the Saints in the Morgan Hours (fig. 4), where a number of saints gaze at open books.[39] Each element in the two Saint Pauls reveals the use of precisely the same model by the same artist: the tilt of the head, the way one hand curls around the spine of the book marking the pages while the other grips the sword, and the design of the complicated costume, with its convoluted knotted drapery and artfully looped belt. In the *Crucifixion* from the Anne of Austria Hours (fig. 8), the standing Saint John, more delicately proportioned, nevertheless shows the Getty Epistles Master using the same models of drapery and pose, drawing on a source shared by other workshop masters. As already mentioned, Saint Paul's vigorous figure compares convincingly with that of the Morgan Library's *Saint John* (fig. 6), the first full-page miniature in that manuscript. The colors of their blue and red garments are used throughout the Morgan miniatures. One of the distinctive marks of the Master of the Getty Epistles is his sympathetic individualization of facial types, which can

Figure 10. Master "A" of the Errera Album. Flemish, circa 1520. *Landscape with Castle and City.* From Errera Album, p. 35. Pen and black ink on paper. 13.5 x 21 cm (5¼ x 8¼ in.). Brussels, Musées Royaux. Photo: A. C.L. Brussels.

be observed in these two saints as well as in the amply draped, solicitous Saint Joseph in the Anne of Austria *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (fig. 3). The brilliant scarlet of Saint Joseph's restless cloak contrasts with the soft, deep red of the luscious berries in the facing border, in much the same color counterpoint as that set up between the Getty *Saint Paul* and the similar facing border (figs. 2a–b).

The Master of the Getty Epistles was an assured and distinctive artist who, like his fellow workshop masters, frequently depended on Flemish drawings as models for his miniatures. Two examples are pertinent to the Getty Epistles. First, an anonymous Flemish drawing of Saint Jude (fig. 5), dated circa 1520 and now in Vienna,[40] is similar to the Getty *Saint Paul* (fig. 2a). Note particularly the striding pose, the attentive tilt of the head, the angle of the book held in the crook of the arm, and—last but by no means least—the high cliff sloping down to a valley. The standing *Saint Peter* from the Victoria and Albert Epistles (fig. 14), attributable to the

ing, fig. 25d. This is a copy of the Morgan Hours, fol. 97v.

37. Other examples: *Return of Joseph*, fol. 43v, Morgan M. 452; the miniatures of Saint John and the Rest on the Flight into Egypt, fols. 13v and 128 in the Fitzwilliam Hours Ms. 134. I have often wondered if this popular pose echoed the Virgin in the Giulio Romano-Raphael *Holy Family of Francis I* of 1518 or the same subject by Andrea del Sarto of 1516 (both Paris, Musée du Louvre). Both were then in the royal collections. The Anne of Austria *Saint John* (fig. 7) is the weakest miniature in the book; its relative lack of sureness points to an assistant.

38. From Carolingian times on, Saint Paul was depicted as a scribe in separate manuscript editions of his Epistles. However, when the Epistles were part of a Bible, each one was illustrated with a narrative scene; these reached a peak of complexity in the first half of the thirteenth century. See L. Eleen, *The Illustration of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 42, 54. I am indebted to Ruth Mellinkoff for this reference. See also below (note 47) on the texts of earlier manuscripts of Paul's Epistles.

39. In Morgan M. 452, see especially the Saint Paul in the *All Saints* vignette, fol. 144. Saint Catherine in the Hours of Anne of Austria (fol. 119) also repeats this pose. See above (note 30) on saint vignettes.

40. O. Benesch, *Die Zeichnungen der Niederländischen Schulen des XV und XVI Jahrhunderts*, Beschreibenden Katalog der Handzeich-

Figure 11. Saint Jerome in Penitence. Illuminated by the Master of Claude de France. From Epistles of Saint Paul with the Canonical Epistles. Circa 1525–1526. Vellum. 11.8 x 7.3 cm (4⅝ x 2⅞ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. L. 1721–1921, fol. 1v. Published by permission of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 12. Saint Paul. Illuminated by the Master of Claude de France. From Epistles of Saint Paul with the Canonical Epistles. Circa 1525–1526. Vellum. 11.8 x 7.3 cm (4⅝ x 2⅞ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. L. 1721–1921, fol. 7v. Published by permission of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Master of Jean de Mauléon, and *Saint Jude* (fig. 15), probably by the Doheny Master, are instructive comparisons to the Getty miniature and the Saint John in the Anne of Austria *Crucifixion* (figs. 2a, 8). All of these figures of standing saints assume a family air in reference to drawings such as the Vienna *Saint Jude.*

The second example of the use of Flemish drawings by the Master of the Getty Epistles involves the backgrounds in both the *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Paul* miniatures (figs. 1a, 2a). The soaring castles, stepped-gabled gateways, fortified bridges, and towns punctuated by sharp steeples are all motifs familiar in Antwerp drawings and paintings associated with the Patenir studio. The Errera Album of Flemish drawings in Brussels, similar to the heterogeneous collection an artist's shop might amass, contains a number of sheets that can be dated around 1516–1520, attributed to "Master A" by Burton Dunbar. These drawings of landscape motifs offer the most fruitful comparisons to the Getty Epistles miniatures (fig. 10). Although we cannot know exactly how the Flemish figure drawings came to be used in the 1520s Hours Workshop, it is more than possible

that Godefroy le Batave, the Netherlandish miniaturist active at the French court in that same period, was the source of such landscape models. His own landscape style is so close to the Errera Master A that he must have trained in the same Antwerp atelier.[41] In the miniatures of the 1520s Hours Workshop itself, the backgrounds of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 9) and the *Saint Peter* (fig. 14) by the Master of Jean de Mauléon contain complex, fanciful structures and abruptly mountainous terrain much like those in the Getty miniatures (figs. 1a, 2a). Such formulaic background landscapes can be found throughout the miniatures of the 1520s Hours Workshop masters. The consistent use of the same repertory of model drawings in closely related manuscripts by distinctly different masters confirms that we are dealing with a large and active workshop that shared these drawings.

THE VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM EPISTLES

The Victoria and Albert Epistles, the only other known illuminated manuscript of this text from the French Renaissance, also originates from the 1520s Hours Workshop. Dating a few years earlier than the Getty codex, it contains the canonical Epistles in addition to the Pauline ones, with six full-page author portraits heading the appropriate sections. Three different artists created the miniatures in the Victoria and Albert book. One can be identified with the Master of Jean de Mauléon (fig. 14), the second, tentatively, with the early work of the Doheny Master (fig. 15), and the third with the Master of Claude de France, whose miniatures of saints Jerome and Paul head the book (figs. 11, 12).[42] As has been mentioned, the discovery of work by the Master of Claude de France in a manuscript containing miniatures by two masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop is a significant piece of evidence to link this workshop with Tours, since the Master of Claude de France was established there.

A few stylistic comparisons allow us confirm the attribution of the two miniatures to the Claude Master. A

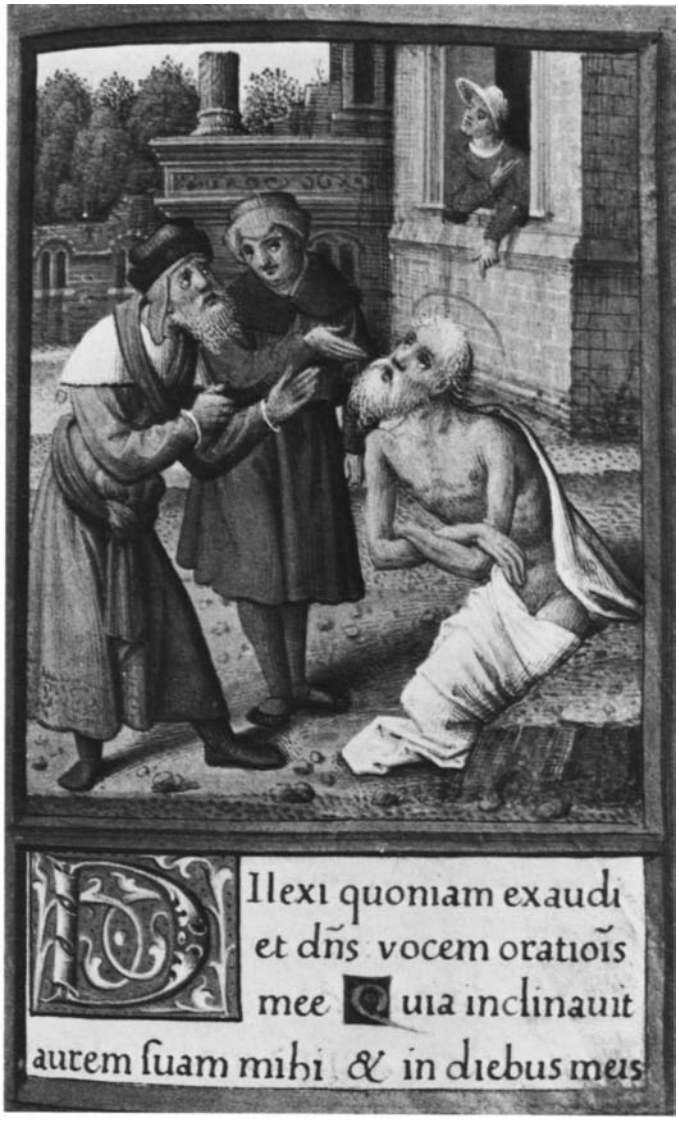

Figure 13. Job and His Friends. Illuminated by the Master of Claude de France. From *Hours for the Use of Rome,* fol. 13. Circa 1520. Vellum. 13.7 x 8.9 cm (5 3/8 x 3 1/2 in.). London, private collection. Photo courtesy Sotheby's, London.

nungen in der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina, vol. 2 (Vienna, 1928), p. 6, no. 32 (24.7 cm in diameter). See also D. Ewing, "The Painting and Drawings of Jan de Beer," unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1978, fig. 129, checklist p. 333, no. 58 (listed only as Netherlandish). The Vienna drawing was probably one of a series of designs for stained glass roundels. The unusually large feet of the drawing are echoed in the Getty and Doheny Masters' Epistles miniatures (compare figs. 2, 5, 15), yet are atypical of their work (see fig. 8).

Standing saints and apostles proliferated in the graphic arts of the early sixteenth century, but none offers the close parallel of the Vienna drawing and works similar to it: a Netherlandish drawing of Saint Claude, dated 1526, in Düsseldorf (Kunstmuseum F.P. 4743), originally also a roundel 23.1 centimeters in diameter, and a panel of Saint John the Baptist, fancifully attributed to Jan Swart, in sale cat., Sotheby's, London, December 10, 1980, lot 105.

41. B. Dunbar, "Some Observations on the 'Errera Sketchbook' in Brussels," *Bulletin de Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 21 (1972), pp. 53–82, esp. pp. 64–65. I am indebted to him for confirming my observations and loaning me photographs. See also fig. 10 in M. Orth, "The Triumphs of Petrarch Illuminated by Godefroy le Batave: Arsenal MS. 6480," *Gazette des beaux-arts* (December 1984), pp. 197–206. On Godefroy generally, see idem, in *Renaissance Painting,* pp. 181–186, no. 24.

42. The Victoria and Albert codex is the smallest, but close in size to the lost Dresden *Heroïdes* (11.8 x 7.3 cm; see Appendix A II): 11.5 x 6.5 cm; 195 folios, text written in 24 lines, ruled 3.5 x 7 cm; original binding. *Saint Jerome* is on the verso of the last folio of the first gathering of four, but is counted as fol. 1; *Saint Paul* is on fol. 7v, in

Figure 14. Saint Peter. Illuminated by the Master of Jean de Mauléon. From Epistles of Saint Paul with the Canonical Epistles. Circa 1525–1526. Vellum. 11.8 x 7.3 cm (4⅝ x 2⅞ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. L. 1721–1921, fol. 168v. Published by permission of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 15. Saint Jude. Illuminated by the Master of the Doheny Hours. From Epistles of Saint Paul with the Canonical Epistles. Circa 1525–1526. Vellum. 11.8 x 7.3 cm (4⅝ x 2⅞ in.). London, Victoria and Albert Museum Ms. L. 1721–1921, fol. 180v. Published by permission of the Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

newly discovered book of hours illuminated by him contains a figure of Job (fig. 13) which closely resembles the *Saint Jerome* (fig. 11) in the Victoria and Albert manuscript.[43] In the *Gethsemane* miniature from the newly discovered Hours, the rock formation can be seen to be painted in the same manner as that behind

the third gathering. *Saint James* (fol. 161v) and *Saint Peter* (fig. 14) I would attribute to the Master of Jean de Mauléon. *Saint John the Evangelist* (fol. 180v) and *Saint Jude* (fig. 15) I am tentative in attributing to the Doheny Master. Rowan Watson of the Victoria and Albert Museum generously provided photographs and information. On the Claude Master, see above (note 4).

The Doheny collection also included an Epistles of Saint Paul. I was not aware of it until the pre-sale exhibition at Christie's (London, December 2, 1987, lot 173, to Kraus), when Janet Backhouse brought it to my attention. It is definitely from the 1520s Hours Workshop.

The dimensions are comparable to the majority of the other codices tabulated in Appendix B: 15.5 x 9cm, 118 folios, 26 lines, justification 10.5 x 5 cm. The delicate italic script is very close to the Victoria and Albert codex and the Lallemant Hours (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 446) discussed in a 1980 article (note 37, fig. 8) in the Walters *Journal* (see above [note 32]). Also, as I note there, a manuscript from the circle of the Master of Claude de France is in a comparable hand (British Library Add. 35315). Hans Fellner has connected the hand with the Arrighi style in Christie's catalogue, p. 96, but I do not agree that it is necessarily that of an Italian scribe.

Saint Jerome. In contrasting the Victoria and Albert *Saint Jerome* with that of the Master of the Getty Epistles (figs. 1a, 11), I remarked that they differed in strength of conception, composition, anatomy, and setting. The Claude Master's figure types are characteristically slight of stature and unemphatic in their gestures. They lack the brio of figures like the Morgan *Saint Paul* (fig. 4) but appeal to us through their representational clarity and serene demeanor. Where the Master of the Getty Epistles used deep, rich shades —contrasting vibrant reds and oranges, deep blue-purples, and biting acid greens—the Claude Master modified and modulated his bright and cheerful naturalistic palette with tiny strokes, avoiding the monotonous, pasty quality so often encountered in the work of lesser followers of Bourdichon. However, the short, simply draped figures in the Claude Master's Hours do not offer a parallel to his more elaborate *Saint Paul* (fig. 12) in the Victoria and Albert manuscript. The scale of the figure and the landscape background there were surely influenced by the 1520s Hours Workshop miniaturists working on the same manuscript (see figs. 14, 15).[44]

The Victoria and Albert Epistles can be tentatively dated about 1525–1526. I remarked earlier in this essay that the fanciful architectural framings are similar to those found in the Claude de France prayer book, and that they are related to those scattered through the Rosenwald Hours (fig. 16), the Hours of Jean de Mauléon (both 1524), and the Rosenberg Hours and found in the calendar of the Smith-Lesouëf Hours (circa 1526–1528).[45] Such capricious confections of early Renaissance architectural motifs deployed with late Gothic panache are never found in the Doheny Hours (circa 1528) or any of the manuscripts associated with the Master of the Getty Epistles, for which I have proposed a date of 1528–1530.

TEXT IN CONTEXT

The Epistles of Saint Paul, as a text, stands apart from the other illuminated manuscripts of the 1520s Hours Workshop. It is neither a devotional book, as the Hours are, nor a court-commissioned piece of research or translation, as are the works of scholars from Tours for which the workshop provided frontispieces and framings. At first glance the Epistles might be thought to have been intended for the French court, then sympathetic to the Reform and intellectually dominated by the sister of the king, Marguerite de Navarre, and by the aging but no less influential biblical scholar, Lefèvre d'Etaples. Interest in the Pauline Epistles in the early sixteenth century was keen among the biblical humanists; Saint Paul was particularly favored by the Reformation since, in his Epistle to the Romans, he preached justification by faith rather than works. Do these three Renaissance Epistles manuscripts reflect this newly awakened interest in Saint Paul? By briefly reviewing the crisis of biblical humanism that centered on Saint Jerome even more than on Saint Paul, we will see how the manuscript Epistles emerge as theologically conservative and therefore incompatible in approach to currents of Protestant thought running strongly at the French court.

There are no marks of ownership on the Getty Museum's manuscript. However, we can trace the Victoria and Albert codex to the de Leuville family, two of whose members, Jacques and François, were presidents of the Parlement of Paris, the former in 1517, the latter in 1542.[46] The Parlement, along with the Sorbonne, was the strongest force for religious orthodoxy in France. Setting the manuscript Epistles in the small, decorative, and portable format of a book of hours instead of in that of an austere scholarly tome seems to underscore visually the conservative intention of these manuscript Epistles.

The separate codicological presentation of the Epistles of Saint Paul accompanied by pseudo-Saint Jerome's preface, argument, and commentary was part of a very old textual tradition that seems to have flourished in the eighth and ninth centuries, but the Epistles were not a common choice for an illuminated manuscript in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Saint Jerome's authorship of many of these auxiliary texts was put in serious doubt by Erasmus in 1516 and has been rejected by most scholars since that time. The general preface and the preface to the Epistle to the

43. Sale cat., Sotheby's, London, December 11, 1984, lot 63, ill. (London, private collection). Another book of hours by the Claude Master and his school (sale cat., Sotheby's, London, June 25, 1985, lot 104, ill.) also contains a figure of Job virtually identical to that in lot 63. The thin, old face looking upward reappears time and time again. I am grateful to Christopher de Hamel for generously sharing this information prior to the sales.

44. The Claude Master's *Saint Paul* can be compared with profit to his miniatures in the Houghton prayer book (Ms. Typ. 252), particularly *Christ Washing the Feet of His Apostles*, where one sees the same uplifted faces of apostles. If the Victoria and Albert Epistles manuscript dates to the middle of the 1520s, as I suggest, the stylistic similarities would argue for a similar date for the Houghton manuscript rather than the earlier one suggested in *Last Flowering,* p. 101. See Wieck (note 4), ill. p. 45.

45. See above (note 15).

46. This data is from the typescript entry of the Victoria and Albert Library; the arms of the de Leuville family appear on the clasps of the contemporary green velvet binding. No armorial evidence appears on the pages of the manuscript, however.

Figure 16. Raising of Lazarus. Illuminated by the Master of the Rosenwald Hours. From *Hours for the Use of Rome.* 1524. Vellum, 23 x 14.5 cm (9 x $5^{11}/_{16}$ in.). Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. Photo courtesy Lessing J. Rosenwald.

Romans, which appear in both the Getty and Victoria and Albert Epistles, are now attributed to Pelagius and dated to the early fifth century.[47] Both of the 1520s Hours Workshop manuscripts omit Pelagius' extensive commentary, order the Epistles according to the Vulgate, and include short arguments from other sources. It would be of great interest to discover what text served as a model for these French Renaissance manuscripts.[48]

Renaissance and Reformation biblical humanists worked together to revive interest in both the Pauline Epistles and the canonical (or Catholic) Epistles. There is no codicological evidence that the Getty Epistles are incomplete, but the inclusion of the canonical Epistles in the Victoria and Albert manuscript raises the possibility that they were originally meant to follow the Epistles of Saint Paul in the Getty codex as well.

The groundwork laid by Erasmus and like-minded scholars was central to the appreciation of Saint Paul. In the very early years of the sixteenth century, Erasmus, the great European biblical humanist, and Lefèvre d'Etaples, the leading scholar of biblical exegesis in France, began to work on the Pauline Epistles in the context of their own separate revisions of the Latin Vulgate based on their readings of the Greek. These scholars did not believe that Saint Jerome could have been responsible for what they considered the clumsy Latin of the New Testament Vulgate.[49] Lefèvre's edition of Paul's letters with commentary appeared first, in 1512.[50] In 1523 he published together his French translation of the Pauline Epistles, the canonical Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse; this particular vernacular edition was very popular in French Reformation circles.[51] Other publications in the third decade testify to the currency of biblical exegesis in France, but in a European context one must turn to Erasmus to see just how widespread studies were that related to the Pauline Epistles and Saint Jerome. Erasmus began to publish his paraphrases on the Pauline Epistles in 1517, only one year after his edition of the works of Jerome and the first edition of the Greek and Latin New Testament appeared.[52]

The furor all of these books caused has kept scholars busy ever since. With such a flood of treatises, it would have been next to impossible to ignore contemporary developments in biblical scholarship. For the compiler

47. D. Erasmus, *Divi Hieronymi opera omnia* (Basel: Froben, 1516), is cited as the source in A. Souter, *Pelagius' Expositions of Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul,* vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1922), pp. 2–6, 201. (Souter's work is vol. 9 of *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature,* ed. J. A. Robinson.) The Pelagius text occupies Souter's vol. 2; for the prefaces, see pp. 3–7. The Victoria and Albert manuscript uses the word "prologue" instead of "preface" in the heading.

The arguments (not from Pelagius) in the Getty manuscript are noted in Plotzek and von Euw (note 1), vol. 1, p. 134, with reference to F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium biblicum medii aevi,* vol. 1 (Madrid, 1940), nos. 670, 674, 677 [I Corinthians lacks an argument; II Corinthians uses no. 699, not cited in von Euw], 707, 715, 728, 736, 747 [first line is that of no. 748], 752, 765, 772, 780, 783, 793. Nos. 699, 728, 736, and 747 are (wrongly) attributed to Saint Jerome in rubrics of the Getty manuscript. For traditions of illumination, see Eleen (note 38).

Two more Renaissance manuscripts of commentaries on Saint Paul's Epistles are worth mentioning: Ficino's commentary (London, British Library, Harl. Ms. 4695) that belonged to Germain de Ganay in the early sixteenth century, and a commentary by Pierre Richard on the Pauline and canonical Epistles dated 1505 (Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms. 64).

48. Possible candidates are two cited in Souter (note 47), vol. 1, pp. 245, 295: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 653 (eighth or ninth century), which had reached France by the time of Henri II (d. 1559), and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 1853 (also eighth or ninth

Figure 17. Pentecost. Illuminated by the Master of Jean de Mauléon. From *Hours for the Use of Rome.* Circa 1526–1528. Vellum, 14.4 x 8.5 cm (5⅝ x 3 15/16 in.). New York, Rosenberg collection Ms. 9, fols. 84v, 85. Photo: London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Conway Library.

Figure 18. Pentecost. Illuminated by an assistant of the Master of the Getty Epistles. From *Hours for the Use of Rome.* Circa 1528–1530. Vellum, 14 x 8.6 cm (5½ x 3⅜ in.). London, British Library Ms. Add. 35318, fol. 42. Photo: British Library.

of the Getty and the Victoria and Albert Epistles to have paid these developments no mind suggests a conscious choice. It would have been very unusual to have omitted Lefèvre's work on Paul from a royal manuscript made when Lefèvre's influence was at its height. Thus in a general way, one can view the selection of the Pauline Epistles as being in concert with the spiritual concerns of the period, but beyond that, the decision to

century), which can be traced to the Jesuits' library in Paris in the late sixteenth century. See also B. Lambert, O.S.B., *Bibliotheca Hieronymiana manuscripta: La tradition manuscrite des oeuvres de Saint Jérôme,* vol. 3B (The Hague, 1970) (Spurious Works), nos. 480–486.

49. On Saint Jerome and the Vulgate, see Rice (note 35), pp. 176–185. I am very much indebted to Professor Rice for answering my questions and for sending me a typescript of relevant excerpts in 1984. Also see J. H. Bentley, *Humanists and Holy Writ: New Testament Scholarship in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1983), p. 162; J. B. Payne, "Erasmus and Lefèvre d'Etaples as Interpreters of Paul," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 65 (1974), pp. 54–83.

50. E. Rice, *The Prefatory Epistles of Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples and Related Texts* (New York and London, 1972), pp. 294–302, esp. p. 299, nn. 9, 11; bibliographical description, pp. 558–559. Also, Harvard College Library (note 11), p. 84, no. 61. There were earlier French translations of Saint Paul's Epistles: an edition of 1507 is described in ibid., p. 83, no. 60. On Lefèvre generally, see P. E. Hughes, *Lefèvre: Pioneer of Ecclesiastical Renewal in France* (Grand Rapids, 1984).

51. Cited in Rice (note 50), p. 564. Numerous other editions prove its popularity. A separate Latin commentary on the canonical Epistles was published in 1527 in Basel, also cited in ibid., p. 566.

52. D. Erasmus, *Collected Works,* vol. 42, *New Testament Scholarship: Paraphrases on Romans and Galatians,* ed. R. D. Sider, trans. and annot. J. B. Payne, A. Rabil, Jr., and W. S. Smith, Jr. (Toronto, 1984), pp.

Figure 19. Annunciation. Illuminated by the Master of the Doheny Hours. From *Hours for the Use of Rome.* Circa 1526–1528. Vellum, 15.3 x 8.7 cm (6 x 3 7/16 in.). Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection Ms. 37, fol. 31v. Photo: Bulloz.

include the psuedo-Jerome prefaces and arguments points to a specific desire to preserve orthodoxy and tradition. There is closely related contemporary evidence suggesting that the view of Jerome as a symbolic "defender of the faith" had been current at court before 1515, in the circles of both Anne de Beaujeu and Louise de Savoie. During the course of the sixteenth century, he would become the embodiment of the Counter-Reformation.[53]

The early sixteenth century marked a great revival of interest in the epistle as a prose genre, whether written by an ancient author, a Father of the Church, or a near-contemporary. Epistles were avidly collected, published, and read as examples of eloquence. Saint Jerome's Epistles were popular, and his connection with the genre might be another reason for retaining his link with the Pauline Epistles in the face of contemporary scholarship. In the context of the Renaissance vogue for the epistle, Erasmus again helps to pinpoint the attitude toward the New Testament Epistles in general and the link with Saint Paul's in particular. In his 1522 publication *De conscribendis epistolis,* Erasmus upheld the early Christians as worthy models of eloquence and as deserving of attention as the Ciceronian ideal.[54] Thus the choice of the Pauline Epistles for a luxurious manuscript can be further explained in conjunction with both the strictly secular interest in epistles and the renewed interest in Saint Paul in the early sixteenth century. However, the intended audience for the Getty and Victoria and Albert codices could not have been part of the intellectual ferment at the French court. Both the forms and the contents of these manuscript Epistles point to a more tradition-bound milieu, one aware of contemporary controversy yet critical of it.

CONCLUSION

To be able to discuss the Getty Epistles in a meaningful way, it has been necessary to consider the entire 1520s Hours Workshop in some detail. In the process of reviewing the documentation I have raised general questions regarding methods of analysis and specific problems of attribution in a workshop context. While these questions must be addressed in greater detail in subsequent specialized studies, a few observations can be made about the focus of the present essay, the Master of the Getty Epistles. Like his equally anonymous colleagues, he adhered to workshop sources, models, and compositions, but introduced a distinctive, re-

xx–xxiii, for details of the entire publication. On the publishing of the Bible, see introduction to *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami,* ser. 9, vol. 2, ed. H. J. de Jonge (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1983).

53. This is brought out by Rice (note 35), pp. 89, 232, n. 20. The preface to a *Life of Saint Jerome* in a manuscript made for Anne de Beaujeu (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 418) speaks of Saint Jerome as a defender against heresy. The manuscript, which Professor Rice and I have discussed, has lavish borders directly related to the Bourdichon workshop (see above [note 13]) and miniatures more distantly related to the same Loire Valley atelier. Based on the arguments in this article, I am not as certain as Professor Rice that the omission of the results of Lefèvre's and Erasmus' research necessitates a date before 1516, but it must date before the death of Anne (1522). This manuscript has a very close relative in an English private collection (for which information I am grateful to Christopher de Hamel).

Evidence of Louise de Savoie's interest in Saint Jerome is detailed in Lecoq (note 33), pp. 72–73, during the period 1509–1511, predating her unwitting involvement in the philological disputes of the biblical humanists during the period 1517–1520, when Lefèvre was granted royal protection.

Figure 20a. *Annunciation.* From *Hours for the Use of Rome* published by Geofroy Tory, 1529 (1530 new style), fols. D7v, D8. Woodcut on paper, 9.8 x 5.8 cm ($3^{13}/_{16}$ x $2^{5}/_{16}$ in.). Paris, Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Collection Lésoufache. Photo: Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Figure 20b. Recto of figure 20a.

strained, Italianate grace and sophistication that blend effortlessly, in the same master's style of the late 1530s and the 1540s, with the figural elongation and decorative vocabulary of Fontainebleau Mannerism. Of the principal masters of the 1520s Hours Workshop, the Getty Epistles Master was the one who moved furthest into a French Mannerist style and who maintained the workshop's innovations to mid-century.[55] The Getty Epistles as a codex presents, in its tiny format, a résumé of the finest of French Renaissance manuscript il-

54. M. Fumaroli, "Genèse de l'epistolographie classique: Rhétorique humaniste de la lettre, de Pétrarque à Juste Lipsius," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de France* 78, no. 6 (1978), pp. 886–899; Erasmus cited p. 888. I am indebted to Sandra Sider for this reference.

55. Examples of the later miniatures I would attribute to the Getty Epistles Master include the frontispiece to René Fame's translation (see above [note 9]) of Erasmus' *Paraphrase of Saint Matthew,* Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 934 (dated 1539), illustrated in A. Blum and P. Lauer, *La miniature française aux XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris and Brussels, 1930), pl. 87. I also attribute to him some of the miniatures in the 1549 Hours for the Connétable Anne de Montmorency at Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 1943, including *Jonas Preaching to the Ninevites,* illustrated in ibid., pl. 96. See Orth (note 1), pp. 378–381; *Renaissance Painting,* p. 192, n. 10; *Last Flowering,* p. 104.

As this article was in press a new example of the work of the Getty Epistles Master appeared in Christie's, London, sale of June 22, 1988, lot 218. An initial from a choir book is decorated with a Nativity that takes its composition from the Doheny Hours (see *Revue,* fig. 7) but incorporates a Raphaelesque grace in the depiction of the Virgin that only the Getty Epistles Master could achieve.

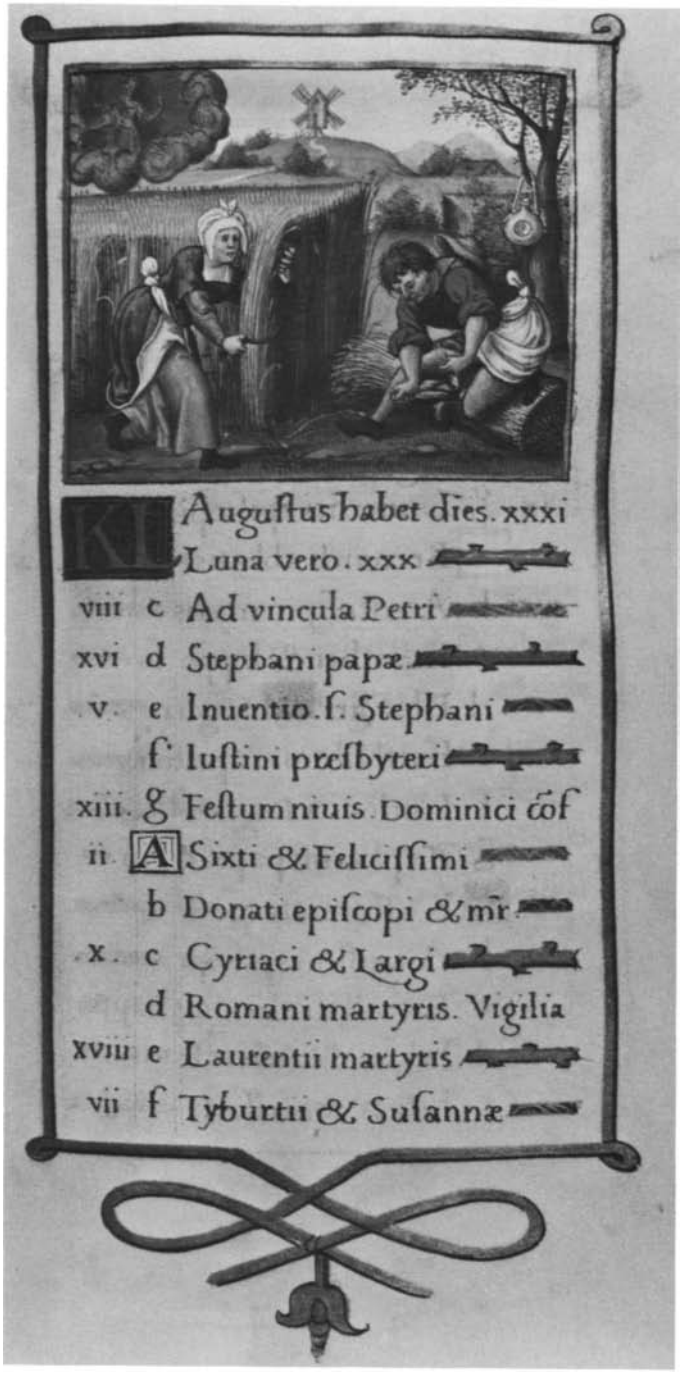

Figure 21. August Harvest Scene. Illuminated by the Master of the Doheny Hours. From *Hours for the Use of Rome.* Circa 1526–1528. Vellum, 15.3 x 8.7 cm (6 x 3⁷/₁₆ in.). Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection Ms. 37, fol. 12. Photo: Bulloz.

lumination, which was also to continue, at the hands of various masters, to mid-century. The historical and intellectual context of the Getty Epistles, that of France of the Renaissance and *Pré-Réforme,* is one of ambivalent attitudes toward traditional spirituality, but of unswerving attachment to the material luxury of the illuminated book. The medium in this case transmits more than one message.

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APPENDIX A

Manuscripts from the 1520s Hours Workshop

I. Ecclesiastical (grouped by masters)

Master of the Rosenwald Hours

Rosenwald Hours, use of Rome, 1524. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rosenwald Collection Ms. 10. See *The Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1977), no. 14.

Roman Pontifical. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 1226. Possibly by Master of Jean de Mauléon. See V. Leroquais, *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1937), vol. I, no. 132.

Master of Jean de Mauléon

Hours of Jean de Mauléon, use of Toulouse, circa 1524. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery W. 449. See *Last Flowering,* no. 130.

Hours for the Use of Rome. Location unknown. See sale cat., Sotheby's, London, December 15, 1941, lot 125 (Maggs).

Rosenberg Hours, use of Rome, circa 1526–1528. New York, Rosenberg collection Ms. 9. See *Last Flowering,* no. 131.

Doheny Master

Doheny Hours, use of Rome, circa 1528. *Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts in the Estelle Doheny Collection* (Los Angeles, 1940–1955), vol. III, p. 8; sale cat., Christie's, London, December 2, 1987, lot 174 (Pierre Berès, Paris).

Smith-Lesouëf Hours, use of Rome, circa 1526–1528. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Smith-Lesouëf Ms. 42. See V. Leroquais, *Les livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1927); Suppl. Macon (1943), pp. 41–44.

Fitzwilliam Hours, use of Rome, circa 1526–1528. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Ms. 134. See M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1898), p. 315.

Dutuit Hours, use of Rome, circa 1526–1528. Paris, Petit Palais, Dutuit Collection Ms. 37 (includes miniatures of 1540s). See E. Dutuit, *La collection Dutuit: Livres et manuscrits* (Paris, 1899), p. 18.

Four detached miniatures. New York, private collection [London, Baskett and Day, 1983].

Hours for the Use of Rome, see sale cat., Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1988, lot 115 (Kraus).

Master of the Getty Epistles

Morgan Hours, use of Paris, circa 1528–1530. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library M. 452. See *Last Flowering,* no. 132.

Hours of Anne of Austria, use of Rome, circa 1528–1530. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3090. See S. Solente, *Bibliothèque Nationale: Nouvelles acquisitions latines et françaises du département des manuscrits pendant les années 1951–1957. Inventaire sommaire* (Paris, 1960), p. 34.

Getty epistles (Epistles of Saint Paul), circa 1528–1530. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, Ms. Ludwig I 15. See A. von Euw and J. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig,* vol. 1 (Cologne, 1979), pp. 134–139.

Assistant of the Master of the Getty Epistles

British Library Hours, use of Rome, circa 1528–1530. London, British Library Ms. Add. 35318. See *Renaissance Painting,* no. 25.

Hours for the Use of Rome. Circa 1540. Liège, University Library, Wittert Ms. 29.

Master of Jean de Mauléon, Master of the Doheny Hours, Master of Claude de France

Victoria and Albert Epistles (Epistles of Saint Paul with the Canonical Epistles), circa 1525–1526. London, Victoria and Albert Museum L. 1721–1921.

Scribe from the 1520s Hours Workshop

Epistles of Saint Paul. Formerly Camarillo, Saint John's Seminary, Estelle Doheny Collection. See sale cat., Christie's, London, December 2, 1987, lot 173 (Kraus).

II. Secular Works in French
(miniatures attributed to the 1520s Hours Workshop, but not to specific hands; listed by author/translator)

Etienne le Blanc. *La généalogie de Bourbon,* circa 1522. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 5719. See Lecoq, *François I imaginaire* (Paris, 1987), fig. 235.

———. *Les gestes de Blanche de Castille,* 1526(?). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 5715. See Lecoq (as above), fig. 234.

———. *Les oraisons de Ciceron,* 1527–1531. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. fr. 1738. See L. Delisle, "Traductions d'auteurs grecs et latins offertes à François I et à Anne de Montmorency par Etienne le Blanc et Antoine Macault," *Journal des savants* (1900), pp. 476ff, 520ff; Lecoq, as above, fig. 109.

———. *Les oraisons de Ciceron,* 1532–1538. Leningrad, Saltlykov-Shchedrin Library Ms. fr. F v. XII. 3. See Delisle (as above); A. Blum and P. Lauer, *La miniature française aux XVe et au XVIe siècles* (Paris, 1930), p. 90.

Antoine Macault (trans.). *Diodorus Siculus,* 1534. Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. fr. 1672. Delisle (as above); J. Meurgey, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930), pl. 132.

Ovid, *Heroïdes.* Formerly Dresden. See P. Durrieu and J.-J. Marquet de Vasselot, "Les manuscrits à miniatures des Heroïdes d'Ovide," *L'artiste,* 9th ser., 7–8 (May–June 1894), offprint.

Peace Treaty of 1527 sent to Henry VIII. London, Public Records Office E 30/1109. See M. Orth, "A French Illuminated Treaty of 1527," *Burlington Magazine* 122 (1980), pp. 124–126.

APPENDIX B
Table of Measurements

This chart documents the measurements (in centimeters; height precedes width) in the manuscripts of the 1520s Hours Workshop. The dimensions of miniatures within each codex vary widely according to the size of the frame and the amount of inserted text. In several cases (e.g., Smith-Lesouëf) the border dimensions vary within the same manuscript.

MANUSCRIPT	PAGE SIZE	MINIATURE	JUSTIF.	LINES	FOLIOS
Rosenwald Ms. 10	23 x 14.5	15 x 10.5	13.3 x 7	23	113
Walters W. 449	16.9 x 9.8	11 x 6	11.4 x 5.4	23	168
Rosenberg Ms. 9	14.4 x 8.5	9.8 x 6	9.4 x 4.7	20	156
Doheny	18.4 x 11.3	10 x 6.9	12 x 6.5	22	125
Smith-Lesouëf Ms. 42	14.2 x 8.3	9.5 x 5.2	9.5 x 4.5	22	138
Fitzwilliam Ms. 134	14.6 x 8	9.5 x 5.5	10 x 5.5	20	126
Dutuit Ms. 37	15.3 x 8.7	8.3 x 5	9.5 x 4.8	20	154
Morgan M. 452	13.8 x 8.7	9 x 6	9.6 x 6.1	20	154
Anne of Austria	14.6 x 8.8	9.3 x 5.3	10.3 x 5	22	124
Getty Epistles	16.3 x 10.2	9.6 x 5.7	11.5 x 5.6	29	112
British Library Ms. Add. 35318	14 x 8.6	8.5 x 5.5	10 x 5.8	20	124

FLOWER BORDER DIMENSIONS
SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS

	LOWER PANEL, H:	UPPER PANEL, H:	OUTER PANEL, W:
Morgan	2	.6	1.3
British Library	1.8	.8	1.4
Anne of Austria and Dutuit	2.6	1.3	2.1
Getty Epistles	2.4	1.4	2.1
Doheny	3	1.3	2.4

A Late Fifteenth-Century Spanish *Pietà* from the Circle of Fernando Gallego

Barbara Anderson

In 1985 the J. Paul Getty Museum purchased from Wildenstein and Co. in New York a small, late fifteenth-century Spanish panel of the Pietà (fig. 1).[1] Executed in an oil palette dominated by green blues, yellow greens, and golden earth tones,[2] the panel is composed in an uncomplicated and rigidly frontal manner. In the foreground the Virgin sits with the dead Christ on her lap in front of the cross. Littering the ground around them are a skull, a bone, and several small stones. Two instruments of the Passion, the lance and the rod with attached sponge, are propped up vertically against the cross, which is inscribed with the initials *i.n.r.i.* Opening beyond is an arid, rocky landscape overlooking a walled Gothic town probably intended to represent Jerusalem, nestled between a body of water and a verdant, gently rolling countryside stretching into the far distance. Two tiny soldiers, one on horseback, the other on foot, wander away from the town and toward the foreground.

The lively, miniaturistic treatment of land- and townscape provides a diverting visual charm, but the picture's most compelling features are the extraordinary faces of Christ and the Virgin. His, crowned with thorns that seem to issue directly from the scrubby bush by his head, is gaunt and finely featured (fig. 9). Despite the gray complexion, slackened mouth, and unseeing gaze of death, Christ's visage has a delicate beauty that contrasts hauntingly with the almost masculine coarseness of the Virgin's face (fig. 8). With her enlarged nose, swollen and heavy-lidded eyes glistening with tears, and sardonic smile from thickened lips, her face is unprecedented in its blunt rejection of the female beauty and decorous grief typical of fifteenth-century depictions of the Virgin. In their place is a boldly unidealized but nonhistrionic depiction of profound sorrow.

Despite the picture's high quality and distinctive features, attempts to pinpoint its origins have been unconvincing. In fact a precise ascription remains elusive, although its regional derivation may be more definitively located than the past history of its attributions would suggest. When the panel surfaced in 1904, it was identified as having been executed in Burgundy or Franche-Comté around 1510.[3] Years later it was recognized as Spanish, based on similarities to the style of the Sevillian Juan Nuñez (active circa 1480), but dated around 1500, some twenty years later than other works related to Nuñez's style.[4] Most recently, the picture was attributed to Nuñez himself.[5] It seems clear now that although the painting is Spanish it is neither by Nuñez nor from Seville, as will be discussed below. That the painting was considered French for more than thirty-five years and then (once persuasively identified as Spanish) promptly forgotten for another thirty years has as much to do with the history of the taste in this century for Northern or Northern-influenced fifteenth-century painting in general as it does with the connoisseurship of the so-called "Hispano-Flemish" school to which it belongs.

In its frontality and symmetry, with figures arranged as in a frieze across the foreground, the composition of the Museum's *Pietà* is typical of late fifteenth-century Spanish depictions of the subject. The Museum's version is, however, simpler than most, which normally include, besides the Virgin and Christ, other saints or donors. An example is the *Pietà* by Juan Nuñez, dated around 1480 and in the cathedral of Seville (fig. 5). Rarely do the Virgin and Christ appear alone, except in polyptychs in which saints and donors are represented in separate panels. The unusually small size of the Getty Museum's panel suggests that it may originally have

1. The original painted surface measures 47 × 31.2 cm (18½ × 12¼ in.); the panel is 49.8 × 34.3 cm (19 9/16 × 13½ in.). See "Acquisitions/1985," *Getty Mus J* 14 (1986), p. 214.

2. The pigments were analyzed by M. Shilling, Getty Conservation Institute (Analysis Report, October 19, 1987). They consist of azurite, copper resinate, madder lake, vermilion, lead white, and earth colors.

3. H. Bouchot, *L'exposition des primitifs français: La peinture en France sous les Valois* (Paris, 1904), text facing pl. 90.

4. C. Jacques [C. Sterling pseud.], *Les peintres du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1941), p. 60, no. 27.

5. By Wildenstein and Co., which sold it as such.

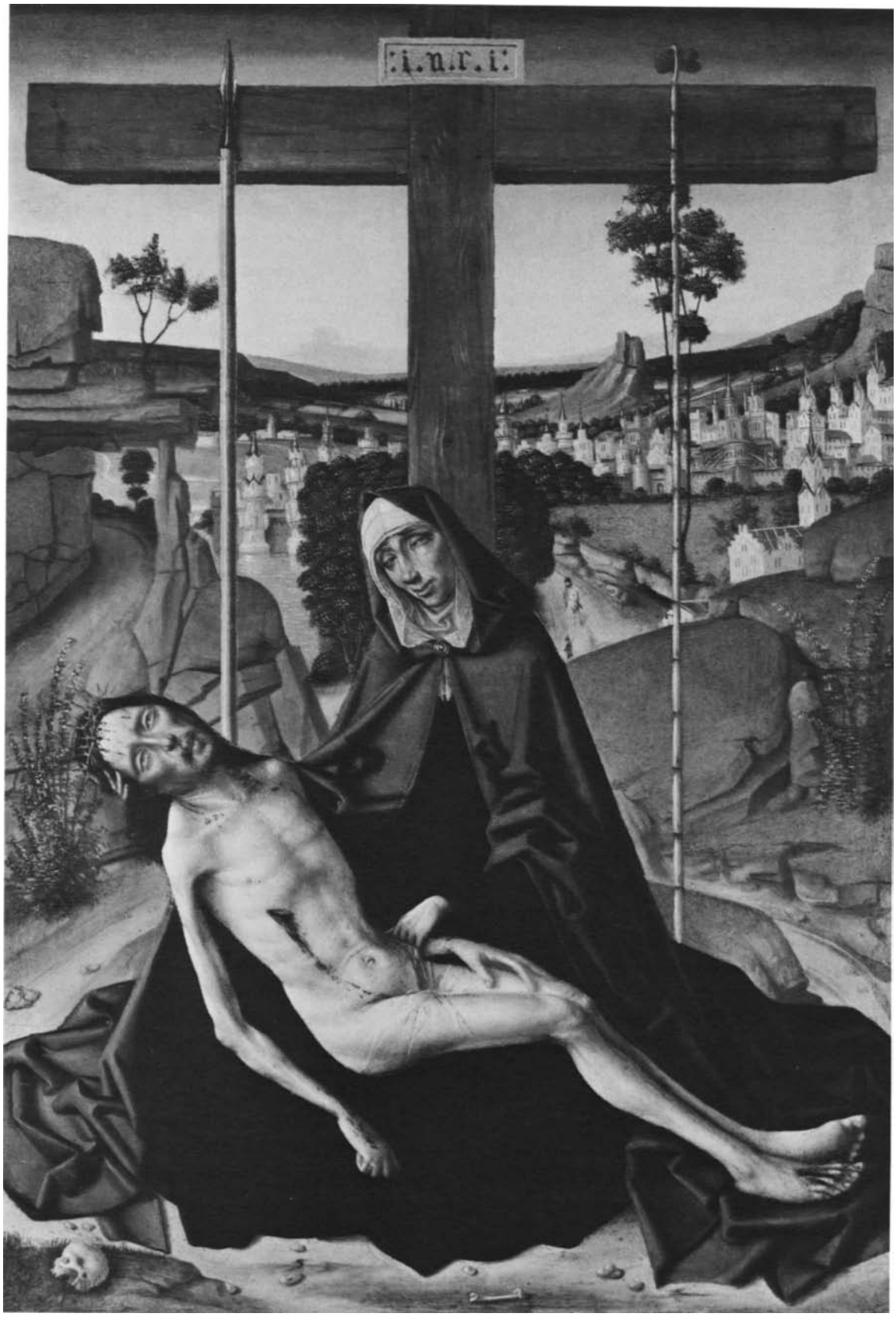

Figure 1. Circle of Fernando Gallego. *Pietà,* circa 1490–1500. Oil on panel. 49.8 × 34.3 cm (19 9/16 × 13 1/2 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.PB.267.

Figure 2. Circle of Bartolome Bermejo. Traveling Altarpiece, circa 1500. Oil on panel, 104.1×90.1 cm (41 × 35 ½ in.). Raleigh, North Carolina Museum of Art 52.9.169. Photo: North Carolina Museum of Art.

been part of such an ensemble, comparable to the tiny, hinged portable altarpiece now in the North Carolina Museum of Art and attributed to a follower of Bermejo around 1500 (fig. 2).[6]

The predominantly Northern character of the Getty Museum's picture, with its aerial perspective, varied landscape, and thematically irrelevant contemporary details of Northern Gothic architecture and costume, is also a hallmark of Spanish painting in the second half of the century, rooted ultimately in Flemish models. In Spanish versions, however, the Flemish obsession with texture and minute detail has been subdued. Thus each building in the sprawling town in the Getty panel is rendered summarily and repetitively, especially the tower with pointed roofs and the structures with stepped rooflines (fig. 11). Remnants of the Flemish love of texture are evident, e.g., in the pearly surfaces of pebbles in the foreground, but this inclination is relatively restrained. The close observation of surfaces and textures is mainly confined to jeweled ornaments and richly patterned gold brocades in ecclesiastical garments, but even these are treated more abstractly than in their Flemish counterparts (fig. 5), if they appear at all.

A similar restraint guides the use of color, which, although not necessarily somber, as the Spanish palette has repeatedly been described, is reduced mainly to

6. E. Sullivan, *North Carolina Museum of Art: Catalogue of Spanish Paintings* (Raleigh, 1986), pp. 2–6. Traces of gold leaf around the perimeter of the Getty panel suggest that an original engaged frame was carelessly pulled off.

Figure 3. Infrared reflectogram of figure 1.

Figure 4. Photo of figure 1 showing overpainted face of the Virgin. Mulhouse, Musée de l'Impression sur Étoffes. Archive of the Maison Adolphe Braun & Cie, et Braun, Clément & Cie, Successeurs, carbon print number 23.519.

earth tones, blues, and greens. The fact that the reds and blues in Spanish paintings often seem inordinately deep is due to the natural darkening of pigments. The azurite used in the Virgin's blue undergarment in the Getty Museum's panel, for example, had turned black; when the top layer was cleaned, the blue was again visible but the folds had been removed in the process, making the area an almost undifferentiated mass.[7]

Not all borrowed Northern characteristics in late fifteenth-century Spanish painting were purely Flemish. Spanish painters of the second half of the century not only looked to Flemish artists such as Bouts for stylistic and compositional inspiration but also to German admirers of Bouts.[8] Spain was hospitable to German sculptors, who went there in large numbers to work on architectural and decorative campaigns in the

7. An attempt at reconstruction of the folds was made with the aid of an infrared reflectogram (fig. 3) (J. Paul Getty Museum, Paintings Conservation files, Report, June 17, 1985). I would like to express my thanks to M. Leonard, Associate Conservator of Paintings, for his generous and patient explanation of the physical composition of this panel.

8. On German art and artists in fifteenth-century Spain, see H. Kehrer, *Alemania en España: Influjos y contactos a través los siglos* (Madrid, 1966), esp. pp. 39–67.

9. On Schongauer's possible sojourn in Spain, see A. Shestack, *Fifteenth-Century Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1967), Introduction to Schongauer entries, n.p. Whether or not Schongauer did visit Spain, his engravings, as well as those of his German followers, were easily accessible, either singly or in illustrated books. German printing houses were established in most of the major cities in Spain between 1472 and 1500.

10. On the relationship between German sculpture and engraving, see Shestack (note 9), Introduction, n.p.

11. See, for example, Schongauer's *Madonna of the Annunciation,* circa 1490–1491 (Lehrs V.43.3).

12. The reflectogram was executed by T. Moon, former Conservation Photographer, J. Paul Getty Museum, and assembled by M. Leonard.

13. See, for example, Schongauer's *Crucifixion with Four Angels,* circa 1475 (Lehrs V.95.14).

14. H. Bouchot (note 3), text facing pl. 90. The exhibition was such a major event that several articles describing it appeared that year and the next, at least two of them illustrating the Getty Museum's

last two decades of the fifteenth century, and to printmakers, whose works were widely circulated in Spain, or who, like Martin Schongauer, may have visited the country.[9] The hard, linear style of German printmakers is closely aligned with contemporaneous German sculpture[10] and is often characterized by energetic postures and distorted features or expressions, particularly for villainous male figures, and sculptural, bone-like drapery folds.[11] These elements, sometimes copied closely from German sources (especially Schongauer), were embraced by Spanish painters but, as with appropriated Flemish traits, modified. The drapery folds of the *Pietà,* sculptural in the German manner, have been abstracted into patterns of flat areas bordered by angular, raised rolls with knobbed ends. The startling homeliness of the Virgin in the Museum's panel, although unique within the pictorial canon obeyed in the portrayal of feminine faces, and by no means an angry caricature, surely owes something to German male faces. Likewise, the skeletal corpse of Christ is comparable to German Gothic sculptures of the *Pietà.*

The underdrawing of the Museum's panel, visible with the aid of infrared reflectography (fig. 3),[12] reveals much about the artist's working process and his artistic debts to German sources. His technique consists of two primary types of line. One, a short, curved stroke applied in dense crosshatching to indicate modeling, produces an almost hirsute quality in the body of Christ. The concentrated use of this type of crosshatching is particularly close to that used by German engravers such as the Master E. S., who invented the technique, and Martin Schongauer, who perfected it.[13] Also comparable to German engraving style is the architectural blocking out of the placement of drapery folds and rock formations, whose final forms are worked out in the painting.

In spite of its heavy debt to Northern painting, Spanish painting of the later fifteenth century was not merely a provincial offshoot of the Flemish or German schools. The milder enthusiasm for incorporating a multitude of lovingly described, mundane contemporary objects in a religious composition, was a function of the Spaniard's preference for a more conceptual approach to religious images. The artist of the Museum's panel has not only pared down secondary elements but, in order to emphasize the psychological and emotional impact of the theme, has rejected the theatrically gestural and emotive approach of Northern artists, whose figures in similar compositions are captured in the throes of the first hysterical waves of grief. The Getty master, in contrast, concentrates on the immediate aftermath, when violent reactions give way to a miserable acquiescence, manifest especially in the Virgin's face, calm but still flushed and bloated from weeping. This psychological penetration through physical attributes seems to have emerged in Spanish painting sometime in the 1480s and lasted at most for two decades, when the idealized serenity of Italian painting took hold in Spain.

The eclectic borrowings in the *Pietà* undoubtedly contributed to its having eluded a definitive identification, but taste and the art market in the early years of this century also played their own obfuscating roles. The picture was first published in 1904, in a catalogue accompanying a large and innovative exhibition entitled *Les primitifs français,* in which it received considerable attention.[14] Henri Bouchot dated it around 1510, and tentatively identified it as from upper Burgundy or Franche-Comté, based on the peculiar towers with multiple pointed roofs (fig. 11), which he thought similar to those found in the Juras. Although he was hesitant to insist upon its French origin, he deferred to the judgment of Bernard Berenson, mentioning the latter's perceived analogies to a *Pietà* from Avignon in the exhibition.[15]

Reproductions of the picture published at the time reveal a completely overpainted and much more conventionally beautiful face of the Virgin (fig. 4).[16] According to the catalogue entry, the panel, which was part of the Paris collection of the Baron Michele Lazzaroni, had been bought in Italy.[17] A Roman collec-

panel. See, for example, G. Lafenestre, "L'exposition des primitifs français (premier article)," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 31 (1904), reprod. p. 361; and P. Vitry, "Exposition des primitifs français," *Les arts* 28 (1904), p. 43, ill. p. 39.

15. Berenson's comparison was to a *Pietà* then in the Albenas collection and now in the Frick Collection in New York. Bouchot (note 3), pl. 61.

16. The landscape had also been extended, probably to compensate for the engaged frame that had been removed. In addition to Bouchot's catalogue entry and the articles by Lafenestre and Vitry, the painting was reproduced in a line engraving in S. Reinach, *Repertoire des peintures du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1907), vol. 2, fig. p. 471. It was reproduced in this condition as late as 1972, in the English edition of G. Schiller, *The Iconography of Christian Art* (Greenwich, Conn., 1972), fig. 610, where it was still identified as being in the Lazzaroni collection. The face of the Virgin has been restored to its original state, as have the original dimensions.

17. It must have been sold before 1941, when it was published by C. Sterling as formerly in the Lazzaroni collection (Jacques [note 4], p. 60, no. 21). The overpainting had surely been removed by the time Sterling saw it, because the similarities to Spanish painting, especially to Nuñez, would have been far less apparent without the distinctive face. Lazzaroni was born in 1863 and died in 1934. In 1935 the Accademia di S. Luca in Rome received a large bequest of Italian paintings from his collection, and the Poldi-Pezzoli in Milan also owns a large group. Because the *Pietà* had been in Lazzaroni's Paris residence, it seems likely that it was sold to the Wildenstein Gallery, which had bought regularly from Lazzaroni. Although Wildenstein's records do

Figure 5. Juan Nuñez (Spanish, active circa 1480). *Pietà with Saint Michael, Saint Vincent, and a Donor,* circa 1480. Oil on panel, 99 × 63 cm (39 × 24 3/4 in.). Seville, Cathedral (sacristy). Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

tor, dealer, and restorer with residences in Paris, Nice, Rome, and Venice, Lazzaroni regularly supplied Italian paintings to Joseph Duveen through Berenson,[18] and is reputed to have had many of them overpainted first.[19]

The faces in the *Pietà* were probably obliterated during Lazzaroni's ownership, not because they were too Spanish, but because they would have been thought too ugly to be marketable. In 1904 fifteenth-century Spanish painting was barely understood as a distinct school and French attributions were common, undoubtedly because so much of it passed through French collections and dealers.[20] In 1906, in the first of a pioneering series of articles on fifteenth-century Spanish painting in *La Revue de l'art ancien et moderne,* Emile Bertaux remarked upon the very new discovery by scholars of the existence of Spanish primitives as stylistically separate from Italian, Flemish, and German ones.[21] Bertaux's stylistic arguments, which attempted in part to link works by Bermejo and Nuñez, are now considered too general to indicate more than a common borrowing of widely characteristic Northern features. He was among the first, however, especially outside Spain, to pay attention to Spanish painting of the late fifteenth century, and to make a stab at sorting out the work of the major Spanish painters of the period. Nevertheless the misidentification of Spanish paintings continued for decades. Referring in 1935 to a *Virgin and Child Enthroned,* which in 1931 had been given as French in the Friedsam bequest to the Metropolitan Museum,[22] Chandler Post, who attributed it to Juan Nuñez, could not resist commenting sarcastically that many Spanish paintings were "wrongly marshalled by dealers under the more lucrative standard of the French school."[23]

not indicate their ownership until sometime later in the 1940s, the overpainting is less likely to have been removed by Lazzaroni or his heirs on their own initiative than by a dealer.

18. E. Samuels makes reference to connections between Lazzaroni, Berenson, and Duveen no later than 1912 (*Bernard Berenson: The Making of a Legend* [Cambridge, Mass., 1987], p. 136). E. Fowles, who worked in the Paris branch of Duveen, stated that by 1920 Lazzaroni was Berenson's primary source for Italian paintings (*Memories of Duveen Brothers* [London, 1976], pp. 122–123). C. Simpson, who interviewed Fowles and had access to the Duveen archives in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, has claimed that Fowles asked Berenson in 1923 to stop recommending pictures that had come from Lazzaroni because of his reputation for reworking them extensively (*Artful Partners: Bernard Berenson and Joseph Duveen* [New York, 1986], p. 235). It is perhaps worth noting, however, that reviews of Simpson's book have generally been critical of its accuracy. See, for example, J. Pope-Hennessy, in *New York Review of Books,* 34, no. 4 (March 12, 1987), pp. 19–20.

19. Simpson claims that Lazzaroni did much of the work himself, but sometimes employed the Sienese forger and restorer Federico Icilio Joni (Simpson [note 18], p. 89). Joni appears to have concentrated on faking Italian Quattrocento paintings, and from what is known of his style, or styles, the overpainted face of the Virgin does not resemble his work. It is actually much closer to the face of the Virgin in a *Lamentation* now in the Louvre and believed to be a copy of a lost Bouts (reprod. in E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* [New York, 1971], pl. 421). On Joni, see particularly his autobiography, *Le Memorie di un pittore di quadri antichi* (Florence, 1932); M. S. Frinta, "The Quest for a Restorer's Shop of Beguiling Invention: Restoration and Forgeries in Italian Panel Painting," *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (1978), pp. 7–23; idem, "Drawing the Net Closer: The Case of Ilicio Federico Joni, Painter of Antique Pictures," *Pantheon* 12, no. 3 (1982), pp. 217–224.

20. Many of these were later to be identified as by Bartolome Bermejo. His *Saint Michael with a Donor* was bought by Harold Wernher from Seligman in 1904, and Isabella Stewart Gardner purchased *Sta. Engracia* in the same year out of a sale in Paris of the Somzée collection. *The Arrest of Santa Engracia,* originally part of the same altarpiece, and now on loan to the Timken Art Gallery from the San Diego Art Museum, was in the collection of a M. Gavet in Paris, who sold it through the American Art Association on April 29, 1895, to Henry Walters (E. Young, *Bartolome Bermejo* [London, 1975], pp. 139–140, no. A-22). At some point four panels attributed to Bermejo and now in Barcelona were in the collection of Baron de

When Charles Sterling justified his identification of the Getty Museum's *Pietà* as Spanish based on similarities between it and that by Juan Nuñez in the cathedral of Seville (fig. 5),[24] scholars were still in the process of compiling a corpus of Spanish paintings of the late fifteenth century and trying to isolate regional schools and individual masters.[25] The roughly contemporaneous Juan Nuñez and Bartolome Bermejo still figured prominently in these discussions, in large part because of their common adoption of Netherlandish style. They also became the standards by which other, usually anonymous, pictures were compared because they were among the few Spanish painters associated with signed works. Their signatures bestowed on these artists something of an identity in a sea of paintings created within a society that rarely recognized artists or produced chroniclers who might have saved their names for history. Nuñez, whose only signed work is the Seville *Pietà,* was often associated with Bermejo, beginning with Bertaux, or with the Castilian Fernando Gallego, who has been increasingly viewed, most recently by Enrique Valdivieso, as an important influence on the Sevillian painter.[26]

Sterling's association of the Getty and Nuñez panels was reasonable at the time, for there are similarities between the two. Both are composed with a rigid frontality and consist of a Virgin seated with the dead Christ across her lap and the cross directly behind. A rocky landscape in the middle ground opens in the center to reveal a valley dotted with Gothic towns and mountains in the far distance. Both artists were obviously under the spell of Northern painters, and Nuñez carried that influence into the depiction of rich gold brocade and intricately decorated metalwork (fig. 6). Perhaps the closest stylistic parallel occurs in the treatment of the Virgin's face. Her large, heavy-lidded, and slightly bulging eyes turned down at the outer corners, the upturned corners of her mouth, and a prominent nose with a bump in the bridge and fleshy, rounded tip are common to both (figs. 7, 8).

At the same time it is precisely in the treatment of faces that the differences between these two pictures begin to assert themselves. In employing these particular features, Nuñez has softened and flattened them. While there is a family resemblance, perhaps attributable to a common source such as Fernando Gallego or his circle (fig. 12), Nuñez's Virgin is the more traditionally handsome and less careworn cousin, who displays her grief more demurely. Similarly, Nuñez's Christ is physically more tentative. The half-opened eyes, parted lips, and limp body indicate that he has died, but the flesh remains pink and the corpse robust (fig. 10). Saint Michael, Saint Vincent, and the small anonymous donor all gaze dispassionately upon the tragic spectacle.

Nuñez's style is less three-dimensional, both in the handling of individual elements and in the placement of figures in space. Whereas the Getty lamentation takes place in the landscape, the Nuñez version appears in front of it, creating the illusion of depth through the crowding of figures. Although reproductions tend to overemphasize the flatness of Nuñez's conception, it is in fact considerably more two-dimensional and precisely drawn than the Museum's panel, particularly in details such as architecture, foliage, and drapery. According to Andrea Rothe the underdrawing of the

Quinto, Paris (ibid., pp. 128–129, nos. A-2, A-3: *Ascension* and *Entry into Jerusalem,* now in the Instituto Amatller; and pp. 130–131, A-6, A-7: *Resurrection* and *Christ in Limbo,* now in the Museo de Arte de Cataluña).

21. 20 (1906), pp. 417–419. The series ran intermittently from 1906 through 1910.

22. Acc. 32.100.105.

23. C. Post *A History of Spanish Painting,* vol. 6, pt. 2 (Cambridge, Mass., 1935) p. 647. This painting was later given to the Sicilian school in H. Wehle, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Catalogue of Italian, Spanish and Byzantine Paintings* (New York, 1946), p. 167; and finally to the Spanish school in the most recent catalogue (K. Baetjer, *European Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Artists Born before 1865: A Summary Catalogue* (New York, 1980), vol. 1, p. 176. A *Crucifixion* in the Lázaro Galdiano collection, now held to be by a follower of the Seville painter Pedro Sánchez I, was called French by A. Mayer in 1934 ("Un tableau français inconnu du XVe siècle," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 11 [1934], pp. 376–377). A Castilian panel of the Crucifixion in the Mozarabic chapel in the cathedral of Toledo, recently attributed by E. Young to the so-called Tránsito Master, was also believed at one time to be French, according to an old label that identifies it as "French, 14th or 15th century," and an old photograph of the painting calling it Franco-Flemish from around 1480 ("Fernando and Francisco Gallego, the 'Tránsito Master' and the 'Master GO,' " *Pantheon* 39 [1981], pp. 131–132.

24. Jacques (note 4), p. 60, no. 21.

25. After Bertaux's articles, a smattering of regionally focused publications, especially on Catalonia and Valencia, began to identify Spanish works of the late fifteenth century. A surge of interest marked the 1920s, when Diego Angulo Iñiguez in Seville and the German August Mayer began to publish long-forgotten and usually anonymous fifteenth-century paintings, primarily Andalusian and Castilian examples. It was C. R. Post who in the 1930s took up the awesome challenge to sort out the chaos by attempting to identify, reproduce, and place into the proper context every medieval and Renaissance Spanish painting he could find, in *A History of Spanish Painting* (14 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1930–1958). Although he died before completing the project, which was finished by H. Wethey from Post's notes, and although the fifty intervening years have seen the revision of some of his attributions, his work remains the basic reference on the subject.

26. E. Valdivieso, *Historia de la pintura sevillana* (Seville, 1986), p. 37.

Figure 6. Detail of figure 5: Saint Michael and city gate. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

Figure 7. Detail of figure 5: Virgin and church. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

Nuñez picture is, like the finished painting, "clean and neat," and bears little resemblance to that of the Museum's painting,[27] in which pentimenti abound, especially in the left side of the city and distant landscape, and in a trapezoidal area, perhaps an extension of the town, located behind the Virgin's head (fig. 3).

Buildings are more meticulously described in the Nuñez. In both paintings the city gate consists of half-round towers with pointed steeples flanking a flat central wall pierced by an entrance arch. In the Museum's panel the details of the gate are merely sketched in, but the cylindrical shape is fully modeled with highlights (fig. 11). Nuñez, on the other hand, elaborates with a mullioned window, corbels supporting projecting eaves, and tiny attic gables (fig. 6), but only cursory modeling. The churches are also radically different: a High Gothic round apse with spindly flying buttresses in the Museum's panel (fig. 11), a late Gothic polygonal apse with trefoil windows and delicately carved finials along the roofline in the Nuñez (fig. 7). Even the rocks are treated distinctly—blocky, as though quarried, in the Getty panel, flinty in the Nuñez. Like the tidy underdrawing, the Nuñez landscape is divided into orderly rectangular parcels defined by rows of trees, while the Getty landscape unfolds, uncultivated, toward the horizon.

Finally, in contrast to the Getty panel's subtle gradations of yellow-greens and blues, Nuñez painted primarily in the deep red, green, and gold palette typical of the Seville school, regardless of whether oil or tempera was used. Likewise the flatter and more linear conception, blander faces, and crowding of foreground figures in the Seville painting bespeak not only an earlier interpretation of Northern elements but also one learned second- or even thirdhand in a different artistic center.[28]

27. Rothe, Conservator, J. Paul Getty Museum, examined the Nuñez with a portable infrared viewer in the cathedral (J. Paul Getty Museum Painting Condition Report, February 24, 1986).

28. See, for example, Pedro Sánchez I, *Entombment* (Budapest, Hungarian National Museum).

Figure 8. Detail of figure 1: Virgin and cityscape.

Figure 9. Detail of figure 1: Christ.

Figure 10. Detail of figure 5: Christ and donor. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

The region of Spain most profoundly saturated with Flemish and German influence was Castile, and the Castilian artist who remained most faithful to the lessons of Northern art of the second half of the fifteenth century was Fernando Gallego. Gallego was active in western Spain, particularly in Salamanca, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Toro, from around 1468 to 1507, and his influence extended beyond Castile into León and Extremadura. The unusually large body of works associated with Fernando Gallego's style should be increased by one to include the Getty *Pietà.*

Although his life cannot be chronicled in detail, Gallego is one of the very few Spanish artists of the fifteenth century whose career can be traced through a succession of major commissions that were either signed or otherwise documented. Nevertheless, within the relatively extensive bibliography on Gallego there is as yet no fully comprehensive study of his style as distinct from those of his followers. The problem has provoked much speculation but little agreement[29] and is compounded by the poor condition or inferior restoration of much of the extant corpus of related works.

Of the identified paintings associated with Fernando Gallego and his circle, the closest overall to the Getty *Pietà* is a *Crucifixion* in the Prado (fig. 12).[30] Although firmly attributed to Fernando by all who have studied the picture up to the present, Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño dated it around 1480, or at the beginning of his middle period,[31] after Post had called it a work of his later style, placing it around 1490–1500.[32] In addition to the sharing of general Northern characteristics, the Prado *Crucifixion* is similar to the Getty *Pietà* in palette, although the *Crucifixion* contains an abundance of red, a color much beloved in the Gallego circle. Another similarity is the positioning of figures within the landscape, the barren middle ground of which has been identified as peculiarly Spanish in the Gallego.[33]

Several devices shared by the *Crucifixion* and the *Pietà* do not appear in other paintings associated with Gallego. The extremely emaciated Christ and unidealized, bony physiognomy of both protagonists are tempered in other works. The plain face of the Prado Virgin, with her swollen eyes and bulbous nose, though different in shape and not as coarse, are akin to those features in the Getty Virgin, as is the hollow-cheeked face of Christ. The underdrawing of the Prado *Crucifixion* likewise exhibits a combination of blocky shapes and short curved strokes to indicate modeling.[34] In both, the architecture is simplified into basic geometric volumes with little decorative articulation. Most striking is the similarity of architectural types, particularly the multi-tiered towers with pointed roofs, which are unique in Spanish painting to the Getty *Pietà,* the Prado *Crucifixion,* and another *Crucifixion* from the main altarpiece of the cathedral of Zamora, executed in the 1490s by the master and his workshop and now in Arcenillas (fig. 13).[35] Except for the peculiar tower,[36] that *Crucifixion* is not so close in style either to the Prado *Crucifixion* or to the Getty *Pietà* as to be considered a work of the same hand. It is, however, very similar to, and probably

29. For a summary of the historiography of Gallego attributions, see R. Quinn, *Fernando Gallego and the Retablo of Ciudad Rodrigo* (Tucson, 1961), chap. 5.

30. The painting was in the Weibel collection and, before that, the Vives collection, both in Madrid.

31. "Tres nuevas pinturas en el Museo del Prado," *Goya* 34 (1960), p. 207.

32. Post (note 25), vol. 4, pp. 130–132.

33. J. A. Gaya Nuño, *Fernando Gallego* (Madrid, 1958), p. 17.

34. Reproduced in J. M. Cabrera and M. del C. Garrido, "Dibujos subyacentes en las obras de Fernando Gallego," *Boletín del Museo del Prado* 2, no. 4 (1981), p. 35. A *Martyrdom of Saint Catherine,* also in the Prado (inv. 3039) and given to the circle of Fernando, exhibits these characteristics in the underdrawing, but is otherwise stylistically distinct from the Getty *Pietà* and the Prado *Crucifixion* (ibid., fig. 26).

35. The altarpiece was dated before 1495 by Gaya Nuño (note 33),

Figure 11. Detail of figure 1: cityscape.

at least partially by the same hand as, a panel of *Saint Acacius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs on Mount Ararat* (fig. 16),[37] which in turn can be related in other ways to the *Pietà* and *Crucifixion,* and which is discussed below.

Despite the many and varied resemblances that link the Getty *Pietà* and the Prado *Crucifixion* to the same artistic circle, several disparities might suggest that they were not executed by the same artist. The *Crucifixion* is more thoroughly symmetrical in composition. Its interlocking, double triangular foreground is superimposed over a middle ground neatly divided into a diagonal grid of light and dark hills, whose outlines converge on the cross in the exact center of the panel. Leading toward the distant town, and balanced at left and right, are a church complex and a rocky promontory. The only symmetry observed in the Getty *Pietà* is in its foreground, with its triangular figural arrangement and strong verticals; its sprawling town and landscape are relaxed in comparison.

Modeling in the *Pietà* is more subtle than in the *Crucifixion,* with delicate gradations of color, highlights applied in swift, short strokes, and less dependence on line for definition. The abstraction of anatomy into flat or tubular shapes in the *Crucifixion* has been rejected in favor of a closer observation of irregularities and details. Drapery, comparatively stiff and schematic in both, is conceived in the *Pietà* as an alternation of flat planes and angular folds, while that in the *Crucifixion* combines larger, tubular folds with smaller, angular breaks, and few flat areas.

Scholars have noted much evidence of collaboration in the surviving works of the 1480s through the early

who believed it to be the same as that mentioned in passing by the German geographer and mathematician Hieronymous Münzer in *Itinerarium sive peregrinatio per Hispanum et Alemanium* (1495). The altarpiece has also been dated 1496–1506 on the basis of an escutcheon bearing the arms of Cardinal Meléndez de Valdés, whose duties at Zamora spanned those years (Gaya Nuño [note 33], p. 39).

36. Similar, but more elaborate, towers appear occasionally in Flemish paintings. See, for example, Vrancke Van der Stockt (1420?–1495), *Emperor Constantine as a Penitent* (Madrid, private collection), reproduced in E. Bermejo, *Los Primitivos flamencos en España* (Madrid, 1980), fig. 138.

37. Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University 68.2.

Figure 12. Fernando Gallego (Spanish, active circa 1440/45–circa 1507). *Crucifixion*, circa 1490–1500. Oil on panel, 91 × 83.5 cm (35 13/16 × 32 7/8 in.). Madrid, Museo del Prado 2997. Photo: Prado.

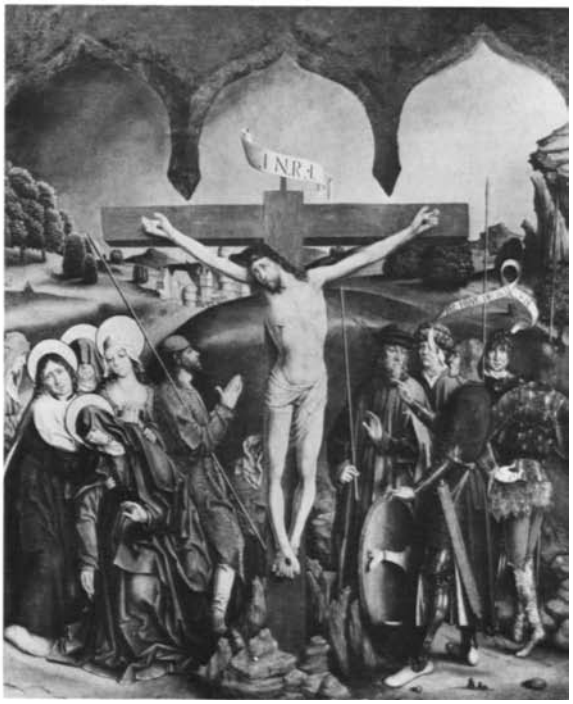

Figure 13. Workshop of Fernando Gallego(?). *Crucifixion*, circa 1490–1506. Oil on panel, 135 × 110 cm (53 1/8 × 43 5/16 in.). Arcenillas, Diocesan Museum. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

Figure 14. Francisco(?) Gallego (Spanish, active circa 1500[?]). *Lamentation*, circa 1500. Oil on panel, 104 × 76 cm (40 15/16 × 29 15/16 in.). Salamanca, Old Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

Figure 15. Francisco(?) Gallego. *Christ Carrying the Cross*, circa 1500. Oil on panel, 104 × 76 cm (40 15/16 × 29 15/16 in.). Salamanca, Old Cathedral. Photo: Arxiu Mas, Barcelona.

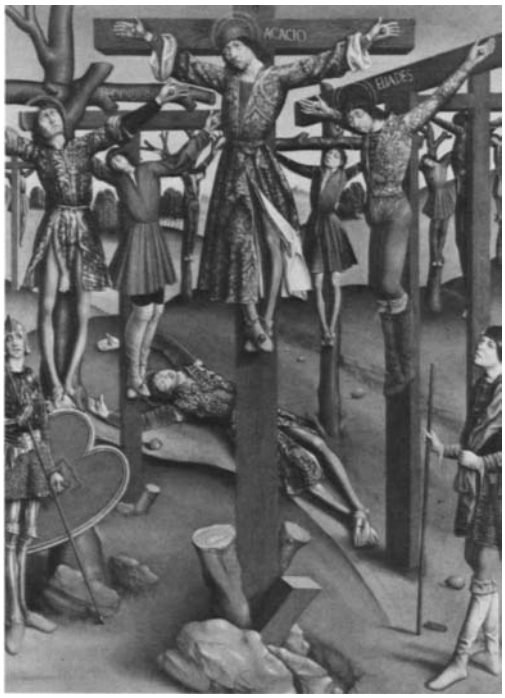

Figure 16. Attributed to Fernando Gallego. *Saint Acacius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs on Mount Ararat,* circa 1490–1495. Tempera and oil on panel, 115.2 × 112 cm (61 1/8 × 44 1/8 in.). Dallas, Southern Methodist University, Algur H. Meadows Collection, Meadows Museum. Photo: Meadows Museum.

years of the sixteenth century, which consist primarily of multi-paneled altarpieces. Around the middle of the 1490s the workshop seems to have taken over, and the style begins to degenerate, ultimately becoming a parody of itself, with doll-like proportions, enlarged heads, often grotesquely distorted features, and contorted postures. The blame for much of this deterioration is usually assigned to the only two disciples identified by name: Francisco Gallego and Pedro Bello. Both are mentioned in documents describing payment in 1500 and 1501 for, among other things, an altarpiece dedicated to Saint Catherine of Alexandria in the old cathedral of Salamanca.[38] The altarpiece, now in the Diocesan Museum in that city, consists of exterior panels executed by Bello and interior panels by Francisco Gallego, unless, as some have suspected, "Francisco" was merely a scribal error, and the artist just another anonymous member of Fernando's workshop.[39] Whether by Francisco Gallego or an anonymous workshop artist, the stylistic qualities of this altarpiece have prompted scholars to ascribe several other works to him, including the very similar *Lamentation* (fig. 14) and *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fig. 15), both painted as additions to an existing altarpiece in the same cathedral.[40] More recently, Young has attributed to Francisco important parts of the large and highly charged panel of the abovementioned *Saint Acacius and the Ten Thousand Martyrs,* also originally from Salamanca (fig. 16).[41]

Several faces in the *Saint Acacius* are indeed close to those in the Saint Catherine alterpiece, as well as to the two other single panels attributed to Francisco still in Salamanca, and to the Zamora *Crucifixion.* The very same faces, as well as other elements, however, can also be found in works commonly ascribed to Fernando.[42] Moreover the conception of the *Saint Acacius* is so much more monumental, its palette so brilliant, and its execution so assured that it seems more reasonable to attribute the Saint Catherine panels, or at least everything but the faces (which are superior in handling but awkwardly placed on their tiny, jerky bodies), to a much inferior imitator of the *Saint Acacius* master. In fact the *Saint Acacius* seems to represent the zenith of the Gallego style in its grandeur, psychological sophistication, and complexity of compositional structure. For that reason, as well as its strong similarities to the Zamora *Crucifixion,* it is probably to be dated between 1490 and 1495.

The *Saint Acacius* is comparable to the Museum's *Pietà* in several respects. Although its palette encompasses the wider range and more vibrant hues common to the large altarpieces of this period, the yellow-greens and earth tones of its landscape are entirely compatible with the Getty panel, as are its smooth, rounded hillocks edged with rectilinear rocks, and shiny pebbles scattered on the ground. Most noteworthy as a comparison to the *Pietà,* however, is the treatment of Saint Acacius' face, whose features are handled with a particular delicacy and sensitivity to detail, as well as a frank but sympathetic homeliness not quite matched

38. The documents were first published in M. Gómez-Moreno and F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "Sobre Fernando Gallego," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 3 (1927), p. 351.

39. On the question of Francisco's existence, see ibid., pp. 351–352; Gaya Nuño (note 33), pp. 27–29.

40. The Salamanca *Lamentation* and *Christ Carrying the Cross* are reproduced in Gaya Nuño (note 33), pl. 48. Another *Lamentation,* sold at Christie's, London, on March 25, 1977, is very similar though decidedly inferior, and was given by Post to Bello (*History of Spanish Painting* 10 [1950], p. 331), but to Francisco by Young (note 23), p. 130.

41. Young (note 23), p. 129.

42. For example, *The Last Judgment* from the altarpiece from the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, which contains among the Damned two versions of the face of Teodoro in the *Saint Acacius,* and one of a bystander in the Salamanca *Carrying of the Cross.*

elsewhere in the Gallego repertoire. The ravages of his torture are manifest in both the dazed and pathetic expression and in features such as the bulging eyes turned down at the outer corners. His long nose, broad, angular cheeks, and small, receding chin are comparable to those features of the Getty Virgin. The most unusual similarities between the two, however, are the oddly truncated backs of their bowed heads and the high foreheads covered by a cap or headdress shoved far forward, as if to obscure a difficulty with the foreshortened three-quarter view. If the two faces are not identical, they share a common sensibility and formal approach that could only have resulted from a close physical proximity between the two artists.

Unlike the *Saint Acacius,* many of whose elements are repeated in other surviving pictures executed by Fernando Gallego around the same time, neither the Getty *Pietà* nor the Prado *Crucifixion* bears as strong a resemblance to other works in the corpus as they do to each other and to the *Saint Acacius.*[43] The *Crucifixion's* tightly structured composition of locked foreground triangles and diagonal landscape grid, one of the aspects that distinguishes it from the *Pietà,* is in fact a simplified version of the *Saint Acacius,* to which the *Crucifixion* is also linked by virtue of the elongated proportions, the bowed torso and legs of the crucified men, and a uniformly smooth, round, and polished quality. Although likely to be by three different hands, the three works are inextricably linked, by style and date, to Fernando Gallego in the 1490s.

That the hands of the Master of the Getty *Pietà* and the Prado *Crucifixion* cannot be identified in other extant works of the school does not lessen the certainty of their close affiliation with Gallego. Large numbers of paintings by the workshop have undoubtedly been lost, based on what remains of disassembled altarpieces. Many of these were dispersed, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, either as spoils during the many political upheavals or as convenient sources of cash during other lean periods suffered by the Church. Within the twenty-six panels from Ciudad Rodrigo, now in the University of Arizona Art Gallery, are a few panels whose hands cannot be identified elsewhere, either in the same series or in the rest of the surviving Gallego corpus.[44] In addition the iconography and disposition of panels in similarly complex altarpieces suggested to Gaya Nuño that the ensemble would have consisted originally of forty-one panels.[45] The same scholar would add at least seventeen to the eighteen panels remaining from the cathedral of Zamora,[46] and William Jordan has noted that the scale and subject of the *Saint Acacius* would also dictate its having been part of a similarly enormous commission.[47] Just these three examples, therefore, could account for as many as sixty lost works executed by the Gallego workshop in the 1480s and 1490s. Several otherwise unknown hands could easily have contributed their entire output within such a large body of lost or destroyed paintings.

The mature and accomplished Master of the Getty *Pietà* would certainly have received a prime place among those lost painters. While adhering to Gallego's particular adaptation of Flemish and German formal conventions, the Getty Master nevertheless managed to assert his artistic independence through his palette and inventions, such as the insertion of rocky Spanish topography into a standard Northern landscape setting. The Getty Master embellished the barren Castilian terrain, which so appropriately underscores the theme of the death of Christ, by adding prickly bushes that seem to grow as living reminders of the crown of thorns. But what distinguishes the Getty Master from Fernando Gallego, and for that matter, from all his contemporaries, is his daring to present such wretched but entirely sympathetic figures, without so much as a simple halo or gold brocaded garment to elevate their lovingly portrayed imperfections above earthly ranks. Were other pictures by him to emerge, they might well require the writing of a different, and psychologically more intense, conclusion for the "Hispano-Flemish" chapter of Spanish painting.[48]

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Malibu

43. A few other works assigned to Gallego or his circle share an isolated, usually minor trait with the *Pietà,* but are otherwise stylistically further removed. An early *Pietà,* signed by Fernando and, like the *Crucifixion,* now in the Prado (inv. 2998) but formerly in the Vives and Weibel collections, is similar only because of the shared absence of haloes, a rarity in this period. Another *Pietà* of the school of Gallego (location unknown, but reproduced in a catalogue of the Heim Gallery [London, November 1966]) shares the basic arrangement of the Virgin and Christ before a frontal cross with the unusual addition of Passion instruments leaning against the cross.

44. On the identification of hands in this altarpiece, see R. Quinn (note 29), chap. 5.

45. "Sobre el retablo de Ciudad Rodrigo," *Archivo español de arte y arqueología* 31 (1958), pp. 304–305.

46. Gaya Nuño (note 33), p. 39.

47. *The Meadows Museum: A Visitor's Guide to the Collection* (Dallas, 1974), p. 8.

48. I would like to thank D. Carr, Assistant Curator of Paintings, J. Paul Getty Museum, for his thoughtful reading and valuable comments on the manuscript of this article.

Murder and the Fine Arts; or, a Reassessment of Richard Dadd

Louise Lippincott

In 1843 the painter Richard Dadd killed his father, attempted to kill a stranger, and contemplated killing the pope and the emperor of Austria. For these crimes, which he insisted were committed at the behest of the Egyptian god Osiris, Dadd was sent into lifelong imprisonment in the ward for the criminally insane at Bethlem Hospital, London. There he continued to "weave his fine fancies on the canvas amidst the most revolting conversation and the most brutal behavior."[1]

Contemporary fascination with Dadd's case depended not only on his promise as an artist, the sensationalism of his crime, or the exoticism of his delusions, but also on the perception that his mental and moral collapse was symptomatic of the larger malaise then causing national concern. Not a few observers described this malaise as a sense of anxiety in the face of a world in rapid transition, and they blamed it for England's rising incidence of poverty, crime, and insanity.[2] Worry over an unpredictable future was compounded by growing uncertainty about a past that was also changing, thanks to research in geology, ancient history, and biblical studies. The historical bedrock for religious and moral beliefs appeared to be crumbling. Since religious, moral, and scientific themes dominate Richard Dadd's painting *Mercy: David Spareth Saul's Life*[3] (fig. 1), a picture evidently painted for his doctor at Bethlem, it acquires a topical significance not usually expected from the work of a madman. Dr. (later Sir) W. Charles Hood, its first owner, may have been the last person to appreciate its relevance in over a century.

Mercy represents a crucial moment in the history of the two kings of the Israelites as recounted in the Old Testament, First Book of Samuel. The older of the two, Saul, faced loss of his power and his kingdom following a transgression of God's will; divine favor passed to David. Despite Saul's prior claim, David, too, was anointed king by the prophet Samuel. The two men met when Saul, maddened by evil spirits, sent for David, who played music for him and soothed him. After David defeated Goliath and the army of the Philistines, Saul's friendship for him turned to jealousy and hatred. Twice Saul attempted to kill David with his own hands, and drove him finally to seek refuge with enemies of the Israelites. In its basic premises, the story of David and Saul obviously relates to Richard Dadd's life (the father-son relationship between the two kings) as well as to his delusions (rulers capable of understanding and executing God's will; torment by evil spirits). Despite Saul's persecution, David twice rejected opportunities to assassinate him; it is the second refusal which Richard Dadd has represented in the painting *Mercy*.

This encounter took place in the wilderness of Ziph, in the 'En Gedi desert near the Red Sea, where David had been hiding from the pursuing enemy.[4] After Saul and his army camped "in the trench," David and his companion, Abishai, stole into the encampment at night. Finding Saul asleep, with his spear stuck in the earth by his head, Abishai offered to kill him. But David prevented the assassination, stating that he had no right to kill an anointed king whose fate was in the hands of the Lord. Then he quietly took Saul's spear and jug of water and stole out of the camp. When Saul realized that David had spared him, he renounced his persecution of the younger king; sometime later Saul killed himself after losing a battle against the Philistines. This particular episode in the history of David and Saul was rarely represented in Victorian painting. The only other important version of the subject, done by John Martin

1. "Popular Psychological Literature," *Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology* 10 (July 1, 1857), p. 552. The *Journal* is hereafter referred to as *JPMMP*.

2. W. E. Houghton, *The Victorian Frame of Mind 1830–1870* (New Haven and London, 1957) pp. 54–77. For a Victorian psychological doctor's view of anxiety, see, for example, "On the Treatment of Incipient Mental Disease: From the Lectures of George Johnson, M.D. . . . ," *Asylum Journal* 1, no. 1 (1853), p. 15.

3. Probably painted for Dr. W. Charles Hood, Bethlem Hospital, London, in 1854 (sale, Christie's, London, March 28, 1870, lot 331, bought by [Holl]); Mrs. Clifton, London, until 1961; K. J. Hewett, in 1961; [Mrs. R. Frank, London]; Charles and Lavinia Handley-Read, London, until 1971; by inheritance to Thomas Stainton; by inheritance to his son; [Fine Art Society, London] 1986–1987.

4. 1 Sam. 26:7–11.

Figure 1. Richard Dadd (English, 1817–1866). *Mercy: David Spareth Saul's Life,* 1854. Oil on canvas. 68.58 × 55.88 cm (27 × 22 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.PA.32.

Figure 2. John Martin (English, 1789–1854). *David Spareth Saul at Hachilah,* 1839. Engraving. San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens RB 401085. Photo courtesy Huntington Library.

in 1835, is lost today and known only through a mezzotint, one of Martin's finest (fig. 2).[5] The striking differences between Martin's and Dadd's renditions preclude the likelihood of the one work having directly influenced the other; however, Martin's sweeping landscape and brilliant light effects may have impressed the subject on Richard Dadd's mind. The tiny streak of lightning visible in *Mercy*'s patch of sky may allude to the turbulent sky in the Martin (figs. 7, 14).

Whereas Martin painted a dramatic landscape, Richard Dadd assembled his composition from a rich variety of sources and organized it into an evenly lit and colored composition. *Mercy*'s decorative style and painstaking execution unify its eclectic mixture of elements drawn from ancient and modern, real and fanciful, scientific and legendary sources. Its style combines opposites, with extraordinary attention to naturalistic detail that is organized into a uniformly colored and patterned surface so abstract as to defy easy legibility. The image might be said to have been crystallized rather than painted. The focus of the composition—David's outstretched hand—is discerned eventually; usually after the eye has wandered from the minutely detailed desert floor, across folds and billows of drapery, up along the lines suggested by the spear shafts, to reach, finally, the saving hand. The composition is best appreciated from a vantage point close to the surface of the canvas. Richard Dadd's visual world grew denser and more complex with the passage of time, and *Mercy* falls roughly in the middle of this transition. The spiral composition (beginning at the lower right and coiling clockwise up to David's right hand) recalls the spirals of the early fairy paintings (notably *Titania Sleeping* [circa 1841; New York, private collection]), but is not yet lost in the dense layers of detail characteristic of the later *Contradiction: Oberon and Titania* (1854–1858; Minneapolis, private collection) or *The Fairy Feller's Master Stroke* (inscribed *quasi 1855–64;* London, Tate Gallery).

5. J. D. Wees and M. J. Campbell, *"Darkness Visible," The Prints of John Martin,* exh. cat. (Sterling and Francine Clark Institute, Williamstown, Mass., 1986), p. 51.

Recent criticism of Dadd's style has relied on its similarity to the art of modern schizophrenics. Its allegedly "mad" elements—many of which are found in *Mercy*—include not only patterning but also refined and even coloring, richness of overall detail, and the peculiar expressions of the main characters (some critics have found them vacant and lacking in affect, others have noted glaring eyes). The modern psychological approach risks serious anachronism, for other valid medical and artistic explanations for Dadd's style are available and deserve investigation. For example Dadd's narrowing focus and obsession with detail is typical not only of schizophrenia but also of opium addiction. The importance of opium as a stimulus and, later, as a depressant of the Romantic imagination is well known;[6] its importance as a medication at mid-nineteenth-century Bethlem is not.[7] Given the likelihood that Dadd was given opium at times of mental crisis, and perhaps even as a regular alternative to physical restraint or isolation, his artistic style deserves comparison with the brilliant, fragmented visions of Thomas De Quincey or Samuel Coleridge.

Moreover Dadd was not the only nineteenth-century painter to lighten his colors, revel in detail, indulge in decorative patterning, or endow his figures with statuesque solemnity. Similar stylistic traits appear in the work of the Germans Peter Cornelius, Friedrich Overbeck, and Julius Schnoor von Carolsfeld, whose influence was especially strong in England in the 1830s and 1840s.[8] Ornament and pattern were becoming a field of study in themselves, as evidenced by William Dyce's researches while superintendent of the School of Design (1837–1843) and Owen Jones' publication of his vastly influential *Grammar of Ornament* in 1849. Compositions crowded with painstaking, significant details abound in the oeuvres of Dadd's contemporaries Augustus Egg, W. P. Frith, and Daniel Maclise. These trends in the stylistic development of British painting in the 1830s and 1840s were united in the complex process of competition for, and execution of, monumental frescoes to ornament the new Houses of Parliament buildings constructed in the later 1830s, in which Dadd had hoped to participate.[9] If the decorations by Dyce, Maclise, Patton, and others had not darkened or completely disappeared over time, their bright colors, sculptural form, and wealth of decoration would belong in a realm with Dadd's *Mercy*. Happily, his style has been compared with that of the early Pre-Raphaelites (especially Millais and Holman Hunt) in its detail, stillness, and coloring. The similarities should not be dismissed as coincidental (or as proof of incipient mental illness in the Brotherhood!), but as evidence that Dadd's stylistic development after his breakdown followed trends inherent in British art.

As with style, the understanding of Dadd's subject matter has suffered from too rapid recourse to insanity as an explanation. Some of his subtlest themes have been dismissed as inexplicable fancies, or else subjected to heavy-handed, potentially anachronistic Freudian analysis. *Mercy* has been a victim of each approach. While psychological analysis of the subject has value, as in the case of style it must be weighed against nineteenth-century norms. Thus Dadd's preoccupation with violent death as a subject—long considered psychologically significant—diminishes in importance when compared to his contemporaries' obsessive interest in crime. Indeed Thomas De Quincey's satirical essay "Murder Considered as One of the Fine Arts," first published in 1827, likened the popular taste for crime to connoisseurship of the arts. Of course the former was much more widespread, but murder painting proliferated, with special attention given to the sensations of suspense, horror, and cruelty aroused by assassinations of heads of state. Delaroche's *Edward V and the Duke of York in the Tower* (1830; Paris, Musée du Louvre), *Cromwell Gazing at the Body of Charles I* (1831; Nîmes, Musée des Beaux-Arts), *Strafford on His Way to Execution* (1837; formerly Duke of Sutherland), and *The Execution of Lady Jane Grey* (1834; London, National Gallery) were among the most popular images in Victorian England. Thus there is nothing especially outré about Richard Dadd's painted scenes of murder taken from Shakespeare or history. The problem addressed in this essay is the recovery of the significance Dadd and his doctors attached to the scenes when they were painted. To what extent was the art of a madman understood by a sane audience then, and how can it be understood today?

Almost everything known today about Richard Dadd comes to us courtesy of his doctors. Many of his surviving paintings and drawings after 1843 were commis-

6. A. Hayter, *Opium and the Romantic Imagination* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1986).

7. V. Berridge and G. Edwards, *Opium and the People: Opiate Use in Nineteenth-Century England* (New Haven and London, 1987), pp. 68–69; W. Charles Hood, *Statistics of Insanity: Embracing a Report of Bethlem Hospital, from 1846 to 1860, Inclusive* (London, 1862), p. 110. Hood wrote that opium in some form "*is continually required . . . often indeed it is almost the only remedy . . . to calm the excitement of the patient. . . .*"

8. W. Vaughan, *German Romanticism and English Art* (New Haven and London, 1979), pp. 177ff. For German influence on Dadd, see pp. 146–147.

9. P. Allderidge, *The Late Richard Dadd, 1817–1886,* exh. cat. (Tate Gallery, London, 1974), pp. 76–77.

sioned or inspired by the medical men, and it is thanks to them that any were saved and passed on to the world outside Bethlem and Broadmoor hospitals. The works of art are almost the only direct testimony from Dadd himself after 1843, since his firsthand account of his murder of his father, written for Dr. William Wood sometime before 1852, is now lost.[10] The doctors also provide most of the descriptions of Dadd's behavior and mentality after 1843, of which the most valuable is Dr. Hood's long entry in the Bethlem casebook dated May 1854, when Dadd was probably finishing *Mercy*:

> March 21st 1854. For some years after his admission he was considered a violent and dangerous patient, for he would jump up and strike a violent blow without any aggravation, and then beg pardon for the deed. This arose from some vague idea that filled his mind and still does to a certain extent that certain spirits have the power of possessing a man's body and compelling him to adopt a particular course whether he will or not. When he talks on this subject and on any other at all associated with the motive that influenced him to commit the crime for which he is confined here, he frequently becomes excited in his manner of speaking, and soon rambles from the subject and becomes quite unintelligible. He is very eccentric and glories that he is not influenced by motives that other men pride themselves in possessing—thus he pays no sort of attention to decency in his acts or words, if he feels the least inclination to be otherwise; he is perfectly a sensual being, a thorough animal, he will gorge himself with food till he actually vomits, and then again return to the meal. With all these disgusting points in his conduct he can be a very sensible and agreeable companion, and shew in conversation, a mind once well educated and thoroughly informed in all the particulars of his profession in which he still shines and would it is thought have pre-eminently excelled had circumstances not opposed. He killed his father in Cobham Park without any discoverable reason, and escaped to France with the intention he has said of killing the Emperor of Austria; but whilst on a Diligence the temptation came on him strongly to commence operations on a fellow passenger and he attacked him with a knife or razor and seriously wounded him but was prevented actually destroying life. For this crime he was confined 12 months in France and on his release was taken in charge by English authority and subsequently brought to this Hospital. He has said that he once when he was in a public place in Rome with the Pope, felt a strong inclination to assault him, but that on second thoughts the Pope was so well protected that he felt he would come off second best, and therefore he overcame the desire. After he killed his father, his rooms were searched and a portfolio was found containing likenesses of many of his friends all with their throats cut. He had been travelling in the East and was abroad at the time his peculiarities were first noticed.[11]

Other doctors knew the case quite well and commented on it in their publications on insanity. Otherwise there remain only descriptions of the artist written by visitors to Bethlem. Consequently, it is essential to bear in mind that most of the available evidence about Richard Dadd has been pre-selected by Victorian doctors who had strong theories about his case. It is therefore essential to know what the doctors' terms were.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw major reforms in the treatment of the insane, accompanied by important developments in psychology as both an intellectual discipline and a medical speciality.[12] Asylums gradually ceased to serve as jails or stables for lunatics treated like beasts and became places of refuge, treatment, study, and cure for patients suffering from maladies now recognized as diseases of the mind. Doctors began to specialize in these diseases, to conduct case studies and statistical investigations, and to publish their own journals on the subject. From the articles in these journals it is clear that as early as the 1840s, the issues that dominate the field today had already emerged: how or whether the incidence of insanity reflected the state of society in general; how the insane were to be distinguished from the sane, and how types of insanity could be defined; to what extent medical treatment was appropriate; and the extent to which an insane person could be held accountable for his or her actions, especially criminal ones. Richard Dadd's case suggested important questions about all of these issues.

There was, first of all, the question of criminal responsibility, raised at the time Dadd murdered his father and attempted the murder of a stranger in France. Ten (not twelve) months after he was arrested, Dadd was sent to England and speedily consigned to the Criminal Lunatic department of Bethlem Hospital after

10. W. Wood, M.D., *Remarks on the Plea of Insanity, and on the Management of Criminal Lunatics,* 2nd edn. (London, 1852), p. 41.

11. P. Allderidge, "Richard Dadd, Painter and Patient," *Medical History* 14, no. 3 (July 1970), pp. 309–310.

12. M. Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York, 1973). The literature on insanity in Victorian England is extensive. See, for example, V. Skultans, *Madness and Morals: Ideas on Insanity in the Nineteenth Century* (London and Boston, 1975); A. T. Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth, 1979); W. F. Bynum et al., eds., *The Anatomy of Madness: Essays in the History of Psychiatry,* 2 vols. (London and New York, 1985).

a hearing by the Rochester magistrates. There was no formal trial. Although Dadd was obviously insane, he failed the two principal legal tests for insanity current at the time. The first of these, the M'Naughton rules, had been formulated in 1843 in response to a madman's attempt to assassinate Sir Robert Peel. The rules focused on the accused's ability to distinguish right from wrong and to understand the consequences of his or her actions. It was quite clear to the doctors that Dadd was capable of both; his crime was premeditated and his flight from justice carefully planned. Dadd himself explained his motives to Dr. Wood, the apothecary in charge of his treatment from 1844 until 1852, in an account the doctor published in 1852. Dadd wrote,

> On my return from travel, I was roused to a consideration of subjects which I had previously never dreamed of, or thought about, connected with self; and I had such ideas that, had I spoken of them openly, I must, if answered in the world's fashion, have been told I was unreasonable. I concealed, of course, these secret admonitions. I knew not whence they came, although I could not question their propriety, nor could I separate myself from what appeared my fate. My religious opinions varied and do vary from the vulgar; I was inclined to fall in with the views of the ancients, and to regard the substitution of modern ideas thereon as not for the better. These and the like, coupled with the idea of a descent from the Egyptian god Osiris, induced me to put a period to the existence of him whom I had always regarded as a parent, but whom the secret admonishings I had, counselled me was the author of the ruin of my race. I inveigled him, by false pretences, into Cobham Park, and slew him with a knife, with which I stabbed him, after having vainly endeavoured to cut his throat. Now the author of this act is unknown to me, although, as being the cat's-paw, I am held responsible. I do not extenuate my act; but as men are reasonable, or *capable of reason*, I think I have said enough to prove that I have no other concern than with an act of volition, blindly, it is true, but, as I thought, rightly accorded.[13]

The doctor could only conclude that according to the M'Naughton rules, Dadd was fully accountable to the law:

> It is manifest that this individual knew perfectly well, at the time of committing the crime, that he was acting contrary to law, and therefore, according to the interpretation of judges, was punishable according to the nature of the crime, although it was committed under the influence of insane delusion; but it is equally clear that the court by which the prisoner was tried felt it impossible to apply the legal test; it was obvious that he was not morally responsible, and it was properly determined that he was not legally so, notwithstanding that this determination was arrived at in direct opposition to what was laid down as the established law.[14]

The second test for insanity was based on the presence or absence of delusion in the mind of the criminal.[15] Delusions were roughly defined as fixed, wrong ideas in which the madman believed completely; Dadd's belief in his descent from Osiris and his conviction that his father was actually a demon are good examples of delusion. However, doctors and lawyers struggled to distinguish between delusions and other types of intellectual aberration. Once again a doctor used the case of Richard Dadd as an example of the difficulty involved in making such a decision. In his 1854 study *Unsoundness of Mind in Relation to Criminal Acts,* Dr. John Charles Bucknill wrote:

> In the same manner, an absurd opinion, which taken by itself would possess little value as an indication of insanity, when considered in a group with other symptoms, may become of great diagnostic value. Thus the belief of the unfortunate parricide, Mr. Dadd, in Osiris and the religion of ancient Egypt, was far more dignified, and scarcely more absurd, than the religion of the Mormons, the Lampeter brethren, the followers of Johanna Southcott, or Swedenborg. It could not therefore on its own merits or demerits be pronounced to be an insane delusion; . . . Mr. Dadd was probably the only person in England who believed in Osiris; had there been a few hundreds or even a few scores of persons entertaining the same belief, his ideas on this subject would have been of infinitely less value as a symptom of insanity.[16]

Bucknill required the additional evidence of behavior—disgusting personal habits, the murder of one's father, etc.—in order to confirm a diagnosis of insanity.

While Dr. Bucknill worried about the gray area where delusion merged with religious extremism, another eminent practitioner, Dr. Forbes Winslow, examined the border it shared with the highest flights of the Romantic imagination. Dr. Winslow was well aware that literature or art that appeared to be the work of a madman often was not; he cited Turner, "who produced such magical effects with gamboge, vermillion,

13. Wood (note 10), pp. 41–42.
14. Ibid., pp. 41–42.
15. "Article VI—The Plea of Insanity in Criminal Cases," *JPMMP* 5 (January 1, 1852), pp. 103–104.
16. J. C. Bucknill, *Unsoundness of Mind in Relation to Criminal Acts* (1852; American edn., 1856; reprinted in *Insanity and the Law: Two Nineteenth-Century Classics* [New York, 1981], pp. 34–35).
17. F. Winslow, "On the Insanity of Men of Genius," *JPMMP* 2 (1848), p. 265.
18. Winslow (note 17), p. 286.

white lead, and verdigris, and is annually arraigned as a fit subject for a keeper, by the wiseacres in the rooms of the Royal Academy."[17] Dr. Winslow concentrated on the process whereby the illusions created by genius (i.e., the products of their imaginations) assumed the power of delusion or hallucination. Noting that the brain of the artistic genius was by definition both sensitive and eccentric, Winslow believed that relatively small lapses of judgment or self-control could allow the imagination to take over. For Winslow, as for Dr. Bucknill, the delusion was not sufficient for a diagnosis of madness, since it was not far different from the workings of the healthy intellect of an artistic genius. Given the sensitive nature of these artistic minds, Winslow was pessimistic about curing acute cases, noting that suicide or loss of creative ability were frequent consequences of insanity. But he did suggest that the artist could sometimes help himself by continuing to work: "There is sometimes, however, a sort of safety-valve unexpectedly opened; when genius hits on or searches for, an illustration of his own condition, or is impelled to work out his feeling."[18]

Forbes Winslow pointed out in the same article that hallucinations similar to insane delusions and Romantic flights of fancy could be induced by external causes, such as drugs or alcohol. Cheromania (belief in bright or heavenly visions, a common affliction of Romantic geniuses), for example, resembled intoxication "save the duration of paroxysms and their exciting causes."[19] Opium intoxication and hallucinations of the insane were closely related, as Thomas De Quincey's famous *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821; revised and expanded 1856) had made abundantly clear. It is hard to imagine that Richard Dadd's Osirian delusions were madder than the following De Quincey opium dream:

> All this, and much more than I can say, or have time to say, the reader must enter into before he can comprehend the unimaginable horror which these dreams of Oriental imagery, and mythological tortures, impressed upon me. Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat and vertical sun-lights, I brought together all creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances, that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China or Indostan. From kindred feelings, I soon brought Egypt and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by paroquets, by cockatoos. I ran into pagodas: and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms; I was the idol; I was the priest; I was worshipped; I was sacrificed. I fled from the wrath of Brama through all the forests of Asia: Vishnu hated me: Seeva laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris: I had done a deed, they said, which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried, for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed, with cancerous kisses, by crocodiles; and laid, confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud.[20]

The subject of delusions raises the even more difficult problem of proper definitions for different types of insanity. In the 1840s several broad categories of mental illness were generally accepted by the medical community. These included mania ("general insanity . . . consisting in mingled excitement and confusion of every faculty of mind"), idiocy, melancholy, and hysteria.[21] However, these relatively uncontroversial categories failed to cover every presentation of mental illness. Again, Richard Dadd was a fine example of the difficult exception, since on the evidence of all of his doctors, he thought and behaved rationally on numerous occasions, yet persisted in his devotion to antique religion and belief in demons. His mental breakdown was not as complete as a diagnosis of mania would require. For this type of illness the term *monomania* had been in use in France since early in the century. Its definition seems relatively straightforward: "characterized by the presence of a delusion or series of delusions, having generally reference to the person so affected and unattended by maniacal excitement. On subjects unconnected with his delusions, the monomaniac converses rationally, and often argues acutely regarding it."[22] Monomania received serious attention from doctors and lawyers during the 1820s, '30s, and '40s—occasioning, among other things, Gericault's famous portraits of the monomaniacs at the hospital La Salpêtrière under the supervision of a leading authority on the subject, Dr. Etienne-Pierre Georget. Lawyers found the concept difficult, however, because juries and judges on the whole refused to accept it as a valid insanity defense; they seem to have found the compartmentalization of insanity to be suspiciously convenient and after the fact.[23] Doctors found the concept difficult because few of their patients seemed to be pure mono-

19. Ibid., p. 274.

20. Thomas De Quincey, *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* (1821; rev. edn., 1856; reprint edn., Harmondsworth, 1971; A. Hayter, ed.), p. 109.

21. "On Criminal Insanity," *JPMMP* 1 (January 1, 1848), p. 43.

22. Ibid., p. 44.

23. Bucknill (note 16), p. 37.

maniacs. So-called monomaniacs often simultaneously exhibited the characteristics of other types of mental illness as well, or what at first appeared to be monomania developed into full-scale mania or degenerated into dementia.[24] Psychological doctors who frequented asylums tended to reject the category as an academic invention that had little application to the daily treatment of the insane.

One of the first English doctors of standing to reject the concept of monomania in print was W. Charles Hood. An intelligent, hard-working, and patently ambitious young specialist in psychological medicine, Hood had assumed responsibility for the male inmates of the newly constructed Colney Hatch Asylum in London in 1850. His first report on the status of his patients, published in 1852, contained the fighting words "the fact of monomania I very much question," eliciting a furious response from a conservative reviewer in the *Journal of Psychological Medicine and Mental Pathology.*[25] Mounting a sustained attack on Dr. Hood's personal and professional qualifications for his job, the review marked the beginning of that periodical's vehement campaign against the young upstart's pursuit of advancement. In fact it was followed by an editorial on the qualifications of the three candidates for the position of medical superintendent of Bethlem Hospital, two of whom were older, well-established doctors in the field, the third being the twenty-eight-year-old Hood. The author pointedly failed to discuss Hood's qualifications, insinuating that he had none, and concluded with the assumption that "the contest . . . will *virtually* rest between Dr. Jamieson and Dr. L. Robertson."[26] Needless to say, the next editorial on the subject was scathing, for the governors failed to appoint one of the gentlemen with "European-wide" qualifications and opted for Hood.[27]

Time quickly proved the governors' choice to have been nothing short of brilliant. Hood took over an institution just emerging from a damaging public scandal that had revealed a brutal tradition of mismanagement and neglect of patients, some of whom had died as a result of abuse. Thanks to administrative and political skills equal to his abilities as a doctor, Hood managed within two years to see that the Bethlem inmates were properly fed, clothed, and housed, and received regular and appropriate medical treatment. Similar reforms of the criminal department where Richard Dadd was housed followed in 1857. Hood's publications on the care of criminal lunatics and his periodic reports on the status of the Bethlem patients became models of careful record keeping, statistical analysis, and moderation of approach. He took care to flatter the editors of the influential journals, and although his writings fail to mention the word *monomania,* he never again actually denied its existence.

However, the problem of monomania—whether it existed, and if so, how to treat it—continued to trouble him after his arrival at Bethlem. For paradoxically, the "treatment" of Richard Dadd after 1852 corresponds to the diagnosis and treatment of monomania proposed by the preceding generation of doctors. Physicians who accepted the concept of monomania had agreed that the key to understanding it lay in the human passions, the basic emotions, appetites, and needs that, with the intellect and the soul, comprised the psyche. According to the eminent French specialist Esquirol, study of monomania was "inseparable from the knowledge of the passions; its seat is man's heart; it is there that one must explore in order to grasp all the fine shades."[28] Another French author writing on medical and legal problems stated, "homicidal monomania can be regarded as a species of insanity only insofar as the passions themselves are to be assimilated to madness. In both cases there is delusion. The intelligence remains intact; all monomanias are passions and all passions monomanias."[29] One recommended method of studying these passions consisted in asking the patient to write his autobiography: "You get him to write, you suggest projects to him and, by winning his confidence, you induce him to communicate his chimerical plans and unfounded hatreds; and once you come to know all his motives for his actions, you can gain an accurate idea of his condition."[30] William Wood had elicited such an autobiography from Richard Dadd sometime in the 1840s; Dr. Hood seems to have followed it up with a project that would, in the words of Forbes Winslow, "allow genius . . . [to search] . . . for an illustration of his own condition."[31]

Beginning in 1853 with the institution of Hood's new regime, Dadd painted a series of watercolors entitled

24. M. Foucault, ed., *I, Pierre Rivière, having slaughtered my mother, my sister, and my brother: A Case of Parricide in the 19th Century* (Lincoln and London, 1975), pp. 277–278.

25. "Colney-Hatch Lunatic Asylum," *JPMMP* 5 (July 1, 1852), p. 410.

26. "The Election of Medical Superintendent of Bethlem Hospital," *JPMMP* 5 (July 1, 1852), pp. 413–414.

27. "Article III—Bethlem Hospital in 1852," *JPMMP* 6 (January 1, 1853), p. 102.

28. Foucault (note 24), p. 277.

29. Ibid., p. 278.

30. Ibid., p. 284.

31. See above (note 19).

32. J. Rickett, "Rd. Dadd, Bethlem and Broadmoor: An Attempt

Sketches to Illustrate the Passions. Almost all are signed and dated, sometimes to the day, and it has been plausibly suggested that Hood assigned the subjects to Dadd.[32] Many of the watercolors ended up in the doctor's personal possession. It is instructive simply to list the Passions that survive today: *Poverty, Wealth, Jealousy, Love, Treachery, Idleness, Hatred,* and *Gaming* (painted in 1853); *Brutality, Insignificance, Vanity, Deceit, Murder, Ambition, Anger, Agony, Avarice, Melancholy, Disappointment, Grief, Battle, Drunkenness* (1854); *Recklessness, Fanaticism,* and *Suspense* (1855); and *Want* (1856). Four other subjects, *Malice, Despair, Servility,* and *Ingratitude,* are recorded in Dr. Hood's collection but have been lost.[33] With the exception of *Love* and *Wealth,* this is a depressing list of human emotional and moral states, even grimmer considering that most doctors believed these passions and appetites, even wealth and love, could cause insanity. In his study of the Bethlem inmates called *Statistics of Insanity for 1862,* Hood listed the emotions or passions that could instigate mental illness. The so-called "moral causes" were "Anxiety, Disappointment, Reduced circumstances, excessive study or overwork, mental excitement, mental distress, fright, jealousy, sudden prosperity, death of relations . . . uncontrolled emotions and passions" and "perverted religion." Sensuality, including sexual passion and drunkenness, were among the physical causes.[34] Other passions mentioned in contemporary psychological literature include anger, envy, hatred, revenge, murder, pride, vanity, ambition, gaming, melancholy, despair, and remorse.[35] Richard Dadd's Passions illustrations follow this recipe for mental distress almost word for word.

The negative or destructive passions were thought to have "antidotes," positive and healthy states of mind that balanced the evil propensities beloved by the students of monomania.[36] None of Dadd's watercolor illustrations corresponds to a positive passion, however. This strengthens the hypothesis that the watercolors belong to Hood's investigation into monomania rather than to an independently undertaken artistic exercise, since Dadd had taken a more balanced approach to the subject in his student days, when he illustrated William Collins' "Ode on the Passions" with other members of his sketching club.[37] The antidotes so conspicuously absent from the Passions illustrations were held to be of key importance in the treatment of the insane patient: "It is therefore in the regulation of the passion [causing monomania] that a remedial influence is to be sought; or paradoxical though it appear, in the induction of that sentiment abstractedly prejudicial, that we may thereby antagonize, neutralize, or displace one of an opposite nature already in possession of the mind; as we would administer an alkali to render an acid inert."[38] In other words, once the doctor had discovered the passion underlying the patient's monomania, treatment consisted in bringing its balancing, antidote passion into play.

It seems logical to suppose that, having used works of art to study his patient, Dr. Hood would also use a work of art to introduce the antidote for his illness. Thus the painting *Mercy,* representing the only healthy passion in the lot. Moreover it is the only work executed in oil, indicating its special character. Mercy was indeed an appropriate passion to suggest to a self-appointed, divinely inspired murderer. It would probably be classified as the "antidote" to revenge, hatred (fig. 3), or murder (see fig. 4). Thus merciful thoughts might counteract Dadd's desire for vengeance against demonic persecutors, diminish his assaults on inoffensive bystanders, and help instill the self-control essential for the subjugation of his evil passions.[39] Although he would continue to hear Osiris' commands, mercy might help the artist resist his compulsion to obey them.

The use of paintings, especially history paintings, as exemplars of virtue was not and had never been restricted to the treatment of the insane. Moral instruction was one of the great, traditional functions of history painting in the grand style, and it was especially prominent in the 1840s and '50s as a result of the project to decorate the Houses of Parliament. For example William Dyce's fresco cycle in the Queen's Robing Room, intended for the edification of the monarch, included a scene entitled *Mercy: Sir Gawain Swearing to Be Merciful,* completed in 1854. Dyce's *Mercy* shows Sir Gawain, having received a pardon for murder, swearing before a court of Arthurian ladies that he will show mercy. Another work in Dyce's cycle, *Generosity: King Arthur, Unhorsed, Is Spared by His Adversary,* completed in 1852, portrays a medieval version of Dadd's David

at a Biography," *Ivory Hammer* 2 (1963–1964), n. p.; A. Staley, in *Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings 1760–1860,* exh. cat. (Detroit Institute of Arts and Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1968), p. 287.

33. Allderidge (note 9), pp. 87–104.

34. Hood (note 7), p. 58.

35. "Article I—The Passions," *JPMMP* 3 (April 1, 1850), pp. 144–148, 154.

36. Ibid., p. 144.

37. Allderidge (note 9), p. 43.

38. "The Passions" (note 35), p. 157.

39. Self-control was the key to moral treatment. For general discussion of moral treatment, see Scull (note 12), pp. 68–69; Skultans (note 12), pp. 9–20.

Figure 3. Richard Dadd. *Sketch of the Passions—Hatred: Murder of Henry by Richard, Duke of Gloster,* 1853. Watercolor. 31.1 × 25.7 cm (12¼ x 10⅛ in.). London, Board of Governors of the Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley Hospital. Photo courtesy Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London.

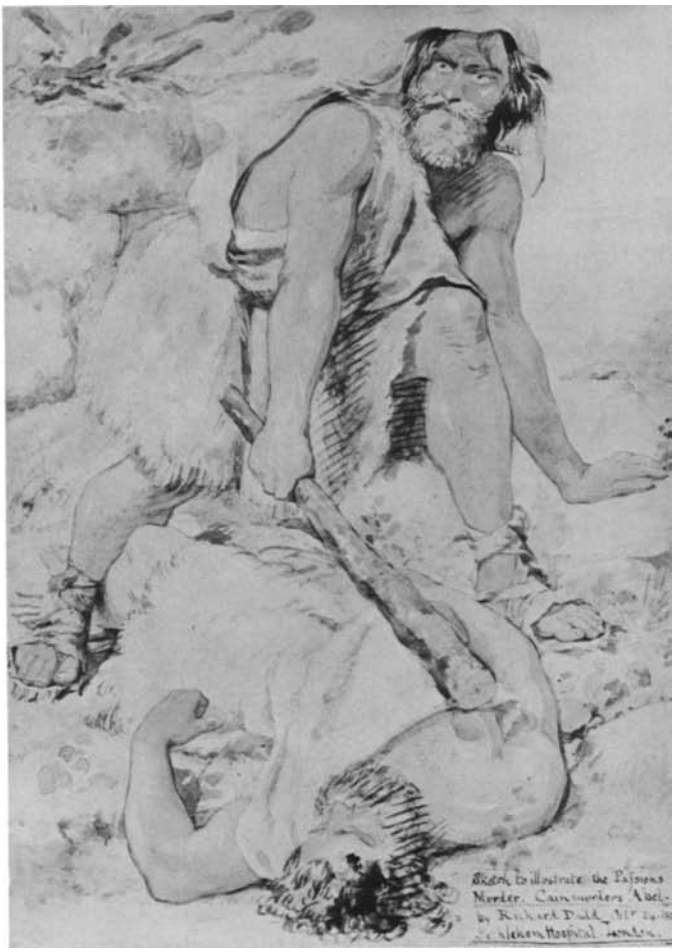

Figure 4. Richard Dadd. *Sketch to Illustrate the Passions—Murder: Cain Murders Abel,* October 17, 1854. Watercolor. 36.2 × 26 cm. (14¼ × 10¼ in.). London, Board of Governors of the Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley Hospital. Photo courtesy Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London.

and Saul theme (see fig. 5). In each narrative a young king prevents his henchman from dispatching an older, weak, and discredited ruler. The thematic relationships between the Dyce frescoes and the Dadd history painting are probably not coincidental given Dadd's serious interest in fresco painting. The Dyce project was well reported in the regular and artistic press, so that even in the restricted circumstances of Bethlem Hospital both doctor and patient would have known the outlines of the project, even if Dadd, at least, never saw the frescoes themselves. He might even have found the frescoes' treatment of royalty (both Arthurian and Victorian) to be in keeping with his own belief in his (royal) descent from Osiris.

Dr. Hood must have watched Richard Dadd's execution of *Mercy* in 1854 with more than ordinary interest, since it served as some indication of the success of about a year of treatment. Such timing seems tied to treatment policies at the hospital. Insane patients (with the exception of criminal lunatics) were admitted to Bethlem only if they were thought to be curable, and they were discharged after twelve months as "incurable" if their condition did not improve during the stipulated period. (This practice was not followed at other asylums, where periods of treatment varied from case to case.) Although Dadd had been ill for more than ten years, and faced life in confinement regardless of whether he could be cured, the 1854 assessment followed his first year under Dr. Hood's new regime, after years of little or no consistent care. Dr. Hood was not especially fond of Bethlem's rule, noting that a second year of treatment often resulted in a cure.[40] However,

he believed that patients who failed to respond after two years were unlikely to improve. Thus it may be significant that Dadd's Passions illustrations were executed mainly in 1853 and 1854, with isolated examples only from 1855–1857.

One cannot know the extent to which Richard Dadd understood or accepted Dr. Hood's motives as he planned and executed *Mercy: David Spareth Saul's Life.* However, the composition itself provides clues to the artist's goals and ideas, and perhaps even the key to understanding the nature of his delusions.

The landscape in *Mercy* is based on Dadd's memories and probably notebook drawings of the wilderness and desert of 'En Gedi, near the Dead Sea, the historical site of David's confrontations with Saul. Dadd had visited the area with Sir Thomas Phillips' expedition in 1842–1843, and described it in a letter written to his friend, the painter W. P. Frith:

> We visited Nazareth, we saw the Sea of Galilee, we stayed at Tiberias, we sojourned at Carmel, we have seen the Holy City with all its sights, we have been to Bethlehem, and gone to Jericho, to the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the convent of St. Saba, through the wild passes of Engaddi by moonlight. . . . The moon rose after some time, and we, having stayed two hours [by the Dead Sea], mounted and rode through the mountains of Engaddi. This, again, was rather rich-looking to my eyes (diseased eyes), like the end of the world. Many parts was as the extinct craters of volcanoes; and some of the mountains had bent themselves in the most extravagant way.[41]

According to another of Dadd's friends, the artist and traveler David Roberts, the monks of Saint Saba were accustomed to directing tourists to the relevant biblical sites:

> . . . at length [we] came in sight of the Towers of St. Saba. It is impossible to imagine a more romantic scene. The ravine cannot be less than five hundred feet in depth, perhaps more; the heights are wild . . . —this the country to which David fled after persecution by Saul.
>
> . . . The monks, who find a place for everything, point out the Cavern in which the famous King of Israel took shelter—later authorities differ, some fix encounter D&S near the convent, others at the pass Ain-Jidy. . . . [42]

Famous for both their history and their beauty, the pass and convent appear in the paintings and lithographs of David Roberts and the photographs of Francis Frith (see fig. 6). The region's striated, crumbling cliffs and pebbly desert floor can also be recognized in *Mercy.*

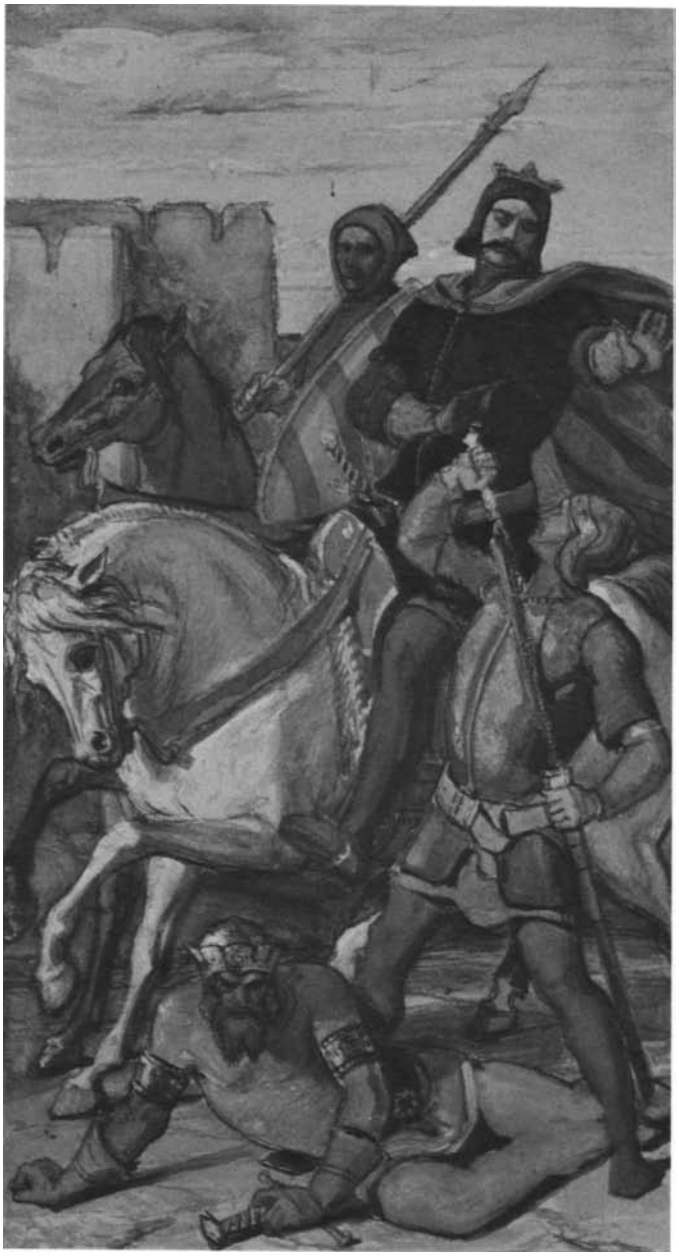

Figure 5. William Dyce (English, 1806–1864). Study for the fresco *Generosity: King Arthur Unhorsed is Spared by His Adversary,* circa 1852. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland D 4789. Photo courtesy National Gallery of Scotland.

The loving representation of the rocks themselves is one of *Mercy's* most peculiar and significant details, since it goes far beyond the requirements of topo-

40. Hood (note 7), pp. 8–9.

41. W. P. Frith, *My Autobiography and Reminiscences* (New York, 1888), vol. 2, pp. 139–140.

42. D. Roberts, *The Holy Land* (Tel Aviv, 1982), V-13, pl. 104.

Figure 6. Francis Frith (English, 1822–1898). *The Convent of Mar Saba,* circa 1859. Albumen print. 16.4 × 23 cm (6⁷/₁₆ × 9¹/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XO.606.25.

graphical accuracy (figs. 7, 8). Nor does it relate to the genre of Romantic or sublime rock painting, which includes such examples as James Ward's *Gordale Scar* (1811; London, Tate Gallery), Roberts' own views of Saint Saba, or any number of paintings by Martin or the young J. M. W. Turner. Dadd's interest in rocks bears comparison with that of John Ruskin, a learned student of rocks from early youth.[43] Dadd's interest in geological formations dated back to at least the 1840s, when rocks and mountains provoked repeated comment in his letters from the Near East and appeared as the sole subjects of important drawings.[44] This interest in rocks came in part from the fact that during his travels there was often nothing else to see; of the area outside Athens, for example, he wrote, "The country is exquisitely beautiful, although its beauty consists of barren mountains and rocky glens."[45] But Dadd must also have been familiar with the basic principles and problems of geology—as understood by the Victorians—thanks to his father's one-time occupation as a popular lecturer on the subject.[46]

Geological issues aroused enormous interest in the 1830s and 1840s as important discoveries began to undermine belief in the accuracy of biblical accounts of the creation and prehistory. Religious, historical, and scientific theorists struggled to reconcile the conflicting evidence that rocks and religion supplied about the ages of the earth and of the human race. Geologists had amassed incontrovertible evidence that the earth was thousands and perhaps millions of years old, and had been the work of more than six days. Noah's Flood (still thought to mark the beginning of human history and traditionally dated about four thousand years before the birth of Christ) appeared to have been just the most recent of many prehistoric catastrophes that had wiped out dinosaurs and caused great landmasses to rise and sink. In the 1840s particular attention was focused on the conformation of river valleys where erosion had exposed stratifications that scholars were beginning to associate with geological cycles punctuated by global cataclysms.[47] Their theories were, of course, irresistible to poets and painters of the sublime, and many important representations of "the Deluge," replete with modern geological references, appeared on the walls of the Royal Academy, in print shops, or in books.[48]

In this context the rocky background of *Mercy* assumes more than a decorative role. It expresses the contradictions and paradoxes created by this crisis in Victorian science, history, and religion. The sheer cliff face behind Dadd's protagonists suggests the enormous backdrop of geological time behind even the most ancient of human events (fig. 7). Dadd has contrasted the cliff with the much smaller erosion patterns of the desert floor, as if to suggest, geologically, the coexistence of two different time scales (fig. 8). But if rocks could suggest the relative nature of historical time, they also provided physical evidence of the reality of biblical accounts of early human history. Just as many Europeans touring the Near East were motivated at least in part by the need to confirm biblical events with the evidence of their own eyes, so the very real-appearing 'En Gedi rocks lend descriptive weight to the story of David and Saul as presented by Dadd.

Dadd's depiction of his protagonists is rife with apparent anachronisms and internal contradictions. Only in minor, superficial ways did he attempt to achieve the level of verisimilitude found in his landscape. For example the pose of David derives not from Dadd's many drawings of Palestinians made in the Near East, but

43. T. Hilton, *John Ruskin* (New Haven, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 49–50.

44. See *Vale of Rocks,* 1843(?). Watercolor. Location unknown; *View in the Island of Rhodes,* 1845(?). Watercolor. London, Victoria and Albert Museum. According to P. Allderidge, both were executed in England from drawings in the notebooks (Allderidge [note 9], pp. 78–79).

45. "The Late Richard Dadd," *Art Union* 5 (October 1843), p. 269.

46. Ibid., p. 267.

47. N. A. Rupke, *The Great Chain of History: William Buckland and the English School of Geology (1814–1849)* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 39–40.

48. L. R. Matteson, "John Martin's 'The Deluge': A Study in Romantic Catastrophe," *Pantheon,* 39th year (July–September 1981), pp. 220–229.

Figure 7. Detail of figure 1: top center.

Figure 8. Detail of figure 1: lower right corner.

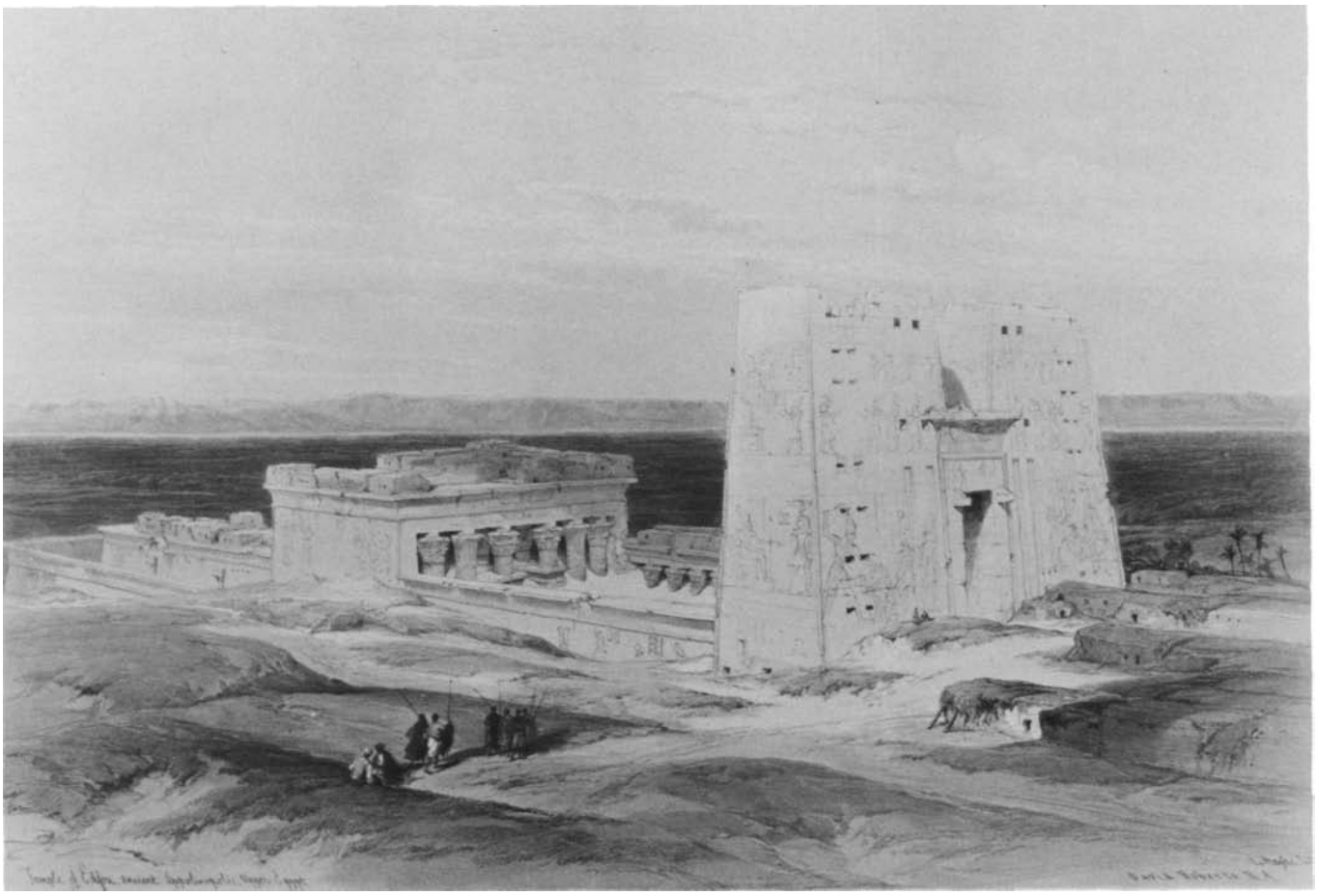

Figure 9. L. Haghe after David Roberts. *Temple of Edfou, Ancient Appolinopolis, Upper Egypt,* 1847. Colored lithograph. San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens RB 180261. Photo courtesy Huntington Library.

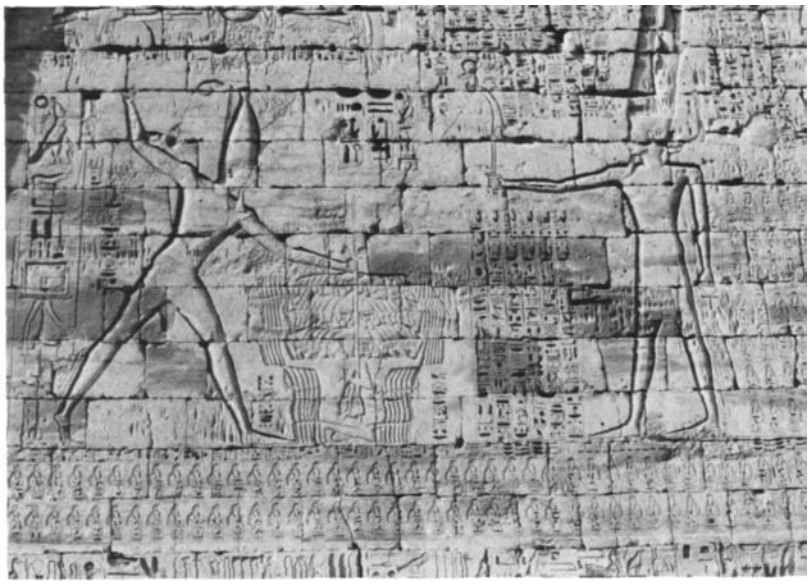

Figure 10. Relief of Rameses Smiting His Enemies, circa 1160 B.C. Northern wing of the pylon of the pharaoh's funerary temple, Thebes. Photo courtesy J. Ruffle, University of Durham.

Figure 11. Richard Dadd. *Dymphna Martyr,* 1851. Watercolor. 36.2 × 26 cm (14¼ × 10¼ in.). San Marino, Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens. Photo courtesy Huntington Library.

Figure 12. Richard Dadd. *Sketch to Illustrate Splendour and Wealth—Cleopatra Dissolving a Pearl,* 1853. Watercolor. 35.6 × 25.4 cm (14 × 10 in.). Gwent, South Wales, Newport Museum and Art Gallery. Photo courtesy Newport Museum.

from Egyptian relief sculpture (figs. 9, 10). The literal use of such Egyptian motifs as an artistic source was almost unknown in Victorian easel painting and has gone unrecognized in Richard Dadd's art until now.[49] While many contemporary artists dressed their figures up as Egyptians—William Dyce's *Joash Shooting the Arrow* (1844; Hamburg, Kunstalle) is only one example—few found the hieratic poses of Egyptian art appropriate for the positioning of the very same figures.[50] Dadd, however, employed figures from Egyptian sources not only for *Mercy* but also for his watercolor *Dymphna Martyr* (fig. 11), in which the group of sacrificing king and victim-daughter are based on representations of the pharaoh and his kneeling captives (fig. 10).[51] However, when he came to paint an ancient Egyptian subject, Cleopatra dissolving a pearl as an illustration of pride (fig. 12), Dadd presented the ancient queen in the guise of a ringletted theatrical heroine. From this one might infer that even his regard for ancient Egyptian art did not equal his admiration of Egyptian religion.

49. Egyptian forms and motifs exerted a far greater influence on architecture and decorative arts than on painting, with the exception of Egyptian "costume pieces." On the whole, Egyptian fresco styles were only imitated for wall decoration in Egyptian-revival interiors. See P. Conner, ed., *The Inspiration of Egypt: Its Influence on British Artists, Travellers and Designers 1700–1900,* exh. cat. (Brighton Museum and Manchester City Art Gallery, 1983), pp. 83–114.

50. See, for example, Lepsius' recommendations for the decoration of the Egyptian halls of the Berlin Museum (R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopa, and the Peninsula of Sinai,* trans. L. and J. B. Horner [London, 1853]).

51. Allderidge identifies a relief from the Mausoleum at Bodrum as the source for *Dymphna Martyr* (note 9, p. 84). However, the position of the king's right arm, raised above his head, is distinctly closer to Egyptian prototypes, as is his daughter's backward slanting posture. It is not clear whether Dadd would have known earlier represen-

Dadd must have seen Egyptian sacrificial reliefs repeatedly in the course of the Phillips expedition up the Nile. They are to be found on the Ramesseum in Medinet Habu, the temple of Amon-Ra at Karnak, the temple of Amenhotep III at Luxor, the temple of Horus at Edfu (fig. 9), and other temples visited by the expedition.[52] The subject of the pharaoh slaughtering captives in honor of the god was not only common but also the object of considerable interest to Victorian viewers. Since few of the identifying inscriptions had been fully translated, understanding of the image's significance was even cloudier then than it is today. The commentator whom Dadd is known to have read, the traveler James Augustus St. John, identified the god-figure in every sacrifice relief—regardless of attributes—as Osiris, and thought that the scenes recorded human sacrifice as practiced by the Egyptians.[53] Typical of many passages describing the sacrificial motif is St. John's interpretation of the relief at Derr: "On the right side of the entrance is a group of captives, held together by the hair, by a colossal figure, who, with uplifted axe, is about to strike off their heads. This bloody scene takes place, as usual, in the presence of Osiris, who stretches forth his hand toward the victims —whether to stay or enjoin the sacrifice does not appear. . . ."[54] In *Mercy,* David adopts the pose of "Osiris," Richard Dadd's tutelary deity.

In the 1830s and 1840s Osiris was the most famous, indeed notorious, of the ancient Egyptian gods. His legend, replete with the themes of enlightened kingship, murder by a rival, dismemberment, and resurrection, not to mention the posthumous fathering of a son and heir, had been preserved by Herodotus, who also identified him as the chief god of the Egyptians and the precursor of the Greek god Dionysus. Early nineteenth-century scholars incorrectly associated his cult with sun worship and also believed in a direct connection between Egyptian Osiris cults and Judaism. Soon after he arrived in Egypt with the Phillips expedition, Dadd met one of the most eminent of these scholars, the German archaeologist Richard Lepsius. From Dadd's and Lepsius' separate correspondence, it is clear that their meeting must have taken place early in January 1843, when Lepsius' team was engaged in excavating and deciphering a tablet in front of the Sphinx, also mentioned by Dadd in a letter to Roberts.[55] Lepsius was also hard at work on the reconstruction of the dynasties of the Old Kingdom, from which he hoped to deduce the age of Egyptian civilization and the timing of the Jewish Exodus within its chronology. In a letter of January 17, 1843, Lepsius reports, "We are still always occupied with buildings, sculptures, and inscriptions, which by the Royal Rings [cartouches] being more exactly defined, will be placed in a flourishing epoch of civilization, between *three* and *four thousand* years before Christ. These numbers, hitherto so incredible, cannot be too frequently called to the remembrance of ourselves and others. . . ."[56] Lepsius' chronology raised serious questions about the traditional dating of Noah's Flood; it seemed impossible that Old Kingdom civilization, highly organized, literate, and populous, could have emerged a few centuries after the near-total destruction of the human race.

Any religious or historical doubts that geological science may have raised in Richard Dadd's mind earlier were amplified by Lepsius' chronology. In a disturbed letter to David Roberts written after his return from Egypt, Dadd opined that "these Egyptians must have been a very precocious & might[y] generation to have so soon after the general destruction of the race, built such things as the Pyramids of Ghiza. There are many other things belonging to them so extremely curious & so terribly astounding, . . . that the call upon our Faith to believe in received opinions is so great that I fear a great many will be found bankrupt in that article. . . ."[57] Dadd seems to have accepted not only Lepsius' chronology but also the theory that Moses had served as a priest of Osiris at Heliopolis before he led the Jews out of their Egyptian captivity.[58] From this Dadd inferred that Egypt had provided the basis for Old Testament Jewish civilization. Disputing findings of the English Egyptologist J. G. Wilkinson, in the same letter to Roberts he argued,

> . . . for instance he [Wilkinson] says that the Types of much of the religious ceremonial of these antique Egyptians is to be found in the Bible of Moses—does he not mean rather that Moses drew his ceremonial from their set or Type[?] . . . Now Moses was a Priest at Heliopolis as also his brother Aaron & they were skilled in all the wisdom & learning of the Egyptians—& so they applied it to the Government of the People whom they led out of the Land of Egypt, etc, etc.[59]

tations of the martyrdom, notably an altarpiece in the collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, Vienna, by 1805 (Antwerp master, circa 1500. *The Martyrdom of Saint Dymphna and Saint Gerebernus.* Inv. 744) or the carved wooden altarpiece still to be seen in the church at Gheel in the nineteenth century (J. Webster, M. D., "Article II—Notes on Belgian Lunatic Asylums, Including the Insane Colony of Gheel," *JPMMP* 10 (April 1, 1857), pp. 211–212).

52. "The Late Richard Dadd" (note 45), p. 270.

53. J. A. St. John, *Egypt, and Mohammed Ali: Or Travels in the Valley of the Nile,* 2 vols. (London, 1834). St. John described reliefs at Dendera (vol. 1, pl. 318), Kalabshi (vol. 1, p. 375), Gyrshé (vol. 1, p. 396), Abu Simbel (vol. 1, p. 449), Philae (vol. 1, p. 521), and Derr.

This letter documents the collapse of Richard Dadd's belief in the authority of the Bible and revealed religion, and helps to explain his strange statement to Dr. Wood about his preference for the religious views of the ancients and his mistrust of modern improvements. In light of Victorian knowledge of the ancient past, Dadd's acceptance of the historical primacy of Egyptian religion was logical and scientifically founded, albeit unconventional. Consequently, Dr. Bucknill's assertion that Dadd's belief in Osiris was simply one more extreme response to the rise of religious doubt and diversity was, in essence, correct.

The typological relationship between ancient Egypt and Old Testament Israel is acutely important for the understanding of *Mercy,* since the pose of David suggests a parallel between pharaonic sacrifice to Osiris and Abishai's offer to kill Saul for David. One might also infer such a parallel with *Dymphna Martyr*'s depiction of a murder attended by an angel who, like Osiris, presides ambiguously over the execution. Dadd seems to be using the Egyptian sacrificial motifs as the basis for a discourse on divinely inspired human sacrifice, with comparisons from the Old Testament and primitive Christianity. Perhaps he was also recalling the classical epoch of the famous *Tyrranicides* (Roman marble copies of fifth-century Greek bronzes; Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale), which immortalized a justifiable plot against Athenian rulers. The lunging pose of one and the upright stance of the other *Tyrranicide* are analogous to the stances of David and Abishai. Quite possibly Dadd thought of William Dyce's Arthurian frescoes in the same sacrificial light. Of course the sacrifice also functioned as a "type" for Dadd's murder of his father and his plans to do away with the pope and the emperor of Austria. The historical examples Dadd illustrated taught that in some cases the god wills the sacrifice, in other cases he does not, just as Osiris willed the death of Robert Dadd, but changed his mind regarding the pope. Paradoxically, the moral of these examples—that God's will must be obeyed—would have been acceptable both to the Christian doctor advocating mercy and to his murderously inclined Osirian patient. The difference lay in the contrasting characters of their respective gods.

The pose and significance of David is the key to the meaning of *Mercy.* The remaining figures, props, and details were carefully selected to support him in his role of historical "type." Dadd was markedly conventional in his selection of a Roman marble sculpture, probably the monumental *Mars Ultor* (The Avenger) in the Museo Capitolino, Rome (fig. 13), as the prototype for the figure of Abishai. An obvious parallel in conventional history painting is William Dyce's use of a *Dying Gaul* (Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale) as the model for King Arthur in *Generosity.* Again, Dadd may have seen the *Mars Ultor* when the Phillips expedition reached Rome in 1843, but it may also have been available to him in the form of plaster casts or engravings in England.

Dadd's choice of two very static poses for his central figures contributes to the stillness of *Mercy*'s entire composition. The effect is in keeping with their stealthy mission in the camp; one ought not to indulge in romantic dramatics surrounded by an armed and sleeping enemy. Consequently, David and Abishai express emotion in the most silent and inconspicuous manner possible: the veins in Abishai's right arm swell (fig. 14) and David's left hand clenches around the shaft of his spear, but the right hand extended to intercede in the killing is relaxed and elegant. According to both contemporary physiological and aesthetic theory, such voluntary and involuntary gestures could be read as signs of inner emotional states. One of the most influential treatises on the subject, Sir Charles Bell's *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (1806), argued that the artist who took his figures from antique sculpture (as Dadd had in *Mercy*) risked a certain cold, vacant perfection of form which deprived the characters of life.[60] Bell believed that this could be corrected by a knowledge of anatomy and physiology. His book illustrates how the passions could alter the expressions of the face, the color of the skin, or the size of surface blood vessels by affecting nerves and circulation, thus producing evanescent and superficial effects nevertheless essential to the expression of the passions in art as well as life. A doctor writing on the passions in 1850 described these physical changes: "If unrestrained, the head becomes heated, the veins swell, the eyeballs flash with unwonted fire, and seem prominent, and the muscles are excited involuntarily to unnatural action."[61] By applying his understanding of how facial expression and gesture functioned as signs of underlying passions,

54. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 435.
55. Lepsius (note 50), p. 52.
56. Ibid., p. 60.
57. Allderidge (note 9), p. 39.
58. Lepsius (note 50), pp. 413–416.
59. Allderidge (note 9), p. 39.
60. C. Bell, *Essays on the Anatomy of Expression in Painting* (London, 1806), pp. 5–6.
61. "The Passions" (note 35), p. 156.

Figure 13. Mars Ultor. Roman, possibly after the Augustan cult statue in the Temple of Mars Ultor. Rome, Museo Capitolino 6003. Photo courtesy Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

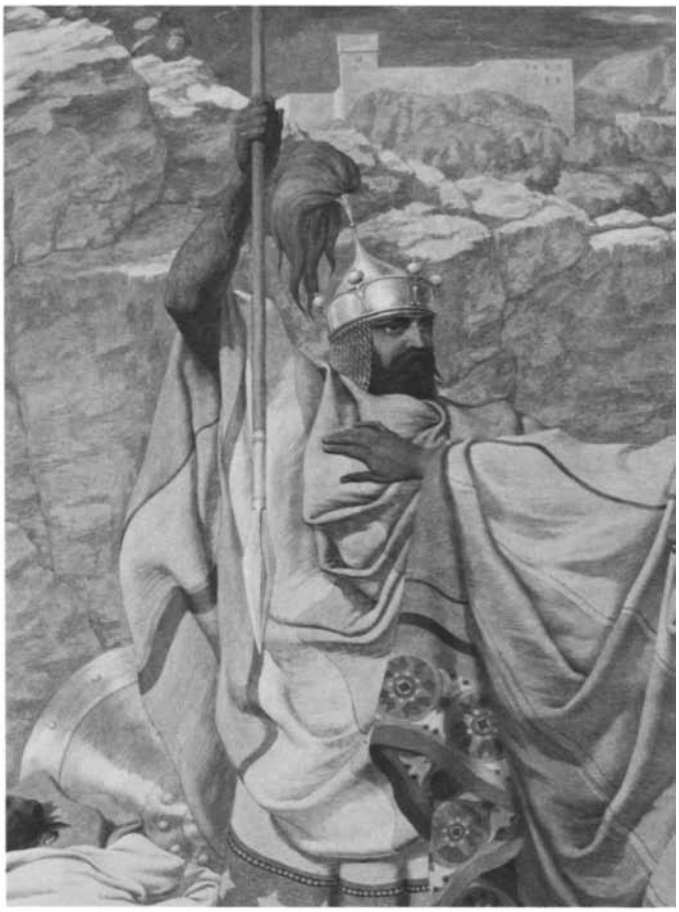

Figure 14. Detail of figure 1: upper left corner.

the painter could animate even the coldest, most statuesque figures.

Bell divided the passions into two classes organized around the concepts of pleasure and pain, in some ways close to the doctors' grouping of dangerous passions and their antidotes:

> The pleasurable sensations induce a languor and delight, and partake of the quality of indulgence and relaxation; the painful excite to the most violent tension, and make all the muscular frame start into convulsive action.
>
> The emotions and passions of the soul, grounded originally on these great classes of sensation, raised and increased by the mingling of hopes and fears, and the combinations of analogous and associated images of delight or danger, take their great constitutional traits or expression from the general tone of pleasure or of pain.
>
> In pain, the body is exerted to violent tension, and all the emotions and passion which are allied to pain, or have their origins and foundation in painful sensations, have distinctly this character in common, that there is tension, or a start into exertion or tremor, the effect of universal and great excitement.[62]

Applying Bell's system to David's tensed and relaxed hands, one might infer his pleasurable—presumably merciful—feelings about the act of intercession, and his painful feelings of hatred, revenge, or fear about the potential act of murder. But it is also possible that David's hands symbolize Osirian ambivalence about sacrifice; while one hand "stays," the other "enjoins" (figs. 7, 15).

Unlike David and Abishai, the sleeping figures on the ground have no sculptural prototypes, but they are reminiscent of the apostles who sleep through Christ's

62. Bell (note 60), p. 108.

63. J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1837), vol. 1, p. 313.

64. See G. P. Landow, *Victorian Types, Victorian Shadows: Biblical*

Agony in the Garden, or the sleeping soldiers around his tomb at the Resurrection, especially as portrayed in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Northern art. Do they, perhaps, refer to the sacrifice of Christ, of whom David is yet another type? In any case Dadd's selection and arrangement of basic figures and poses is eclectic but always appropriate. David, like Osiris, officiates at a killing; the would-be assassin Abishai has his prototype in Mars, the vengeful god of war; and Saul's sleepers fail in their protective duty as did the New Testament apostles and soldiers.

All of the figures in *Mercy* are bedecked with armor, garments, and weapons derived from an odd variety of sources but intended to contribute to the narrative. The striped cloaks resemble those Dadd had observed in the Near East and drawn repeatedly in his sketchbooks, with color notes. They are worn by contemporary Arabs in his paintings and drawings and are clearly meant to suggest the Near East in *Mercy.* This is just as well, for the outfits they cover—knee-length, full-skirted tunics—belong to Roman or medieval times rather than to the Old Testament era. Victorian painters, Dadd among them, seem to have used such outfits as generic costuming for historical warriors, modifying a few details, such as cloaks, mail, or helmet profiles, to indicate Greek or Roman, Christian or Oriental. However, Dadd was very careful about his choice of spears, so important to this episode in the story of David and Saul. David carries a wooden-shafted spear with a fierce metal point at one end and a metal casing with a knob at the other (fig. 15). Such spears were common in Egypt at the time of Dadd's visit there, and were thought to be of great antiquity. Wilkinson, in a book on the Egyptians that Dadd consulted in 1843, wrote that the "[ancient Egyptian] spear does not appear to have been furnished with a metal point at the other extremity, . . . which is still adopted in Turkish, modern Egyptian, and other spears, in order to plant them upright in the ground, as the spear of Saul was fixed near his head, while he 'lay sleeping within the trench'" (fig. 16).[63]

Mercy: David Spareth Saul's Life, with its obsessively patterned surface and its welter of historical associations, is a madman's attempt to impose a pattern on history. As Dadd hinted in his letter to David Roberts, the pattern is based on a theory of biblical types that was conventionally accepted in Victorian England.[64] The theme of historical repetition suggested by the figure's artistic prototypes is also inherent in the echoing

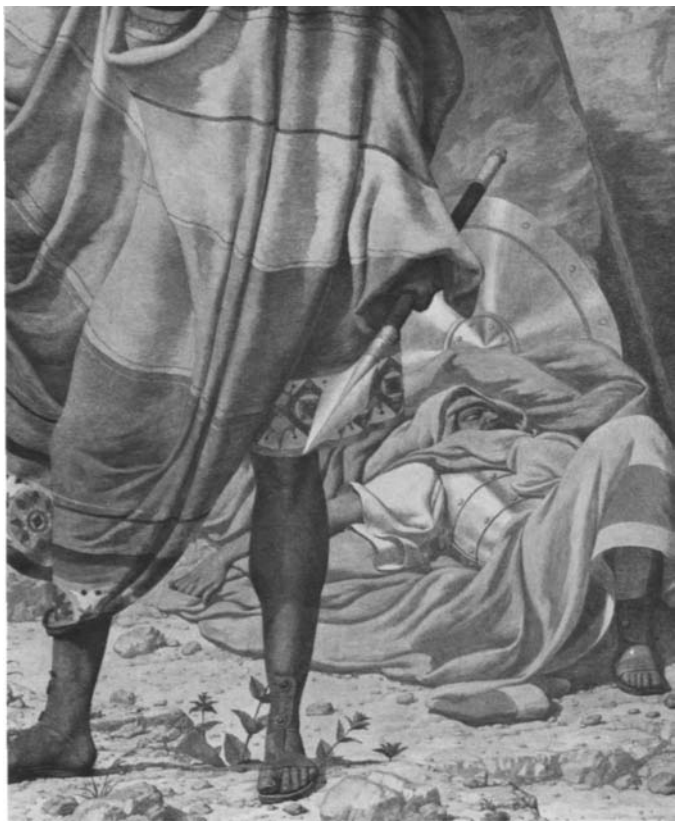

Figure 15. Detail of figure 1: right center.

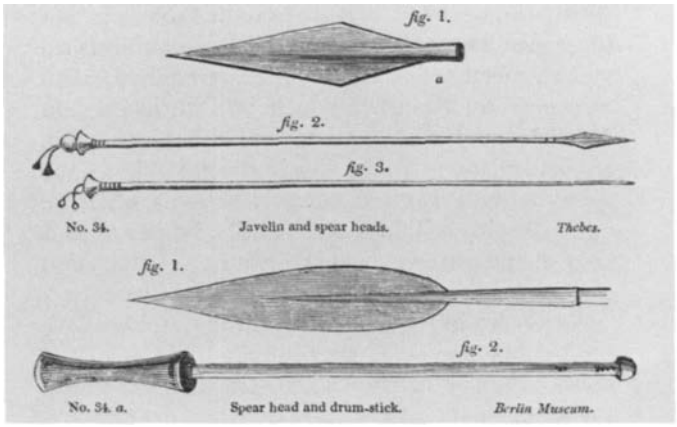

Figure 16. Egyptian javelins, spearheads and drumstick. Illustration to J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1837).

Typology in Victorian Literature, Art, and Thought (Boston, London, and Henley, 1980), pp. 13–64.

Figure 17. Richard Dadd. *David Hiding in the Cave with His Men,* June 28, 1854. Watercolor. 25.4 × 35.9 cm (10 × 14⅛ in.). New York, Collection of Roy and Cecily Langdale Davis.

patterns of the ancient, grandly scaled cliffs and the smaller, recent rifts in the desert floor. In *Mercy* Dadd extended the usual typological analogies between the Old and New Testaments to include ancient Egypt, which provided the prototype for David's near-dispatch of Saul and, by extension, for other divinely inspired martyrdoms or sacrifices, including the murder of Robert Dadd. The typological content of *Mercy* suggests comparison with the work of another great painter and typologist of the time, Holman Hunt. Like *Mercy,* Hunt's famous *Scapegoat* (Port Sunlight, Lady Lever Art Gallery) of 1852–1854 proposed historical relationships between ancient times and modern experience; unlike Dadd, however, Hunt remained a Christian.

Dadd's preference for primitive religion—apart from his murderous propensities—might in the end have had curious results. As Dr. Bucknill's remarks on the borderline between insanity and extremism show, what distinguished religious doctrine from monomaniacal delusion in the 1850s was the number of believers. With didactic paintings such as *Mercy,* and through interactions with his doctors, visitors, and fellow inmates, Dadd may have been attempting to convert followers at Bethlem. Significantly, just after he completed *Mercy* he painted another episode from the story of David (fig. 17). Called *David Hiding in the Cave with his Men,* it illustrates the moment of David's transition from fugitive to religious leader after feigning a bout of madness.[65] Did Richard Dadd envision the same future for himself?

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

65. 1 Samuel 21:10–15, 22:1–2.

Antico's *Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius*

Leonard N. Amico

The J. Paul Getty Museum recently acquired a Renaissance bronze bust of a young man (figs. 1a–c). Although it was already on the art market in the early nineteenth century, and was once in one of Italy's most prominent private collections, the bust was only recognized as a work by Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico (circa 1460–1528), when it appeared at auction in 1986.[1] The Antico attribution makes the Museum's bust one of only a handful of such works made by this important Mantuan artist. Because of its rarity and its beauty, the newly discovered bust makes a significant contribution to our knowledge of the Renaissance portrait-bust and broadens considerably our knowledge of Antico's oeuvre; as the only nude bust by the artist, it alters our conception of his style.

It is our purpose here to present the bust to a wider public than has heretofore been privileged to see it. We will describe the bust fully, reveal its antique sources, identify its subject, integrate it into Antico's oeuvre, and discuss its provenance.

The bust portrays the head, shoulders, and upper chest of a nude young man. The head is turned to the subject's right. His face is characterized by high but softly rounded cheekbones that complement a full, square jaw and a long, straight nose, which separates eyes of inlaid silver. Eyelids close slightly over excavated pupils and over irises whose borders are lightly etched into the silver. The arching eyebrows are finely detailed with short sculpted hairs; in equally attentive detail, the long hairs of a moustache feather out across the subject's lips. Barely evident beneath the lower lip and just above the bulbous chin is a wisp of hair (fig. 1c). The thinness of the moustache, the vagueness of the hairs beneath the lower lip, and the stubby facial hair embracing either side of the jaw suggest that the subject had only just entered manhood and would, in a short time, grow the full beard he obviously intended to have.

Contrasting markedly with the broad, smooth planes of the subject's face and chest is a tightly curled head of hair. This hair is perhaps the boldest and most conspicuous feature of the sculpture and, from one perspective, appears to overshadow the subject's face. However, it is also this curly hair—washing up against the young man's face like a wave against the shore—that serves most to draw our attention to the subject himself. Although fully finished at the front and sides with beautifully and laboriously wrought curls, the back of the hair is rendered in long, comparatively facile striations, suggesting that the bust may not have been intended to be viewed in the round.

The bronze is in excellent condition except for the absence of a small, roughly rectangular portion that was cut away from the bottom center of the chest, and some small drill holes that were used to attach modern gilt-bronze drapery.

The first graphic representation of the bust is a print that appeared in 1831 when the bronze was being offered for sale by the colorful Venetian art dealer Antonio Sanquirico (fig. 2).[2] Forming part of a series of lithographs and engravings known as the *Museo Sanquirico,* the print was identified only as a representation of a fifteenth-century bronze *Testa incognita* with the provenance of "Museo Grimani a Venezia." Its height was recorded then as 52 centimeters, close to the present height of 54.7. Differences between the print and the actual bust—for example, the romantic, free-blown hair of the figure in the print as opposed to the studied curls of the bronze—can be explained by the purpose of the 1831 publishing venture. An extraordinarily bold and much-criticized merchant, Sanquirico had disguised a sales catalogue as an illustrated antiquarian study; as well as advertising his goods to prospective clients, the *Museo Sanquirico* itself was sold by subscription. In producing the prints, therefore, less attention was paid to correct archaeological detail than to the whimsical taste

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1. Sotheby's, Monaco, February 23, 1986, lot 913.

2. I am grateful to Professor P. Meller for bringing to my attention the relationship of the print to the bust.

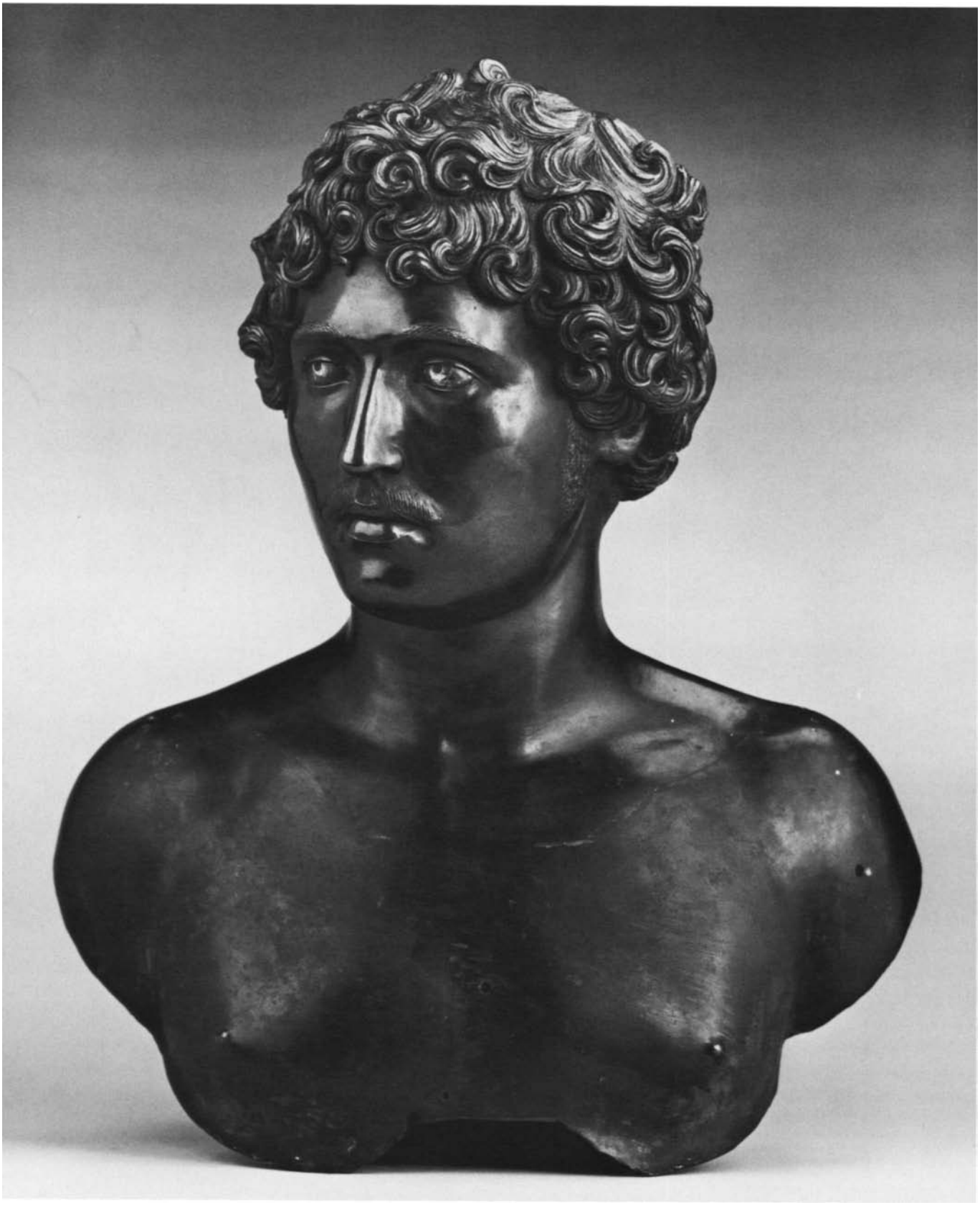

Figure 1a. Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi) (Italian, circa 1460–1528). *Bust of the Young Marcus Aurelius,* circa 1520. Bronze; eyes inlaid with silver. H: 54.7 cm (21½ in.); W: 45 cm (17¾ in.); D: 22.3 cm (8¾ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.SB.688.

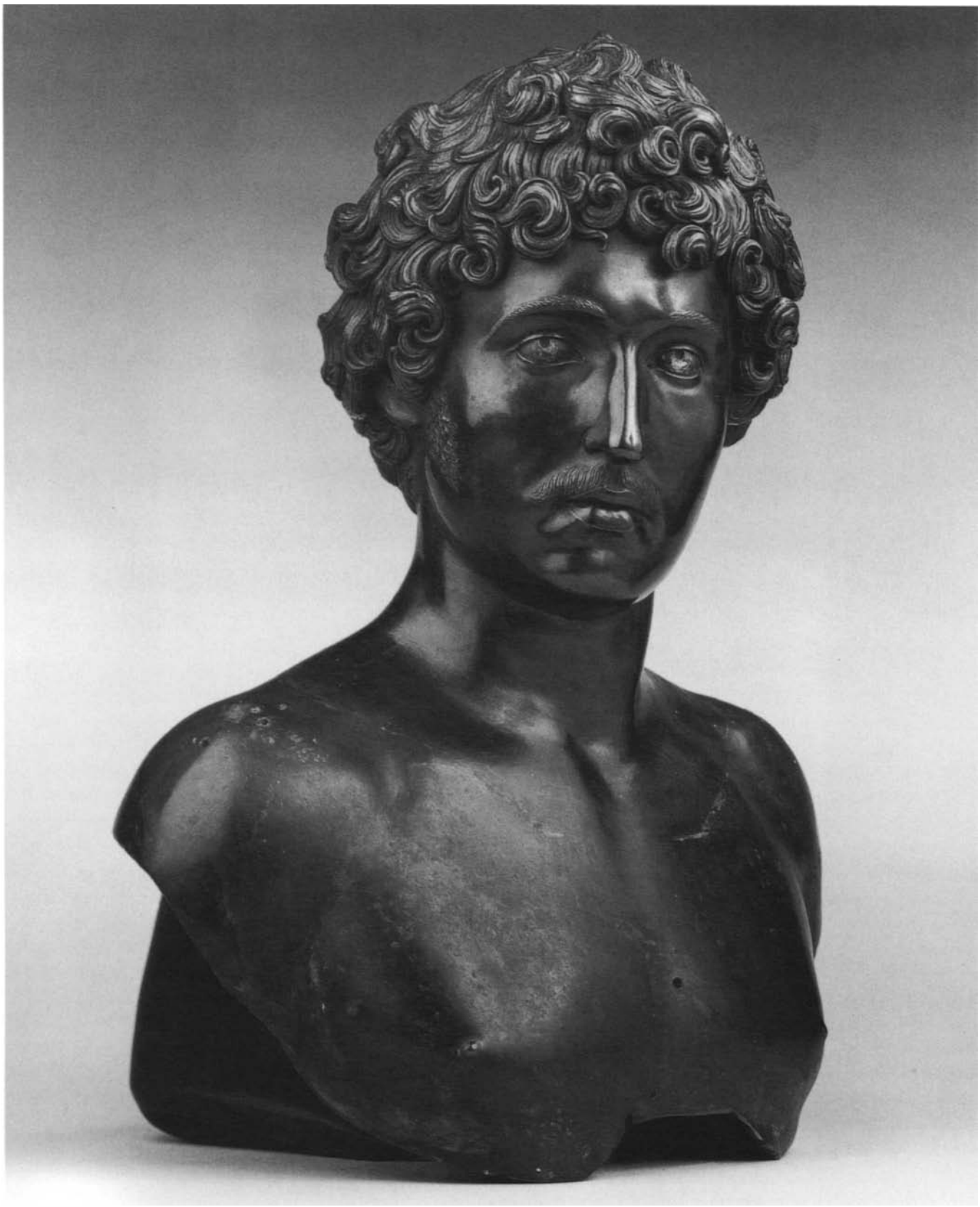

Figure 1b. Three-quarter view of figure 1a.

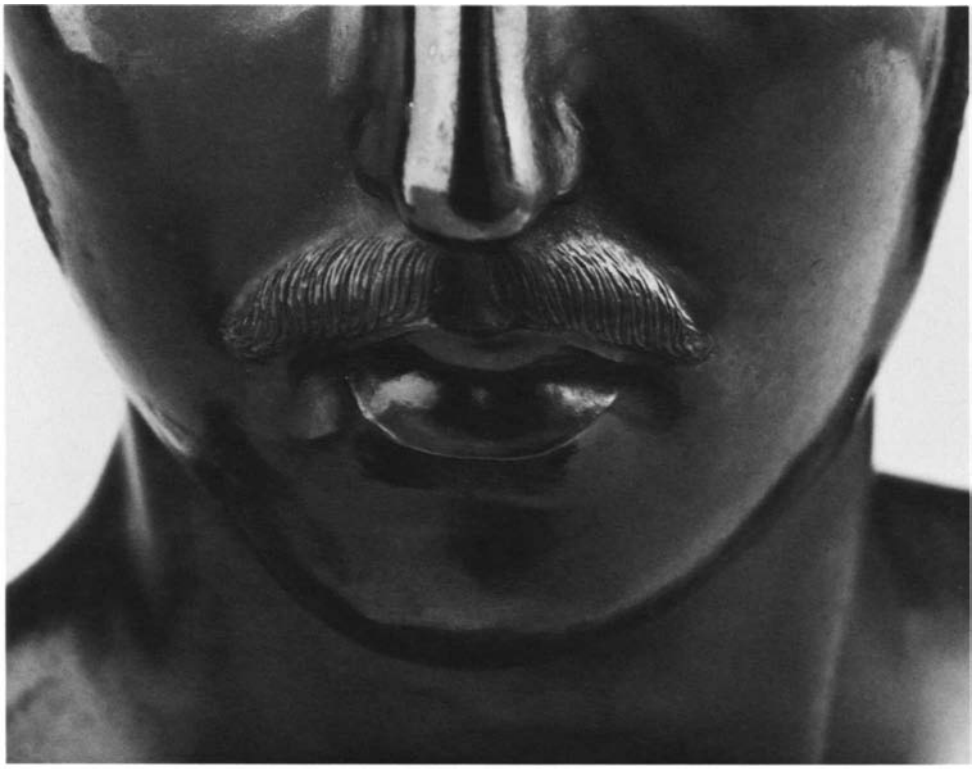

Figure 1c. Detail of figure 1a.

of early nineteenth-century *amatori delle arte belle.*[3] Despite certain aesthetic liberties taken by the printmaker, however, there is no doubt that the Getty Museum's bust and that in the illustration are one and the same. Yet we are left with the question of whether the Museum's bust was complete at its base, as shown in the print, or whether the lacunae seen there today also existed in 1831. The latter would suggest that the printmaker applied his cosmetic skills here, too, for the benefit of Sanquirico's merchandising tactics. In support of this possibility, it should be pointed out that the bust came to the auction house from which it was purchased draped in a gilt-bronze toga that is probably of nineteenth-century date; the purpose of this addition was probably to hide the break at the base of the chest.[4]

Although Sanquirico's early print of it has been published twice in recent times, little could be said about the actual bronze because the whereabouts and authorship of the work were unknown.[5] However, Irene Favoretto noted some similarity between the print and a marble bust in the Museo Archaeologico, Venice, portraying the young Marcus Aurelius and attributed by Peter Meller to Simone Bianco.[6] Favoretto rightly refrained from giving in to the temptation of attributing the bronze to the same artist as the marble bust, since she had only the print and not the bronze available to her. With the bronze now before us, we can affirm that the work has nothing to do with Simone Bianco. However, we *can* confirm that the bronze represents Marcus Aurelius at about age twenty-six. Since Antico occupied himself with the theme of Marcus Aurelius on no less than three occasions, and derived each work from separate ancient prototypes, it would serve us well to recall briefly the ancient tradition that inspired him.

Marcus Aurelius—adopted son of Emperor Antoninus Pius, caesar and co-emperor with Lucius Verus, author of the *Meditations,* and father of Commodus—was represented at numerous stages of his life, from pubescence to old age.[7] The earliest portraits are those associated with a coin of A.D. 139 showing Marcus Au-

3. The full story of Sanquirico, his catalogue, and his collections is told by M. Perry, "Antonio Sanquirico, Art Merchant of Venice," *Labyrinthos* 1/2 (1982), pp. 67–111.

4. Illust. in Sotheby's (note 1).

5. Perry (note 3), fig. 15; I. Favoretto, "Simone Bianco: Uno scultore del XVI secolo di fronte all'antico," *Quadreni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche* 15 (1985), pl. 11, fig. 6.

6. Favoretto (note 5), p. 416; P. Meller, "Marmi e bronzi di Simone Bianco," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21, no. 2 (1977), pp. 200–201; Traversi, *Museo Archaeologico di Venezia, I ritratti* (Rome, 1968), p. 108, no. 97.

7. A full account of these portraits is given in M. Wegner, *Die*

Figure 2. Testa incognita. Lithograph (after an original bronze) from *Museo Sanquirico*. Venice, Biblioteca Correr, Stampe D-40. Photo: Museo Correr.

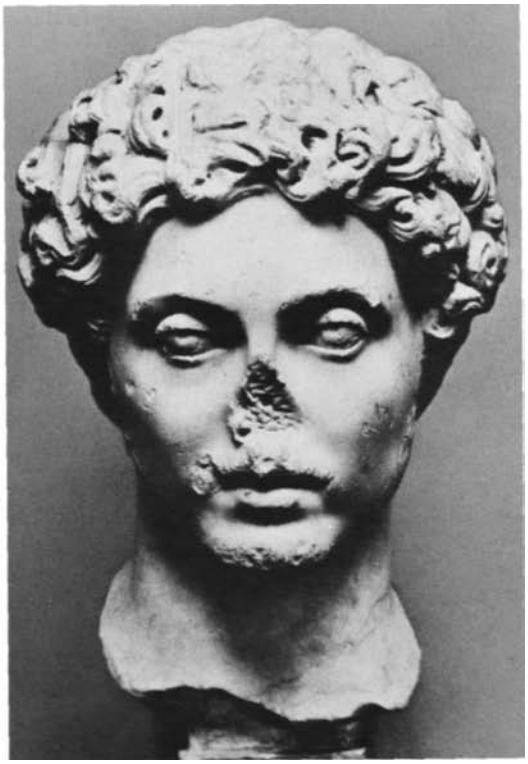

Figure 3. Marcus Aurelius (Museo del Foro Romano 1211). Marble, circa 145. Rome, Antiquarium Forense 3883. Photo: Antiquarium Forense.

relius in profile on one side and Antoninus Pius on the other. The still-boyish consul-designate has a low forehead and a pendent forelock, full cheeks, a bulbous chin, and eyes that gaze upon the world openly if not innocently; there is no trace of facial hair. The most typical and sensitive portrayal of this type in stone is that known as Museo Capitolino, Galleria 28.[8]

The next type of portrait is associated with the years 145–147, during which time Marcus Aurelius married his cousin Faustina the Younger, served his second consulate, and was named to the imperial co-regency upon the birth of his son. Because it is a full-scale standing portrait rather than a bust, the much-idealized Lansdowne House Marcus Aurelius is probably the most well-known antique representation of this type.[9] However, the most historically significant and influential work is a damaged head known as Museo del Foro Romano 1211 (fig. 3).[10] Roughly ten years later than the child-portraits mentioned above, heads of this type show the curly hair largely off the forehead but not yet swept back entirely. A germinating, sparse beard follows the jawbone from the lower ears to an area short of the chin. The cheeks are still relatively full. A very thin moustache crowns the upper lip and a few wisps of hair can be found on the chin. The eyes receive greater emphasis than in earlier busts and have begun to acquire the heavy lids that give portrayals of Marcus Aurelius their outwardly indifferent, inwardly melancholic expression.

Although Marcus Aurelius received the main constitutional powers of emperorship in 147, he acted only as a junior co-emperor until his adoptive father, Antoninus Pius, died in 161. Upon this new rise to power, or during the years immediately leading up to it, a third type of Marcus Aurelius portrait appeared. This is best represented by a bust known as Terme 726.[11] The

Herrscherbildnisse in antoninischer Zeit (Berlin, 1939), pp. 33–47, 166–210. However, for a more recent and revised account of the Marcus Aurelius portrait types, see F. C. Albertson, "The Sculptured Portraits of Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180): Creation and Dissemination of Portrait Types," Ph.D diss. (Ann Arbor, 1981), pp. 30–92.

8. Wegner (note 7), pp. 191–192, fig. 15.

9. Ibid., p. 180, pls. 16–17.

10. Ibid., p. 193, pl. 18. The bust is now in the Antiquarium Forense, Rome (inv. 3883).

11. Wegner (note 7), p. 194, fig. 20. The bust is now in the Museo Nazionale Romano (inv. 108598).

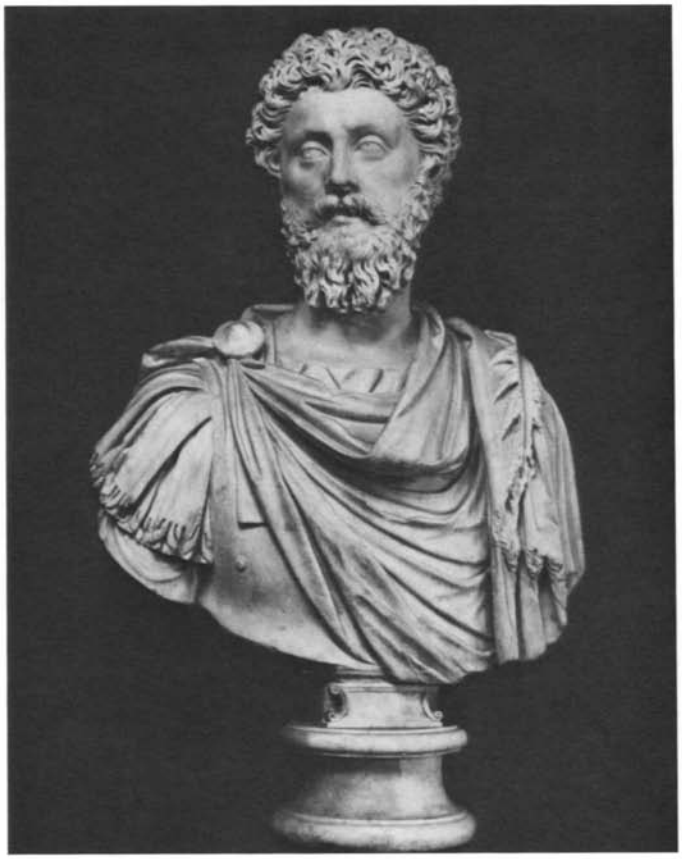

Figure 4. Marcus Aurelius (Museo Capitolino Imperatori 38). Marble. Rome, Museo Capitolino 448. Photo: Museo Capitolino.

Figure 5. Antico. *Marcus Aurelius,* circa 1498. Bronze. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Photo: Bayerisches Nationalmuseum.

cheeks are now leaner and the beard thicker, relatively short along the jaw and full along the chin, where it is divided into two distinct parts. The ends of the now-thick moustache droop down into the beard. The heavy-lidded eyes dominate the bust. Again the hair is largely off the forehead, but not swept back entirely. By contrast, the fourth and last type of Marcus Aurelius bust shows the emperor with simplified, wave-like curls of hair swept high off the forehead. The beard is much fuller and merges with the hair at the sides, and the moustache fully hides the upper lip. This type of portrait is generally dated to about 169 and dominates the physiognomy of all remaining portrayals of the emperor. The fourth type is best represented by Museo Capitolino Imperatori 38 (fig. 4).[12]

As stated, Antico took up the theme of Marcus Aurelius several times throughout his career, representing the emperor at various stages of his life. The first of these works was a reduction of the famous Roman equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Antico's "*Auellio Antonino,*" as he himself later referred to the work in a letter of 1519, was originally produced for Bishop Ludovico Gonzaga and was listed in an inventory of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga in 1496.[13] However, there appears to be no extant example of this work. Around the same time, or shortly thereafter, Antico produced a portrait-bust of Marcus Aurelius which was drawn from the ancient type represented by Museo Capitolino Imperatori 38 (figs. 4, 5). Because of its relationship to the Gonzaga Vase and its rigid pose, this work appears

12. Now Rome, Museo Capitolino 448. Wegner (note 7), p. 192, fig. 26. The dating is discussed by Albertson (note 7), pp. 56–59.

13. H. J. Hermann, "Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, gennant Antico," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen der Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 28 (1910), pp. 267–268.

14. Palazzo Pitti 682. Wegner (note 7), p. 174. Wegner, quoting J. J. Bernoulli (*Römische Ikonographie,* vol. 2, pt. 2, p. 175, n. 116), considered the work modern. C. Saletti considered the bust anew and decided it was antique (*I ritratti antoniniani di Palazzo Pitti* [Florence, 1974]), pp. 32–33, pls. 9–10. Albertson subsequently affirmed that the work is modern (note 7, p. 53, n. 15).

15. Uffizi 1914, n. 179 in G. Mansuelli, *Galleria degli Uffizi: Le sculture* (Rome, 1961), pt. II, p. 105, figs. 129a, b. Wegner ([note 7], p. 172) called this bust "second half of the sixteenth century." Mansuelli

to be the earliest extant bust made by Antico.

For the Getty Museum's bronze, Antico devoted his attention to the type of ancient bust represented by Museo del Foro Romano 1211. The Museum's Marcus Aurelius and the ancient marble have much in common: high cheekbones and cheeks that are fuller than those found in more mature representations of the emperor; the germinating beard clinging tightly to the track of the jawbone; the long-haired but quite thin moustache; the bulbous chin; the high-arching brows; the parsimonious sprinkling of hair on the chin (which in Antico's portrayal is reduced to a wispy cluster that merges with the contour of the lower lip). At the same time there are appreciable differences between the ancient marble and the Renaissance bronze: Antico's bust has a square jaw while Museo del Foro Romano 1211 and its ancient replicas usually (but not always) have almond-shaped faces; the upper lids of Antico's silvered eyes are lifted higher than the sleepy lids of ancient representations. These differences, however, are excusable in the context of other sixteenth-century interpretations of Marcus Aurelius and in the context of Antico's personal style.

In portraying Marcus Aurelius, it was not unusual for sixteenth-century artists to take liberties that are inconsistent from one artist to the next. Simone Bianco's Marcus Aurelius in the Museo Archaeologico, for example, also draws upon Museo del Foro Romano 1211 but transforms the hair into a curlier, more deeply cut style. In addition Simone Bianco's bust has the thicker beard and moustache of a more mature type of Marcus Aurelius than that represented by the ancient model upon which the artist originally based his design. The unknown sculptor of a marble Marcus Aurelius in the Palazzo Pitti kept the youthful face of Museo del Foro Romano 1211, added the deeply cut curls favored by Simone Bianco, and gave the face a square jaw similar to that which appears in Antico's portrayal.[14]

What lends most credence to the idea that the Museum's bronze represents a valid way of portraying Marcus Aurelius in the sixteenth century is a bust in the Uffizi that was once accepted as antique (as were all of the Renaissance busts referred to above) but is now regarded universally as a work by an unknown sixteenth-century artist.[15] Ignoring the detailing of the hair and the slightly narrower jaw, which seem to be the personal trademarks of this unknown artist, the face of the Uffizi bust is similar enough to that of Antico's to allow us to say that both works must represent the same subject. There is, of course, no way of knowing whether first Antico and then the unknown sculptor looked to the same antique model. We note here, however, that in addition to their obvious relationship to Museo del Foro Romano 1211, both works are dependent upon the tailored elegance characteristic of antique sculptures coming out of Ostia Antica, such as the bust of C. Volcacious Myropnous, dating from about 160, and its mysterious complement: a bust in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, that is sometimes said to represent Marcus Aurelius.[16] Ostia Antica, even in the Renaissance, was a source of buried treasure for collectors.

Antico, as his nickname indicates, was known in his own time as a student of the antique and was employed continuously throughout his life not only as a creative artist but also as a restorer of antiquities, serving his Gonzaga patrons as well as others in this capacity. Early in his career the artist's fame in this area took him briefly to Rome, where he was called upon to make restorations to the Dioscuri of Montecavallo; before 1496 he made bronze reductions of the *giganti* and of one of the horses from this monument.[17] It is well known, too, that Isabella d'Este called upon Antico's expertise in the area of antiquities for purchases she was considering in 1506; Antico later replaced the painter Mantegna as Isabella's advisor in this area of collecting.[18] But with many of his works, the key to understanding Antico's creative form of mimesis lies not only in discovering the close link the works have with the art of antiquity but also in appreciating the content and purpose of deliberate, carefully planned differences. It takes one type of mentality to make a replica, for example, of the Apollo Belvedere, and quite another type to form Antico's creative reconstruction of this work.[19] Although we have considered broadly differences between Antico's *Marcus Aurelius* and the antique models upon which it may have been based, we have yet to consider one seemingly insignificant difference that, in the hands of Antico, sets antiquity on its ear. This detail concerns the forelocks of Marcus Aurelius' hair.

supported this position.

16. H. von Heintze, *Römische Porträt-Plastic aus sieben Jahrhunderten* (Stuttgart, 1961), pl. 25; M. B. Comstock and C. C. Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone: The Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), p. 228, cat. 359.

17. A. Nesselrath, "Antico and Monte Cavallo," *Burlington Magazine* 124 (1982), pp. 353–357.

18. U. Rossi, "I medaglisti del Rinascimento alla corte di Mantova," *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1 (1888), pp. 187–188.

19. A. Legner, "Anticos Apoll vom Belvedere," *Stadel-Jahrbuch* 1 (1967), pp. 107–108.

Characteristic of Museo del Foro Romano 1211 and the many antique busts that it typifies are the two locks of hair that grow out of a common source directly in the center of the subject's hairline, and dart away from each other in opposite directions. Whatever the ancient iconographic purpose of this feature, its visual effect is that of broadening the brow by pulling our eyes in two opposite directions across its length. Nor can it be by chance alone that the lumpy, heavy ends of these curls sit directly above the subject's eyes and eyelids as if to emphasize dramatically the natural ponderousness of those Aurelian features. While all sixteenth-century imitations retain crude vestiges of this aesthetic canon, only Antico appears to have understood it well enough to thoroughly absorb and make use of its potential while at the same time reversing its traditional form for his own visual effects.

The central pair of curls seen in Museo del Foro Romano 1211 has been replaced by Antico with two pairs of curls. The first pair has its weighty ends placed directly above the subject's eyes and serves the traditional function of emphasizing them. The second pair is tucked up above the first, directly in the center of the forehead. The ends of this pair of curls constitute an inversion of tradition: instead of rushing away from each other, they rush together and draw our eyes toward a central focal point, illusionistically narrowing rather than broadening the forehead. Together the four curls form a triangle whose apex lies exactly on a line that serves as host to two other apexes: that formed by the chin with the two ends of the jaw, and that formed by the peak given to the top of the head by the sea of curls. Thus a studied imitation of antiquity has in the hands of Antico become a fully Renaissance work of art.

Antico dated none of his works and signed but a few, leaving historians the problem not only of arranging his works in chronological order but also of deciding which works are indeed by the artist. The problem is complicated by the fact that Antico developed a sophisticated method of casting that allowed him to reuse his own molds.[20] It was possible, for example, for the artist to offer his patron Isabella d'Este bronzes made from molds that resulted from a commission for Bishop Ludovico Gonzaga twenty years earlier.[21] Of great help in determining whether a sculpture could possibly be by Antico or even approximately when it was made are numerous letters mentioning his works, and inventories that seem to describe extant ones: the inventories of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga (1496), Isabella d'Este (1542), Federico II Gonzaga (1542), and Duke Ferdinand Gonzaga (1627).[22] Also useful is the inventory of the Archduke Leopold Wilhelm (1659), who purchased a number of works from Charles I of England, who had, in turn, acquired them from Mantua.[23]

Letters, inventories, technique, and style have allowed for the definition of a relatively small, homogeneous group of works generally accepted as being by the hand of Antico: eight medals, one vase, a handful of plaquettes and roundels, a significant but still small array of bronze statuettes, and six bronze busts. It has even proven possible to provide a plausible chronology for many of the statuettes.[24] The medals, which were formerly all grouped around the year 1479, have recently been shown to vary in the degree of their classicizing and the content of their iconography, suggesting a broader dating range.[25] Finally, and most relevant to our subject, James Draper has offered a chronology of Antico's busts, including the *Young Marcus Aurelius.*[26]

According to Draper, the earliest extant bust by Antico is his *Marcus Aurelius* in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich. This bust is viewed as a "relatively rigid frontal portrait" and the decorations on the cuirass are related to the Gonzaga Vase of circa 1479. The *Bacchus* and *Ariadne* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, are more advanced in their psychology and, we might add, more pliant. A bust of Antoninus Pius in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, is recognizably later by virtue of its technical skill. This is followed by what Draper has identified reasonably as a bust of the young Hercules (fig. 6), which is yet more assured in handling than the *Antoninus Pius* and more profound in psychology than the earlier works. The Boston Museum of Fine Art's *Cleopatra* has the most complex drapery forms of the group and, like the Liechtenstein bust, has an introspective air (fig. 7). The Getty Museum's *Young Marcus Aurelius* is regarded as the latest in date of these Antico busts, showing a looser handling of the hair than the *Young Hercules* and the *Cleopatra.* Although the identity of the subject of the Getty Museum's bust was unknown to Draper, he

20. The seminal study on Antico's casting methods is R. E. Stone, "Antico and the Development of Bronze Casting in Italy at the End of the Quattrocento," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 16 (1981), pp. 87–116.

21. Rossi (note 18), pp. 190–191.

22. Most of these letters and inventories were published by the two pioneers of Antico research, Rossi and Hermann (notes 18, 13).

23. A Berger, "Inventar der Kunstsammlung des Erzherzogs Leopold Wilhelm von Osterreich," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 1, pt. 2 (1883), pp. 79–177.

24. A. F. Radcliffe, "Antico and the Mantuan Bronze," *Splendours of the Gonzaga,* exh. cat. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1981), pp. 44–49, 132–139.

25. A. H. Allison, "Antico's Medals for the Gonzaga," *The Medal,*

Figure 6. Antico. *Young Hercules (Bust of a Youth),* after 1519. Bronze. Vaduz, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein 535.

Figure 7. Antico. *Cleopatra,* after 1519. Bronze. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 64.3174. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts.

saw in it a psychology different from that of the *Young Hercules,* one characterized more by thoughtfulness than by the self-absorbed dreaminess of the *Young Hercules.* This thoughtfulness is, of course, a legendary characteristic of Marcus Aurelius, the Emperor-Philosopher.

This chronology is a reasonable one and suggests a logical and smooth progression in Antico's style: from the almost naive classicism of the first *Marcus Aurelius,* to the mastery of technique witnessed in the three works that follow it, to the psychological understanding conveyed in the *Young Hercules* and *Cleopatra,* and, finally, to the greater, freer naturalism of the *Young Marcus Aurelius,* where nudity replaces the decorativeness of busy drapery forms.[27] All things considered, however, the works seem to fall into two stylistic groups, with the first *Marcus Aurelius* standing quite separate from the other busts. As Draper has pointed out, a letter of 1519 suggests two main phases for Antico's production of busts: one around 1499, when he is known to have been at work on a bust of Scipio for Bishop Ludovico Gonzaga, and another beginning around 1519, when he indicated to Isabella d'Este that he had found a way of improving upon the busts he had made for the bishop.[28] It is conceivable that the early *Marcus Aurelius* was made for the bishop in the late 1490s. The *Ariadne,* the *Cleopatra,* and probably the *Young Hercules* (if Draper's identification is correct) can be traced back to Mantua through the Gonzaga inventories, and were probably made for Isabella d'Este. These could have formed part of the decorations of her

no. 9 (1986), pp. 9–13.

26. J. Draper, in *Liechtenstein: The Princely Collections,* exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1985), pp. 209–212, no. 133, and, for the expanded version that includes the Getty Museum's bust, *Die Bronzen der Fürstichen Sammlung Liechtenstein,* exh. cat. (Liebieghaus, Frankfurt, 1987), pp. 257–260, no. 58.

27. I have chosen not to include the four heads discovered in the Seminario in Mantua that are claimed to be by Antico but that seem not to fit into the breadth of works framed by the early *Marcus Aurelius* and the late *Young Marcus Aurelius.* See A. H. Allison, "Four New Busts by Antico," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 20 (1976), pp. 213–224.

28. Draper (note 26), p. 211. For the original letter, see Rossi (note 18), p. 182.

grotto, where she displayed several of Antico's bronze statuettes. Although the *Bacchus, Antoninus Pius,* and *Young Marcus Aurelius* are not mentioned in Gonzaga inventories, a 1542 inventory of Isabella's grotto mentions "seventeen figures and half-lengths and modern and antique heads of bronze."[29] While the *Young Marcus Aurelius* bears no traces of gilding, unlike the other five busts in the group to which it appears to belong stylistically, it should be noted that, at least with regard to Antico's small statuettes, Isabella d'Este seems to have preferred ungilded bronzes.[30] Wherever the *Young Marcus Aurelius* was displayed, because of the rougher working of the back of the hair, it was probably placed against a wall or in a niche. With regard to the latter, it should be noted that the chest protrudes significantly from the head and shoulders, indicating that the lower portion of the bust may have been intended to jut out from and over a supporting molding.[31] One such example of this manner of placement is Andrea Mantegna's self-portrait in the Basilica of San Andrea, Mantua.

Although the early provenance of the *Young Marcus Aurelius* may always remain a mystery, some words should be said about its nineteenth-century provenance. As stated previously, the bust was in the hands of the Venetian art dealer Antonio Sanquirico in 1831. A print of the work gave as the provenance "Palazzo Grimani," a distinguished provenance that links the bust to four centuries of renowned art collecting by a single family.

In the sixteenth century the Grimani family's collection was housed in a palazzo near Santa Maria Formosa. Although the collection included modern works, it was renowned for being the largest and most illustrious collection of antiquities in Venice. The antique portion of the collection became the nucleus of the present-day Museo Archaeologico when Giovanni Grimani, Patriarch of Aquilea, bequeathed roughly two hundred works to the Venetian Republic in 1593.[32] These antiquities joined another small group bequeathed to the Republic in 1523 by Cardinal Domenico Grimani.[33] As Giovanni planned, a public museum known as the Statuario Pubblico was established for the display of these antiquities in the *antisala* of the Marciana, thereby forming one of the western world's earliest public museums. Both Grimani legacies remained intact. The well-documented and well-illustrated history of these antique portions of the family's collections offers little information concerning the Getty bust, however, since as a modern work it did not form part of either one. Nevertheless we are at least assured of a refined taste for the antique and antique subjects, such as Roman emperors, on the part of the Grimani family since the sixteenth century.

Only recently has research begun on those portions of the Grimani collections which were not bequeathed to the Venetian Republic.[34] Since both Domenico and Giovanni's bequests stipulated that Venice should receive only the antique works, the modern ones collected by the Grimanis in the sixteenth century presumably remained in the palazzo at Santa Maria Formosa and were passed down from generation to generation. Indeed, even denuded of its antiquities, the Palazzo Grimani remained a showplace for art with an international reputation in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Nor do the collections appear to have been substantially reduced before 1820; in fact one of the last Grimani heirs, Giovanni Carlo Grimani (1739–1806), added significantly to the collections. However, it is known that Giovanni Carlo's son, Michele Grimani (d. 1865), sold off the family's long-accumulated heritage in the 1820s, and the *Young Marcus Aurelius* must have come into the possession of Sanquirico shortly afterwards. Friedrich Thiersch was one of the last visitors to the Palazzo Grimani before this happened. Unfortunately, his long description of the fabulous Grimani treasures does not include the *Young Marcus Aurelius;* this is probably due to his own tendency to group enormous displays of busts into single-sentence descriptions, but also possibly due to the fact that a large portion of these private collections was not accessible to visitors.[35] It remains to be seen whether research through Grimani inventories of the seventeenth through the nineteenth century will cast further light on the *Young Marcus Aurelius.* For now, we can only be relatively certain that the work's last traceable owner before it entered the hands of Sanquirico was Michele Grimani.

Cheektowaga, New York

29. Hermann (note 13), p. 216.

30. Radcliffe (note 24), p. 49.

31. I am grateful to R. Stone for this perception.

32. M. Perry, "The Statuario Publico of the Venetian Republic," *Saggi memorie di storia dell'arte* 8 (1972), pp. 74–253.

33. M. Perry, "Cardinal Domenico Grimani's Legacy of Ancient Art to Venice," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), pp. 215–244.

34. I. Favoretto, " 'Uno tribuna rica di marmi . . . :' Appunti per una storia delle collezioni dei Grimani di Santa Maria Formosa," *Aquileia nostra* 55 (1984), pp. 205–240; M. Perry, "A Renaissance Showplace of Art: The Palazzo Grimani di Santa Maria Formosa, Venice," *Apollo* (April, 1982), pp. 215–221.

35. F. Thiersch, *Riesen in Italien seit 1822* (Leipzig, 1826), pp. 249–258.

A Newly Acquired Bronze by Girolamo Campagna

Peggy Fogelman and Peter Fusco

Girolamo Campagna (1549/50–1625) was one of the leading Venetian sculptors of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In 1603 the Abbot Brunetti—agent of Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere of Urbino, who was a patron of the artist—wrote of Campagna: "[N]ot only here, but perhaps also in the rest of Italy a better [sculptor] could not be found."[1] Apparently, the artist himself was not guilty of false modesty. By his own account Campagna's early relief sculpture in the Basilica del Santo, Padua (1574–1576), compared favorably with sculpture by "the principal men of the world," such as Jacopo Sansovino and Tullio and Pietro Lombardo.[2] The success of the Santo relief, which fulfilled the commission originally assigned to Campagna's late teacher Danese Cattaneo (1509–1573), launched the young sculptor on a prolific and profitable career and earned him the much-sought-after contract for the high altar of the basilica: "[I]n recompense for [my] good and honorable service they put me, and not Vittoria or so many other competitors, in charge of making the high altar and tabernacle."[3] This was only one of several commissions that Campagna won despite tough competition from artists like Alessandro Vittoria (1525–1608). By 1604, according to Brunetti, Campagna's reputation and standing relative to his fellow sculptors was such that he could select his own commissions, and even ducal patrons treated him with deference.[4] Although his major works are the subject of a relatively recent monographic study,[5] little is known about Campagna as a maker of small bronzes, and his work of this type, if indeed he produced much of it, has yet to be clearly distinguished from that of his contemporaries Tiziano Aspetti (1565–1607), Niccolò Roccatagliata (active 1593–1636), Francesco Segala (1557–1593[?]), and Vittoria.[6]

In 1986 the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a bronze infant that had recently sold at auction with an ambitious attribution to Alessandro Vittoria.[7] However, on the basis of comparison with Campagna's documented works there can be little doubt that the Museum's *Infant* (figs. 1a–d) is by Campagna. Among the figures in Campagna's documented sculptural complexes, those most closely related to the Museum's *Infant* are the two mitre-bearing angels or putti above the figure of *Saint Anthony Abbot* on the Altare degli Orefici (executed 1603–1607) in San Giacomo di Rialto, Venice (fig. 3).[8] The Museum's *Infant* shares with them similar idiosyncratic physiognomical and anatomical features: a high forehead framed by piled-up curls that bulge at the top and above the ears; heavily lidded eyes; distinctive heart-shaped lips; a small but aggressively projecting chin; a marked infantile corpulence, especially pronounced in the swelling cheeks and in the thick neck, ankles, and legs, where it causes the skin to form deep

1. G. Gronau, *Documenti artistici urbinati* (Florence, 1936), p. 40: "che . . . non solamente qui, ma forse anco nel resto d'Italia non si troverebbe il migliore."

2. In a letter from Campagna to Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere dated June 19, 1604. The letter was written in response to criticism of Campagna's model for the statue of Duke Federico da Montefeltro commissioned by Duke Francesco for the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino. Gronau (note 1), p. 244.

3. Gronau (note 1), p. 244: "in ricompenso del buono et honorevol servitù mi diede carico a me et non al Vittoria, nè a tanti altri, che concorreuano, di far l'Altar Maggiore et tabernacolo. . . ."

4. In a letter of July 12, 1604, from Brunetti to Duke Francesco Maria II della Rovere of Urbino, again concerning the commission for the statue of Duke Federico da Montefeltro. Quoted in G. Gronau, "Die Statue des Federigo di Montefeltro in herzoglichen Palast von Urbino," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 3 (1919–1932), pp. 258–259.

5. W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna* (Munich, 1972).

6. For recent attributions of small bronzes to Campagna, see G. Mariacher, *Bronzetti veneti del Rinascimento* (Vicenza, 1971); J. Draper in *Highlights of the Untermeyer Collection*, exh. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1977), no. 115; L. Camins, *Renaissance and Baroque Bronzes from the Abbott Guggenheim Collection*, exh. cat. (The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1988), nos. 13 and 15; sale catalogue, Christie's, London, April 20, 1988, lot 92.

7. See the sale catalogue, *Succession Jean Davray,* Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 14–15, 1986, lot 90. The bronze was purchased at auction by Alain Moatti, who believed it to be a work by Campagna. The statue had been published previously as a *Cupid* by Alessandro Vittoria in an undated, anonymous booklet, *A Statue in Bronze of Eros by Allesandro [sic] Vittoria* (New York, privately printed).

8. Other stylistically similar works by Campagna include the bronze angel accompanying Saint Matthew on the high altar complex of S. Giorgio Maggiore (1592–1593) and the marble angels and Christ child of the *Madonna and Child with Angels* (1595–1596) in the same church, for which see Timofiewitsch (note 5), pp. 257–262, 263–266, figs. 67, 69, 71–74.

Figure 1a. Girolamo Campagna (Italian, 1549/50–1625). *Infant,* circa 1605–1607. Bronze. H (with base): 88 cm (34⅝ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.SB.734.

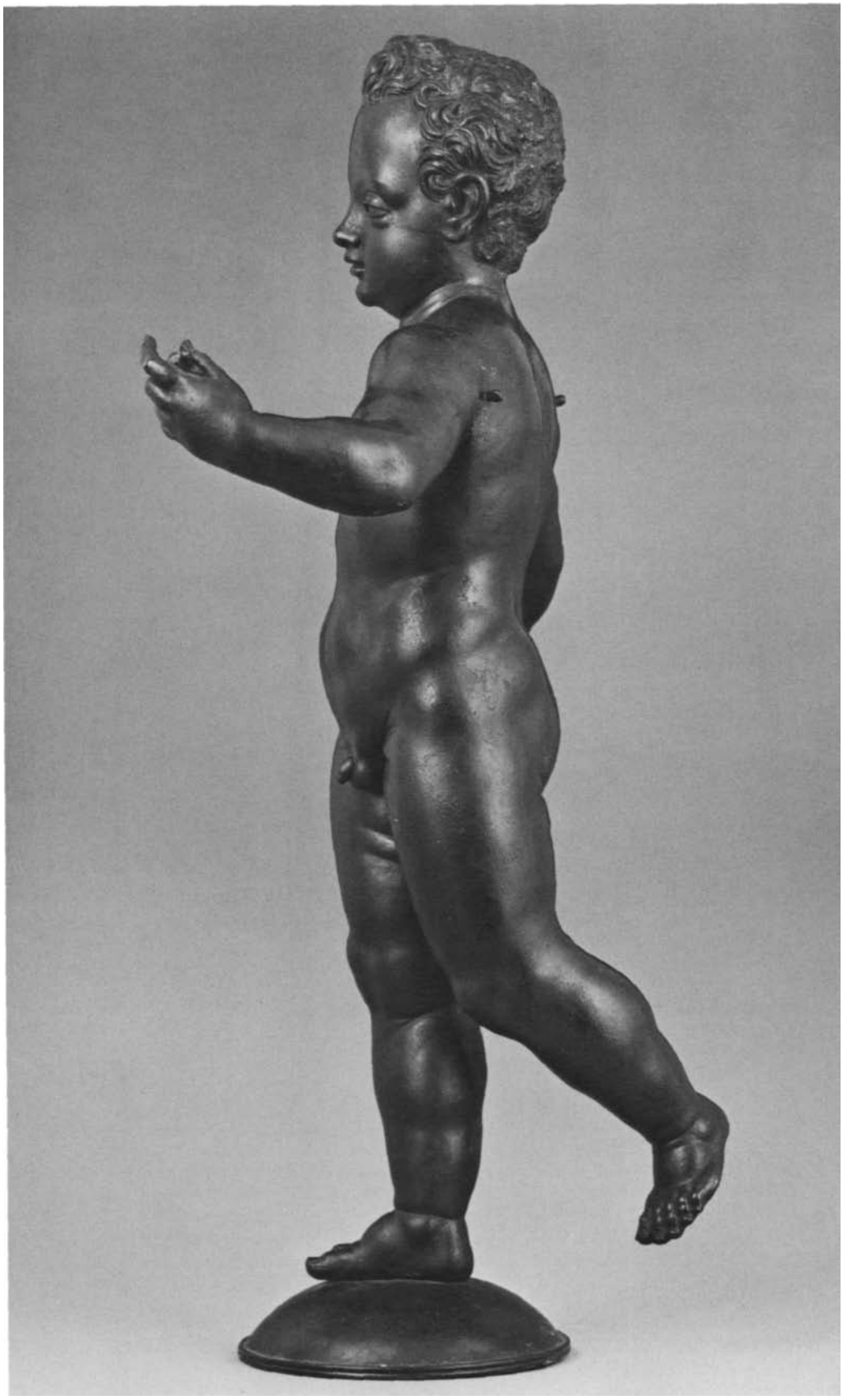

Figure 1b. Side view of figure 1a.

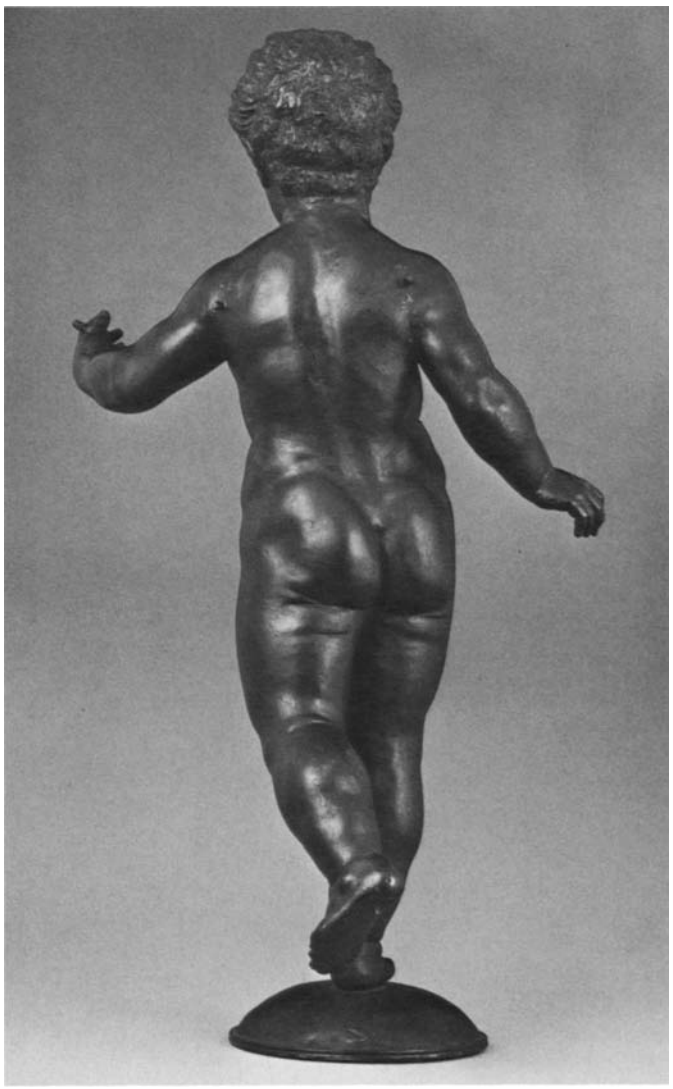

Figure 1c. Back view of figure 1a.

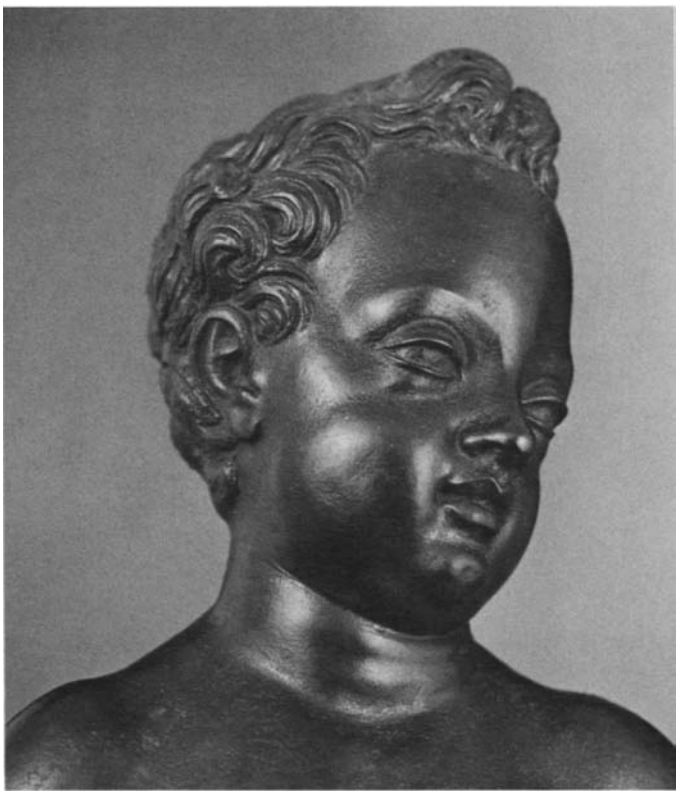

Figure 1d. Detail of figure 1a.

creases; and a degree of abstraction or generalization in certain parts of the anatomy, for example, the pneumatic legs. Despite the corpulence of the *Infant*'s juvenile physique and its violently undulating musculature, the overall impression of his movement is graceful, effortless, even delicate. As with the artist's winged putti or angels, the *Infant* appears to move like a junior weight-lifter in an underwater ballet.

On the basis of documents first published by Cessi in 1934 and supplemented by Timofiewitsch in 1963–1965, the progress of the Altare degli Orefici can be traced almost from beginning to end.[9] The mitre angels date from 1605 to around 1607.[10] In the absence of further documentation on the Museum's *Infant* itself, this seems to be the most plausible date for it.

9. R. Cessi, "L'altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo di Rialto," *Rivista di Venezia* 13 (1934), pp. 251–254; W. Timofiewitsch, "Der Altar der 'Scuola degli Orefici' in S. Giacomo di Rialto in Venedig," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 11 (1963–1965), pp. 287–291. The goldsmith's guild obtained permisson in April 1601 from Doge Marino Grimani to erect an altar there dedicated to their patron saint, Anthony Abbot. The idea for a permanent altar for the religious observances and celebrations of the guild probably originated a few years earlier, when the guild began acquiring building materials (Cessi, p. 251). As documentary evidence shows, the design for the complex was entrusted to Vincenzo Scamozzi, who had completed most of the work by September 1602. The first mention of Campagna occurs in October 1602, when he was presumably called in to modify and complete the remaining details of Scamozzi's project, executing two marble angels in the corners above the central lunette (Cessi, p. 252). Campagna went on to produce the principal figure of the altar, a bronze statue of Saint Anthony Abbot, between 1604 and 1605 (Timofiewitsch [this note], p. 291).

10. Timofiewitsch (note 9), p. 291.

11. The hemispherical base (approx. 6 cm high) on which the statue now stands is not original to it. The undated, anonymous publication (note 7) reproduces a photograph of the figure standing on what appears to be a rough stone pedestal, without the bronze hemispherical base.

12. Examples include: the much-copied marble Christ child holding a crown of thorns by Desiderio da Settignano in S. Lorenzo, Florence (see I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano* [Milan, 1962], pp. 217f, 289–292); the benedictory Christ child atop an altarpiece by Andrea Ferrucci, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (J. Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum* [London, 1964], vols. 1, pp. 179–181; 3, pl. 173); another Christ child crowning a tabernacle by Andrea Ferrucci, also in

The setting for which the *Infant* was made is not known. However, its size, the treatment of its surface, and its pose indicate that it comes from an architectural context such as a tomb or altar complex. Nearly eighty-two centimeters high,[11] the sculpture is larger than most Venetian table or cabinet bronzes. The back of the figure, especially the hair, is less finished than the front, suggesting that the sculpture was meant to be placed against a wall. Screwed into the back of the *Infant*'s shoulders after casting are two bronze knobs, which may have been used for the attachment of wings or to secure the figure to the wall. Invariably on Venetian monuments of the period, flanking infants mirror each other in pose and direct their gazes in toward, or out from, a central figure, which they frame. The frontal pose and straightforward gaze of the Museum's *Infant* imply that he was to be placed in the center of a complex, however. The attribute once held in the *Infant*'s left hand—evidenced by the position of his fingers and the rough surface and excess bronze material on his palm, where it would have been attached—is lost, leaving his identity open to question. Moving forward to hold up the now-lost attribute, he most immediately brings to mind the figures of the Infant Christ commonly employed to crown Renaissance altars and tombs.[12] The closest parallel in Campagna's oeuvre is the nude male infant, also cast in bronze, which tops the pediment above *Saint Anthony Abbot* on the Altare degli Orefici in San Giacomo di Rialto (fig. 2). The pose of the San Giacomo infant, stepping foward with his left hand raised in front of him, is nearly identical to that of the Museum's bronze. Unpublished inventories of the church of San Giacomo indicate that the figure now on the altar is a replacement.[13] The date of the replica is unknown, but the original was in place at least until 1694, the year of the last dated inventory in which it is specifically described. The inventories inform us that the original crowning infant was an angel (presum-

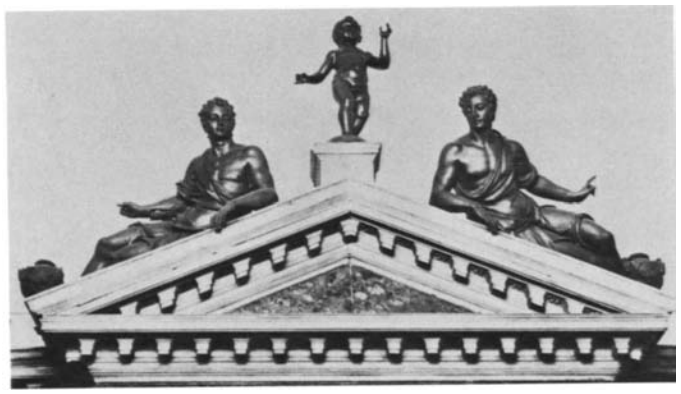

Figure 2. Pediment figures above *Saint Anthony Abbot* (see fig. 3). Bronze. Venice, S. Giacomo di Rialto, Altare degli Orefici. Reproduced from Timofiewitsch (1972), fig. 87. The *Infant* is a later replacement; the reclining figures either lack original attributes or are also replacements.

Figure 3. Girolamo Campagna. *Saint Anthony Abbot,* 1603–1607. Bronze. H (Saint Anthony): 189 cm (74 7/16 in.); H (each mitre angel): 70 cm (27 9/16 in.). Venice, S. Giacomo di Rialto, Altare degli Orefici. Reproduced from W. Timofiewitsch, *Girolamo Campagna* (Munich, 1972), fig. 86.

the Victoria and Albert Museum (Pope-Hennessy, vols. 1, p. 182; 3, pl. 174); the Christ child crowning the Altar of the Sacrament in Santo Spirito, Florence, by Andrea Sansovino (A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana: La scultura del Cinquecento* [Milan, 1935], vol. 10, pt. 1, pp. 123, 127); and an infant Christ on a tabernacle by Antonio Lombardo in San Marco, Venice (Venturi, 1935, vol. 10, pt. 1, p. 389).

13. The authors would like to thank Loredana Puppi for tracing a citation in D. L. Gardani, *La chiesa di S. Giacomo di Rialto: Storia e arte* (Venice, 1966), p. 46, no. 35, to an inventory of the church in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia (Arti, b. 420). Professoressa Puppi discovered four other inventories of the church listing the Altare degli Orefici figures, which she has kindly transcribed and allowed to be published. They are as follows:

> Inventario della mobilia che si atrova nella nostra scola di Oresi, Zogelieri e Malgariteri. . . . [April 12, 1662] . . . Un altar posto nella chiesa di S. Giacomo di Rialto sopra di esso un

ably with wings, of which the figure still *in situ* bears no trace) who carried in his hand a bell, the attribute of Saint Anthony.[14] It is tempting to speculate that the knobs at the back of the Museum's *Infant* are, indeed, attachments for wings, and that he is the original bell-bearing angel once placed on the Altare degli Orefici. However, without further documentary evidence, we must be content simply to place him securely within Campagna's oeuvre.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

Santo Antonio di bronzo con doi angioleti che tien la mitria al detto santo anco esi di bronzo, e doi altri quali serve per tenir le candelle; et sopra il fronte spicio del altar un anzoleto che tien la campanella et doi figure una per parte con le su alle et doi fiame le quali sopra dette cose sono tute di metalo[.]

(Untitled inventory of 1679:)
. . . Un altar posto nella chiesa ducal di San Giacomo di Rialto tutto edificato di pietra viva con quattro collone di serpentin sopra di esso un Santo Antonio in figura tutto di mettalo di bronzo con doi angioletti che tien la mitra in capo al detta Santo et inoltre altri doi angioletti servono per tener dui condelotti et nel frontispicio del altar un altro angioletto tien la campanella del Santo et doi figure distese una per parte con palma in mano et doi fiamme li qualli tutti così sono di metallo di bronzo. Una campanella con suo attacco di fero in opera dorato affissa nel muro serve al detto altar per la officiatura delle messe havendo la sua cendalina sguarda legata[.]

1694. Inventario de mobili e stabili dell'arte Orefici, Gioiellieri, etc. . . . Nela chieza duchale di San Giachomo de Rialto vi sono il nostro altar di marmi fini con due colone di serpentin, sopra del quale vi sono il protetor nostro S. Antonio abate di bronzo fato dal quondam Gierolamo Canpagnia schultor, neli tempi andati famosisimo, e piu di mano del detto di sono quatro angoli due che tengono la mitria al detto nostro protetor e due che servono per medervi le candele per la celebracion dela mesa, e piu nel frontespicio del detto altar un angelo tiene la canpanela per la levazion, e duo figure chon le sue ale e duo fiame il tuto di bronzo, con sua campanela con suo atacho di fero in opera dorato e fiso nel muro e servono per la levazion ale mese con sua sendalina sguarda[.]

(Untitled inventory of 1729:) . . . Un altar di marmo fin con due [corrected to read "quattro"] colone di verde anticho con mensa e parapeto pur di detto marmo fin con statua del nostro protetor S. Antonio abbate di bronzo e mitra pastoral con due angioleti che tengon la mitra con due altri angioleti in forma de candelieri pure tuti di bronzo *con sua canpanela* [these last three words are cancelled out]. Con sopra l'altar 3 figure bronzo.

(Undated: Inventario di mobili che si ritrovano in chiesa di San Giacomo di Rialto, . . .) . . . Un altar nella chiesa suddetta con il Santo Antonio abate di bronzo e quadri che contorna l'altar con due angioli alla mitria e due alle bande e pastoral e mitra di bronzo[.]

Because the descriptions vary from inventory to inventory, it is not clear whether the two reclining figures on the pediment slopes of the altar were winged (*chon ale* or *con alle,* 1662 and 1694), or once held palms (*palma,* 1679), or both. If they originally had wings it is possible that the extant, wingless figures are replacements. The flames, now lost, may once have adorned the bronze vases at the extremities of the pediment.

14. The bell was probably adopted as the attribute of Saint Anthony for mundane enough reasons—it was used to keep track of the herd of pigs raised by the Hospital Brothers of Saint Anthony at Clermont, who had special grazing rights on local property (A. Butler, *Butler's Lives of the Saints* [Westminster, Md., 1981], p. 108). According to the 1694 inventory cited in the previous note, the bell also served to announce the elevation of the Host.

Zum Porträtschaffen des Bildhauers Ernst Rietschel (1804–1861)

Gerd Spitzer

Die Neuerwerbung der Marmorbüste Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys (Abb. 1a, 1b) durch das J. Paul Getty Museum,[1] eine hervorragende Arbeit des Dresdener Bildhauers Ernst Rietschel (1804–1861), gibt Anlaß für einige Bemerkungen zur Person und zum Porträtschaffen dieses Künstlers. Rietschels Oeuvre, das einen wichtigen Beitrag zur deutschen Skulptur des 19. Jahrhunderts darstellt, hat bisher im ganzen wohl noch zu wenig Beachtung gefunden.

Aus der Werkstatt Christian Daniel Rauchs in Berlin hervorgegangen, als dessen bedeutendster Schüler er neben Friedrich Drake (1805–1882) und August Kiß (1802–1865) betrachtet werden darf, wurde Rietschel in Dresden zum Begründer einer eigenen regionalen Bildhauerschule, die im Verlaufe des Jahrhunderts auch weit über die Grenzen Sachsens hinaus Wirksamkeit erreichte.

Ernst Friedrich August Rietschel wurde am 15. Dezember 1804 in der sächsischen Kleinstadt Pulsnitz geboren. Nach einer in Not und Armut verbrachten Kindheit, über die der Künstler später rückblickend in den "Jugenderinnerungen"[2] berichtete, erhielt er, der künstlerisch außergewöhnlich Begabte, 1820 eine Freistelle an der Dresdener Kunstakademie, die er bis 1826 besuchte. Anschließend trat Rietschel in die Werkstatt Christian Daniel Rauchs in Berlin ein, wo er erst seine eigentliche bildnerische Ausbildung erfuhr. Aus dem Lehrer-Schüler-Verhältnis entstand eine lebenslange herzliche Freundschaft und Verbundenheit zwischen den beiden Künstlern. Nach Jahren der Mitarbeit in Rauchs Atelier erhielt Rietschel durch die einflußreiche Fürsprache seines Meisters im Herbst 1831 den Auftrag für das Denkmal König Friedrich Augusts des Gerechten, das in Dresden errichtet werden sollte (enthüllt 1843). Erst die Übertragung dieses Projektes ermöglichte ihm die Begründung einer selbständigen Existenz als Bildhauer. In der Folge der mit Dresden geknüpften Verbindungen, die durch Rauchs Autorität entscheidend gefördert wurden, bekam Rietschel im Herbst 1832 das Angebot einer Professur für Bildhauerei an der Kunstakademie der sächsischen Haupt- und Residenzstadt. Durch die Berufungen Rietschels, Gottfried Sempers (1834), Ludwig Richters (1836) sowie der Düsseldorfer Eduard Bendemann und Julius Hübner (1838 und 1839) erhielt die Lehranstalt gerade in jenen Jahren eine neue Geltung. Rietschel reformierte die Ausbildung der Bildhauerschüler in Dresden im Sinne seines eigenen künstlerischen Schaffens, das eine den akademisch normierten Klassizismus aufhebende, um ein lebensvolleres Wirklichkeitsverhältnis bemühte Bildnerei zum Ziel hatte. Mit seiner Berufung wurden die Grundlagen für den Aufschwung Dresdens zu einem Zentrum der Bildhauerkunst des 19. Jahrhunderts geschaffen. Vor allem Rietschels Denkmalsgestaltungen mit ihrer individuellen Gegenwärtigkeit des historisch gesehenen Helden haben in der Skulptur des 19. Jahrhunderts maßstabgebende Akzente gesetzt und zu einer dauerhaften Wertschätzung des Künstlers beigetragen. Hervorzuheben sind das Goethe-Schiller-Denkmal vor dem Nationaltheater in Weimar (enthüllt 1857), mit dem Rietschels Name wohl seit jeher am engsten verbunden blieb, und das Lessing-Denkmal in Braunschweig (enthüllt 1853), das von den Zeitgenossen als ein epochemachendes Werk begeistert begrüßt wurde.

In Deutschland bestellte und ausgeführte Nachgüsse des Goethe-Schiller-Denkmales und des Luther-Standbildes (der Hauptfigur für das Wormser Reformations-Denkmal), die um 1900 in mehreren Städten der USA Aufstellung fanden[3]—hingewiesen sei nur auf das

1. Erworben über den niederländischen Kunsthandel aus dem Besitz der Nachkommen von Mendelssohn (freundliche Mitteilung von Peter Fusco, Curator, Department of Sculpture and Works of Art).

2. Zuerst publiziert in der Lebensbeschreibung des Schwagers und Biographen Rietschels Andreas Oppermann, *Ernst Rietschel* (Leipzig, 1863), 2. Aufl. 1873; seither wiederholte Neuausgaben.

3. Nach den Verzeichnissen der Kunstgießerei Lauchhammer entstanden die Nachgüsse in folgenden Jahren: Luther-Standbilder für Washington (1884) und St. Louis (1903); Goethe-Schiller-Denkmäler für San Francisco (1899), Cleveland (1906) und Milwaukee (1907).

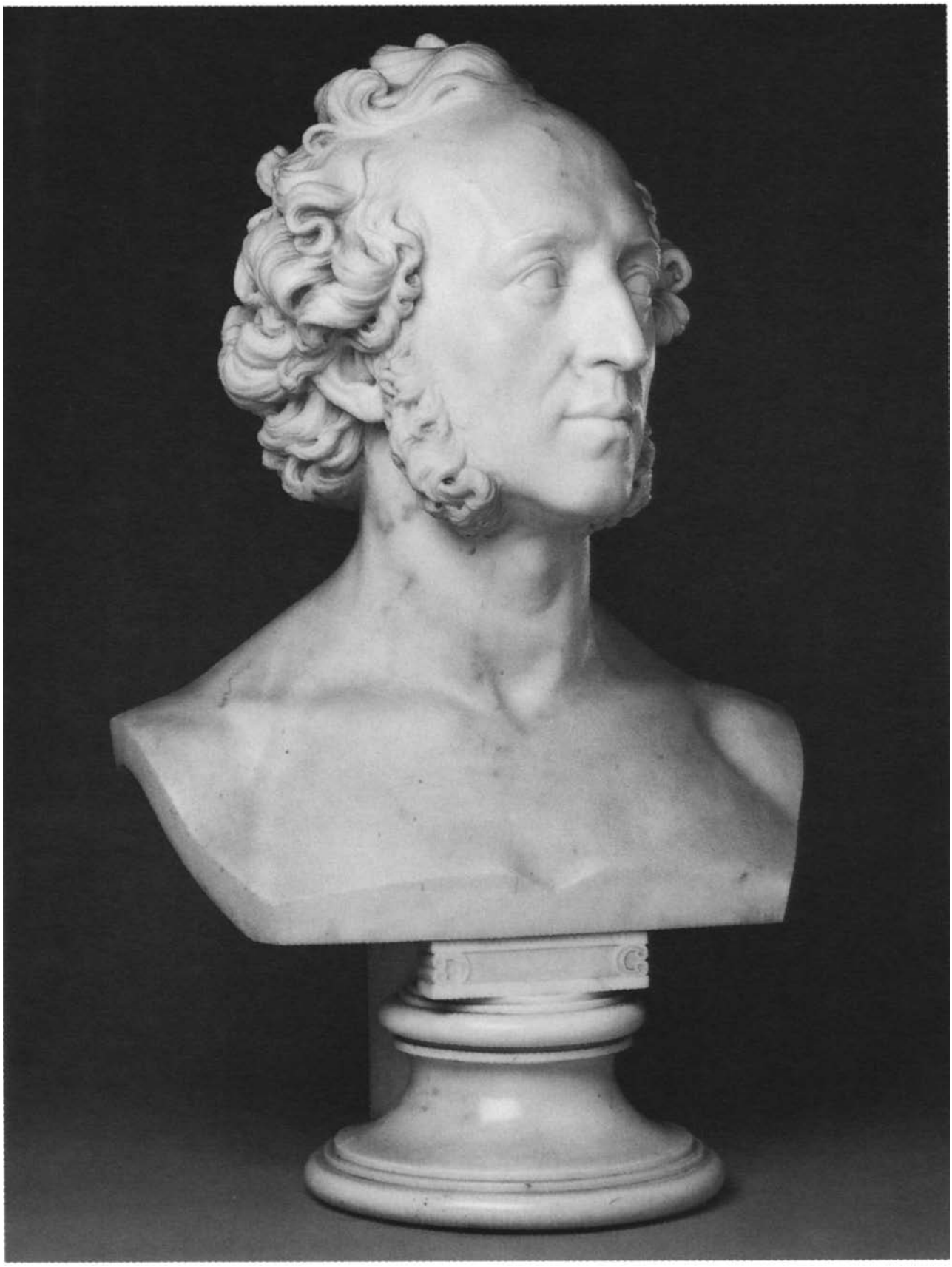

Abb. 1a. Ernst Rietschel (deutscher Bildhauer, 1804-1861). *Bildnisbüste Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, 1848.* Marmor. H: 59,7 cm (23 1/2 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.SA.543.

Standbild des großen Reformators vor der Luther Memorial Church in Washington, D.C., und das Doppeldenkmal der beiden Klassiker aus Weimar im deutschen Teil der Parkanlagen von Cleveland—belegen die zeitlose Popularität, die jene für ein gültiges Bild der Geistesheroen so prägenden Monumente Rietschels noch am Ende des an ähnlichen Standbildern gewiß nicht armen Säkulums über Europa hinaus besaßen.

Für die Geschichtsschreibung zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts von allgemeinerem Interesse können wohl auch die spezifischen kunsttheoretischen Orientierungen Rietschels sein, der sich in den 30er Jahren intensiv mit Hegelscher Philosophie und namentlich mit dessen "Ästhetik" auseinandersetzte.[4]

Es war 1856 der Wunsch des alternden Rauch, daß Rietschel sein Lebenswerk in Berlin fortsetzen möge, doch der inzwischen auch international beachtete Bildhauer hatte bereits früher verlockende Lehrangebote aus München und Wien zugunsten der zunächst mühsam errungenen und zudem bei weitem nicht so glanzvollen Dresdener Existenz ausgeschlagen. 1857, nach dem Tode Rauchs, wurde Rietschel als dessen Nachfolger und auf Vorschlag Alexander von Humboldts die Friedensklasse des preußischen Ordens "Pour le mérite" für Wissenschaften und Künste verliehen und der Künstler damit zum offiziell anerkanntesten deutschen Bildhauer erwählt. Nur wenige Jahre später, am 21. Februar 1861, starb Ernst Rietschel im Alter von 56 Jahren in Dresden an einem schon lange zehrenden Lungenleiden, herausgerissen aus der Arbeit an seinem bis dahin umfangreichsten Werk, dem Reformationsdenkmal für Worms (enthüllt 1868), dessen Vollendung er seinen Schülern Adolf Donndorf (1835–1916) und Gustav Kietz (1826–1908) übertragen mußte. Nächst den Standbildern bürgerlicher Geisteshelden, mit denen Rietschel zweifelsohne am wirkungsreichsten zur Geschichte der Skulptur im 19. Jahrhundert beitrug, sind es seine zahlreichen Bildnisbüsten und Porträtmedaillons, die ihn als einen talentierten und hochgeschätzten Porträtisten der Bildnerei des zweiten Jahrhundertdrittels hervortreten lassen. Rietschel besaß eine ausgezeichnete Fähigkeit, sich weitmöglichst in die Persönlichkeit und das Charakterbild des Darzustellenden einzufinden, so daß Bildnisse von überzeugender Lebenswirklichkeit entstanden. Für die Porträtkunst kam ihm eine besondere zeichnerische Begabung, der wache Blick für das Erfassen der wesentlichen physiognomischen Details zugute, der in den frühen Porträtzeichnungen der 20er und 30er Jahre gut zu beobachten ist. Rauchs Schule eines klassizistischen Porträts, bei dem "die realistische Anlage des Menschenbildes durch den Anspruch der Allgemeingültigkeit ins Ideale erhöht wird" (Peter Bloch),[5] war das Fundament, auf dem Rietschel auch hierin seine eigenständige künstlerische Tätigkeit in Dresden aufbauen konnte. Die Aufträge für Porträtbüsten, die oft in Gips, seltener in dem kostspieligen Marmor bestellt und ausgeführt wurden, trugen in den ersten Jahren nach der Berufung in die Elbestadt 1832 nicht unwesentlich zu der eher mühevollen Etablierung bei, da es an großen öffentlichen Aufgaben hier vorerst und mehr als andernorts—etwa in München oder Berlin—mangelte. Die Büsten und Bildnismedaillons, die Rietschel in den drei fruchtbaren Dresdener Jahrzehnten schuf, ließen ihn zum anerkannten Porträtisten des sächsischen Bildungsbürgertums der Zeit avancieren. Viele namhafte Geistesgrößen sind durch seine Werke in einer gültigen, bildhaften Form in die Überlieferung eingegangen. Zu nennen wären unter anderen Carl August Böttiger, Joseph Thürmer, Carl Gustav Carus, Sophie Schröder-Devrient, Ferdinand Hiller, Moritz von Schwind, Clara und Robert Schumann, Wilhelm Crusius, Berthold Auerbach, Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Karl Gutzkow, Eduard und Emil Devrient, Franz Liszt, Bernhard von Lindenau, Christian Daniel Rauch, Eduard Bendemann und Johann Gottlob von Quandt.

Unter den Porträtbüsten sind es zwei Werke, die einer besonderen Hervorhebung bedürfen, die Bildnisse Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys und Christian Daniel Rauchs, die beide—ungewöhnlich in Rietschels Oeuvre sonst—jeweils dreimal in Marmor ausgeführt wurden.

Vorzugsweise die Rauch-Büste (Abb. 2) hat bereits im 19. Jahrhundert sehr zum allgemeinen Ruhm des Bildhauers beigetragen. Rietschel trug sich lange, ernsthafter seit dem Frühjahr 1856, mit dem Gedanken, ein plastisches Bildnis seines verehrten Lehrers und väterlichen Freundes zu schaffen. Der angegriffene Gesundheitszustand Rauchs verhinderte einen für diesen Zweck bereits in Aussicht genommenen Aufenthalt in Dresden, mahnte aber auch zu größerer Eile, und so reiste Rietschel im Januar 1857 nach Berlin, um das Vorhaben endlich in die Tat umzusetzen. In weniger als 14 Tagen war das Bildnis vollendet, das zunächst in Dresden und Berlin, bald aber auch außerhalb der deutschen Länder außerordentliches Aufsehen erregte und in seltener Ein-

4. Hierzu ausführlicher: G. Spitzer, "Studien zu Ernst Rietschel," Phil. Diss., Greifswald, 1983 (ungedruckt).

5. P. Bloch und W. Grzimek, *Das klassische Berlin. Die Berliner Bildhauerschule im 19. Jahrhundert* (Frankfurt a.M., Berlin(-West) und Wien, 1978), Sp. 107.

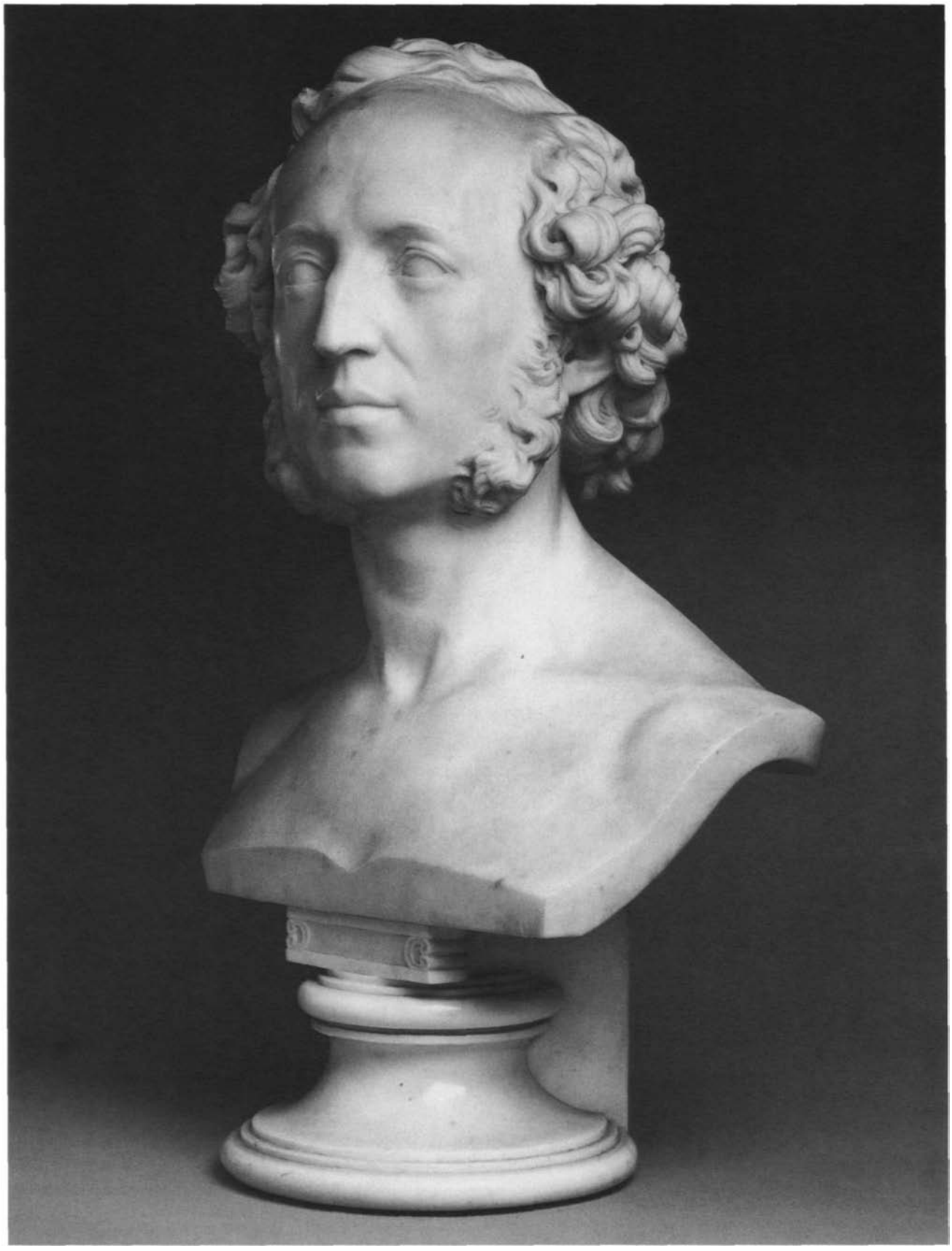

Abb. 1b. Eine zweite Ansicht von Bild 1a.

stimmigkeit überall höchstes Lob hervorrief. Rietschel ließ das Modell im Frühjahr 1857 von Wiesing in Dresden abformen und in mehreren Gipsexemplaren vervielfältigen, ohne daß die große Nachfrage damit schon gedeckt werden konnte. Die glanzvolle Beurteilung durch Alexander von Humboldt, dem Rietschel im Mai 1857 das Bildnis "Ihres ältesten u. hochgeschätzten Freundes"[6] übersandte, steht für andere, gleichermaßen hochlobende Stimmen: "Etwas Herrlicheres in der Sculptur der menschlichen Gesichtsbildung ist mir nie vor Augen gekommen; da ist der höchste Naturalismus an Treue im einzelnen, dabei zugleich großartig belebt, tief im Ausdruck des Innern, wie der Mann selbst herrschend, scharfbetont und doch voll heiterer gutmüthlicher Milde. Der Hals, der Schwung der Haare, am Stirnanwuchse von reinstem Geschmack."[7]

Die Arbeitsweise Rietschels bei der Modellierung dieser Büste erscheint wie ein bildhaftes Gleichnis seines künstlerischen Werdeganges und seiner individuellen bildnerischen Auffassung. Bereits Ende 1856 bat er Rauch im Hinblick auf das beabsichtigte Porträt um "einen Ausdruck von Thon aus der Form Ihrer früheren Büste oder, wenn dies nicht angeht, eine angelegte Copie . . . , damit ich gleich eine treffliche Unterlage habe,"[8] wie er bei der Wiederholung des Wunsches kurz vor Antritt der bevorstehenden Reise nach Berlin formulierte. Die Vermutung liegt nahe, daß mit der bereits vorhandenen Büste das Selbstbildnis Rauchs von 1828 gemeint sei. Einen Tonabdruck dieses Porträts "als rohe Anlage benutzend, die neue Büste nach dem Leben"[9] modellierend, hat Rietschel, wie Rauchs Tagebuch berichtet, das Bildnis geschaffen. Über die ebenmäßig glatten, idealisch gestrafften Züge des Selbstporträts legte er die lebensvollere physiognomische Hülle des inzwischen beträchtlich Gealterten. Die hohe, gewölbte Stirn, die tief gezogenen Augenbrauen, Nasen- und Kinnpartie wie auch die Spannung des Schulter- und Halsansatzes lassen das Kernbild noch durchscheinen. Durch die hervortretenden Adern an den Schläfen, die weich schwingenden Wellen der Falten um Stirn und Mund, die fleischigen, schwerer lastenden Hautpartien an den Wangen und den sehnigen Hals gewinnt aber dieses klassische Grundmuster im rhythmischen Wechsel von Licht und Schatten an Lebendigkeit und Wirklichkeitsnähe. Die "jupitergleich" aufgetürmten, sturmtrotzenden Locken, der entschlossene, in die Ferne

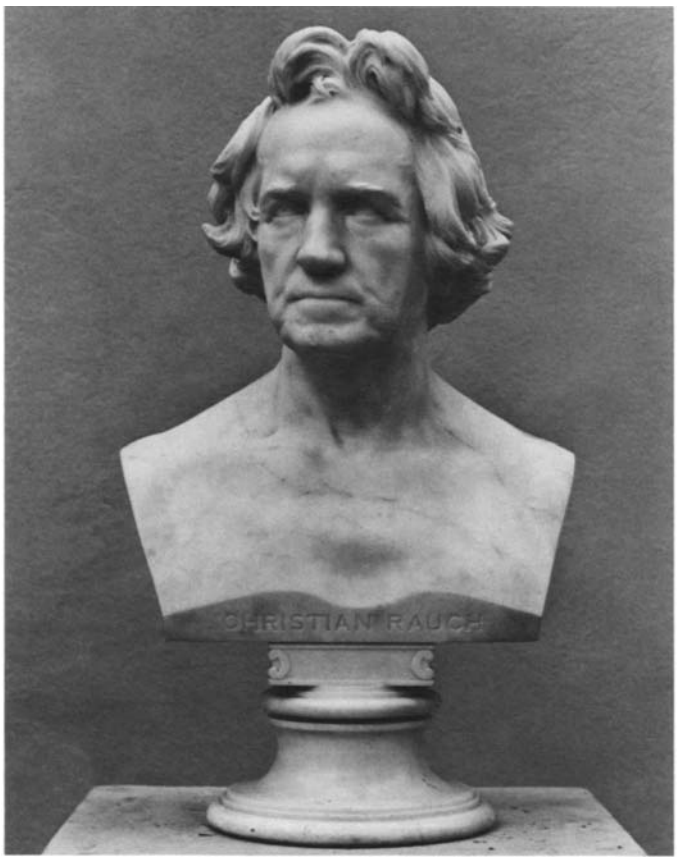

Abb. 2. E. Rietschel. *Bildnisbüste Christian Daniel Rauch,* 1857. Marmor. H: 66,8 cm (26 1/4 in.). Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV3083.

weisende Blick, die aufrechte, noch kraftvolle Kopfhaltung sprechen von der Lebensleistung und dem Charakter eines der angesehensten Künstler seiner Zeit. Erhabenheit liegt nicht in der zeitlosen Schönheit, sondern in der zeitlosen Gültigkeit eines solchen Charakterbildes begründet, sie resultiert aus der Summe von geistiger und körperlicher Existenz. Porträtähnlichkeit ist nicht nur äußere, sondern gleichsam auch innere Wahrheit.

Die überschwenglichen Lobesäußerungen zu dem vielgepriesenen Werk erreichten mitunter geradezu groteske Höhen. Fraustadt, ein ehemaliger Schüler Rietschels an der Dresdener Akademie, schrieb ihm 1860 aus Antwerpen über die dort aufgestellte dritte Marmorfassung der Rauch-Büste:[10]

6. Brief Rietschels vom 8. Mai 1857. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, App. 292, Nr. 205a.

7. Zitiert nach Oppermann (Anm. 2), S. 322f.

8. Brief an Rauch vom 1. Januar 1857. K. Eggers, Hrsg., *Briefwechsel zwischen Rauch und Rietschel,* Bd. 2 (Berlin, 1891), S. 545.

9. Notiz im Tagebuch Rauchs unter dem 13. Januar 1857. Eggers (Anm. 8), Bd. 2, S. 546.

10. Nach der bei Oppermann (Anm. 2) publizierten Werkaufstellung 1859 "für die Akademie nach Antwerpen." Heute im Besitz des Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen. *Beeldhouwwerken en assemblages 19de en 2Oste eeuw,* Kat. (Antwerpen, 1986), S. 146, K.I.K. 115467-B. Die erste Marmorausführung, nach Oppermann 1857 "für Geheimrath Mendelssohn," wurde 1928 aus dem Besitz der Familie Mendelssohn in Bonn für die Skulpturensammlung Dresden

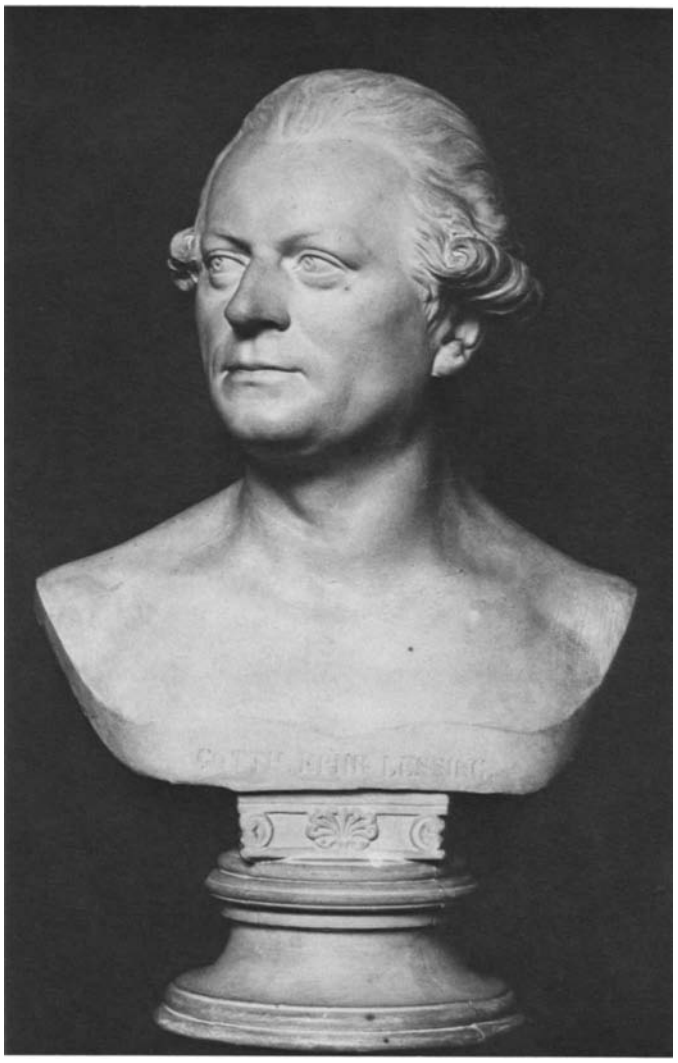

Abb. 3. E. Rietschel. *Bildnisbüste Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,* Studie zum Lessing-Denkmal in Braunschweig, 1848. Gips. H: 46 cm (18 1/8 in.) Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung ZV4084.

> Nicht nur alle Künstler fühlen sich ergriffen von der Wahrheit und hohen Schönheit auch alle gewöhnlichen Menschen sind betroffen von der ergreifenden Lebensfähigkeit dieses vollendeten Kopfes. Es erscheint als wenn man nun erst, in den andren darumstehenden plastischen Werken sähe, daß das gar keine Menschen sind, nur abgerundete Blasen ohne Sinn für Form; und selbst die großen Maler Rubens Jordaens was leiden diese dabei, die Köpfe in ihren Bildern sehen bunten Lappen ähnlich.[11]

Das stete Bemühen um Lebenswahrheit und Wirklichkeitsnähe in Rietschels Bildnissen stieß dann auf Schwierigkeiten, wenn der Porträtauftrag, was nicht selten der Fall war, erst nach dem Tode des Darzustellenden erteilt wurde. Rietschel hat in solchen Fällen neben den überlieferten Porträts nach Möglichkeit die Totenmaske als das letzte authentische Zeugnis der Physiognomie für die Arbeit an dem zu modellierenden Bildnis benutzt. Er beherrschte das Verfahren, das sich womöglich ähnlich wie bei der Rauch-Büste denken läßt, offenbar mit großem Geschick, so daß Bildnisse von frappierender Lebensnähe das Ergebnis waren.

Auch bei der in Gips ausgeführten Lessing-Büste (Abb. 3), die im Frühjahr 1848 als eine Vorstudie für das 1853 in Braunschweig enthüllte Bronzestandbild Gotthold Ephraim Lessings entstand, orientierte sich Rietschel neben den überkommenen bildlichen Darstellungen und Beschreibungen in der Durchbildung der Physiognomie vornehmlich an der 1781 von Christian Friedrich Krull abgenommenen Totenmaske,[12] um weitestmögliche Lebenswahrheit zu erreichen. Wie wichtig eine solche authentische Vorlage für Rietschels Arbeit war, erhellt aus zwei, leider undatierten Briefen Rietschels an Dr. Carl Kraukling, Dresdener Freund des Bildhauers und seit 1839 Direktor des Historischen Museums in der Elbestadt, die offenbar im Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit an jener Büste stehen. Aus dem ersten Schreiben geht hervor, daß Rietschel eine Abformung der Lessing-Maske als unmittelbare Arbeitsvorlage benutzte: "Würde es wohl heut Deine Zeit erlauben, mir Lessings Maske nach dem Atelier zu

(s. Abb. 2) erworben (freundliche Mitteilung von Herrn Direktor Raumschüssel); die zweite, 1858 "für Fürst von Waldeck" enstandene Fassung befindet sich in Schloß Arolsen, Kreis Waldeck/BRD.

11. Brief an Rietschel von F. A. Fraustadt aus Antwerpen, 2. Dezember 1860. Pulsnitz, Heimatmuseum R 19.

12. Vgl. hierzu: K. Arndt, "Lessings Denkmal in Braunschweig und seine Vorläufer. Teil II: Der Weg zu Rietschels Standbild," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte* 23 (1984), inbesondere S. 188ff.

13. Brief Rietschels, ohne Datum. Braunschweig, Stadtarchiv, H VIII A, Nr.3345, 49a. Dem Direktor des Archives, Herrn Dr. Garzmann, ist der Verfasser für freundliche Unterstützung zu besonderem Dank verpflichtet.

14. Brief Rietschels an Direktor Dr. Kraukling, ohne Datum. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Archiv der Nationalgalerie, DIII4299. In einem Brief Rietschels an Rauch vom 17. Juli 1848, in dem er u.a. die Übersendung des Halberstädter Lessing-Bildnisses aus dem Besitze Gleims für Rauchs etwa gleichzeitige Arbeiten am Standbild für das Postament des Friedrichs-Denkmales ankündigte, bot er an: "Die Todtenmaske besitzen Sie wohl, und wäre es nicht der Fall, so schreiben Sie mir, daß ich sie Ihnen schicke." Rauch bedankte sich am 1. Oktober 1848 für die übersandten Lessing-Bildnisse und hob vergleichend die "Grandiosität der Todtenmaske" hervor (Eggers [Anm. 8], Bd. 2, S. 302ff.).

15. Vgl. hierzu: Bloch (Anm. 5), Sp. 138.

16. Daß Rietschel in der Angelegenheit der Mendelssohn-Büste tatsächlich nach Leipzig reiste, geht aus seinen persönlichen Notizen über die finanziellen Aufwendungen für diesen Auftrag hervor, ebenso die Kosten für eine Totenmaske und den Transport mehrerer

bringen. . . . Ich gebe *mein Ehrenwort,* daß Niemand also auch nicht etwas andres dran thut, als die Form für *Einen* zu meiner Büste dienenden Abguß abnehmen."[13] Wohl nur wenig später bat der Bildhauer erneut um die Maske, um eventuelle Korrekturen an dem nun im Entstehen begriffenen Werk vorzunehmen:

> Du wolltest so gütig seyn, u. mit Frau Hofräthin Ebert sprechen, mir das Profil Lessings auf einen Tag nur zu leihen. . . . Auch möchte ich noch einmal Deine Güte wegen der Maske in Anspruch nehmen. Ich bin mit dem Gesicht ziemlich zusammen, u. hätte gern mit dem Zirkel die einzelnen Maase geprüft, daß ich die Ueberzeugung haben kann, es sei im Thonabdruck nichts verändert. Ich habe deshalb Deine Maske nur 10 Minuten nöthig. Kannst Du sie mir selbst bringen? Es thut mir leid, Dich so zu bemühen, doch giebt der Zweck, die Arbeit, mir den Muth dazu.[14]

Auch die Büste Mendelssohn-Bartholdys entstand erst nach dem Tode des Komponisten (gestorben am 4. November 1847 in Leipzig) unter Benützung der Totenmaske;[15] Rietschel hatte den Auftrag von der Familie des Frühverstorbenen erhalten. In einem Schreiben an Rauch vom 9. November 1847, das beiläufig über die derzeitigen Arbeitsvorhaben informierte, berichtete er auch über die neu aufgetane Aussicht und tat zugleich seinen wachsenden Unmut über die zahlreicher an ihn ergehenden ad-mortem-Bildnisaufträge kund:

> Zunächst kommen als Erholung 2 Büsten nach Todtenmasken dran, und wahrscheinlich Mendelssohns Büste, den im Tode noch zu sehn, ich nach Leipzig zu kommen aufgefordert wurde.[16] Warum unterläßt man derlei so viel beim Leben, nach dem Tode berühmter oder geliebter Menschen eilt man und greift nach dem schwächsten Mittel das Bild zu erfassen, das vorher voll und breit und frisch vor den Augen herumgewandelt, und in müßiger Stunde den Gedanken oft hervorrief, wie hübsch es wäre, ein getreues Abbild zu nehmen.[17]

Das Modell zu der Mendelssohn-Büste wurde im Frühjahr 1848 vollendet, Rauch drängte dazu, das Werk zur Ausstellung nach Berlin zu geben, Rietschel antwortete mit dem ihm eigenen, mitunter überkritischen Selbstzweifel: "Mendelssohns Büste will ich schicken, kann sie durch Ihre Güte angemeldet werden? Das ist eine Arbeit die durch ihre Aehnlichkeit viele freuen wird, sonst freilich ist's nicht als Arbeit für den Künstler von Gewicht. Die Büste ist mit Liebe und Mühe gemacht, aber es fehlt die Freiheit, doch in der Aehnlichkeit wird sie genügen."[18]

Die Marmorfassungen der Mendelssohn-Büste entstanden in Berlin, wo durch den florierenden Werkstattbetrieb und die zahlreichen Schüler und Mitarbeiter Rauchs, darunter italienische Spezialisten für die Marmorbearbeitung, bessere Voraussetzungen als in Dresden gegeben waren. Rietschel sandte die nicht sehr zahlreichen Werke, die bei ihm für die Ausführung in Marmor bestellt wurden, als Modelle nach Berlin, um sie dort punktieren und anlegen zu lassen. Er hatte allerdings während der Jahre bei Rauch ausgezeichnete Kenntnisse in der Steinbehandlung erworben und behielt sich die letzte Feinbehandlung zumeist selbst vor.

Mit der ersten Marmorfassung der Mendelssohn-Büste, die im Spätherbst 1848 durch "Hagen und Wolgast" in Berlin ausgeführt wurde, war Rietschel sehr unzufrieden, wie der Korrespondenz mit Rauch zu entnehmen ist.[19] Ein Schreiben Rietschels vom 9. September 1849 an den für Rauchs Werkstatt arbeitenden Gerardo (Cecardo) Gilli, einen Marmorspezialisten, der mehrfach für die Übertragung von Werken Rietschels tätig wurde, gibt vermutlich Hinweise auf die zweite und dritte Marmorausführung:[20]

> Der Marmor zur Mendelssohn Büste ist leider sehr schlecht, in der Brust große gelbe Flecken u. eine Menge weißlicher Stellen, die wenn man sie etwas angreift zu Sandlöchern werden. Die Farbe ist kalt u. bläulich, u. leider einige Punkte im Gesicht tief, besonders aber der an der Schläfe, so daß hier wohl ein anderer als Ihre geübte Hand gearbeitet hat. Ich fürchte mit dieser Büste keinen Beifall zu erndten, u. will nur

Bilder, die er offenbar für den Bildnisauftrag entlieh. Neben den Bildnissen und der Totenmaske standen ihm wohl auch seine eigenen Erinnerungen an das Antlitz des Zeitgenossen für die Formung der Bildnisbüste zur Verfügung.

17. Brief Rietschels vom 9. November 1847. Eggers (Anm. 8), Bd. 2, S. 278.

18. Brief Rietschels vom 31. März 1848. Eggers (Anm. 8), Bd. 2, S. 293.

19. Rauch schrieb am 20. Dezember 1848 an Rietschel: " . . . ich bedaure daß Sie mit der Ausführung der Mendelssohns Büste nicht zufrieden waren wovon ich eine Ahnung dadurch erhielt indem ich den Wolgast auch Haagen ersuchte diese Büste in meinem Atelier fertig zu machen; statt deßen aber dieselbe ohne weiteres abschickten" (Eggers [Anm. 8], Bd. 2, S. 315. Gemeint sind wohl Carl Wolgast und Hugo Hagen, Schüler und Mitarbeiter Rauchs in Berlin. Nach Eggers, Bd. 2, S. 313, gelangte diese Marmorfassung in den "Besitz der Frau Obertribunalrath Oppenheim geb. Mendelssohn."

20. Nach der bei Oppermann (Anm. 2) publizierten, Rietschels eigene Aufzeichnungen benutzenden Werkaufstellung entstanden in den Jahren 1848, 1849 und 1850 drei Marmorausführungen der Mendelssohn-Büste, allerdings wird hier kein Hinweis auf die Auftraggeber oder Adressaten gegeben. Die zweite bisher bekannte Marmorfassung, bezeichnet: "E. Rietschel ad M(ortem) f(ecit) 1848" (Bloch [Anm. 5], Sp. 138, Taf. 167), befindet sich im Mendelssohn-Archiv der Staatsbibliothek Berlin(-West) und wurde 1964 aus dem Nachlaß einer Enkelin Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdys erworben (*Jahrbuch der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz* 3 (1964/65), S. 24f.).

wünschen, daß sichs bei der neuen nicht wiederholt.[21]

Ungeachtet der zögernden Zurückhaltung Rietschels in der eigenen Beurteilung seiner Mendelssohn-Büste fand das Werk unter den Zeitgenossen viel Beifall. Dem Bildhauer war es gelungen, nicht nur das äußere Erscheinungsbild, sondern auch den geistigen Typus, die Sensitivität des Komponisten in das Bildnis zu binden. Der Kopf ist in der leisen Spannung erhöhter Konzentration etwas nach links gewendet, das Antlitz wird von unruhigen Lockenbildungen gerahmt, die kontrastierend die Physiognomie klarer und gesammelter hervortreten lassen. Die hohe, von pulsierenden Äderungen überzogene Stirn, der aufmerksam-prüfende Blick und die sinnlich-weiche Mundpartie geben im Verein mit physiognomischen Details wie der scharf gebogenen Nase und den tiefliegenden Schläfen den Eindruck unmittelbarer Wirklichkeitsnähe, sind aber im Bestreben um die allgemeine Charakterisierung eines durchgeistigten, hochsensiblen Musikergemüts hinter das Maß absoluter Lebensgleichheit zurückgenommen, ohne daß andererseits eine idealisierende Glättung die Züge schönend veränderte. In diesem Spannungsfeld wird man Rietschels Bildnisauffassung vielleicht am besten beschreiben können: gesuchte Wirklichkeitsnähe und lebenswahre Porträtähnlichkeit ohne das Abgleiten in simples Abbilden, diszipliniert durch die in der Rauch-Schule erworbene Formenstrenge,[22] die weniger zu klassizistischem Idealisieren neigt als vielmehr um Verallgemeinerung des individuellen Porträts im Sinne eines gültigen Lebens- und Charakterbildes des jeweils Dargestellten bemüht ist.

Friedrich Pecht hat, bereits in der Rückschau auf die Lebensleistung Rietschels und bei Gelegenheit einer Würdigung der Rauch-Büste, die besondere Qualität seiner Bildniskunst treffend charakterisiert:

> Man kann dieß bewunderungswürdige Werk keck neben die besten antiken Büsten stellen, es wird sich überall behaupten. Diese geschickte Benützung des Stofflichen zur Erhöhung des malerischen Reizes und Lebens wie der Charakteristik, und überhaupt zur Erzeugung der für die Plastik nicht minder als für die Malerei nothwendigen Mannigfaltigkeit und Abwechslung, unterscheidet Rietschel von allen ihm vorausgehenden deutschen Bildhauern, vorab von Hähnel. Auch Rauch übertrifft er darin. Daher sind denn auch nicht nur seine Büsten, sondern auch speziell seine zahlreichen Medaillons bekannter Personen, wie Devrient, Auerbach, Hiller, beider Schumann's, Schwind, Schnorr etc., durchaus vollendete Charakterbilder, von einer ebenso anregenden Kraft, als einer das innerste Wesen auf's Edelste wiedergebenden Charakteristik. Mit hinreißendem Zauber verstehen sie es alle, durch der Dichtung goldenen Schleier die Wahrheit durchschimmern zu lassen.[23]

Dresden

21. Brief Rietschels vom 9. September 1849. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Handschriftensammlung, App. 1191, Nr. 656. Das Schreiben ist adressiert an "Herrn Bildhauer Cecardo Gilli, Berlin, Landsberger Straße No. 99." Gleichzeitig übersandte Rietschel 55 Taler in Papiergeld, davon 28 für Gilli und 27 für den Steinmetzen Cantian.

22. 1855, mitten in der Arbeit am Modell des Goethe-Schiller-Denkmals für Weimar, aber wohl als allgemeine Maxime aufzufassen, schrieb Rietschel an Rauch: "Ich habe immer die große Einfachheit und Mäßigung in den Einzelheiten an Ihren Werken im Gedächtniß und habe doch immer zu kämpfen mit dem Zuviel" (Brief Rietschels vom 8. Juli 1855. Eggers [Anm. 8], Bd. 2, S. 478).

23. F. Pecht: "Ernst Rietschel," *Deutsche Künstler des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Nördlingen, 1877), 1. Reihe, S. 80-123, Zitat S. 117f.

A Medici Porcelain Pilgrim Flask

Clare Le Corbeiller

In April 1857 the well-known dealer Alessandro Foresi visited the Florentine studio of William Blundell Spence (1815–1900), an expatriate painter-cum-dealer whose wealth and hospitality were to make his house a focus of Anglo-Italian society in the next decades.[1] As a result of this visit Foresi purchased from Spence a pilgrim flask of Medici porcelain recently acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum (figs. 1, 5).

Each man reported the occasion. Foresi, in a note first published in 1859,[2] wrote that he spotted a ceramic flask on a chest in the studio and that Spence identified it as Faenza (i.e., maiolica) on the evidence of a mark including the letter *F* on the underside (fig. 2). Foresi, knowing the material to be porcelain and suspecting it to be Medici, left the studio to make some inquiries, and quickly returned to buy it. In his own journal[3] Spence merely remarked that a man had brought the bottle to him for sale, that he thought it was Chinese, and that he kept his brushes in it.

The piece is a pilgrim flask of conventional form, with a flattened oval body and a short neck rising above sloping shoulders. On opposite sides of the shoulders are loop handles above satyrs' masks. The model is a variant of one common to Urbino maiolica circa 1560–1570, itself a resolution of ceramic and metalwork traditions. An example in the British Museum is typical (fig. 3). The cover of silver form is screwed into a threaded cylinder, presumably in the manner described in detail by Piccolpasso in 1557 and associated by him with the stoppers of pilgrim flasks.[4] Of the four known Medici pilgrim flasks[5] none has survived with a cover, and only the present example is threaded inside. It originally had a corresponding stopper, as one is mentioned in 1882 and again in 1914,[6] but not afterwards. The model appears to match the description of "Dua fiasche grande di porciellana con dua maschere per una e turacci fatti a vite" recorded in the Medici Guardaroba on April 22, 1579.[7] Other elements borrowed from the silversmith's repertoire are the pair of molded bands at the rim of the neck and the painted dentil border around the foot rim, an allusion to a metal mount of like design.

The decoration of the flask is carried out in underglaze blue, as it is on all but three Medici pieces,[8] in unmistakable homage to Chinese porcelain. On many

PROVENANCE: William Blundell Spence, Florence, until 1857; [Alessandro Foresi, Florence, 1859]; [Giovanni Freppa, Florence, 1859]; Eugène Piot, Paris (sale, Paris, March 19, 1860, lot 82); Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, Paris (1860–after 1914); Baron and Baronne Edouard de Rothschild, Paris (after 1914–after 1954); Baron Guy and Marie-Hélène de Rothschild, New York; [Curarrow Corporation N.V., Curaçao, Antilles].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Jacquemart and E. Le Blant, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine* (Paris, 1862), p. 648, no. 5; A. Foresi, *Sulle porcellane medicee,* 2nd edn. (Florence, 1869), pp. 15–18, 29; *Exposition universelle: Exposition rétrospective,* exh. cat. (Palais du Trocadéro, Paris, 1878); H. Darcel, "Les faïences françaises et les porcelaines au Trocadéro," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 18 (1878), p. 762; M. le Baron Davillier, *Les origines de la porcelaine en Europe* (Paris, 1882), pp. 39–41, 114–115, no. 29; C. de Grollier, *Manuel de l'amateur de porcelaines* (Paris, 1914), p. 358, no. 2309; S. de Ricci, "La porcelaine des Medici," *Faenza* (1918 commemorative issue), p. 29, no. 22; G. Liverani, *Catalogo delle porcellane dei Medici* (Faenza, 1936), p. 31, no. 28; A. Lane, *Italian Porcelain* (London, 1954), p. 5, pl. 3C.

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1. J. Fleming, "Art Dealing in the Risorgimento II." *Burlington Magazine* 121, no. 917 (1979), pp. 492–508.

2. A. Foresi, *Sulla porcellana medicee* (Florence, 1859). The second edition (1869) is referred to here. Foresi was the catalyst in promoting the modern collecting and study of Medici porcelain. In 1869 he was able to account for twenty-five pieces, a number increased to thirty-four by Baron Davillier in 1882 (pp. 89–119).

3. Fleming (note 1), p. 505, no. 81, quoting from Spence's unpublished journal, then in the possession of Professor Ulrich Middeldorf.

4. C. Piccolpasso, *I tre libri dell'arte del vasaio,* trans. and intro. by R. Lightbown and A. Caiger-Smith (London, 1980), vol. 2, pp. 19–22. The translators conclude that although the manuscript is undated and was first published only in 1857, it was written in 1557 (vol. 1, p. xxiv).

5. Two in the Musée du Louvre, a third in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and the present example. The necks of these are finished with short, tapered inset cylinders.

6. Baron Davillier, *Les origines de la porcelaine en Europe* (Paris, 1882), p. 114, no. 129; C. de Grollier, *Manuel de l'amateur de porcelaines* (Paris, 1914), p. 358, no. 2309.

7. G. Cora and A. Fanfani, *La porcellana dei Medici* (Milan, 1986), p. 47.

8. A ewer with half figures and tendrils (Paris, private collection); a mounted vase with an Italianate landscape (Braunschweig, Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum); a vase with figures and grotesques considered by Dr. Johanna Lessmann ("Polychromes Medici-Porzellan,"

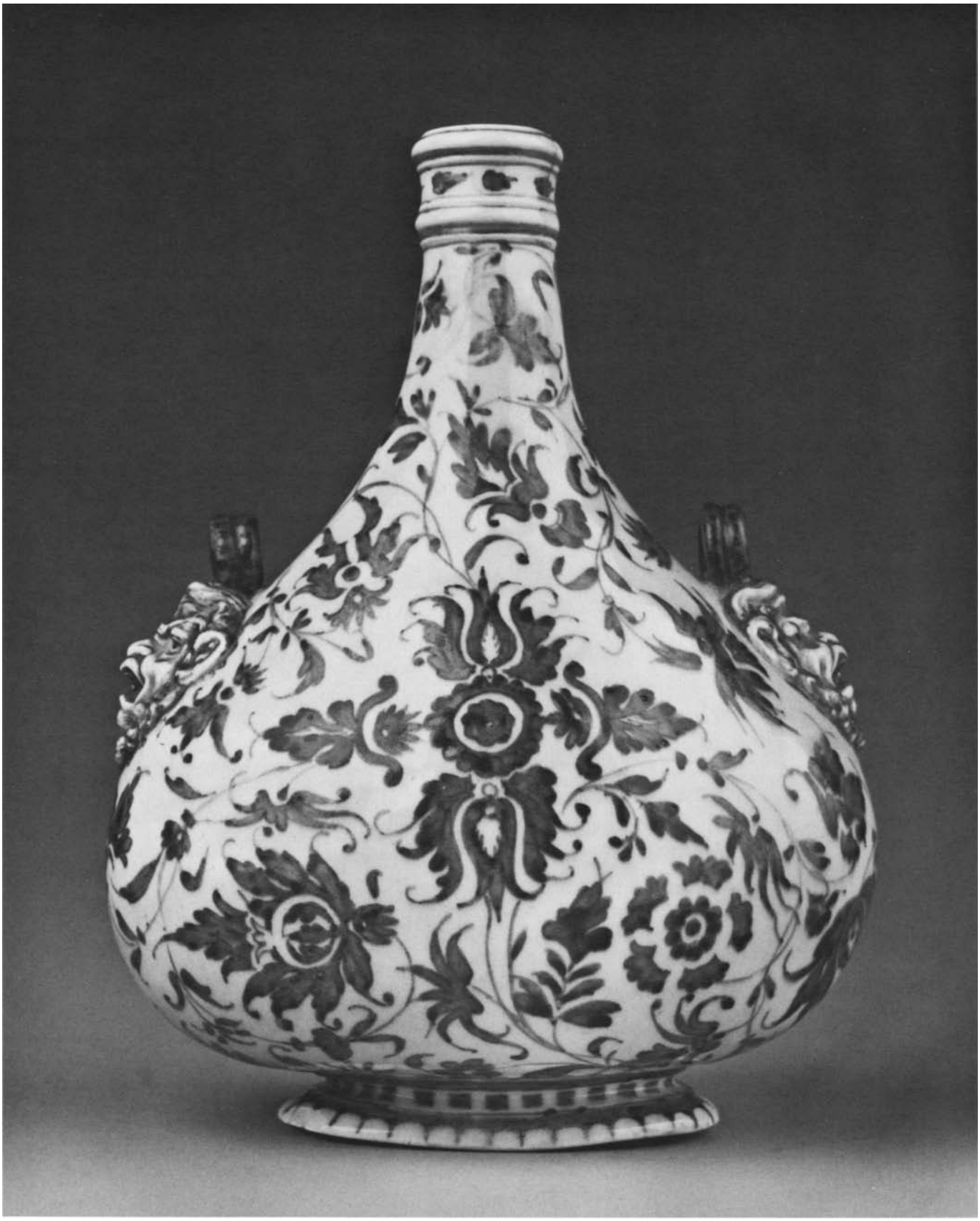


Figure 1. Pilgrim flask. Italian (Florence, Medici factory), circa 1582–1585. Soft-paste porcelain. H: 28.6cm (11¼ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DE.630.

Figure 2. Mark on underside of figure 1.

Figure 3. Pilgrim flask with the Arms of Lemos. Italian (Urbino), circa 1580. Tin-enameled earthenware. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum.

examples the blue is pale, grayish, and thinly applied; it has often run and the designs have consequently become blurred. On others the blue is clearer and neatly confined within outlines of gray-blue or light manganese. The painting of the Museum's flask is conspicuous for the vibrancy and range of its blues, which vary from a light, grayed tone to a vivid purple-black, and for the control of the color, which has slipped in only a few places. The entire pattern has been drawn in a soft gray-blue line and filled in with a series of graded washes, resulting in a lustrous depth of color in the darkest passages. The transparent glaze fits smoothly and evenly over the plain surface of the body, but as is to be expected with Medici porcelains, it has collected in deep bubbled pools in the crevices of the masks—where the blue is also lighter and quite irregular—and has bubbled to a lesser extent around the foot rim, which warped in firing.

The assimilation of varied sources into a single model of Medici porcelain reflects the eclecticism of Florentine court taste, and scattered records of the factory suggest the direct influence of its patron, Francesco de'Medici. The presence of Flaminio Fontana may well account for the Urbinoesque aspects of Medici style. Flaminio was a nephew of Orazio Fontana (d. 1571), whose name is associated with the sculptural models and grotesque ornament of Urbino maiolica, both recurrent features in Medici porcelains. Payment was made to Flaminio in 1573 for ten earthenware vases,[9] and inventory entries of the Medici Guardaroba of the same year[10] mention more than three dozen pieces of maiolica by him, including oil-and-vinegar cruets and grotesque-ornamented pieces that could have served as models for porcelain forms and decoration. That Flaminio had a hand in actual production is indicated by reference to the amount of wood he required for the

Pantheon 34 [1976], p. 285), probably to be from the same mold as the Braunschweig example (British Museum, London).

9. Cora and Fanfani (note 7), p. 41.
10. Ibid., pp. 42–43.

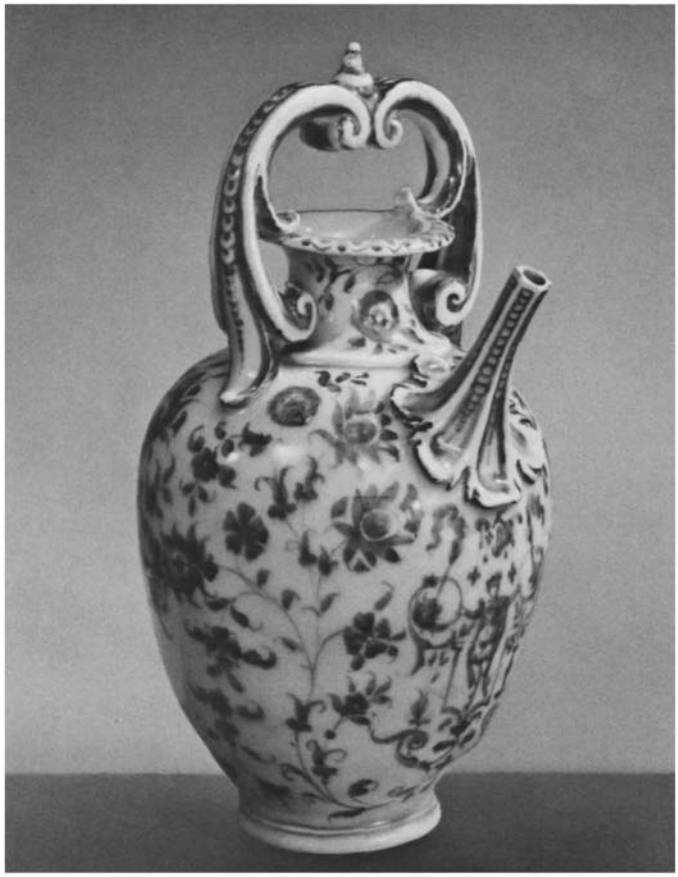


Figure 4. Ewer. Italian (Florence, Medici factory), circa 1581. Soft-paste porcelain. H: 20.3 cm (8 in.) New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

firing of twenty-five to thirty pieces of porcelain in November 1578.[11]

The overtones of silversmiths' work can be traced to Bernardo Buontalenti (1536–1608), Francesco's versatile court designer and architect. According to Vasari in the second edition of his *Lives of the Painters,* published in 1568,[12] it was Buontalenti who, although not a potter, was engaged in experiments that would shortly result in the manufacture of porcelain vases. Buontalenti's activity in the manufactory after its initial stages is not clear, but given his position at court it is difficult not to imagine that he exerted some influence. The techniques of the goldsmith and the carver of rock crystal and hardstones are discernible in several variant models of Medici porcelain ewers (see fig. 4), and it was at the Medici court that Buontalenti and his assistants were collaborating at this time on the design and production of gold-mounted vases and bowls of jasper and lapis lazuli.[13] There is direct evidence of some connection between the court goldsmiths and the court porcelain enterprise. In 1577–1578 Matteo Castrucci was paid for supplying the silver for five porcelain flasks,[14] and the émigré Dutch goldsmith and jeweler Jacopo Bilivert (1550–1603) delivered "two small porcelain flasks made in Florence" mounted in silver to the grand ducal household on March 17, 1588.[15] Admittedly, these references are only to mounts, but they raise the possibility that the court goldsmiths were active in the design of some of the porcelains as well.

Like the model itself, the decoration of the flask subsumes a mixture of sources. Its predominantly Turkish character reflects the influence of the trade in Ottoman ceramics and textiles. Chinese elements entered the Italian repertoire either directly, from imported oriental porcelains, or indirectly, through their assimilation into the patterns of Ottoman trade goods; while both Chinese and Turkish motifs, in yet another transformation, were part of the decorative schemes of contemporary maiolica and textiles. In the present context we may infer that the collection of porcelains accumulated by successive Medici princes was an influential factor. Several hundred porcelains are recorded in inventories made between 1456 and 1555.[16] The majority of these, nearly four hundred pieces, were cited in 1553[17] and probably reflect acquisitions by Cosimo I; evidence of his activity as a collector is provided by the mission of one Jacopo Capponi, whom he sent to Alexandria in 1545 to buy porcelains and carpets for him.[18]

The descriptions in the inventories are cursory. Most pieces are listed as porcelain, blue-and-white, and flowered, designations superficially applicable to both Chinese porcelain and Iznik pottery, which was a composite white-bodied material[19] (the term *porcelain* ap-

11. Ibid., p. 44.

12. G. Vasari, *La Vite de'più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architetori* (Florence, 1968), vol. 7, pp. 615–616.

13. See, for example, a lapis lazuli vase with raised scrolled handle (1576–1581), designed by Buontalenti and with gold mounts by Jacopo Bilivert, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (C. Willemijn Fock, "Der Goldschmied Jaques Bylivelt aus Delft und sein Wirken in der Mediceischen Hofwerkstatt in Florenz," *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 70 [1974], p. 100, fig. 81).

14. Cora and Fanfani (note 7), p. 28.

15. Lessmann (note 8), p. 286.

16. M. Spallanzani, *Ceramiche orientalia a Firenze nel Rinascimento* (Florence, 1978), pp. 176–193.

17. Ibid., pp. 187–191.

18. Ibid., p. 184.

19. W. D. Kingery and P. B. Vandiver, in "Medici Porcelain," *Faenza* 70, nos. 5–6 (1984), p. 450, comment on the similarity of the component materials of the Iznik and Medici pastes. According to an account written in 1575 by Andrea Gussoni, Venetian ambassador at the Florentine court, Buontalenti received technical assistance from a Levantine (quoted by Davillier [note 6], pp. 60–61).

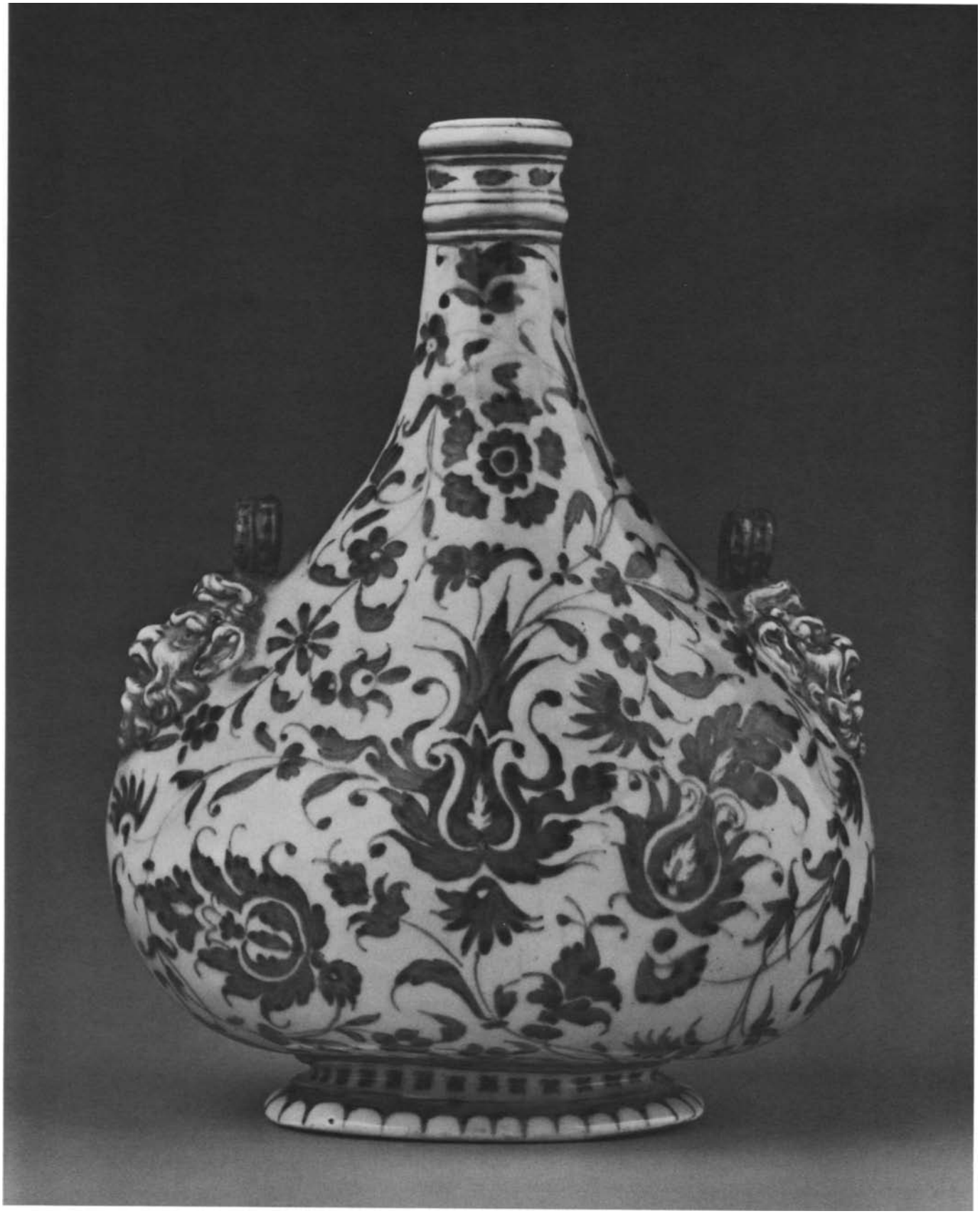


Figure 5. Opposite side of figure 1.

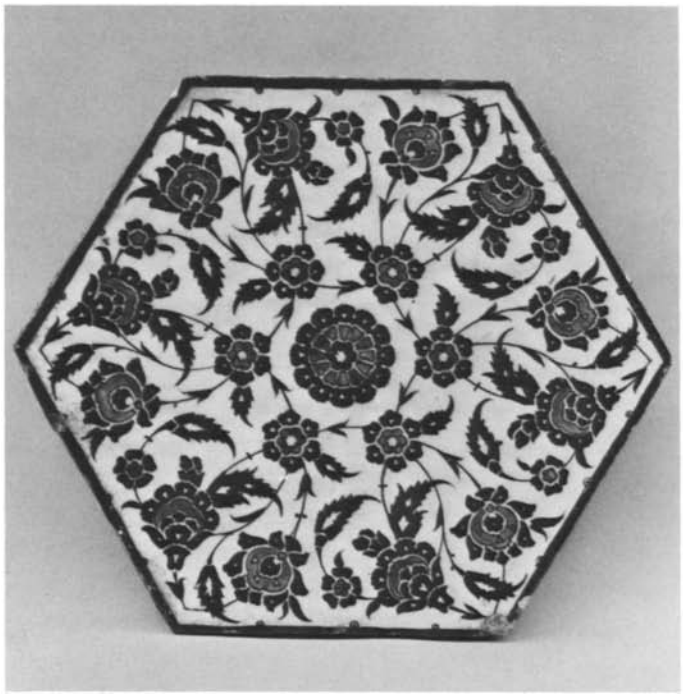


Figure 6. Tile. Turkish, mid-sixteenth century. Composite body with underglaze blue and turquoise decoration. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Horace Havemeyer, 1940.

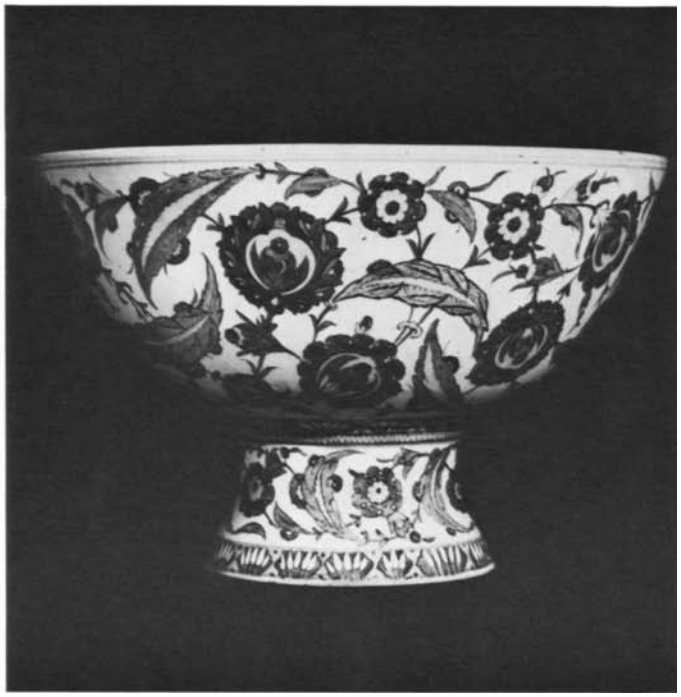


Figure 7. Footed bowl. Turkish (Iznik), circa 1550–1565. Composite body with underglaze polychrome decoration. Courtesy The Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 8. Footed bowl. Turkish (Iznik), circa 1525. Composite body with underglaze polychrome decoration. London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

pears to have been used simply to distinguish red- from white-bodied wares). When painted in the Chinese manner, Iznik pottery could readily have been mistaken for porcelain by an uneducated clerk. An entry in the Medici inventories of 1592/95 that records 606 pieces of "Levantine and domestic porcelain" [sic] would seem to support this.[20]

A striking feature of the decoration on the Museum's flask is the simulated stenciling of the large flowers on either side of the body.[21] Motifs and visual effect alike have their counterparts in the woven silks and velvets imported into Italy from Bursa, but a closer comparison is with Iznik pottery. The stencil-effect style came into prominence at Bursa in the fifteenth century in *cuerda seca* tiles manufactured for use as architectural decoration, and was soon adapted by the decorators of underglaze-painted tiles made for the same purpose. These tile revetments would not have been known in

20. "n° 606 pezzi di porcellana di Levante e nostrale . . . " (Cora and Fanfani [note 7], p. 53).

21. It is also a feature of early Doccia porcelains, circa 1737–1745. Two Doccia plates with this decoration and marked with the dome and the letter *F* are a clear indication that the factory was working directly from Medici examples (A. Mottola Molfino, *L'arte della porcellana in Italia* [1976], vol. 1, figs. 402, 403; L. Ginori Lisci, *La Porcellana di Doccia* [Milan, 1963], fig. 24; p. 323, no. 6).

Italy, but the same motifs and, indeed, entire compositions are known to have been used on both tiles and pottery,[22] and the documentary nature of the tiles makes them useful guides to the dating of related Iznik hollowware. Stencil-effect elements very like those seen in figure 6 occur in Rüstem Paşa Camii, Istanbul[23] (circa 1561), and on a footed bowl (circa 1550–1565) in the British Museum, London (fig. 7).

Surrounding these schematized elements and filling the remaining space on the Getty Museum's flask is a linear, more naturalistic pattern of leafy and flowering stems, evocative of the scrolling tendrils of Chinese porcelain which became absorbed into the designs of the Iznik potters and, at one more remove, those of the Italian maiolica painters. A certain lightness and simplicity in this part of the decoration correspond to designs on Iznik pieces that have been dated to the second quarter of the sixteenth century (fig. 8). The overall freedom of composition and the calligraphic fluency of the painting of the flask are consonant with Ottoman style of the middle of the century.

The flask is one of four Medici porcelains that share the same characteristics of design, color, and painting style. The other three are a ewer in the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris,[24] a small spherical one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (fig. 9), and a jug derived from a Faenza model in the Museo Duca di Martina, Naples.[25] Further linking these four is the form of the mark that appears on each. The majority of Medici porcelains are marked with the dome of the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore above the letter *F* painted in underglaze blue.[26] The drawing of the dome varies considerably from one piece to another, ranging in appearance from a small, sketchy, thimblelike structure to a meticulously rendered architectural feature. I believe the Paris, Washington, Naples, and Getty Museum pieces are the only ones that have the dome rendered exactly as in figure 2. The mark on the Museum's flask includes in addition a painted squiggle that was read as the Arabic numeral *3* by Grollier,[27] who further commented that a larger, incised *3* appeared on the now-lost stopper. Such a number is incised underneath the painted marks, and the upper edge of the rim of the neck is incised under the glaze with three parallel lines,

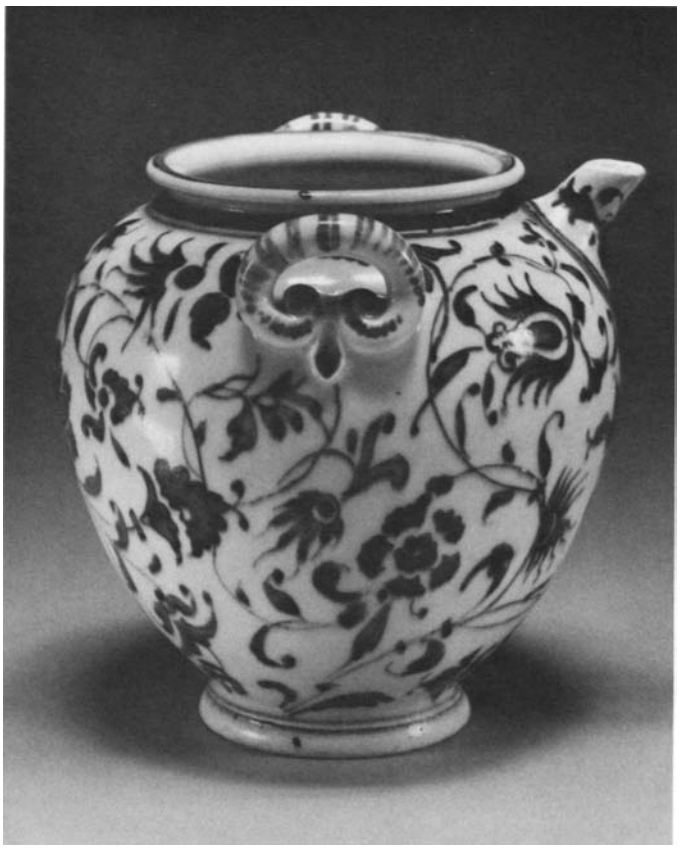


Figure 9. Ewer. Italian (Florence, Medici factory), circa 1582–1585. Soft-paste porcelain. H: 13.3 cm (5 1/4 in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection.

perhaps intended as a Roman numeral. These marks are thus far unexplained.

Linked on the basis of the decorative scheme to what for convenience we may call the Getty group are three other pieces: the ewer in the Metropolitan Museum shown in figure 4, one of a variant model in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and a jug of Faenza type in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[28] The effect of this second group is more muted. The color is milder and more blurred, the "stenciled" elements less bold, the composition less dashing and asymmetrical. In addition an Italianate element, a classical figure standing amid scrolls, has been introduced into the dec-

22. W. B. Denny, "Turkish Ceramics and Turkish Painting: The Role of the Paper Cartoon in Turkish Ceramic Production," *Islamic Art and Architecture, Vol. 1* (Malibu, 1981), figs. 3, 4.

23. W. B. Denny, *The Ceramics of the Mosque of Rüstem Pasha and the Environment of Change* (New York and London, 1977), fig. 71.

24. Mottola Molfino (note 21), fig. 385.

25. G. Liverani, *Catalogo delle porcellane dei Medici* (Faenza, 1936), pl. [6]C.

26. Of the fifty-six complete pieces known to survive, four are marked either with the six balls of the Medici coat of arms, the initials of Francesco's names and title, or both; fourteen are unmarked or not visibly marked; the remainder are all marked with the dome and, except for one, the *F* below.

27. Grollier (note 6), p. 358, no. 2309.

28. Mottola Molfino (note 21), fig. 384.

oration of the Metropolitan's ewer. The mark on the jug closely approximates that on the Getty Museum flask; the domes on the other two are related but less detailed. I would suggest that these pieces are earlier than the Getty group, akin in the somewhat more formal character of their design to several Medici porcelains in which the dominant element of the composition is a simple, vertical, branched, flowering stem. The latter pieces, which are mostly unmarked, can in turn be clustered around a pair of square bottles in the Musée National Céramique de Sèvres,[29] which are painted with the arms of Philip II of Spain, the date 1581, and a mixture of maiolica and simplifed Iznik motifs. It was Arthur Lane's suggestion that all the unmarked Medici pieces are early, about 1575;[30] however, they do not form a natural stylistic group, and several correspond to dome-marked pieces (including the Sèvres bottles) that Lane thought datable to 1577–1587. With its brilliant color and idiomatic composition, the Getty Museum flask would seem to represent the final stage in the development of this strongly Ottoman-inspired group of porcelains in the Medici canon.

Metropolitan Museum of Art
New York

29. G. Liverani, "Premières porcelaines européenes, les essais des Médicis," *Cahiers de la céramique et les arts du feu,* no. 15 (1979), p. 144.
30. A. Lane, *Italian Porcelain* (London, 1954), p. 6.

Medusa as a Muse for Vincenzo Gemito (1852–1929)

Peter Fusco

In several respects Vincenzo Gemito's life is the stuff of which nineteenth-century novels were made.[1] Abandoned at birth on the doorsteps of a foundling home, the nameless infant was recorded in the customary fashion as Genito (literally "begotten"), which by a happy slip of the pen became the more poetically accurate Gemito ("wail" or "moan").[2] As a street urchin at the age of nine, he found work in the studio of the painter Emanuele Caggiano and soon after was employed by the painter Stanislas Lista. Neither of these artists seems to have had much stylistic influence upon the young Gemito, who by all accounts was a precocious autodidact. In 1868, when he was only sixteen, he exhibited at the Protomotrice di Napoli and his work was bought for the city;[3] at this time the essentials of his style seem already to have been fully formed. In 1877 Gemito went to Paris, where he exhibited, with success, his *Neapolitan Fisherboy* at the Salon of 1878.[4] He returned to Naples in 1881 and soon received two important state commissions, one for a statue of Carlo V, the other for a table centerpiece in silver representing a triumphal scene for the king's residence at Capodimonte. Prior to this, the subjects of Gemito's works had been drawn from the daily life and people of Naples (e.g., fisherboys, water-carriers, gypsies, portraits of friends). While working on the state commissions Gemito experienced a serious mental depression; evidently, this was brought on, at least in part, by self-doubts about his ability to carry out works with historical subjects and by the resentment he felt because such subjects required him to suppress his natural instincts and talents. (Eventually, the statue of Carlo V was executed by another artist from Gemito's model, but the silver centerpiece was never completed.)[5] In 1887 Gemito was committed to a rest home for the mentally disturbed, but he immediately ran away and returned home, where for about twenty years he remained hidden in a single room, secluded from the outside world, seeing only a few friends and working intermittently on subjects readily at hand (portraits of his wife, drawings of dead fish). In 1909–1910 he returned to the world, changing his home to one with a view of the sea. From this time until his death in 1929 he led a relatively normal life, continuing to draw and sculpt in the vein he had established before his self-imposed withdrawal.[6]

1. The major source of information about the early part of the artist's life is S. Di Giacomo, *La vita e l'opera di Vincenzo Gemito* (Naples, 1905; republished in abbreviated edn., Rome, 1923). Other monographs and exhibition catalogues devoted to the artist include: V. Ricciuti, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Milan, 1920); G. Guida, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1923); G. Artieri, *Gemito* (Naples, 1929); A. Consiglio, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Rome, 1932); G. Siviero, *Vincenzo Gemito: Catalogo della mostra alla galleria Dedalo* (Milan, 1933); G. Morisani, *Vita di Gemito* (Naples, 1936); A. Acito, *Catalogo della mostra di sculture e disegni di Vincenzo Gemito, Milano, Castello Sforzesco* (Milan, 1938); V. Galetti, *Vincenzo Gemito, disegni* (Milan, 1944); O. H. Giglioli, *Disegni di Gemito* (Florence, 1944); E. Somaré and A. Schettini, *Gemito* (Milan, 1944); G. Consolazio, *Vincenzo Gemito* (Florence, 1951); F. Bellonzi and R. Frattarolo, *Appunti sull'arte di Vincenzo Gemito,* Quaderni della VI quadriennale nazionale d'arte di Roma, 3 (Rome, 1952); G. Guida, *Gemito* (Rome, 1952); *Mostra di opere di Vincenzo Gemito* (Montecatini Terme, 1952); R. Causa, *Vincenzo Gemito,* I maestri della scultura, fasc. 14 (Milan, 1966).

2. N. Desio, "Vincenzo Gemito (1852–1929): Impressioni e ricordi," *ABC rivista d'arte* (September 1932), p. 10; A. Savinio [A. de Chirico, pseud.], "Seconda vita di Gemito," in *Narrate, uomini, la vostra storia,* 4th edn. (Rome, 1944), pp. 77–78.

3. For the work concerned, entitled *The Cardplayer,* see R. Causa, *Gemito,* I maestri della scultura, fasc. 14 (Milan, 1966), pl. 5.

4. See C. Timbal, "La Sculpture au Salon," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 15 (1877), p. 546, who disliked Gemito's *Neopolitan Fisherboy* but notes it was one of the successes of the Salon.

5. On the remaining studies for the centerpiece, see G. di Domenico Cortese, "Vincenzo Gemito e il 'centro' della follia," *Bolletino dei musei communali di Roma* 30, anno 31 (1984), pp. 97–201.

6. It is difficult to establish precisely the reasons for Gemito's "madness" and the exact dates and circumstances of his seclusion; much of the literature on the artist is composed of personal reminiscences of friends and admirers and often appears to be based upon hearsay including the artist's own confused accounts. For various versions of the story, see A. Centelli, "Avventure e sventure di un grande artista," *L'Illustrazione italiana* 22, no. 16 (1895), pp. 254–255; E. Moschino, "La follia di un grande artista Vincenzo Gemito," *La lettura* (Rivista mensile del *Corriere della sera*) 5 (1905), p. 237; P. Misciatelli, "La nova giovanezze d'arte di Vicenzo [sic] Gemito," *Vita d'arte* 6, anno 3, no. 36 (December 1910), pp. 233–241 (relates that Gemito had come out of seclusion by this date); E. Guardascione, "Battaglie d'arte Vincenzo Gemito," *Rivista di cultura* 9, fasc. 1–2 (1928), pp. 29–44; G. Artieri, "Necrologio, Vincenzo Gemito," *Emporium* 1 (1929), p. 186 (states that he was mad for ten years, during which he did not cease to model and draw); V. Constantini, "Vincenzo Gemito," *La fiera letteraria* (Giornale settimanale di lettere scienze ed arti), March 10, 1929, p. 1 (cites twenty-three years of madness from 1886 to 1909); C. Afeltra, "Vicenzo [sic] Gemito," *La lettura* (Rivista mensile del *Corriere della sera*) (March 1929), p. 265 (says the

Figure 1a. Vincenzo Gemito (Italian, 1852–1929). *Medusa,* 1911 (obverse). Parcel-gilt silver. Diam: 24.1 cm (9½ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.SE.528.

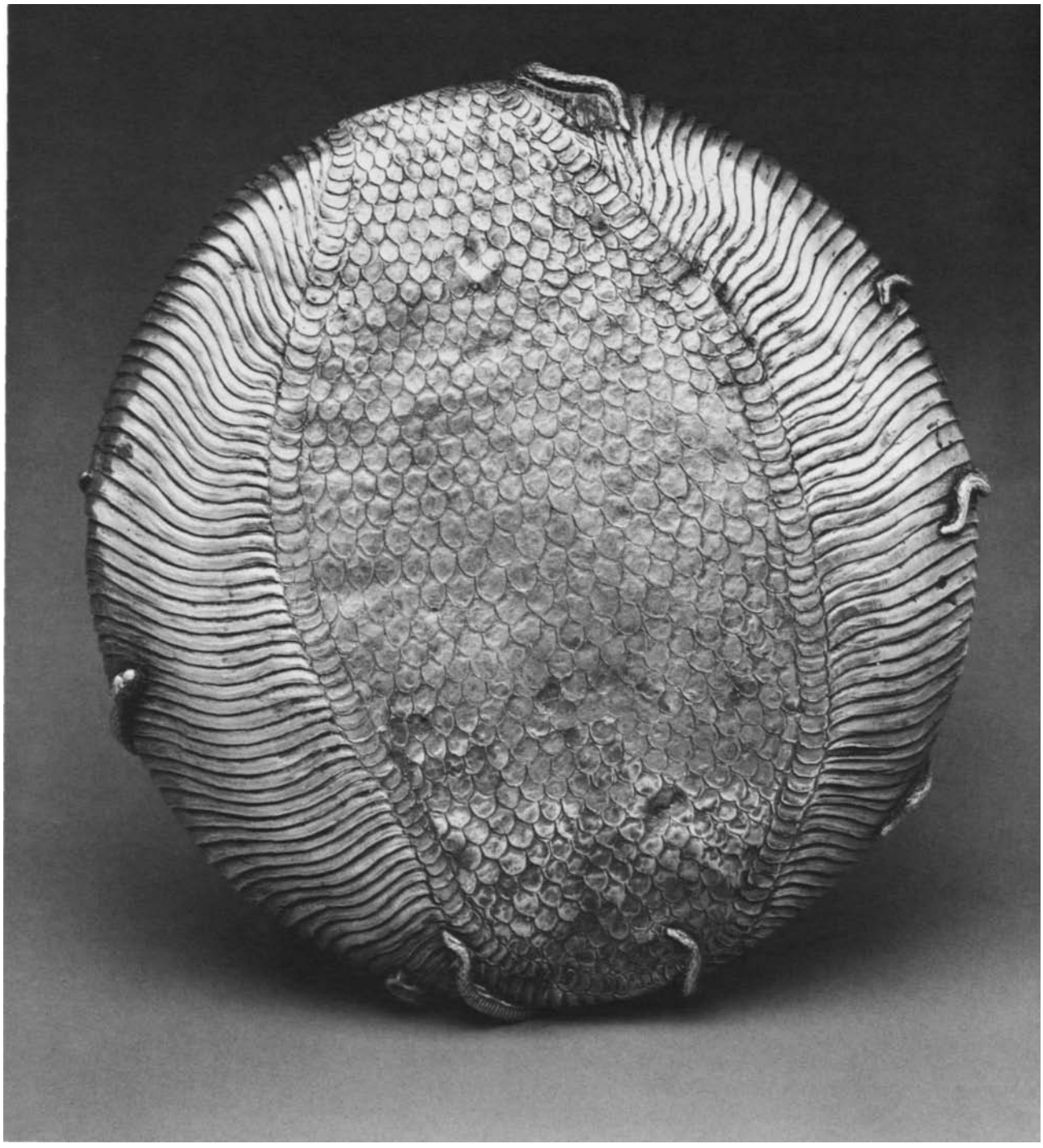


Figure 1b. Reverse of figure 1a.

Figure 2. Vincenzo Gemito. Plate or Bowl with Medusa, circa 1909–1910. Gilt silver. Location unknown. Reproduced from A. Acito, *Catalogo della mostra sculture e disegni di Vincenzo Gemito, Milano, Castello Sforzesco* (Milan, 1938), pl. 34.

As stated above, Gemito's style underwent relatively few changes. His early works (e.g., the *Cardplayer* of 1868; the *Fisherboy* of 1876–1877; the busts of Morelli, Verdi, and Michetti, all from 1873)[7] exhibit a trenchant psychological realism that calls to mind certain works by Carpeaux; however, this aspect of Gemito's art appears before the artist's trip to Paris and seems only to have been strengthened there. In his early years he also produced a number of works (e.g., *Ritratto di ragazzo* and *Il Malatiello,* both of 1870)[8] which in their impressionistic rendering and fragmented quality presage works by Rodin and Medardo Rosso; and around 1876 he modeled an astounding terracotta, *Chinese Tumbler on His Back,*[9] which foreshadows the sculpture of Degas. It should be stressed, however, that the direct sphere of Gemito's influence was probably limited since so much of his life and work was shared with and only known to a small circle of friends. Although his works generally display a vibrant, obsessive response to the everyday realities—particularly the poverty and misery—of life in Naples, they are tempered by a search for formal beauty based on Hellenistic ideals and by a mastery of craftsmanship which rivals that of Renaissance artists. In 1883 Gemito wrote to his friend Meissonier in Paris: "Geloso di Cellini ho anch io una fonderia per i mei ogetti,"[10] and, indeed he may arguably be considered the last great sculptor to cast by the Renaissance lost-wax process (this at a time when most French sculptors had their bronzes made by commercial foundries using sand-casting techniques). Today it seems only right that Gemito is the single "modern" sculptor to have one of his works, the life-size bronze *Fisherboy,* in the company of sculpture by Michelangelo, Cellini, and Giambologna in the Bargello.

Extremely conscious of the relation of his art to the art of the past, but apparently oblivious to the self-conscious notion of a need to be stylistically innovative, Gemito nevertheless was a highly original artist. His works are unequaled in late nineteenth-century Italy for their intense psychological realism focused on Neapoli-

madness began in 1885, and the seclusion ended after a visit from Duchess Elena d'Aosta on October 5, 1909); Desio (note 2), p. 10; C. Pavolini, "Contributo a un idea di Gemito," *Arte mediterranea* 21 (1943), p. 71; C. Pirovano, *Scultura italiana del neoclassicismo alle correnti contemporanee* (Milan, 1968), p. 14 (gives the period of madness as 1886–1905 and 1905 as the year Gemito came out of seclusion, but states it was not until a few years later that he started to model again); P. Ricci, *Arte e artisti a Napoli (1800–1943)* (Naples, 1981), pp. 60–64; Cortesi (note 5), p. 97 (claims Gemito's madness began at age thirty-three in 1885).

7. For good illustrations of all of these works, see Causa (note 1), pls. 1, 4, 6, 7, 9. For other busts by Gemito, see S. di Giacomo, "Il busto di Cesare Correnti modellato da Vincenzo Gemito," *Dedalo* 2, anno 2 (1921), pp. 72–73; V. Ojetti, "L'arte di Vincenzo Gemito e sette ritratti inediti," *Dedalo* 5, anno 5 (1924), pp. 315–332.

8. Illustrated in Causa (note 1), pls. 2, 17. For other similar works, see Consolazio (note 1), figs. 57–60; C. Refice, "In margine alla mostra del mezzogiorno, Antonio Mancini," *Bolletino d'arte* 38 (1953), pp. 147–154.

9. Illustrated in Causa (note 1), pl. 8.

10. Cited by Di Giacomo (note 1), p. 121.

11. Somaré and Schettini (note 1), p. 36.

12. Inscribed *1911, GEMITO.* Ex-coll. L. Carl and Hazel Bean, Shriveport, Me.; sold, Skinner's Auction no. 709, October 3, 1980, lot 617, to Mr. and Mrs. Piero Corsini, New York. The work is first referred to, in passing, in an unsigned article, "Cronaca," in *L'arte* 14 (March–April 1911), p. 148. Somaré and Schettini (note 1), p. 201, pl. 57, illustrate and list it, but without indicating the owner at that time; Guida (note 1), n. p., also illustrates it without any information.

13. The only recorded drawing of the subject by Gemito is dated 1923; see Somaré and Schettini (note 1), p. 205, pl. 128.

14. The present location of this object is unknown. It is illustrated, without a date, in Acito (note 1), pl. 34. It appears to be this work that is listed, without illustration, in Somaré and Schettini (note 1), p. 212, as "Piatto della medusa (1909–10). Argento cesellato e dorato a fuoco nessuna riproduzione," and which is referred to (p. 38) as having been "già eseguito nella vecchia casa di via Tasso"—the house which, the authors state (p. 37) Gemito left in 1911–1912. This work is also

tan street life, which he memorialized and dignified with an earthy, sensual beauty of form. This sensual aspect of Gemito's style is often closely linked to his use of a sinewy, undulating line that defines forms, and he seems to have had a predilection for long-haired subjects that would allow him to exploit his graphic facility. (He also wore an extremely long beard, in which he put great stock, believing that all the great men of history, beginning with Moses, wore lengthy beards.)[11] It may in part be this predilection that led Gemito to sculpt the *Medusa* (figs. 1a–b) now in the Getty Museum.[12]

Gemito frequently made preliminary drawn studies for his sculpture, but in the case of the *Medusa* none are recorded or have yet been traced.[13] However, in 1909–1910 the artist had already completed another version of the subject which is probably to be identified with a gilt-silver plate or shallow bowl (fig. 2)[14] for which two fragmentary wax sketches (figs. 3, 4) survive.[15] As a discrete one-sided relief applied to a smooth background, the Medusa on this earlier bowl was conceived as decoration on a recognizable type of object, while in the Museum's work it is the image of Medusa itself which forms an object that is typologically difficult to categorize. Later in his career, in 1923–1924, the artist took up the theme again and produced a fully three-dimensional bust of Medusa.[16]

Among Gemito's various depictions of Medusa, the work in the Getty Museum is the most closely based upon the greatest surviving cameo from antiquity, the Tazza Farnese (fig. 5), which the artist must have studied at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples.[17] The famous Hellenistic hard stone object is of agate incised on both sides, with the top/interior displaying eight figures in an allegorical scene (possibly the fertility of the Nile), and with the exterior/bottom of the shallow cup depicting the Medusa head that Gemito

Figure 3. Vincenzo Gemito. *Medusa,* circa 1909–1910. Wax. 10 × 6.5 × 2.5 cm (4 × 2 1/2 × 1 in.). Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna. Photo: Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

Figure 4. Vincenzo Gemito. *Medusa,* circa 1909–1910. Wax. 9 × 7.5 × 2 cm (3 1/2 × 3 × 3/4 in.). Milan, Galleria d'Arte Moderna. Photo: Galleria d'Arte Moderna.

illustrated in and dated 1909–1910 by Bellonzi and Frattarolo (note 1), p. 28.

15. For the waxes, see L. Caramel and C. Pirovano, *Galleria d'arte moderna opere dell'ottocento* (Milan, 1975), vol. 2, p. 324, nos. 1044, 1043, figs. 1037, 1041.

16. For two wax sketches for the bust, see ibid., p. 324, nos. 1041, 1042, figs. 1039, 1040, where they are associated with the lost silver plate (fig. 3) and a date for them of 1909–1910 is assumed. It seems more likely, however, that these studies were for the small gilt-silver bust (illustrated without date in Acito [note 1], pl. 27, and Guida [note 1], unnumbered pl.), and that the silver-gilt bust is to be identified with the 1924 commission for a Medusa bust described in Afeltra (note 6), p. 266; Savinio (note 2), p. 96; *Da Antonio Canova a Medardo Rosso: Disegni di scultori italiani del XIX secolo,* exh. cat. (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 1982), p. 76.

17. On the Tazza Farnese, see U. Pannuti, in *Le gemme, Il Tesoro di Lorenzo il Magnifico,* vol. 1, exh. cat. (Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, 1972), pp. 69–72.

Figure 5. Tazza Farnese, third–first century B.C. Incised agate. Naples, Museo Nazionale. Reproduced from N. Dacos and A. Giuliano, eds., *Le gemme, Il Tesoro di Lorzenzo il Magnifico,* vol. 1, exh. cat. (Palazzo Medici Riccardi, Florence, 1972), fig. 43.

followed. He took an incised composition on a concave surface and transformed it into a relief on a convex surface. In addition he used the scale motif of stretched snakeskin, which appears at the outer edge of the antique Medusa image, and extended it, wrapping it around to create the entire back of his work (fig. 1b). In so doing Gemito created a new type of sculpture which is neither a decorative object (such as a bowl or *tazza*) with sculptural decoration nor a traditional flat medallion with decoration equally "weighted" to both sides. Gemito's *Medusa* falls into a category of its own, relief-like but finished on both sides, somewhere halfway between a medallion and a fully sculpted object with multiple views. Formed as an inverted shield, it lies uncomfortably on its snakeskin back, like a talisman from the past with its edges curled by time.

Gemito's attraction to the subject of Medusa may have sprung in part from the sinuous graphic potential inherent in the subject. But it is also possible to see this gorgeous severed head with snakes as a symbol of the artist's lifelong preoccupation with revealing the beautiful in the ugly. Executed just as Gemito was coming out of his self-imposed seclusion, the parcel-gilt-silver *Medusa* now appears as a dazzling ray of sunlight after the dark, a beauty cogitated out of the misery of his isolation. The Medusa head's traditional apotropaic function would not have been lost on Gemito as he sought to reenter the world.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

Acquisitions/1987

Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

Even as the Museum's collections continued to grow and its programs to develop in 1987, there were a few setbacks and portents. The stock market crash of mid-October affected the Getty Trust's investments—less than those of most institutions, thanks to conservative management, but enough to curtail some of our activities for a time. Earlier in the same month a moderately strong earthquake got our attention, happily without damaging anything, thanks to several years' work on the part of our conservators, mountmakers, and preparators to secure objects in place. We accelerated our program of protecting the collection and preparing our staff and buildings for the possibility of a larger quake. And we were shaken by the art market, where a series of astonishing auction prices were commanded by pictures by Vincent van Gogh. Prices for the best paintings and sculptures also rose steeply, pumped up by collector-investors spending foreign currencies that have gained value dramatically in relation to the dollar.

THE COLLECTIONS

Despite a generally discouraging art market, the Museum's collections made some great advances in 1987. I shall touch on only the most important, department by department.

ANTIQUITIES was able to add another brilliant silver vessel to a collection of Eastern Hellenistic luxury goods that now is unparalleled. It is a silver cup in the form of a bull, the yearling Horace describes with "budding horns just swelling his brow," which may have been intended for drinking or libations at the sacrifice of precisely such a victim. This form of cup had previously been known in terracotta, but our silver example is unique.

Greek vases of various kinds were purchased in 1987, including a superb black-figure zone cup potted by Andokides and painted in the manner of Lysippides by an anonymous successor to Exekias. The type, in which lounging revelers are arranged in a circular frieze around the tondo inside the bowl, is an exceedingly rare species, and the state of preservation is fine. Just as rare, but of exceptional splendor, is the large red-figure volute krater and stand made more than a century later. An example of the "Rich Style," it is an expression in clay and paint of the taste for opulent decoration also apparent in the Erectheum and the parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis.

A pair of incense burners made in the form of an actor and a singer were added to our small collection of Roman bronze sculptures. Among the few bronzes of these popular subjects, the Getty Museum's are the finest. The conniving slave who runs to the altar for sanctuary when he is caught, and the singer who accompanies the mime, have been given lively, expressive poses.

Ancient Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum, a collection of essays that forms part of the *Occasional Papers in Antiquities* series, appeared during 1987. The year ended with the publication of *Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World*, the proceedings of a symposium organized by the Museum in 1986 in conjunction with an exhibition devoted to the Athenian black-figure painter.

FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS, 1987 was an extraordinary year, one in which the Museum acquired perhaps the greatest Flemish manuscript left in private hands, the *Visions du Chevalier Tondal*, with miniatures attributed to Simon Marmion. Produced in 1474 for Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy, it depicts a journey through hell and purgatory to heaven, made by the soul of a dissolute Irish knight. This copy was written by the famous scribe David Aubert in a French translation of the twelfth-century Latin original. The brilliant miniatures of hell anticipate Bosch's surreal paintings by decades.

Several works were added to our Italian material, which is more modest than the Flemish and German collections. A magnificent initial representing Christ appearing in a vision, probably to David, was painted around 1440 by Giovanni di Paolo, the leading artist of Siena. A generation earlier, a Lombard illuminator supplied a copy of the *Legend of Saints Aimo and Vermondo* with eleven lively miniatures depicting the various wonders and good works of these two local worthies.

We were able to buy at auction an illuminated example of the great medieval treatise on hunting, the *Livre de la chasse* of Gaston Phébus. It is a richly illustrated manuscript of around 1430–1440, evidently made in Brittany, with delightful miniatures that illustrate the fine points of the sport of hunting, which stood next to love and politics among the ritualized pleasures of medieval aristocrats.

PAINTINGS acquisitions were less numerous than in previous years, but hardly less notable. The year ended with an extraordinary acquisition, James Ensor's *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*. A fourteen-foot-wide canvas

painted for public exhibition as an answer, some think, to Seurat's bourgeois idyll of the previous year, *Sunday Afternoon on the Grande Jatte*, it is Ensor's ironical assault on political hypocrisy and on artistic good manners. Its closest parallel in the collection is also a new acquisition, Cézanne's *The Eternal Feminine*, an enigmatic personal allegory that flouts pictorial convention brilliantly.

We were able to acquire two rare and beautifully preserved Trecento panel paintings, a diptych by Paolo Veneziano and a tiny Madonna by his Paduan contemporary Guariento.

There were important purchases of Baroque pictures: in addition to paintings by Rembrandt's teacher, Pieter Lastman, and by the great French portraitist Philippe de Champaigne, we acquired a brilliant oil-sketch by Rubens and one of the most moving of all papal portraits, *Pope Gregory XV* by Guercino.

Two masterpieces strengthened the Museum's representation of Neoclassical painting, which was formerly almost nonexistent. The *Penelope Unraveling Her Web* by Joseph Wright of Derby is an image of the virtuous and clever wife toiling by night while her son Telemachus sleeps, both figures bathed in a pool of light painted with Wright's celebrated virtuosity. Jacques-Louis David's *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis*, once renowned but long vanished from view and a great rediscovery when it appeared at auction, shows the chaste young hero and his sweetheart seized by regret at their parting. This is not David the severe painter of public virtue but David the proto-Romantic painter of sentiment.

The Department of Drawings was able to maintain its high standards despite rising prices and diminishing opportunities. The most remarkable purchases were a quartet of drawings by four of the principal painters of the Renaissance in Venice.

A double-sided drawing by Vittore Carpaccio of about 1505, unknown until now, has two studies of the Virgin that are exceptionally sensitive in their rendering of light on the drapery. Another discovery is a figure study made by Titian in the 1550s, also on blue paper, drawn with the aging painter's characteristic strength and power of suggestion. A finished model for the Santa Giustina altarpiece in Vicenza by Veronese is one of the most successful drawings of its type by the master; it will be described at greater length in next year's *Journal*. Most important of all is a work acquired at the sale of Old Master drawings from Chatsworth. It is a great red-chalk drawing by Pordenone, made in preparation for an altarpiece in a celebrated competition won by Titian. It reveals the virtuosity and talent for theatrics that made Pordenone famous in his time.

Among other Renaissance drawings bought in 1987 a few deserve mention. A brilliant two-sided sheet Pontormo made for an altarpiece of 1518 is one of his finest pen studies. Correggio's well-known study of Christ in Glory, for a ceiling of 1524, was another notable purchase at the Chatsworth auction. And a previously unknown chalk drawing by Parmigianino evidently represents an early idea for the artist's famous *Vision of Saint Jerome* altarpiece, for which the Museum already has another study.

A group of Swiss, German, and Dutch drawings of the sixteenth century was also added, of which the most delightful is the large vellum sheet of studies in tempera and chalk by Hans Hoffman, who was Dürer's successor in Nuremberg as an avid student of the natural world.

Among seventeenth-century drawings acquired in 1987 is a group of Dutch and Flemish examples, including a brilliant drapery study by Jordaens, a broad landscape by Simon de Vlieger, and a small figure study by Rembrandt. The greatest rarity is a chalk drawing by Gian Lorenzo Bernini for a fountain. The dominant artistic genius of his time in Italy, Bernini drew impulsively, giving a kind of kinetic energy to the forms. (Even as we were acquiring the drawing we were negotiating for a masterpiece of Bernini's youth, a fountain sculpture to be described shortly.)

A group of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century drawings was also added, the most noteworthy being a splendid double-sided sheet by Gericault. The male nude studies are charged with physical power and psychological intensity.

The Department of Decorative Arts made a dozen acquisitions in 1987, of which the most important all date to the reign of Louis XIV. The Museum already has one of the world's finest collections of furniture and objects of this period, so that additions have to be made with particular discernment.

Unprepossessing in its present state but exciting nevertheless is an oval table of the 1660s. It is a real discovery, one of the rare survivals of the *menuiserie* of the era; once sawn in half and covered by paint for years, it is now undergoing a painstaking restoration. The most splendid addition is a *bureau mazarin* lavishly decorated with colored marquetry, a common type of desk with uncommonly brilliant decoration. For the Museum's great collection of furniture attributed to André-Charles Boulle we acquired a pair of fine *torchères*, a form not yet represented here. A large mirror-frame from the turn of the eighteenth century, meant to hang like a picture, will contribute to the décor of one of the Museum's rooms of this period; the same is true of a

splendid gilt-bronze chandelier.

The department continued to add to its small collection of French ceramics from the great porcelain manufactories of Vincennes and Sèvres. Especially noteworthy are a beautiful Sèvres covered cup and saucer, as well as pieces from provincial makers of faience, such as the Moustiers plate with its playfully bizarre decoration. Two excellent examples of mounted oriental porcelain were added to the Museum's extensive collection of this delightful hybrid art form.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART, in its third full year of acquisitions, felt the effects of rapid inflation: although great objects were drawn into the market by high prices, they were increasingly difficult to acquire. A handful of important purchases could be made nevertheless.

A French bronze *Venus and Cupid*, evidently of about 1550 and thus of the Fontainebleau period, is one of the rare large bronzes surviving from that era and has the severe sensuality we associate with Primaticcio and his circle of court artists.

The most important event was the purchase of a marble sculpture by the sixteen-year-old Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the prodigy who was to become the presiding genius of Baroque sculpture and architecture in Italy. It represents a child, perhaps the infant Hercules, subduing a dragon with cheeky good humor and as much ease as the young sculptor himself demonstrates in mastering the complex pose and in undercutting the marble to produce astonishingly lifelike effects.

Another capital acquisition was a group of eight sculptures from Wentworth Woodhouse, seat of the descendants of the second marquess of Rockingham, who commissioned sculptures by the leading artists of the later eighteenth century. The trio of *Venus*, *Minerva*, and *Juno* were made between 1773 and 1776 by Joseph Nollekens, evidently to form a *Judgment of Paris* in combination with a statue of Paris already owned by Rockingham. The group is a graceful ensemble as well as a remarkable example of Neoclassical taste.

A pair of terracotta heads by Pajou, roughly contemporary with the Nollekens group, are conceived with a similar calm classicism though for a different function—evidently as pure ornament, to give delight.

To a growing collection of furniture from outside the Museum's traditional specialty, eighteenth-century France, the department added a splendid Flemish cabinet of the era of Rubens. It will be shown in a paintings gallery together with pictures of the period. And a set of four Venetian carved and gilded chairs was acquired, which today are placed under the pair of slightly earlier views of Venice by Luca Carlevarijs bought in 1986.

A life-sized bust of Christ with the crown of thorns was acquired for the Museum's distinguished collection of maiolica. No other ceramic bust like it is known: not only is it modeled with unusual strength and subtlety, but its colored glazes give it a more convincingly lifelike impression.

The department, together with the Department of Education and Academic Affairs, was cosponsor of a symposium on maiolica at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art in April.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS acquired some 376 new pictures in 1987. Of this number, some were chosen to complement the Museum's great strengths in nineteenth-century photography, such as the rare cyanotype by Anna Atkins, the Cameron portrait of Sir John Herschel, and two commissioned works by Carleton Watkins. The largest part, however, were groups of photographs by some of the principal American photographers of the earlier twentieth century.

Seven newly acquired photographs by Alfred Stieglitz include several of his most memorable images of Georgia O'Keeffe, pictures that had belonged to her and were acquired from her estate.

By good fortune the work of three other great American photographers had been preserved by friends or descendants of the artists and could be acquired *en bloc*. Gertrude Käsebier, whose affectionate domestic imagery contributed much to the Pictorialist movement, is now represented by forty-four photographs acquired from her great-granddaughter. The earlier work of Imogen Cunningham, greatly influenced by Käsebier, can now be seen at the Museum in a group of thirty-one remarkable pictures. Doris Ulmann, a younger photographer who began as a Pictorialist, is today recognized as a major figure principally through her poetic photographs of the rural South; we acquired 159 of her works. Each of the three photographers had a particular affinity for images of women. These connections are to be explored in an exhibition in 1988.

Among other acquisitions of twentieth-century photographs, four by Paul Outerbridge stand out. Outerbridge was a pioneer of color photography; when he was not working commercially, he was producing masterpieces of surreal imagery that are among the most beautiful and disturbing creations of modern photography.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

Plans for a new museum continued to evolve. It is to be part of a Getty Fine Arts Center that will occupy a spur of the Santa Monica Mountains in Brentwood when it is completed in 1993–1994. Richard Meier's

schematic designs were approved by the Trustees in 1987, and the project, duly modified after much negotiation, cleared the hurdles of community and city approval. Drawings and models for the buildings became more detailed in the course of the year. The entire project was given a more compact ground plan and made more economical to build.

In Meier's design for the museum, six buildings are disposed around a central garden and connected by covered or enclosed walks. Daylit paintings galleries occupy the upper story; downstairs there are galleries for the light-sensitive materials (manuscripts, drawings, photographs, and decorative arts); sculpture occupies both floors. A separate building has galleries for a program of medium-sized loan exhibitions. Scattered throughout, but near the galleries, will be spaces for a range of educational services. The objective is to exhibit the collections in conditions of excellent light, in handsome settings, in an atmosphere that makes visitors as receptive as possible to the experience that awaits them. We want to reward their curiosity with ample information.

The Museum's collection of Greek and Roman antiquities will remain in the Villa in Malibu after the new museum in Brentwood receives the rest of the collections. Renovated and reconstituted as a museum devoted exclusively to classical antiquity, the Villa will have a unique place among American museums. To study the possibilities for both programs and physical changes at the Villa, we have been consulting various specialists in classical studies and architecture. In 1987 we had as a consultant the Belgian-born English architect Léon Krier. During the next two years we expect to fashion a program for Malibu's reincarnation after 1994.

The Getty Museum, for all its outward serenity in 1987, was in a constant state of change, inside and out. Visitors who have been away for a few years, or even a few months, are bound to be struck at every turn with improvements of one kind or another. The changes start at the gate: those who arrive by public bus (some 16,000 visitors each year) now walk up from the Pacific Coast Highway to the Museum through the rock gardens and under the trees on a shady, landscaped path that we constructed in 1987. Those who arrive in cars without a reservation can now be accommodated by a nearby commercial parking lot and private shuttle service.

In the galleries, more major renovations were completed in 1987. The large gallery formerly used for Roman sculpture now has later Greek art, primarily from southern Italy, including a remarkable group of sculptures in stone and terracotta acquired during the past five years. Hellenistic and Roman sculpture occupy the adjoining room. The installation is simpler, more lucid, and far handsomer than before.

Upstairs, two large paintings galleries and the adjacent corridors have been entirely renovated to accommodate more pictures and a mixed installation of sculpture and furniture.

In the basement, new offices for four curatorial departments and a small curatorial library were finished in spaces formerly used for conservation studios. We could thus vacate three rooms adjoining the second-floor galleries that had been used for offices since 1974 and devote them to public uses: a gallery for small sculptures and two rooms to supply various kinds of information to visitors. New laboratories and studios for all three conservation departments were finally in full operation after modifications were made to climate control systems.

A visit to the galleries of the Getty Museum can hardly be the same from week to week, since exhibitions of our drawings, manuscripts, and photographs change constantly. In 1987 the Department of Drawings did five installations: French drawings; European drawings of the sixteenth century; seventeenth-century Italian and Netherlandish drawings; landscapes; and European Mannerist drawings. The collection now has enough depth and variety to supply small shows organized around many themes. The same is true of the manuscripts collection. In 1987 there were exhibitions, each with a checklist, of *Illuminated Gothic Manuscripts*; *Monasteries and Manuscripts*; *The Decorated Letter*; and *French Illumination in the Late Middle Ages.* The Department of Photographs had its first full year of exhibitions, some involving the work of visiting curators, all occasioning illustrated brochures: *Procession to the Fallen Gods: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*; *The Flowering of Early French Photography: 1840–1870*; *Rare States and Unusual Subjects: Photographs by Paul Strand, André Kertész, and Man Ray*; *". . . images that yet/Fresh images beget. . .": Photographing Art*; and *Alexander Rodchenko: Modern Photography in Soviet Russia.* Having held an exhibition of Edward Weston's work at the end of 1986, the department cosponsored a symposium devoted to the artist at the Huntington Library and Art Gallery at the beginning of 1987.

The year was one of reorganization, staffing, and planning for the newly reconstituted Department of Education and Academic Affairs. David Ebitz, formerly of the University of Maine, joined the Museum as head of the department; he continued to build up a group of first-rate lecturers and educators and to plan for a more diverse menu of services for the visitor. During the period of reorganization the department's long-

established Guest Scholar Program continued to bring distinguished scholars to Malibu from throughout the country and the world for periods of one to three months. While guest scholars pursue their own research without obligation to the Museum, we benefit greatly from their presence because their interests are closely related to our areas of collecting.

The Student Internship Program attracted more than five hundred applicants in 1987, a record. From among them we were able to select a remarkable group for nine to twelve months' practical experience in museum work. We know that some of these young professionals will soon move on to important responsibilities in the museum field.

Because our conservators work well away from the public eye and are mostly occupied with treating our collection, I want to note some of their other contributions in 1987. They again played host to a succession of visiting conservators from this country and abroad, and they served as consultants on projects away from the Museum, many organized by the Getty Conservation Institute (GCI).

Jerry Podany, conservator of antiquities, conducted courses in field conservation in cooperation with the GCI, for example. He also chaired a symposium in Richmond, Virginia, on the scientific study of Cycladic sculpture and taught a course for the University of Southern California. The Antiquities Conservation staff presented papers on its work at meetings in America and Europe. Other activities were planned during the year, such as the training of Cypriot conservators and participation in site and field conservation on Cyprus. This was part of an agreement involving Cyprus, the Museum, and the GCI that brings benefits to everyone concerned.

Like the other conservators, Barbara Roberts and her staff in Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation have become experts in disaster planning and in emergency treatment for works of art. Fortunately, opportunities to practice the latter at the Museum were few in 1987, but our conservators assisted several other museums in Los Angeles and elsewhere when the call came. The GCI is a frequent partner in these missions. Barbara Roberts has been a regular speaker at meetings on conservation measures for dealing with earthquakes and other natural hazards. The department's research includes a joint project with GCI to analyze Renaissance bronzes in an attempt to establish correlations between materials, places of manufacture, and individual artists.

Andrea Rothe, conservator of paintings, was part of a group sponsored by the Kress Foundation that studied (and heartily endorsed) the work on Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel frescoes. He and his staff participated as teachers in a GCI training course on wall paintings in Mexico City. Richard Wolbers of the University of Delaware, who had been a visiting conservator at the Museum, conducted a week-long seminar here, under GCI sponsorship, on new and safer methods of removing varnish.

Ever-higher standards in the conservation of the collections have matched similar improvements in security, in the care of the facilities and grounds, and in services to visitors and scholars alike. At the same time the building of the Museum's collections continued in 1987 to be the most fundamental of our activities. The keenest pleasure of working at the Getty Museum comes from this constant improvement from year to year, a steady progress accomplished by a diligent and devoted staff.

John Walsh
Director

Notes to the Reader

Although variations occur reflecting both curatorial preference and the nature of the works of art described, the following information has been provided for each listed item where appropriate or available: name and dates of artist, title or name of work and date of execution, medium, dimensions with centimeters preceding inches, inscriptions, Museum accession number, commentary, provenance, and bibliography.

When possible in giving dimensions, the formula height precedes width precedes depth has been observed. In cases where this was not appropriate to the work of art in question, the following abbreviations have been consistently employed:

H: Height
W: Width
D: Depth
Diam: Diameter
L: Length

In the provenance sections brackets are used to indicate dealers.

ANTIQUITIES

STONE SCULPTURE

1

1. BUST OF A GIRL
   Roman, late second century A.D.
   Marble, H: 38.8 cm (15¼ in.)
   87.AA.48

Although the artist is unknown, the portrait is a fine example of the sculpture of the Severan period. The child's slight frame is draped by a tunic buttoned at the shoulders. The contours of her face are delicately modeled, but the nonparallel, horizontal planes of the eyes, nose, and mouth lend a curious asymmetry to her features. The cursory carving on the back suggests that the portrait was meant to be set within a niche. There are two scratches on the forehead and some small chips missing from the face and hair. The front of the base was broken and repaired.

PROVENANCE: United States art market.

2

BRONZE SCULPTURE

2. THYMIATERION IN THE FORM OF A COMIC ACTOR SEATED ON AN ALTAR
   Roman, first half of the first century A.D.
   Bronze with silver inlays, H: 23.2 cm (9⅛ in.); W: 13.3 cm (6 in.); D: 9.2 cm (3⅝ in.)
   87.AC.143

Wearing the mask of a slave in Greek New Comedy, the actor sits atop an altar with legs crossed. He wears a tunic and cloak over a long-sleeved shirt, long leggings, and sandals. His eyes are inlaid with silver. The altar itself is ornamented with architectural moldings, and three putti hold the filleted garlands that encircle it. The entire composition is mounted on a square base supported by four lions' feet.

The figure and altar together form an incense burner. The lid—with which the actor is cast as a single piece—swivels on a pin, providing access to the hollow drum of the altar that is pierced on the bottom for ventilation. Smoke from the burning incense placed inside escaped through the actor's mouth.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Herrmann in *The Gods Delight,* exh. cat. (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1988), no. 54, pp. 299–302, illus. pp. 300–301.

3

3. THYMIATERION IN THE FORM OF A SINGER SEATED ON AN ALTAR
Roman, first half of the first century A.D.
Bronze, H: 19 cm (7½ in.); W (including feet): 9.5 cm (3¾ in.); D (including feet): 9.2 cm (3⅝ in.)
87.AC.144

An openmouthed singer sits atop a round altar decorated with bucrania supporting pine garlands. He wears an undergarment of soft fabric with long sleeves, leggings, a linen skirt, a sleeveless tunic, and sandals. In his right hand he holds a sistrum.

The lid, cast together with the figurine, swiveled to the side to allow the incense to be placed inside, and ventilation holes in the floor of the drum provided a source of oxygen for burning. The perfumed smoke rose inside the singer's hollow body and escaped through his open mouth.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Herrmann in *The Gods Delight,* exh. cat. (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1988), no. 55, pp. 303–306, illus. pp. 300–301.

VASES: LAKONIAN

4

4. KYLIX
Circa 530 B.C.
Attributed to the Allard Pierson Painter [R. Hecht and K. Manchester, independently]
Terracotta, H: 13–13.5 cm (5⅛–5⁵⁄₁₆ in.); Diam: 19.7 cm (7¾ in.)
87.AE.31

Inside, an eagle is shown flying to the left, gripping the neck of a snake in its beak and clutching the serpent's body in the talons of its left claw. On the exterior, a band of stylized leaves with dots in the interstices decorates the handle zone. Black, spade-shaped silhouette palmettes spring from the handle roots. Rays surround the bottom of the bowl. The cup was broken and has been restored.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VASES: ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

5

5. ZONE CUP TYPE A
Circa 520 B.C.
Attributed to the Manner of the Lysippides Painter [J. R. Guy]; attributed to Andokides as potter
Terracotta, H: 13.6 cm (5⁵⁄₁₆ in.); Diam: 36.4 cm (14⁵⁄₁₆ in.)
87.AE.22

In the interior reserved zone around a central gorgoneion, six symposiasts recline to the right beneath intertwined grapevines. Four hold drinking vessels and one plays the lyre. Pairs of masculine eyes decorate both sides of the exterior. Between them on side A, Herakles stands before Dionysos; on side B, Herakles wrestles the sea monster Triton. Beneath the handles are grapevines laden with fruit. The added red and white are well preserved. An alien fragment was used to repair the cup in antiquity near the handle on side A/B; glazed inside and out, it may be from an early red-figure cup Type A.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

6. 189 VASE FRAGMENTS
Circa 510–440 B.C.
Attributed to the Berlin Painter, the Brygos Painter, Douris, Makron, Onesimos, the Sosias Painter, and the Triptolemos Painter, among others.
Terracotta, various dimensions
87.AE.43; .44–.46, .51, .53–.56 (presented by Dietrich von Bothmer); .82–.86; .100 (presented by J. Robert Guy); .153–.154 (presented by Dietrich von Bothmer)

These fragments include a fragment of a calyx krater by the Berlin Painter (joining 77.AE.5); parts of two large zone cups by Douris; kantharoi by Onesimos and the Brygos Painter; cups by the Sosias Painter (joining 81.AE.206), Makron (joining 85.AE.478), and the Triptolemos Painter; and various owl skyphoi and sessile kantharoi.

PROVENANCE: Donation and European art market.

7. VOLUTE KRATER WITH STAND
Circa 400 B.C.
Attributed to the circle of the Meidias Painter
Terracotta
Krater—H (to top of volutes): 54.2 cm (21 3/8 in.); H (to rim): 45.6 cm (18 in.); Diam (mouth): 32.1 cm (12 5/8 in.); Diam (body): 40.6 cm (16 in.); Stand—H: 16.4 cm (6 1/2 in.); Diam (base): 34 cm (13 3/8 in.)
87.AE.93

7

The black-glazed body of the krater is fluted in imitation of metallic prototypes. The fluting is interrupted at the shoulder by an olive wreath in relief that preserves traces of its original gilding. The molded handles spring from high-relief protomes of Ethiopians on the shoulder of the vessel to form elaborate volutes. The eyes and lips of the Ethiopian heads are added in white; their hair was originally gilded. The flanges of the handles and the outer rings of the volutes are decorated in red-figure technique with myrtle. There are gilded relief berries between the leaves. In the oculi of the volutes, within a ring of red-figure enclosed palmettes, are small gilded female heads molded in relief. Large openwork scrolls with attached leaves fill the spaces between the handles and the painted neck and rim. Beneath the painted kymation on the rim of the krater palmette patterns decorate the mouth. Smaller bands of florals separate the palmette-lotus patterns from the figural scenes on either side of the neck.

In the figural scene on side A of the neck, the dying Adonis lies on a couch covered with elaborately embroidered textiles. A small Eros perched on the end of his kline offers a plate of food. Two trios of women flank the god's deathbed. Aphrodite sits on a wedding casket at his feet, accompanied by two women; and a second goddess, perhaps Persephone, is seated on a similar casket at the right side of the couch between her two attendants. In the symposium scene on side B, three couples recline on couches. Each pair consists of a man and youth in conversation. On low tables before the couches are fruits and assorted foods. The vase has been reconstructed from fragments; the head of Adonis is lost, as are some other small pieces.

The stand on which the krater stood is more elaborately decorated with red-figured scenes and patterns than the krater. Above registers of kymation, tongue, and palmette-lotus patterns is a broad frieze of gods, satyrs, and maenads in revelry. The central figure is similar in appearance to the dying Adonis on the neck of the krater, but the kantharos in his hand identifies him as Dionysos. A small Eros attends him while a pair, perhaps identifiable as Hephaistos and Apollo, approach from the left. On the preserved top of the stand are scenes of human and animal combat. The stand is intact.

Because the top of the stand was damaged in antiquity and cut down, a modern sleeve has been added to hold the bottom of the krater.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES: APULIAN

8

8. PELIKE
Circa 340–330 B.C.
Attributed to the Darius Painter [A. D. Trendall]
Terracotta, H: 61 cm (24 in.); Diam (mouth): 24.8 cm (9¾ in.); Diam (body): 38.1 cm (15 in.); Diam (foot): 21.6 cm (8½ in.)
87.AE.23

The pelike has been reconstructed from fragments, and some areas have been restored. On its obverse, the vase depicts the sequel to the liberation of Andromeda by the hero Perseus. In the center of the lower register, Andromeda (inscribed ΑΝΔΡΟ[ ]ΕΔΑ) sits on an elaborate throne while her mother, Cassiopeia (inscribed ΚΑΣΣΙΕΠΕΙΑ), kneels before her to beg her forgiveness. A personification of Concord leans on the back of the throne (inscribed ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ), and a small figure of Eros hovers above. To the right stand Perseus (inscribed ΠΕΡΣΕΥΣ); Cepheus, Andromeda's aged father (inscribed ΚΗΦΕΥΣ); and a male attendant. On the far left is a seated woman. At the top center is the figure of Aphrodite (inscribed ΚΥΠΡΙΣ), identified as Cyprus, the island of her birth and site of a major cult of the goddess. Other unidentified attendants complete the scene. The reverse side of the vessel shows four women, a youth, and a flying Eros.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: The pelike will be published by A. D. Trendall and M. Jentoft-Nilsen together with two other vases in the Museum's collection in a forthcoming article about representations from episodes in the myth of Andromeda.

IVORY

9. FRAGMENTS OF A BED
Hellenistic, third-second century B.C.
Ivory, various dimensions
87.AI.101.1–.356, presented by H. Lucas

The fragments once formed part of an elaborate bed frame. Figural decoration in the form of partially draped standing males, and heads in three-quarter view, some of which are helmeted, can be discerned on some fragments; floral and geometric decorative patterns remain on others.

10. APPLIQUE
Late Hellenistic (Ionia?), second–first century B.C.
Ivory, H: 8.6 cm (3⅜ in.); W: 6.9 cm (2¹¹/₁₆ in.)
87.AI.18

The appliqué takes the form of a head of Pan in near-profile. He wears a cloth fillet around the crown of his head. The hole that is drilled through the cheek indicates

10

that the circular relief was made for attachment to another object, most probably the lower end of the fulcrum of a kline. A curving horn carved from a separate piece of ivory was inserted into the channel drilled near the top of his head. The head has been reconstructed from four fragments.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Doumeyrou, "An Ivory Fulcrum Medallion," *GettyMusJ* (forthcoming).

GOLD AND SILVER

11

11. BULL'S HEAD CUP
Hellenistic (Ionia?), second century B.C.
Silver with gold-leaf gilding, H: 12.1 cm (4¾ in.); Diam: 7.8 cm (3¹/₁₆ in.); Weight: 276.9 grams
87.AM.58

Made in two parts, this unique cup represents the head of a yearling bull prepared for sacrifice with a fillet about its neck and gilding on its horns. The outer casing is of raised silver, with punched and incised decoration and gilding on the horns, mouth, lachrymal ducts, and sacrificial fillet. The sturdy cup liner, made separately also by raising, fits snugly into the open neck of the bull's head and provides the lip of the cup. According to an inscription on the outside of the liner's rim, the weight of the cup is equivalent to sixty-seven drachmas, which, when multiplied by a second-century-B.C. Hellenistic standard, is an accurate reflection of its weight of 276.9 grams. The ornamental pattern on the fillet may link the cup to a Seleucid workshop. Used for drinking wine or pouring libations, the cup is a fine example of the best of the luxury goods made for the wealthy classes of the hellenized East.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

GEMS

12

12. GOLD RING WITH ENGRAVED CAMEO
Roman, second century A.D.
Gold and sardonyx
Ring—H: 2.6 cm (1 in.); Diam: 2.1 cm ($^{13}/_{16}$ in.); Stone—L: 1.9 cm ($^{3}/_{4}$ in.); W: 1.1 cm ($^{7}/_{16}$ in.)
87.AN.24

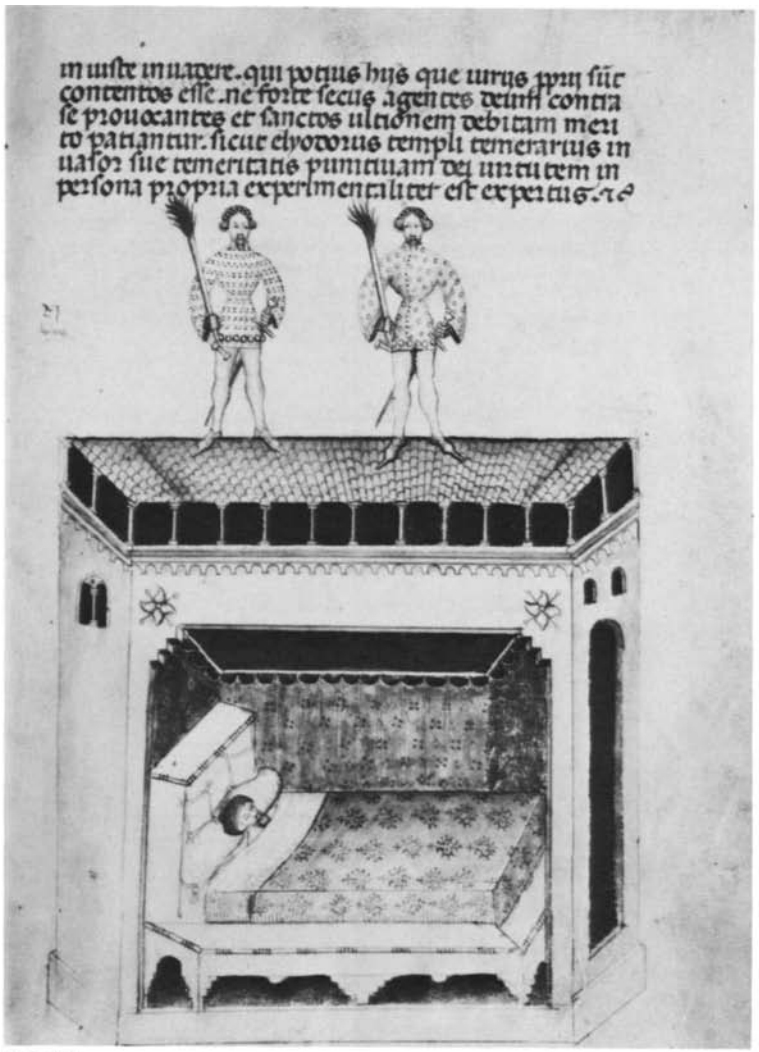
Set within a high-sided gold bezel, the cameo depicts Perseus gazing at the severed head of the Gorgon Medusa, which he supports in his outstretched right hand. A chlamys is draped over his left elbow, and he cradles his harpe against his left forearm. His feet are shod in the winged sandals of Hermes. His shield is propped against a small column topped by an orb.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

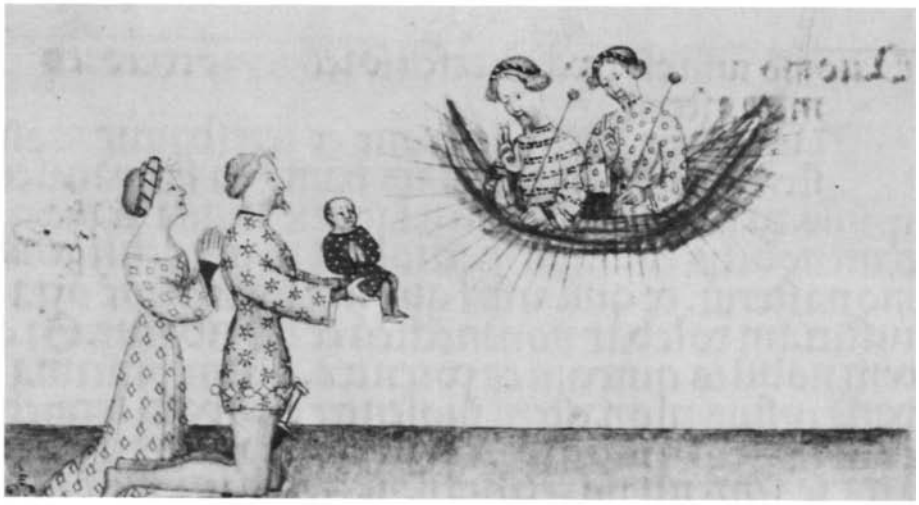
MANUSCRIPTS

13. LEGENDA VENERABILIUM VIRORUM AYMONIS ET VERMONDI FONDATORUM MONASTERII DE MEDA
Attributed to Anovelo da Imbonate or his circle
Milan, circa 1400
Vellum, i + 11 + i leaves. Collation: 1^1, 2^{10}; 25.6 x 18.4 cm ($10^1/_{16}$ x $7^1/_4$ in.). Text area 19.2 x 13.8 cm ($7^9/_{16}$ x $5^7/_{16}$ in.), one column, thirty-four lines. Latin text in Gothic script. One three-quarter-page miniature, ten quarter-page miniatures, thirteen gold-leaf initials. Green vellum binding over pasteboard with blind gold-tooling between raised bands on the spine; Italian, eighteenth century.
Ms. 26; 87.MN.33

CONTENTS: Incipit prologus in legenda venerabiliu[m] viror[um] Aymo[n]is et Vermondi fondator[um] mon[a]sterii de Meda qua festa celebratur die xiii mensis februarii (fol. 1); Incipit modus p[ro]cedendi in legenda (fol. 1v); Incipit qu[omod]o se Deo voverunt et monasterium de Meda fundaveru[n]t (fol. 1v): *Aimo and Vermondo Ride out to the Hunt* (fol. 2v); Hic notatur qualit[er] inveneru[n]t venationem (fol. 2v): *Aimo and Vermondo Attacked by Wild Boars* (fol. 3); Hic q[ua]liter voveru[n]t eccl[es]iam i[n] honore s[an]c[t]i Victoris hedificare (fol. 3): *Aimo and Vermondo, Chased up Two Trees by Four Wild Boars, Appeal to the Virgin and Child and Saint Victor to Save Them* (fol. 3v); Hic qualit[er] monasterium construerunt (fol. 4): *Aimo and Vermondo Hold up the New Church of Saint Victor within a Fortified Enclosure* (fol. 4v); De translatione ipsor[um] et quomodo tunc apparueru[n]t argana [sic] s[anct]itatis eor[um] (fol. 4v): *The Translation of Aimo and Vermondo* (fol. 5v); Hic qualiter translata sunt eor[um] corpora (fol. 5v): *The People of Milan Pray at the Altar Where Aimo and Vermondo Are Buried* (fol. 5v); Incipiu[n]t miracula que p[er] eos Deus dignat[us] est op[er]ari (fol. 6): *Sister Guglielma Prays to Saints Aimo and Vermondo on Behalf of Her Sick Sister, Maria, the Wife of Andrea de Confalonieri of Milan* (fol. 7v); *The Mother of Allegranzina Appeals to Saints Aimo and Vermondo to Save*



13 (fol. 10)



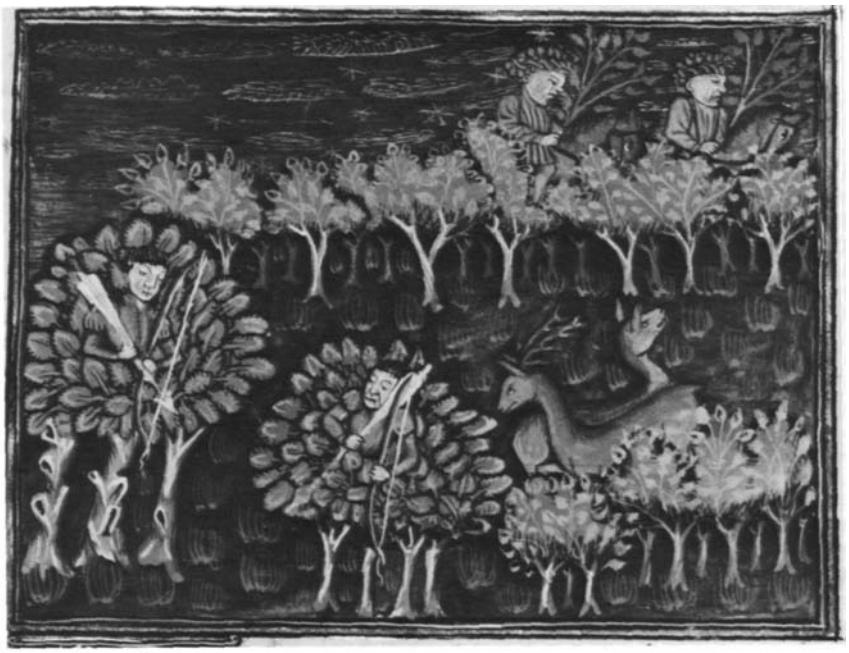
13 (fol. 9, detail)

Her Child, Who Has Been Run over by a Cart (fol. 8v); *Leone Otasso and His Wife, Corrada, Present Their Ill Son to Saints Aimo and Vermondo to Be Cured* (fol. 9); *A Crowd of Lay Worshipers Gives Thanks to Saints Aimo and Vermondo* (fol. 9); Quom[od]o vis[um] est ip[s]os e[ss]e defensores et protectores monasterii (fol. 9v): *Saints Aimo and Vermondo Stand on the Roof of the House of One of the Monastery's Enemies and Threaten to Burn It Down with the Torches They Hold* (fol. 10).

A contemporaneous, closely related copy of the *Legenda* in Milan (Biblioteca Trivulziana, Ms. 509) was executed by the workshop that made Ms. 26 (facsimile: G. Bologna, *Leggende Lombarde: Aimo e Vermondo di Meda. Il Codice Trivulziano 509*, 2 vols. [Milan, 1982]).

PROVENANCE: Convent of Saint Victor of Meda; Carlo Archinto (1669–1732), Milan (possibly included in his sale, Paris, March 21, 1863); to Bertram, fourth earl of Ashburnham (1797–1878), Ashburnham Place, Battle, Sussex, in 1867 (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 1, 1899, lot 161); Henri Gallice, Epernay; Marcel Jeanson, Paris, Ms. 126 (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 28–March 1, 1987, lot 339).

14. GASTON PHEBUS
(Gaston III, Comte de Foix)
Livre de la chasse
Probably Brittany, circa 1430–1440
Vellum, 119 leaves. Collation: 1^8–14^8, 15^8 (–7, –8; leaf 6 is the back pastedown), 16^4 (a paper gathering inserted between leaves 4 and 5 of gathering 15; its first leaf is glued to folio 116v, and its last leaf is glued to folio 119); 26.3 x 18.4 cm ($10^3/_8$ x $7^1/_4$ in.). Text area 18 x 12.2 cm ($7^1/_{16}$ x $4^{13}/_{16}$ in.), two columns, thirty-four lines. French text in Gothic script. Sixty-five half-page miniatures, twenty-one quarter-page miniatures, one hundred decorated borders, eighty-nine large and numerous small decorated initials. Red morocco binding gold-tooled and stamped over pasteboard; France, probably seventeenth century.
Ms. 27; 87.MR.34



14 (fol. 109, detail)

CONTENTS: Prologue (fols. 3–6v): *Gaston Phébus Dictating to a Scribe* (fol. 3); Chapter 1, Du cerf et de toute sa nature (fols. 6v–10v): *Deer* (fol. 6v); Chapter 2, Du ranger et de toute sa nature (fols. 10v–11): *Reindeer* (fol. 10v); Chapter 3, Du dain et de toute sa nature (fols. 11v–12): *Fallow Deer* (fol. 11v); Chapter 4, Du bouc et de toute sa nature (fols. 12v–14): *He-Goats* (fol. 12v); Chapter 5, Du chevreul et de toute sa nature (fols. 14v–16): *Roe Deer* (fol. 14v); Chapter 6, Du lievre et de toute sa nature (fols. 16–18v): *Hares* (fol. 16); Chapter 7, Du conin et de toute sa nature (fol. 19): *Rabbits* (fol. 18v); Chapter 8, De l'ours et de toute sa nature (fols. 19v–21): *Bear* (fol. 19); Chapter 9, Du sangler et de toute sa nature (fols. 21v–23v): *Wild Boars* (fol. 21v); Chapter 10, Du loup et de toute sa nature (fols. 23v–27): *Wolf* (fol. 23v); Chapter 11, Cy devise du regnart et de toute sa nature (fols. 27–28): *Foxes and Their Ruses* (fol. 27); Chapter 12, Du blariau et de toute sa nature (fols. 28–28v): *Badgers* (fol. 28); Chapter 13, Du chat et de toute sa nature (fol. 29): *Wildcats* (fol. 28v); Chapter 14, De la loutre et de toute sa nature (fols. 29v–30): *Otters* (fol. 29v); Chapter 15, De la maniere et condit[i]on des chens (fols. 30v–33): *Dogs* (fol. 30); Chapter 16, Cy devise des maladies des chens et de leurs curacions (fols. 33v–39): *Doctor, Hunter, and Three Sick Dogs* (fol. 33v); Chapter 17, Cy devise de lalant et de toute sa nature (fols. 39–40): *Hunting Dogs* (fol. 39); Chapter 18, Du levrier et de toute sa nature (fols. 40v–41): *Greyhounds* (fol. 40v); Chapter 19, Du chien courant et de toute sa nature (fols. 41v–43v): *Hounds* (fol. 41v); Chapter 20, Du chien doysel et de sa nature (fols. 43v–44v): *Spaniels* (fol. 43v); Chapter 21, Cy devise du mastin et de toute sa nature (fols. 44v–45): *Mastiffs* (fol. 44v); Chapter 22, Des manieres et condit[i]ons q[ue] doit avoir celui q[u]'on veult ap[pre]ndre a estre venour (fol. 45v): *Hunter and Young Boy* (fol. 45); Chapter 23, Ci devise du chenil ou les chiens doivent demorer et co[m]me il doit estre tenu (fols. 46–46v): *Hunter Attending to Kenneled Dogs* (fol. 46); Chapter 24, Co[m]me on doit mener les chie[n]s esbatre (fols. 46v–47): *Hunter Combing a Dog* (fol. 46v); Chapter 25, Co[m]me on doit faere et lascer toutes man[ier]es de las (fol. 47): *Hunters Making Snares* (fol. 47); Chapter 26, Co[m]me on doit corner et huer (fols. 47v–48): *Hunter Training Dogs to Respond to the Call of the Horn* (fol. 47v); Chapter 27, Co[m]me on doit mener les chens a faere la suite (fols. 48v–50): *Hunters Training Dogs to Track a Quarry* (fol. 48v); Chapter 28, Co[m]me on doit mener en queste son varlet pour

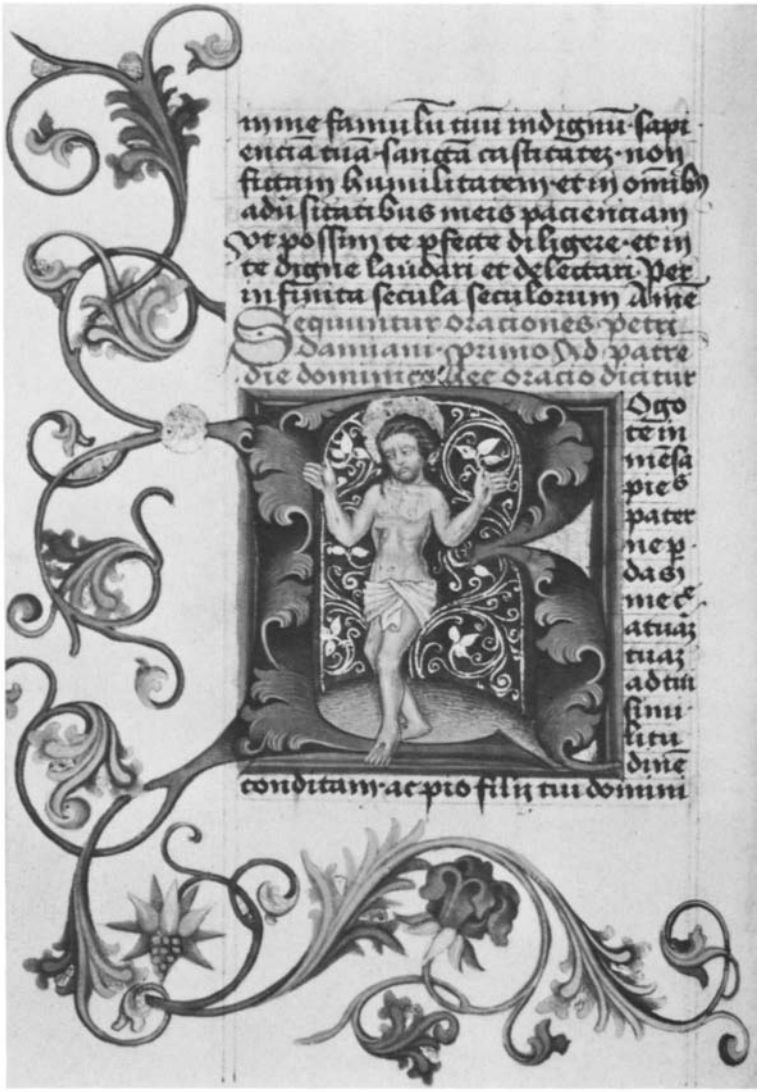
14 (fol. 102, detail)

aprandre acognoistre le gra[n]t cerf par le pie (fols. 50v–51): *Hunters Examining a Deer's Hoofprints* (fol. 50v); Chapter 29, Co[m]me on doit cognoistre grant cerf par les fumees (fols. 51v–52): *Hunter and Dog Examining a Deer's Spoor* (fol. 51v); Chapter 30, Cy devise a cognoestre grant cerf p[ar] par [sic] les froients (fols. 52v–56): *Hunter and Dog Examining a Deer's Fraying Place* (fol. 52); Chapter 31, Come on doit aler en queste a la veue (fols. 56–56v): *Hunter Spotting a Deer* (fol. 56); Chapter 32, Come on doit aler en queste entre les champs et forest (fols. 56v–57): *Hunter and Dog Tracking between Field and Forest* (fol. 56v); Chapter 33, Co[m]me on doit aler en queste es ieunes taillers (fol. 57): *Hunter and Dog Tracking in a Copse* (fol. 57); Chapter 34, Co[m]me on doit aler en queste p[ar]my les fors (fol. 57v): *Hunter and Dog Tracking in a Thicket* (fol. 57v); Chapter 35, Co[m]me on doit aler en queste en haultes fusoyes (fols. 58–59): *Hunter and Dog Tracking in a Forest* (fol. 58); Chapter 36, Co[m]me on doit aler en queste pour oir le cerf vere (fols. 59–59v): *Hunter and Dog Spying on a Doe and a Troating Stag* (fol. 59); Chapter 37, Ci devise co[m]me on doit aler en queste pour le sa[n]glier (fols. 60–60v): *Hunter and Dog Tracking Wild Boar* (fol. 60); Chapter 38, Co[m]me l'asamblee se doit faere en yver et en este (fols. 61–61v): *Meal before the Hunt* (fol. 60v); Chapter 39, Co[m]me on doit aler laisser courre pour le cerf (fols. 61v–63v): *Hunters Pursuing a Deer* (fol. 61v); Chapter 40, Co[m]me on doit escorcher et deffaere le cerff (fols. 64–66): *Hunters Flaying a Deer's Carcass* (fol. 64); Chapter 41, Co[m]me on doit faere droit au limier et la curee aux chiens (fols. 66v–67): *Hunters Feeding a Deer's Remains to Dogs* (fol. 66); Chapter 42, Co[m]me on doit aler laisser courre pour le sangler (fols. 67–67v): *Hunters Pursuing a Wild Boar* (fol. 67); Chapter 43, Com[m]e on doit deffaere le sangler (fols. 67v–69v): *Hunters Dismembering a Boar's Carcass* (fol. 67v); Chapter 44, Co[m]me on fera bone ayde (fols. 69v–71v): *Two Hunters and a Dog* (fol. 69v); Chapter 45, Co[m]me[n]t le bon venour doit chaczer et prandre le cerf a force (fols. 72–80v): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Stag* (fol. 71v); Chapter 46, Co[m]me le venour doit chaczer et prandre le ranger (fol. 81): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Reindeer* (fol. 81); Chapter 47, Co[m]me le bon venour doit chaczer et prandre le dain a force (fols. 81v–82): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Fallow Deer* (fol. 81v); Chapter 48, Co[m]me le bon venour doit chaczer et p[ra]ndre le bouc sauvage (fols. 82–82v): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing Wild Goats* (fol. 82); Chapter 49, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre le chevreul a force (fols. 83–85): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Roe Deer* (fol. 82v); Chapter 50, Co[m]me le bon venour doit chaczer et prandre le lievre a force (fols. 85v–87v): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Hare* (fol. 85); Chapter 51, Come on doit chaczer et p[ra]ndre les conins (fol. 88): *Hunters and Dogs Ferreting out Rabbits* (fol. 87v); Chapter 52, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre l'ours (fols. 88v–89): *Hunters and Dogs Capturing a Bear* (fol. 88v); Chapter 53, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et p[ra]ndre le sangler (fols. 89v–90): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Wild Boar* (fol. 89v); Chapter 54, Co[m]me on doit ferir le sangler tout a cheval (fols. 90v–91v): *Hunter and Dogs Killing a Wild Boar* (fol. 90v); Chapter 55, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre le loup (fols. 92–95): *Hunters and Dogs Killing a Wolf* (fol. 92); Chapter 56, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre le regnart (fols. 95v–96v): *Hunter and Dogs Pursuing a Fox* (fol. 95v); Chapter 57, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et p[ra]ndre le blariau (fols. 96v–97): *Hunters Ferreting out Badgers* (fol. 96v); Chapter 58, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre le chat (fols. 97–97v): *Hunter and Dogs Attacking a Treed Wildcat* (fol. 97); Chapter 59, Co[m]me on doit chaczer et prandre la loutre (fols. 98–98v): *Hunter and Dogs Attacking an Otter* (fol. 97v); Chapter 60, Co[m]me on doit faere hayes pour prandre toutes bestes (fols. 99–102): *Hunters Cutting Trees to Make Traps* (fol. 99); Chapter 61, Co[m]me on doit prandre sanglers et aultres bestes aux fosses (fols. 102–102v): *Hunters Driving a Wild Boar into a Pit* (fol. 102); Chapter 62, Co[m]me on puet prandre ours et aultres bestes aux dardiers (fol. 103): *Deer Wounded by a Spring Trap* (fol. 102v); Chapter 63, Co[m]me on puet p[ra]nd[r]e loups et aultres bestes aux hausepiez (fol. 103v): *Deer Caught in a Foot Trap* (fol. 103); Chapter 64, Co[m]me on puet prandre sanglers ou aultres bestes quant ilz vont a leur vianderz ou mengues aux cha[m]ps ou es vignes (fols. 103v–104): *Hunter Wounding a Wild Boar Caught in a Pit* (fol. 103v); Chapter 65, Co[m]me on doit prandre le sangl[e]r a veautrer (fols. 104–104v): *Hunters and Dogs Attacking a Wallowing Wild Boar* (fol. 104); Chapter 66, Co[m]me on puet prandre loups aux fosses a train (fols. 104v–105): *Wolf Attracted with Bait to a Covered Pit* (fol. 104v); Chapter 67, Co[m]me on prant loups aux aguilles (fols. 105–105v): *Wolf Eating Bait Filled with Needles* (fol. 105); Chapter 68, Co[m]me on puet prandre loups touz vifs aux parcs (fol. 106): *Wolf Caught in a Fenced Trap Baited with a Lamb* (fol. 105v); Chapter 69, Co[m]me on prant les loups aux p[er]ches (fols. 106–106v): *Wolf Caught in a Foot Trap* (fol. 106); Chapter 69 (sic), Co[m]me on p[ra]nt les loups a la croupie (fols. 106v–107): *Hunters Attracting Wolves with Carrion* (fol. 106v); Chapter 71, Co[m]me on puet traere aux bestes de l'arbalestre et de l'arc a main (fols. 107–109): *Archers Stalking Deer* (fol. 107); Chapter 72, Co[m]me on doit mettre les bestes au tour pour traere (fols. 109–109v): *Camouflaged Hunters Preparing to Attack Deer* (fol. 109); Chapter 73, Co[m]me on puet mener la charete pour traire aux bestes (fols. 109v–110): *Camouflaged Hunters on Horse-Drawn Wagon Approaching a Deer* (fol. 109v); Chapter 74, Co[m]me on doit asseoir les archers pour traire aux bestes (fols. 110–110v): *Camouflaged Horseman and Archer Approaching a Deer* (fol. 110); Chapter 75, Co[m]me on doit aler es forez pour traire aux bestes (fols. 110v–111): *Archer Shooting at Deer* (fol. 110v); Chapter 76, Co[m]me on doit porter la toile pour traire aux bestes (fols. 111–111v): *Archers behind a Mock Cow Approaching Deer* (fol. 111); Chapter 78 (sic), Co[m]me on puet traere aux bestes noires (fols. 111v–112): *Archers Shooting at a Wild Boar* (fol. 111v); Chapter 78, Co[m]me on puet traere aux fueilleiz aux bestes noires (fol. 112v): *Archer on Platform Shooting at a Wallowing Wild Boar* (fol. 112); Chapter 79, Cy devise co[m]me on doit tirer aux bestes rouses et noere au reto[ur] de leur vianderz (fol. 113): *Archers Stalking Deer at Their Grazing Places* (fol. 112v); Chapter 80, Co[m]me on puet traire aux lievres (fol. 113v): *Hunters Netting a Hare* (fol. 113); Chapter 81, Co[m]me on puet prandre lievres aux voiseux (fols. 113v–114): *Hunter Netting Hares* (fol. 113v); Chapter 82, Come on doit prandre les lievres aux pe[n]neaux (fol. 114v): *Hunters with*

Bells Driving Hares into a Net (fol. 114); Chapter 83, Come on doit prandre les lievres aux poches et petiz roiseux (fol. 115): *Hunter and a Netted Hare* (fol. 114v); Chapter 84, Co[m]me on puet prandre lievres a la croupie (fols. 115–115v): *Hunter and Greyhound Waiting to Attack Hare* (fol. 115); Chapter 85, Co[m]me on doit tandre poches et memies cordeletes ou royseux pour p[ra]ndre les lievres a leur relevee (fol. 116): *Hunter and Snares Used to Trap Hares* (fol. 115v); *Life of Gaston Phébus* (sixteenth century) (fols. 117–119).

PROVENANCE: Nantrieul family, Brittany; Henri d'Orleans, marquis de Rothelin (1581–1651), Reims; to Antoine de Lamare, 1640; Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, by circa 1740, Ms. fr. 2276; to Pierre Dubrowsky, 1791; to the Imperial Library, Saint Petersburg, 1805 (subsequently Publichnaia biblioteka, Leningrad), Ms. fr. F. v. X. no. 1; to Marcel Jeanson, Paris, by 1936, Ms. 101 (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 28–March 1, 1987, lot 459).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Bibliotheken," *Allgem. Literatur-Zeitung, Intelligenzblatt* 80 (May 19, 1804), col. 643, no. 163; G. Bertrand, "Catalogue des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Pétersbourg," *Revue des sociétés savantes* 5th ser., 6 (1873), p. 538 (repr. as *Catalogue des manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque de Saint-Pétersbourg* [Paris, 1874], p. 165); L. Delisle, *Le cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Paris, 1874), vol. 2, p. 58; A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Pétersbourg* (Paris, 1936–1937), pp. 48–49 and pl. 23; M. Meiss, *The Limbourgs and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1974), p. 444, n. 253.



15 (fol. 197v)

15. PRAYER BOOK
Illuminated by the Workshop of Valentine Noh
Prague, circa 1477
Vellum, iii + i (vellum) + 299 + iii leaves. Collation: 1^{10}–16^{10}, 17^{10} (–1, before fol. 161), 18^{10}–30^{10} (traces of horizontal catchwords); 14.1 x 10.2 cm (5 9/16 x 4 in.). Text area: 9 x 5.8 cm (3 9/16 x 2 5/16 in.), one column (two on fols. 55–56v), twenty-five lines. Latin text in Gothic script. Thirty-eight decorated borders, nineteen historiated initials, nineteen decorated initials. Purple velvet binding over wood boards; probably England, eighteenth or early nineteenth century.
Ms. 28; 87.ML.60

CONTENTS: Psalms for vespers (fols. 1–11): historiated initial *C* with *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception* (fol. 1); psalms for the daily offices (fols. 11–22v); psalms for the offices of the Virgin (fols. 22v–44): decorated initial *D* (fol. 22v), decorated initial *D* (fol. 35); hymns (fols. 44–46v): decorated initial *A*, (fol. 44); Seven Penitential Psalms (fols. 47–55): decorated initial *S* (fol. 47); litany (fols. 55–56v); prayers (fols. 56v–59v); antiphons (fols. 59v–63v); variants of the Hours of the Virgin for different seasons (fols. 64–108; fols. 108v–110v blank ruled [prayer added in fifteenth-century hand on fol. 108v]): historiated initial *P* with *Annunciation* (fol. 64), historiated initial *C* with *Nativity* (fol. 72), historiated initial *R* with *Circumcision* (fol. 83v), historiated initial *M* with *Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 87v), historiated initial *M* with *Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 93v), decorated initial *E* (fol. 100v); prayers for use before communion (fols. 111–119): historiated initial *S* with *Last Supper* (fol. 111); prayers for use after communion (fols. 119v–121): historiated initial *C* with *Agony in the Garden* (fol. 119v); prayers to be said when the Host is elevated (fols. 121–121v): historiated initial *A* with *Betrayal of Christ* (fol. 121); prayers for the use of which indulgences have been granted (fols. 121v–130): historiated initial *O* with *Scourging of Christ* (fol. 124); prayers on the Passion ascribed to Saint Peter (fols. 131–135): historiated initial *C* with *Mocking of Christ* (fol. 131); prayers on the Passion ascribed to Saint Gregory (fols. 136–141): historiated initial *S* with *Christ Carrying the Cross* (fol. 136); prayers for the use of which indulgences have been granted (fols. 141–145): historiated initial *D* with *Crucifixion* (fol. 143); prayers

on the Passion ascribed to Bede (fols. 145v–146); prayers on the Passion (fols. 146v–176): historiated initial *O* with *Descent from the Cross* (fol. 146v), decorated letter *O* (fol. 173v); prayers on the Resurrection (fols. 177–179v): historiated initial *S* with *Resurrection* (fol. 177); prayers on Pentecost (fols. 180–181v): historiated initial *G* with *Pentecost* (fol. 180); prayers on the Holy Trinity (fols. 181v–184): historiated initial *D* with *Holy Trinity* (fol. 181v); prayers (fols. 184v–197v): decorated initial *S* (fol. 184v), decorated initial *O* (fol. 187); prayers ascribed to Peter Damian (fols. 197v–201): historiated initial *R* with *Man of Sorrows* (fol. 197v); prayers (fols. 201–226v); prayers to the Virgin (fols. 226v–260v): historiated initial *O* with *Pietà* (fol. 226v), decorated initial *D* (fol. 244), decorated initial *S* (fol. 247v), decorated initial *A* (fol. 250v), decorated initial *M* (fol. 258v); prayer to John the Evangelist (fol. 260v): decorated initial *S* (fol. 260v); prayer to Saint Catherine (fols. 260v–261): decorated inital *G* (fol. 260v); prayer to Saint Barbara (fols. 261–263): decorated initial *A* (fol. 261); prayer to Saint Dorothy (fols. 263–263v): decorated initial *G* (fol. 263); prayer to All Saints (fols. 263v–264v): decorated initial *O* (fol. 263v); prayer ascribed to Cardinal "Gwido" and other prayers (fols. 264–266v): decorated initial *S* (fol. 264v); Psalter of Saint Jerome (fols. 267–276): decorated initial *V* (fol. 267); offices commemorating the Last Supper and other events in the Passion, "compilatus a magistro laurentio de Praga" (fols. 276v–279); prayers for use during the Proper of Time (fols. 280–299v).

PROVENANCE: Henry, Cardinal York (1725–1807); Stanford Hall, Leicestershire, nineteenth century; (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 2, 1986, lot 45 [to H. P. Kraus, New York]).

16. HISTORIATED INITIAL *A* WITH *GOD APPEARING TO DAVID*
Cutting from a gradual

16

Illuminated by Giovanni di Paolo (Italian, circa 1403–1482)
Siena, circa 1440
Vellum, 20 x 18.6 cm ($7^{7}/_{8}$ x $7^{5}/_{16}$ in.).
Latin text in littera rotunda script.
One historiated initial.
Ms. 29; 87.MS.133

CONTENTS: The initial begins the text of the introit for mass for the first Sunday in Advent: "Ad te levavi anima meam . . . ," the continuation of which ("[me inimici] mei: et enim u[niversi]i qui te expec[tant n]on confundentur") appears on the verso.

PROVENANCE: Cut from a gradual by the nineteenth century and still in Italy at that time; [Mrs. Drey, London]; Sir John Pope-Hennessy, Florence and New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wildenstein and Co., New York, *The Art of Painting in Florence and Siena from 1250 to 1500,* exh. cat. (New York, 1965), no. 99 (essay by D. Sutton, repr. as "Early Italian Painting Reconsidered," *Apollo* 125, no. 299 [1987], p. 13, fig. 11); M. G. Ciardi Dupré dal Poggetto, "La libreria di coro dell'Osservanza e la miniatura senese del Quattrocento," in *L'Osservanza di Siena: La basilica e i suoi codici miniati,* ed. C. Pirovano (Siena, 1984), pp. 130–131, ill. p. 125.

17. *LES VISIONS DU CHEVALIER TONDAL*
Written by David Aubert (active 1456–1479); illumination attributed to Simon Marmion (active 1450–1489)
Ghent, 1474
Vellum, 45 leaves. Collation: Single leaves mounted on guards and bound; 36.3 x 26.2 cm ($14^{5}/_{16}$ x $10^{5}/_{16}$ in.). Text area 24.4–24.9 cm x 16.3–16.8 cm ($9^{5}/_{8}$–$9^{13}/_{16}$ in. x $6^{7}/_{16}$–$6^{5}/_{8}$ in.), two columns, twenty-eight lines. Old French text in *bâtarde* script. Fifteen two-column miniatures, five one-column miniatures, fifteen full-page decorated borders, five borders in outer margins only, numerous one- to three-line illusionistic gold foliate initials. Modern brown calf binding over pasteboard.
Ms. 30; 87.MN.141

CONTENTS: Fol. 4: Cy commence la table des rubriches de ce present traittie. Intitule les visio[n]s du ch[ev]allier tondal grant seigneur en la t[er]re dirlande seant non pas moult loing du noble et puissa[n]t roiaulme de bretaigne la grant A present no[m]me Angleterre. Et premierement dont la premiere rubrice

17 (fol. 7)

traitant en brief de toute la so[m]mation quy ensieult iusques en fin dit; fol. 6v: Cy fine la table des rubriches de ce present livre no[m]me Les visions de mons[eigneur] tondal natis dirla[n]de; fol. 7: Cy commence le livre dun ch[ev]allier et grant seigneur en yrlande et fut no[m]me messire tondal. Et est contenu en cestuy livre Com[m]ent son ame parti de son corps co[m]me[n]t elle vey et senti les tourmens denfer. Et ainsi les peines de purgatoire Et apres langele luy moustra la gloire et la noblesse de paradis. Et puis luy fut lame remise ou corps. Et luy fut ce moustre pour le do[m]pter et ratraire de sa perverse vye. Le prologue: *Tondal Taken Ill at Dinner* (fol. 7); fol. 7v: Cy nous dit de la date du temps et du propre an q[ue] ceste merveilleuse vision advint. Le chapitre; fol. 8: Cy devise co[m]ment la terre et lisle de yrlande siet Et de la nature et condition de icelle. Le chapitre; fol. 8v: Co[m]ment le puissant ch[eva]l[ie]r mons[eigneur] tondal estoit par sa fole iemiesse oultrageuz e[st] tous endroiz. Le chapit[re]; fol. 9: Co[m]ment tondal estant a table pour mengier rendi ame. Et co[m]ment son ame retourna en son corps au chief de trois iours q[ui]l fut garde. Et po[ur]quoy il ne fut mis en t[er]re. Le c[hapitre]; fol. 10: Co[m]ment le chevallier tondal se repenti et comment il se ordonna apres son aventure. Le c[hapitre]; fol. 10v: Comment lame de tondal fut au partir du corps aviro[n]nee et menachie p[ar]lennemy [?] denfer Quy ia durement laccusoit de ses pechies. Le chapit[re]: *Tondal Collapses* (fol. 11); fol. 11v: Comment langele vint qui reconforta lame de tondal a sa gra[n]t necessite. Le chapitre: *Tondal's Soul Enters Hell, Accompanied by His Guardian Angel* (fol. 11v); fol. 12v: Co[m]ment les e[n]nemis denfer ayans failly a lame de tondal furent ayrez. Le chapitre; fol. 13: Co[m]ment langele asseura lame de tondal Et comment il luy moustra les tourmens denfer. Le chapitre; Cy devise de la premiere peine quy est aux homicides Co[m]ment langele la devisa a lame. Et co[m]ment ilz passerent oultre. Le c[hapitre]: *The Torment of Murderers* (fol. 13v); fol. 14: Cy parlerons des mescroyans et herites Et co[m]ment ilz sont durement tourmentez en Infer. Le chap[itre]: *The Torment of Unbelievers and Heretics* (fol. 14v); fol. 15: Cy parle des tourmens quy de long temps sont appareillies aux mahiaiz orgueilleuz et presumptueuz. Le chap[itre]: *The Torment of the Proud: Valley of Burning Sulphur* (fol. 15v); fol. 16v: Cy parle des tourmens quendurent les de[m]pnez par leur avarice. Et co[m]ment langele moustra a tondal ce quil sens[u]it. Le chapitre: *The Proud Are Thrown into the Mouth of Acheron* (fol. 17); fol. 19: Comment apres les tourmens des avaritieulz Langele mena lame du ch[ev]allier tondal aux tourmens des larrons et robe[ur]s que laditte ame passa en grant paour et douleur. Le chapitre: *The Torment of Thieves: Tondal Leads a Cow across a Nail-Studded Bridge* (fol. 20); fol. 21v: Comment langele apres les tourmens des larro[n]s et robeurs mena lame du ch[ev]allier aux peines des gloutons et des fornicateurs. Et co[m]ment ilz y veirent executer entres creulz tourmens. Le c[hapitre]: *The Place Where Gluttons and Fornicators Are Burned* (fol. 21v); fol. 24v: Cy parle des tourmens et meschiefs quy est donnee aux religieuz et religieuses quy ne tiennent point bien le[u]r chastete. Et comment lame du ch[ev]allier en eschappa. Le chap[itre]: *The Torment of Unchaste Priests and Nuns* (fol. 24v); fol. 26v: De la peine a ceulz quy au monde maintie[n]nent et font mal sur mal sea[n]t en la vallee ditte aux feures. Et co[m]ment lame du ch[ev]allier y fut to[r]me[n]tee. Le chapitre: *The Torment of Those Who Heap Sin upon Sin: The Forge of Vulcan* (fol. 27); fol. 29: La pour-

17 (fol. 17, detail)

traiture de la d[i]c[t]e cisterne ta[n]t doloureuse: *Demons Dragging Tondal into the Infernal Cistern* (fol. 29); fol. 30v: Comment langele de n[ost]re seigneur mena lame du ch[ev]allier tondal dedens les portes denfer ou ilz veire[n]t lucifer [et] co[m]ment par luy sont les ames tourme[n]tees. De la grant horriblete des tourmens q[ui] la sont. Et co[m]ment langele et lame passerent oult[re]. Le c[hapitre]: *The Gates of Hell and Lucifer Himself* (fol. 30v); fol. 33: Comment lange mena lame du ch[ev]allier tondal de hors les metes denfer et de tenebres en clarte lusques a vng autre lieu atempre de petis tourmens. Le c[hapitre]: *The Wall of Heaven Where the Bad but Not Very Bad Are in Temporary Discomfort* (fol. 33v); fol. 34: Comment langele de dieu mena lame du ch[ev]allier du lieu familleuz a une autre place consolatifue. Et de la condition du lieu et de ceulz quy leans habite[n]t Le chapitre: *The Good but Not Very Good Are Nourished by a Fountain* (fol. 34v); fol. 35: Cy parle de deux roys des marches deuers yrla[n]de lun no[m]me ionaque et lautre concobre. Et comment langele moustra et declaira al ame du ch[ev]all[ie]r leur estat et penanche. Quy fut une histoire bie[n] merveilleuse. Le chapitre; *Two Kings of Ireland* (fol. 35); fol. 37: Comment le bo[n] angele mena lame du ch[ev]allier tondal veoir les ioyes et les biens que ceulz ont quy lealment se sont mai[n]tenus en estat de mariage. Et des louenges q[uy] iceulz rendent iournellement a dieu en moult grant consolation perpetuelle. Le chapit[re]: *The Faithfully Married* (fol. 37); fol. 38v: Comment langele partant de la gloire a ceulz del estat de mariage mena lame du ch[ev]allier veoir la gloire des martirs. Et de ceulz quy au monde ont vescu saintement et chaastement po[ur] lamour de nostre seign[eu]r. Le chapitre: *The Martyrs and the Pure Sing Praises to God* (fol. 38v); fol. 39v: Comment le bon angele et lame du ch[ev]allier passerent oultre la gloire des martirs avant ditte. Et com[m]ent ilz parvindrent a la gloire des bons moisnes et gens de religion. Et de la condition de la grant gloire que ilz rechoipuent par le[u]rs merites. Le chapitre: *The Tents Where Monks and Others Hear the Music of Heaven* (fol. 39v); fol. 40v: Co[m]ment le bon angele partant de la gloire aux bons religieux mena lame du ch[ev]allier veoir la gloire des confesseurs Et de la condition dicelle gloire. Le chapit[re]; fol. 41v: Co[m]ment le bon angele et lame du chevallier tondal partirent de la gloire aux confesseurs Et du grant arbre. Et comment langele mena lame tout droit a la gloire des vierges Et des noeuf ordres dangeles Et de la maniere et fachon dicelle gloire. Le chapit[re]: *The Wall of Metals and Jewels Surrounding Angels and Saints* (fol. 42); fol. 42v: Comment lame du ch[ev]all[ie]r appelle monseign[eu]r tondal gra[n]t princhе natif des marches de yrlande fut co[n]trai[n]te de retourner en son propre corps. Co[m]ment tondal se ordonna a n[ost]re seign[eu]r. Et co[m]ment il racompta au poeple dirlande p[ar]tie [?] des choses q[ui]l avoit veues. Le c[hapitre]; Fols. 43v–44: Cy fine le livre intitule Les visions que recheu lesperit dun ch[ev]allier des marches dirlande no[m]me mons[eigneur] tondal. Lequel livre a este escript et ordo[n]ne par le co[m]mandeme[n]t et ordonnance de treshaulte tresexcellente et tres puissante princhesse madame marguerite de yorch. Par la grace de dieu Duchesse de bourgoingne. de lothriik. de brabant. de lembourg. de luxembourg. et de guerles. Contesse de flandres. dartois. de bourgoingne. Palatine de haynnau. de holla[n]de. de zeellande. de namur et de zuutphe[n]. Marq[u]ise du saint empire. Dame de salms et de malines. A este en sa ville de gand par david. son trespeut indigne escripvain esc[ri]pt ou mois de mars lan de grace mil. CCCC. soixante et quatorse.

From the mid-nineteenth century until the 1950s, Ms. 30 was bound in front of the following manuscript (Ms. 31). Since the two texts have distinct colophons, however, they probably did not originally form a single volume. They remain bound separately. Fol. 41 is an old replacement text leaf written on a blank leaf from the original manuscript.

PROVENANCE: Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy (1446–1503); Le marquis de Ganay, acquired in 1853 (sale, Hôtel des commissaires-priseurs, Maurice Delestre, Paris, May 12–14, 1881, lot 39); Le comte de Lignerolles (sale, Libraire Charles Porquet, Paris, 1894, lot 17); Baron Vitta; Baron de Brouwer, Manoir du Relais, Pommeroeul (Hainaut); [to Librairie Fl. Tulkens, Brussels, circa 1944]; [H. P. Kraus, New York]; to Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1951 (his Ms. Typ 234H); private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, exh. cat. (Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1955), no. 88, pp. 26–27; L. M. J. Delaissé, *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat. (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 1959), p. 153; C. V. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 273; R. L. McGrath, "Satan and Bosch: The *Visio Tundali* and the Monastic Vices," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 6th ser., 71 (1968), p. 46, ill. p. 47; C. Cuttler, "Two Aspects of Bosch's Hell Imagery," *Scriptorium* 23 (1969), pp. 318–319, pl. 107; E. W. Hoffmann, "Simon Marmion or 'The Master of the Altarpiece of Saint-Bertin': A Problem in Attribution," *Scriptorium* 27 (1973), pp. 273, 275.

18 (fol. 7, detail)

18. *LA VISION DE L'AME DE GUY DE THURNO*
Written by David Aubert (active 1456–1479); illumination attributed to Simon Marmion (active 1450–1489)
Ghent, 1474
Vellum, ii + 34 + ii leaves. Collation: 1^6, 2^8, 3^8, 4^6, 5^6 (catchwords after most gatherings); 36.3 x 25.7 cm ($14^5/_{16}$ x $10^1/_8$ in.); Text area 24.4–24.9 cm x 16.3–16.8 cm ($9^5/_8$–$9^{13}/_{16}$ in. x $6^7/_{16}$–$6^5/_8$ in.), two columns, twenty-eight lines. Old French text in *bâtarde* script. One half-page miniature, one decorated border, numerous decorated initials. Modern brown morocco over pasteboard; Trautz-Bauzonnet, Paris, nineteenth century.
Ms. 31; 87.MN.152

CONTENTS: Fol. 4: Cy commence la table des rubriches de ce prese[n]t livre intitule la vision del ame de guy de turno Dont la premiere rubrice de rouge quy traitte en brief de toute la narration quy apres sens[u]it iusques en fin du livre dit; fol. 7: Cy co[m]mence une vision del ame dun ho[n]nourable citoien de vero[n]ne en la basse lombardie appelle guy de thurno. Et po[u]r quoilesperit apres son trespas revenoit et traveilloit sa fe[m]me. Comment ung notable p[ri]eur coniura cel esperit. Des demandes et responses qui furent dentre lesp[er]it et le prieur. Et co[m]ment le prieur en fin fist ung beau don a lesperit en la diminutio[n] de sa penance; Prologue del acte[u]r: *The Monk and Widow Converse with the Soul* (fol. 7); fol. 7v: Co[m]ment viii iours ap[re]s le trespas guy de turnot son esperit espouentoit sa fe[m]me. Et co[m]ment il fu conclu de y pourveoir. Le chapitre; fol. 8v: Co[m]ment le prieur et les deux grans clers a plus de cent personnes se conduisrent en la maison de la vesue. Et comment ilz curent congnoissance de ce quilz demandoient. Le chapitre; fol. 9v: Co[m]ment lesperit respondi au prieur par vertu de n[ost]re seign[eu]r. Le chapit[re]; fol. 10: Comment cel esperit respondi aux premieres demandes du bon prieur. Le chapit[re]; fol. 11: Comment lesp[er]it guy de turno fait une merveilleuse remoustra[n]ce Et respond au bon prieur de tant quil luy a impose. Le chapit[re]; fol. 11v: Comment le prieur de rechief fait al esperit une demande. Et co[m]ment lesperit respond et saulue par bonnes raiso[n]s. Le chapitre; fol. 12v: Comment le bon prieur voult reprochier lesperit et de fait. Et comment lesperit furni a la q[ue]stion du prieur. Le chap[itre]; fol. 13: Comment le bon prieur imposoit de rechief audit esperit quil estoit mencongnier. Et comment lesperit luy respond raiso[n]nablement. Le c[hapitre].; fol. 14: Cy devise de plusieurs demandes et responses faittes dentre le prieur et lesperit dessus dit. Le chapitre.; fol. 14v: Cy fait le bon prieur a lesperit guy de turno certaines merveilleuses demandes sur lesquelles luy respond plainement le dit esperit. Le chapit[re].; fol. 17: Comment le bon prieur fist encoires plusieurs demandes audit esperit tres difficiles Et ce que lesp[er]it respondi. Le c[hapitre]; fol. 19: Co[m]ment le bon prieur augustin sceut par lesperit guy de turno le gra[n]t merite quy aux trespass[eurs] vient de la messe. Le c[hapitre].; fols. 20–20v: Comment le bon prieur non encoires saoule de ce que dit est fist aucunes demandes de rechief. Et comment lesperit luy en respondi. Le chap[itre]; fol. 21: Co[m]ment le notable prie[u]r argua encoires lesperit du bon citoien veronnez. Et co[m]ment lesperit luy e[st] respondi haultement et bien. Le chapit[re].; fol. 22: Comment apres la interrogation des sept psalmes et aultrement Le bon prieur demanda a lesperit du citoien de quelle utilite est placebo po[u]r lame du pecheur Et ainsi de tout le service des mors. Et co[m]ment lesperit en respo[n]di. Le chapitre.; fol. 23: Co[m]ment lesperit fu de sa penance allegie par oration. Et co[m]ment il respondi a plusieurs belles demandes et notables que le bon abbe luy fist publiquement. Le chapitre.; fol. 24: Co[m]ment lesperit du bon citoien aiant respondu sur le mistere de la messe co[m]me dit est fut de rechief interrogue. Et du merveilleuz mistere quy en advint. Le chapitre; fol. 26v: Comment le p[r]ieur fist deux notables demandes a lesperit Et lune par especial digne de memoire Et comment lesperit en respondi bien a la verite. Le chapitre.; fol. 27v: Comment le prieur fait une autre demande al esp[er]it sur lestat de toutes ames partans de ce monde. Et co[m]ment sur tout lesperit respondi au bon prieur. Le chapitre.; fol. 28: Co[m]ment le notable p[r]ieur fist a lesperit du bon citoie[n] encoires cinq demandes. Et co[m]ment lesperit en declaira aucunes et aucu[n]es non Car poi[n]t ny estoit tenu. Le chapitre; fol. 29: Comment le sage p[r]ieur encoires questionna p[ar] demandes et responses lesperit du bon citoien Sur lestat des peines de purgatoire. Et co[m]ment lesperit en respondy par grant discretion et sens Le chapitre.; fol. 30: Comment le notable pryeur fist encoires deux demandes al esperit Et co[m]ment lesperit

en respo[n]di a toutes deux Et a tant misrent fin a leurs dema[n]des et responses po[u]r celle fois. Le chapitre.; fol. 31: Co[m]ment en ce propre an le devantdit p[r]ieur des augustins reto[u]rna chies la vesue guy de turno. Et co[m]ment lesperit dudit guy si retrouva en son espece. Co[m]ment il fut coniure. Et co[m]me[n]t il respondi et parla. Le c[hapitre]; fol. 32: Comment de rechief le notable prieur fist al esperit aucunes demandes. Et comment il fist ung don al esperit quy moult luy fut agreable. Le chapitre.; fol. 32v: Comment le notabbe p[r]ie[u]r encoires fist al esperit du bon citoien de veronne la cite seant en la basse lombardie quatre demandes. Et co[m]ment lesperit nen respondi que trois Et a la iiii^{e} sesuanuy de la place. Le chapitre.; fol. 33v: Comment le notable prieur del ordre des augustins natist de la co[m]te de bourgoingne q[u]i estoit nomine frere Anthoine de beauchant apres tout ce que dit est prya a ch[ac]un de bien faire. Et de la belle oroison quil fist dire apres luy a tous ceulz q[u]i la estoient. Le c[hapitre].; fol. 34: Oraison. Doulz dieu et nostre benoist redempteur . . . ; Cy fine le livre intitule vision de lame de guy de turno Lequel Livre a este escript et ordonne par le commandeme[n]t et ordonnance de treshaulte et tresexcellente princhesse madame marguerite de yorch. Par la grace de dieu Duchesse de bourgoingne. de lothriik. de brabant. de lembourg. de luxembourg. et de guerles. Contesse de flandres. Dartois. de bourgoingne. Palatine de haynnau. de holla[n]de. de zeellande. de namur et de zuutphe[n]. marq[u]ise du saint empire. Dame de salms et de malines. fol. 34v: A este escript en sa ville de gand par david. son escripvain Lan de grace mil. CCCC. soixante [et] quatorse. le p[re]m[ier]s du mois de fevrier.

Fol. 34 is an old replacement written on a blank leaf from the original manuscript.

PROVENANCE: Margaret of York, duchess of Burgundy (1446–1503); Le marquis de Ganay, acquired in 1853 (sale, Hôtel des commissaires-priseurs, Maurice Delestre, Paris, May 12–14, 1881, lot 38); Le comte de Lignerolles (sale, Libraire Charles Porquet, Paris, 1894, lot 17); Baron Vitta; Baron de Brouwer, Manoir du Relais, Pommeroeul (Hainaut); [to Librairie Fl. Tulkens, Brussels, circa 1944]; [H. P. Kraus, New York]; to Philip Hofer, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1951 (his Ms. Typ 235H); private collection, United States.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Bergmans, "David de Gand." *Bulletin de la société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Gand* 12 (1904), p. 151; *Illuminated and Calligraphic Manuscripts*, exh. cat. (Fogg Art Museum and Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1955), p. 26 and no. 89, p. 27; L. M. J. Delaissé, *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat. (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, 1959), no. 191, p. 153; C. V. Faye, and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962), p. 273; D. Miner, V. I. Carlson, and P. W. Filby, *Two Thousand Years of Calligraphy*, exh. cat. (Baltimore Museum of Art, Peabody Institute Library, and Walters Art Gallery [all in Baltimore], 1965), no. 35, p. 53; G. Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 143.

PAINTINGS

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BRITISH

19. JOSEPH WRIGHT of Derby
English, 1734–1797
Penelope Unraveling Her Web, 1783–1784
Oil on canvas, 105.7 x 131.4 cm (41 5/8 x 51 3/4 in.)
87.PA.49

This work was commissioned by Josiah Wedgwood in 1783 as a pendant to Wright's *Corinthian Maid* of circa 1783–1784 (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). Both pictures treat the theme of fidelity and "ingenuity" in women. The poet William Hayley suggested the subject to Wright in 1783 and later proposed adding the sleeping Telemachus and the statue of Ulysses, neither mentioned in the probable literary source, Alexander Pope's 1725 translation of the *Odyssey* (2.99–125). Wedgwood required the addition of draperies to the statue of Ulysses, whose nudity might otherwise offend ladies, and he offered to lend Wright an antique gem as a model for the profile of Penelope. The pose of Telemachus may be based on the second-century A.D. Roman marble sculpture of *Ariadne Sleeping* (Vatican, Rome); however, it is also possible that Wright used the reclining figure on the Portland Vase, from Alexandria (British Museum, London), which was made circa 27 B.C.–A.D. 14 and which arrived in England in 1783–1784.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Josiah Wedgwood, Etruria, in 1783; by descent to Mr. and Mrs. Hensleigh Wedgwood, New York (sale, Christie's, London, April 24, 1987, lot 106).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: B. Nicolson, *Joseph Wright of Derby: Painter of Light* (London and New Haven, 1968), vol. 1, pp. 16, 64–65, 73, 146–149, 152, 244 (no. 225), 278, vol. 2, pl. 242; National Gallery of Art, *Joseph Wright of Derby: A Selection of Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon*, exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1969), p. 16; B. and H. Wedgwood, *The Wedgwood Circle, 1730–1897: Four Generations of a Family and Their Friends* (London, 1980), illus. opposite p. 35; F. Cossa, *Josiah Wedgwood: His Role as a Patron of Flaxman, Stubbs, and Wright of Derby* (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1982), pp. 219–274.

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20. RICHARD DADD
English, 1817–1886
Mercy: David Spareth Saul's Life, 1854
Oil on canvas, 68.6 x 55.9 cm (27 x 22 in.). Signed: *RICHARD. DADD. 1854* in the top left corner.
87.PA.32

The work was painted in Bethlem Hospital, London, possibly for the medical superintendent, Dr. (later Sir) Charles Hood. The historical subject, David's rejection of an opportunity to assassinate Saul (I Samuel: 26:7–11), used to illustrate a moral state, relates this oil painting to Dadd's watercolor Sketches to Illustrate the Passions (1853–1857), many of which also belonged to Hood. The subjects of these works seem to have been inspired by Victorian psychological theory and medical practice. William Dyce's fresco of 1852–1854, *Generosity: King Arthur Unhorsed Is Spared by His Adversary* (Queen's Robing Room, Houses of Parliament, Westminster), may also have influenced *Mercy*. The composition draws on various sources, including Egyptian wall reliefs, Roman sculpture, and Dadd's memories or sketches of the desert and cliffs at 'En Gedi, the oasis beside the Dead Sea which was the presumed site of the event depicted. The pose of David, based on a figure once thought to represent Osiris in scenes of human sacrifice in Egyptian reliefs, may refer to Dadd's belief in

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that god and his occasional delusive compulsions to sacrifice religious leaders, heads of state, or members of his family to the deity.

For a full discussion, see the article by Louise Lippincott in this *Journal*.

PROVENANCE: Sir Charles Hood, London (sale, Christie's, London, March 28, 1870, bought by [Holl]); Mrs. Clifton, London, until 1961; K. J. Hewett, 1961; [Mrs. R. Frank, London]; Charles and Lavinia Handley-Read, London, until 1971; by inheritance to Thomas Stainton; by inheritance to his son; [Fine Art Society, London], 1986–1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Rickett, "Rd. Dadd, Bethlem and Broadmoor: An Attempt at a Biography," *Ivory Hammer* 2 (1963–1964), unpaginated; Detroit Institute of Arts and Philadelphia Museum of Art, *Romantic Art in Britain: Paintings and Drawings, 1760–1860*, exh. cat. (Detroit and Philadelphia, 1968), no. 203; Royal Academy, *Victorian and Edwardian Decorative Art: The Handley-Read Collection*, exh. cat. (London, 1972), no. B 122; P. Allderidge, *Richard Dadd* (London and New York, 1974), pp. 60, 103–104; Tate Gallery, *The Late Richard Dadd, 1817–1886*, exh. cat. (London, 1974), no. 123; L. Lippincott, "Murder and the Fine Arts; or, a Reassessment of Richard Dadd," *Getty MusJ* 16 (1988), pp. 75–94.

DUTCH

21. PIETER LASTMAN
Dutch, circa 1583–1633
The Resurrection, 1612
Oil on oak panel, 43.2 x 32.4 cm (17 x 12¾ in.) Signed: *PL. . . . . fecit / . . 12* (PL in ligature) in the lower left corner.
87.PB.116

The painting was unknown before its acquisition. A *Resurrection* by Lastman, signed and dated 1610 (formerly in the Allard collection, Geertruidenberg, the Netherlands; present location unknown) was on loan to the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, from 1911 to 1920 and was sold at auction at the Ernst Múzeum, Budapest, on May 14, 1926 (lot 229). That painting was larger than the present work, and the figures of the soldiers were significantly different; it is discussed by K. Freise, *Pieter Lastman: Sein Leben und seine Kunst* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 65, no. 81, and pp. 277–278.

Freise (pp. 65–66, citing G. Hoet, *Catalogus of naamlyst van Schilderyen* ['s Gravenhage, 1752], vol. 1, p. 250, no. 25, vol. 2, p. 344, no. 16), indicates that

two Resurrections by Lastman figured in eighteenth-century auctions. The first was sold from the Johan van der Hulk collection, Dordrecht, in 1720; when the Allard painting came to light, Freise identified it as that work. No dimensions are given for the second *Resurrection*, which is mentioned in an undated and otherwise unidentified eighteenth-century Amsterdam auction catalogue. It is not possible to determine whether the reference is to the present painting, to the Allard painting, or to a third, as yet unidentified, *Resurrection*.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Scotland, from circa 1910; [Malcolm Waddingham, London], 1987.

FLEMISH/BELGIAN

22. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
The Meeting of King Ferdinand of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante Ferdinand of Spain at Nördlingen, 1635
Oil on panel, 49.1 x 63.8 cm (19 5/16 x 25 1/8 in.)
87.PB.15

This oil sketch depicts the historic meeting of the Hapsburg cousins on September 2, 1634, shortly before their combined armies won an important battle over Protestant forces. It is one of the preparatory designs for decorations celebrating the triumphal entry into Antwerp on April 17, 1635, of the cardinal-infante, newly appointed governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The full-scale version (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), executed entirely by assistants, was the right panel of the three-part Stage of Welcome, engraved by Theodoor von Thulden for Jan Casper Gevaerts, *Pompa Introitus . . . Ferdinandi . . .* (Antwerp, [1641–1642]).

PROVENANCE: Sir Abraham Hume, Bt., by 1823, and descendants (sale, Christie's, London, June 1, 1876, lot 44); Adelbert Wellington, third earl Brownlow, great-grandson of Sir Abraham Hume (sale, Christie's, London, May 4, 1923, lot 122); Martin Sternberg (sale, F. Muller, Amsterdam, October 25, 1932, lot 513), bought by Siegfried Kramarsky, Amsterdam and New York; his daughter, Dr. Sonja Binkhorst-Kramarsky, New York, to 1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters* (London, 1830), pt. 2, p. 90, under no. 288; M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P. P. Rubens: Histoire et description de ses tableaux et dessins*, vol. 3 (Antwerp, 1890), p. 298, under no. 775; Museum Boymans, Rotterdam, *Olieverfschetsen van Rubens*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam, 1953), no. 95; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, *Drawings and Oil Sketches by P. P. Rubens from American Collections*, exh. cat. (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), no. 44; J. R. Martin, *The Decorations for the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard, pt. 16 (London and New York, 1972), pp. 30, 62–64, cat. 4a, fig. 14; J. S. Held, *The Oil Sketches of Peter Paul Rubens: A Critical Catalogue* (Princeton, 1980), vol. 1, pp. 228–229, no. 147, vol. 2, pl. 157.

23. JAMES ENSOR
Belgian, 1860–1949
Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889, 1888
Oil on canvas, 260 x 430.5 cm (102 3/8 x 169 1/2 in.). Signed: *J. ENSOR / 1888.* on the podium at the center right.
87.PA.96

Ensor painted this monumental composition in response to Georges Seurat's *La Grand Jatte* (1884–1886; Art Institute of Chicago), exhibited at Les XX, Brussels, in 1887. The subject may have been inspired by Honoré de Balzac's novel

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Jésus-Christ en Flandre (1831), which, like Ensor's painting, invokes "cette naïve tradition des Flandres" (dedication page). Ensor depicted the subject first in a large, vertical-format drawing of 1885, *The Entry of Christ into Jerusalem* (Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent); the same museum's black chalk drawing, *Christ Shown to the People and Christ's Entry into Jerusalem,* of 1887, may represent an early idea for the horizontal composition. In 1898 Ensor etched the composition in reverse, preserving slogans and inscriptions which he subsequently painted over on the canvas, perhaps at the time of its first public exhibition, at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, Brussels, in 1929. The artist refused to part with *Christ's Entry* during his lifetime. It appears in numerous photographs, as well as in Ensor's paintings of his studio; these include *My Studio in 1917* (1917; location unknown), *My Studio* (1930; Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam), and *Ensor at the Harmonium* (1933; private collection, New York).

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; by descent to his niece Alexandra Daveluy, Ostend, Belgium, in 1949; Gustave Nellens, Casino Communale, Knokke-le-Zout, Belgium, by 1949; Louis Franck, London and Gstaad, by 1957, until 1969; Socindec Vaduz, Liechtenstein, 1969–1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Ollinger-Zinque, *Ensor par lui-même* (Brussels, 1976), pp. 15, 55, 113, 134, 137; Art Institute of Chicago and Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, *Ensor,* exh. cat. (Chicago and New York, 1976), no. 25; R. L. Delevoy, *Ensor* (Antwerp, 1981), pp. 22, 33–36, 193–199, 213, 217, 314, 410, 422, 429, 433, 436, 446; D. Lesko, *James Ensor: The Creative Years* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 4, 44, 52, 56, 61, 66, 67, 85, 110, 113, 128, 134, 136, 140–145; S. C. McGough, *James Ensor's "The Entry of Christ into Brussels in 1889"* (New York, 1985), passim; X. Tricot, catalogue raisonné of Ensor's paintings (forthcoming).

FRENCH

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24. PHILIPPE DE CHAMPAIGNE
French, 1602–1674
Antoine Singlin, circa 1646
Oil on canvas, 79 x 65 cm (31⅛ x 25⅝ in.). Inscribed: *Messire Anthoine Singlin decedé le 17./Avril 1664. Ph. Champaigne.*
87.PA.3

At one time confessor to both Louis XIV and Blaise Pascal, Antoine Singlin (1607–1664) was also confessor and director of the nuns of Port-Royal from 1638 until his excommunication in 1661, and was superior of the convents of Port-Royal-des-Champs and Port-Royal-de-Paris from 1654 to 1661.

The present dating of the portrait was proposed by B. Dorival (1976). It likely hung at Port-Royal-des-Champs until 1709, when the convent was razed. It was engraved by J.-G. Wille (1715–1808), in reverse and with an oval enframing element, and it bears the inscription, "Gravé . . . d'après l'original peint par Phi. Champagne [sic]."

PROVENANCE: Port-Royal-des-Champs, circa 1646–1709(?); likely in a private collection, Reims, from 1709; by descent to Jean-Marc Holleaux, Paris, until 1986.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Mme Stanislas Meunier, *Philippe de Champaigne* (Paris, 1924), pp. 71–72; A. Mabille de Poncheville, *Philippe de Champaigne: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Brussels and Courtrai, 1952), pp. 60, 131; Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris, and Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Ghent, *Philippe de Champaigne,* exh. cat. (Paris, 1952), no. 22; B. Dorival, "Recherches sur les portraits gravés aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles d'après Philippe de Cham-

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paigne," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 112 (1970), pp. 275, 316; idem, *Philippe de Champaigne* (Paris, 1976), vol 1., pp. 55, 113, 133, 161, vol. 2, no. 217; idem, *Album Pascal: Iconographie* (Paris, 1978), p. 89, fig. 134.

25. JACQUES-LOUIS DAVID
French, 1748–1825
The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis (Les adieux de Télémaque et Eucharis), 1818
Oil on canvas, 87.2 x 103 cm (34 3/8 x 40 1/2 in.). Signed: *DAVID* on the quiver; dated: *Brux 1818* on the horn.
87.PA.27

Immediately upon its completion in 1818, David loaned the painting to charitable exhibitions in Ghent and Brussels. A second version, painted in 1822 under the artist's direction by his student Sophie Frémiet, was most recently in a private collection in Paris. Almost certainly, this latter version—and not the painting of 1818—was in the *Exposition du Bazar Bonne-Nouvelle,* held in Paris in 1846, as the present work remained in Germany until 1865.

PROVENANCE: Painted for Count Franz Erwin von Schönborn-Wiesentheid, Munich, in 1818; by descent to his son, Count Erwin von Schönborn-Wiesentheid (sale, Palais Schönborn, Munich [Montmorillon'sche Kunsthandlung], October 9, 1865, lot 46); C.-E. Weber de Truenfels, Antwerp, 1865–1867 (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 8 and 9, 1867, lot 57); Mme Noël des Vergers, Paris, by 1880; Baron de Hirsch, Bath House, Piccadilly, London (sale, Christie's, London, February 6, 1897, lot 30 [bought by Hodgkins]; Denys Cochin, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, March 26, 1919, lot 8); [Bernheim Jeune et Cie, Paris]; Jacques-Léon Stern, Paris and New York, by 1941 (sale, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, November 3 and 4, 1950, lot 57); [N. de Koenigsberg, La Passe, Ltd., New York], by 1951; private collection, Uruguay, by inheritance to his son in 1962; [Pedro Soarin Bosch] (sale, Sotheby's, New York, February 24, 1987, lot 126).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. L. J. David, *Le peintre Louis David, 1748–1825; souvenirs et documents inédits* (Paris, 1880), pp. 547, 549, 551, 570–573, 650; J. Delécluze, *Louis David: Son école et son temps, souvenirs* (Paris, 1855; repr. with preface and notes, Paris, 1983), pp. 368–370, p. 495, n. 8; R. Cantinelli, *Jacques-Louis David* (Paris and Brussels, 1930), no. 147; D. and G. Wildenstein, *Documents complémentaires au catalogue de l'oeuvre de Louis David* (Paris, 1973), nos. 1808, 1815, 1820–1822, 1824–1833, 1877, 1938; R. Rosenblum, "David's 'Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis,'" *Sotheby's Art at Auction 1986–87* (London and New York, 1987), pp. 80–85; R. Rosenblum, monograph in the series Getty Museum Studies on Art (forthcoming).

26. PAUL CEZANNE
French, 1839–1906
The Eternal Feminine (L'éternel féminin), circa 1877
Oil on canvas, 43.2 x 53.3 cm (17 x 20 15/16 in.)
87.PA.79

A photograph of this painting (Vollard Archives no. 379) is annotated by Cézanne's son with the date 1877; in his forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Cézanne's paintings, J. Rewald accepts the circa 1877 date.

The work has been known by several titles, including *La belle Impéria* (after Balzac's tale "La belle Impéria mariée"), when first exhibited in 1899 (*Exposition Cézanne,* Paris, Galerie Vollard, no. 6), *The Golden Calf (Salon d'automne: Exposition rétrospective d'oeuvres de Cézanne,* Paris, Grand Palais, 1907, no. 5), and *Woman,* R. Fry's designation in 1927. Since the 1930s, however, the present title has been widely accepted.

A preliminary watercolor of the composition (J. Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: The Watercolors: A Catalogue Raisonné* [Boston, 1983], no. 57) is in a private collection, New York. The following drawings also relate to the painting: Chappuis, no. 257 (formerly collection Kenneth Clark, sold Sotheby's, London, July 1, 1987, lot 415) and no. 258 (Kunstmuseum, Basel).

The painting will appear in the 1989 exhibition devoted to Cézanne's *Bathers* and related themes at the Kunstmuseum, Basel.

PROVENANCE: Auguste Pellerin, Paris, by 1907; Jean-Victor Pellerin, Paris, by 1935; [Wildenstein and Co., New York], by 1947; Stavros S. Niarchos, Paris, by 1952; [Wildenstein and Co., New York], by 1963; Harold Hecht, Beverly Hills, by 1964; private collection, New York, by 1970; [Wildenstein and Co., New York], by 1973; Mrs. John Goulandris, New York, 1973–1980 or later; [Galerie Beyeler, Basel], by 1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Fry, *Cézanne: A Study of His Development* (London and New York, 1927), pp. 84–85; L. Venturi, *Cézanne: Son art, son oeuvre* (Paris, 1936), no. 247; S. Orienti, *L'opera completa di Cézanne* (Milan, 1970), no. 280; A. Chappuis, *The Drawings of Paul Cézanne,* vol. 1 (London, 1973), p. 205; J. Rewald, *Paul Cézanne: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings,* (forthcoming), no. 276.

GERMAN

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27. MAX LIEBERMANN
German, 1847–1935
Old Woman with Cat, 1878
Oil on canvas, 96 x 74 cm (37⅞ x 29⅛ in.). Signed: *M. Liebermann 1878* in the upper right corner.
87.PA.6

Liebermann invests his variation on the theme of maternal affection with his own understated and affecting humanity, while combining observation of nature with knowledge of contemporary and historical styles. The unglamorous subject and the richly worked execution reflect his study of French Realist painting in Paris, where he settled in 1873. However, the sympathetic portrayal of an aged woman in a contemplative state is reminiscent of Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting which Liebermann saw during annual summer visits to Holland. The picture was executed in Venice; golden Venetian light harmonizes disparate colors and textures.

PROVENANCE: Dr. G. Heilbut, Hamburg; Edvard Arnhold, Berlin, in 1917, and by descent; sale, Christie's, London, March 26, 1982, lot 82, bought in; sale, Hauswedell and Nolte, Hamburg, June 9–10, 1986, lot 728, bought by [Galerie Nathan, Zurich].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Pauli, *Max Liebermann: Des meisters Gemälde in 304 Abbildungen,* Klassiker der Kunst, vol. 19 (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1911), pp. 46, 244, 254; E. Hancke, *Max Liebermann: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin, 1914), pp. 129, 530; Nationalgalerie, Berlin, and Haus der Kunst, Munich, *Max Liebermann in seiner Zeit,* exh. cat. (Berlin, 1979), no. 31; Gemeentemuseum, The Hague, *Max Liebermann en Holland,* exh. cat. (The Hague, 1980), no. 17.

ITALIAN

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28. GUARIENTO DI ARPO
Italian (Paduan), active from 1338–d. by 1370
Madonna of Humility, circa 1345–1350
Tempera on panel, 33 x 17 cm (13 x 6¾ in.)
87.PB.118

In this devotional image, possibly the central panel of a triptych, Guariento combined three pictorial types of the Virgin: the Madonna of Humility, suckling the Christ child; the crowned Queen of Heaven; and the Apocalyptic Woman of *Revelations,* surrounded by rays of light and with a golden sun at her breast.

PROVENANCE: Giorgio Balboni, early 1960s–early 1970s; private collection, Lugano, early 1970s–1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Longhi, "Guariento: un'opera difficile," *Paragone* 8 (July 1957), no. 91, pp. 37–40 and pl. 25 (repr. in R. Longhi, *Ricerche sulla pittura veneta, 1946–1969* [Florence, 1978], pp. 123–126 and pl. 208); F. Flores D'Arcais, *Guariento* (Venice, 1965), p. 56 and pl. 29.

29. PAOLO VENEZIANO
Italian (Venetian), active 1333–1358
Annunciation, circa 1348–1350
Tempera on panel, each panel (sight): 16.7 x 10.2 cm (6⅝ x 4 in.)
87.PB.117

These panels originally formed the pinnacles of the wings of a portable triptych. A tabernacle from the workshop of Paolo (Galleria Nazionale, Parma), presumably a version of the altarpiece from which the *Annunciation* comes, shows how the dismembered original was constructed: the double-tiered central panel depicted the *Madonna and Child* (Petit Palais, Avignon), and above, the *Crucifixion* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); the inside of the wings portrayed three pairs of standing saints and the Translation of Mary Magdalen (all Worcester Art Museum), with the *Annunciation* panels forming the apexes. On the exterior of the hinged wings were Saint Christopher and Saint Blaise. The wings were designed to be closed over the pyramidal crown of the central panel, accounting for the unusual format of the *Annunciation* pair. At a later date the panels were truncated at the inner corners, reframed, and joined.

PROVENANCE: Carandini collection, Rome, until 1906; Charles Loeser, Villa Torre Gattaia, Florence, from 1906; Mrs. Charles Loeser; by inheritance to her daughter, Matilda Sophia Loeser Calnan, until the early 1950s; private collection, Switzerland, by 1975; Marco Grassi, New York, 1977–1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Longhi, *Viatico per cinque secoli di pittura veneziana* (Florence, 1946), p. 35; repr. in R. Longhi, *Ricerche sulla pittura veneta, 1946–1969* (Florence, 1978), p. 41, fig. 6a.; R. Pallucchini, *La Pittura veneziana del trecento* (Venice and Rome, 1964), p. 32, fig. 98; M. Muraro, *Paolo da Venezia* (University Park, Pa., and London, 1970), pp. 54–55, 87, 88–89, 109, 134, 135, and pl. 88; *European Paintings in the Collection of the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, Mass., 1974), pp. 415, 417 (entry by M. Davies); M. Laclotte and E. Mognetti, *Peinture Italienne: Avignon, Musée du Petit Palais* (Paris, 1976), under no. 202; F. R. Shapley, *Catalogue of the Italian Paintings: National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D.C., 1979), under no. 254.

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30. GUERCINO (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri)
Italian (Bolognese), 1591–1666
Pope Gregory XV, circa 1622–1623
Oil on canvas, 133.4 x 97.8 cm (52 1/2 x 38 1/2 in.)
87.PA.38

While he was archbishop of his native Bologna, Cardinal Alessandro Ludovisi (1554–1623) discovered the talents of the young Guercino. When elected to the papacy in 1621, Ludovisi called the painter to Rome, where he executed three of his most important works for the new pontiff: the fresco of *Aurora* (1621–1623) for the Casino Ludovisi, the *Burial of Saint Petronilla* (1621) for Saint Peter's (now in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome), and this portrait. Guercino rarely painted portraits, and the *Gregory XV* is the earliest of his three surviving works in the genre.

For this state portrait, Guercino employs a compositional scheme originated a century earlier by Raphael for portraying the pope. In spite of the picture's official status, Guercino exhibits a penetrating psychological understanding of his greatest patron, sympathetically depicting him in the last months of his life, worn by the cares of office and failing health.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Alessandro Ludovisi, Pope Gregory XV (r. 1621–1623); presumably his heirs; William Ward, later first earl of Dudley, Dudley Castle, by 1854; by inheritance to William Humble, second earl of Dudley, Dudley House, London (sale, Christie's, London, June 16, 1900, lot 30), bought by [Thomas Agnew and Sons, London]; Ralph Cross Johnson, Washington, D.C., by 1908; given in 1919 to the then National Gallery of Art (later renamed the National Collection of Fine Arts, and in 1980, the National Museum of American Art), Washington, D.C., to 1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. C. Malvasia, *Felsina pittrice: vite de' pittori bolognesi* (1678), ed. G. Zanotti (Bologna, 1841), vol. 2, p. 260; G. B. Passeri, *Vite de' pittori, scultori ed architetti . . .* (Rome, 1772), in J. Hess ed., *Der Künstlerbiographien von Giovanni Battista Passeri,* Römische Forschungen der Biblioteca Hertziana 11 (Leipzig and Vienna, 1934), p. 355; D. Mahon, "Guercino as a Portraitist and His *Pope Gregory XV,*" *Apollo* 113 (April 1981), pp. 230–235; J. T. Spike, *Baroque Portraiture in Italy: Works from North American Collections,* exh. cat. (John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Fla., and Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1984), no. 26; Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *The Age of Correggio and the Carracci: Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., 1986), no. 165.

DRAWINGS

31

DUTCH

31. CORNELIS ENGEBRECHTSZ.
Dutch, circa 1465–1527
Salome with the Head of John the Baptist, circa 1490
Brush and black ink, gray wash, and white gouache heightening on gray prepared paper; corners cut, 19.9 x 15.5 cm ($7^{13}/_{16}$ x $6^{1}/_{8}$ in.)
87.GG.119

This and another example in Budapest (Szépmüvészeti Múzeum) are the only two generally accepted drawings by Engebrechtsz., the first major painter of Leiden. This is also one of a handful of early works by him which can be dated to the 1490s. Engebrechtsz.'s ability to render subtleties of expression is apparent in the faces of the protagonists. Equally notable is the painterly effect of the white highlights, which is exceptional for drawings of this period. This highly finished drawing might have been intended as a presentation sheet or as a design for a print or stained glass window, but as yet no related work has been discovered.

PROVENANCE: Matthiesen, London; Gösta Stenman, Stockholm (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 329); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: N. Lindhagen with P. Bjurström, *Dutch and Flemish Drawings in the Nationalmuseum and Other Swedish Collections,* exh. cat. (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, 1953), no. 6; W. S. Gibson, *The Paintings of Cornelis Engebrechtsz* (New York, 1977), pp. 33, 41, 244, no. 25, fig. 4; J. O. Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1986), p. 135, under no. 46.

32

32. MASTER OF THE EGMONT ALBUMS
Dutch, active circa 1580–1590
The Good Samaritan, circa 1580–1590
Pen and brown ink, 27.3 x 35 cm ($10^{3}/_{4}$ x $13^{3}/_{4}$ in.). Inscribed: *An.S* in brown ink at the lower right; traces of a trimmed inscription in brown ink at the lower edge.
87.GG.29

This artist is named after several albums containing some of his drawings which once belonged to John Percival, first earl of Egmont (1683–1748) and are now in the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. In all likelihood he was north Netherlandish, and he worked in a vigorous, highly charged style, strongly influenced by his contemporaries Anthonie Blocklandt and Jan Speckaert. This drawing conflates several episodes from the parable of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:29–37): the Samaritan tending the wounds of the Jew; the Samaritan's delivery of the Jew to an inn; and the payment for his lodging. The scenes are largely derived from numbers two and four of a series of engravings published by D. V. Coornhert in 1549 after drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts ca. 1450–1700* [Amsterdam, n.d.], vol. 8, nos. 105–108). There is a drawing by the artist of the same subject in the Ian Woodner collection (G. R. Goldner, *Master Drawings from the Woodner Collection,* exh. cat. [Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum, 1983]; no. 47).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, April 10, 1985, lot 125; Boston art market.

33

33. CORNELIS VAN POELENBURGH
Dutch, circa 1593–1667
The Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome, 1623
Pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk, 29.1 x 19.3 cm (11 7/16 x 7 5/8 in.). Inscribed: *in Roomen 1623* by the artist in brown ink at the bottom.
87.GG.76

Among van Poelenburgh's earliest drawings is a group of sheets depicting landscapes, buildings, and ancient ruins. They are all inscribed *in Roomen* by the artist and dated 1619, 1620, 1621, 1622—and, in the case of the Museum's example, which has only recently surfaced—1623. This provides documentary evidence of van Poelenburgh's residence in Rome during that year. Departing from earlier depictions of the Arch of Septimius Severus, the artist showed it from an oblique vantage point rather than frontally. This allowed him to capture the effect of raking sunlight across the surfaces of the monument through his characteristic technique of warm brown washes used in combination with brilliant highlights formed by the white of the paper. Imaginary antique arches shown from the side in sharp recession appear in a number of van Poelenburgh's later paintings.

PROVENANCE: Count G. C. Tessin, Paris and Stockholm; Fredenheim, Stockholm; Hansson, Djarsholm; Gösta Stenman, Stockholm (sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 337); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. C. Sutton et al., *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1987), p. 408, under no. 69 (entry by A. Chong); A. Chong, "The Drawings of Cornelis van Poelenburch," *Master Drawings* 25 (Spring 1987) no. 1, pp. 8, 10, no. 16, 27, pl. 8.

34

34. DAVID BAILLY
Dutch, 1584–1657
Portrait of a Woman, 1629
Pen and light and dark brown ink; framed by a dark brown ink line, Diam: 12.8 cm (5 in.). Signed: *D. baillij fec.* in dark brown ink and dated *A° 1629* in light brown ink, both at the right.
87.GA.40

David Bailly continued the tradition of independent miniaturistic portrait drawings established at the end of the sixteenth century by Hendrick Goltzius and Jacques de Gheyn II. This is one of the few circular drawings by Bailly. Its charm is derived in part from the manner in which the girl's head, cap, and stiff lace collar echo the round format, lending the sitter greater immediacy. While the formality of the costume and the meticulous technique support Bailly's reputation for artistic conservatism, the hint of a smile, expressive eyes, and loose locks at the left indicate that the artist was to some extent receptive to the relaxed approach to portraiture which took hold in Holland toward the beginning of the seventeenth century.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 27; London art market.

35

35. REMBRANDT VAN RIJN
Dutch, 1606–1669
Study of a Man Talking to a Woman Seated on the Left, circa 1635–1636
Pen and brown ink, 10 x 10 cm (3 15/16 x 3 15/16 in.). Collection mark of J. de Vos on the verso.
87.GA.21

Rembrandt's masterly ability to create dynamic, highly charged narrative scenes with the briefest of means is exemplified in this drawing. It shows an old man walking forward, perhaps up a stairway, and vigorously addressing a younger woman who looks up at him plaintively. The identity of the subject remains open to question. Benesch entitled the drawing *Unidentified Old Testament Scene.* H.-M. Rotermund argued that it showed Hanna and Eli in the Temple (1 Sam. 1:12–17), but a lack of specific attributes makes it difficult to confirm this hypothesis.

Rembrandt heightens the drama of the exchange by focusing on the heads and torsos of the protagonists, indicating their lower bodies with a bare minimum of lines. This example is stylistically comparable to other drawings by Rembrandt datable to the mid-1630s (O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* [London and New York, 1973], vol. 1, no. 153, vol. 2, nos. 339a and 340).

PROVENANCE: Jacob de Vos, Amsterdam; Ehlers collection, Göttingen (sale, Boerner's, Düsseldorf, May 9–10, 1930, lot 342); private collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: O. Benesch, *Rembrandt: Werk und Forschung* (Vienna, 1935), p. 27; idem, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London, 1954), vol. 1, no. 177, fig. 189; H.-M. Rotermund, "Unidentifizierte bzw. misverstandene Zeichnungen Rembrandts zu biblischen Szenen," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 21 (1959), pp. 179–180; O. Benesch, *The Drawings of Rembrandt* (London and New York, 1973), vol. 1, no. 177, fig. 189; *Kate de Rothschild: Exhibition of Old Master Drawings,* exh. cat. (London, Alan Jacobs Gallery, 1985), no. 35.

36

36. FERDINAND BOL
Dutch, 1616–1680
The Messenger of God Appearing to Joshua, circa 1640–1644
Pen and brown ink, brown and gray wash, red chalk, white chalk heightening, and black chalk, 27.1 x 19.5 cm ($10^{11}/_{16}$ x $7^{11}/_{16}$ in.)
87.GG.81

This drawing shows the heavenly Messenger who appeared to Joshua with a drawn sword shortly before God ordered the Israelite warrior to conquer Jericho (Joshua 5:13). An elaborate and refined study of a single figure, the Museum's drawing probably evolves from a sketchier sheet, in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, showing the full scene of Joshua with the emissary (W. Sumowski, *Drawings of the Rembrandt School* [New York, 1979], vol. 1, no. 196x). The present drawing, which shows Bol fully under the influence of Rembrandt, owes much of its potency to its rich, painterly execution and compelling effects of illumination. Bol's one painting of the subject (Peace Palace, The Hague), which probably dates to the mid-1650s (A. Blankert, *Ferdinand Bol (1616–1680): Rembrandt's Pupil* [Doornspijk, 1982], no. 10), owes little to the present drawing.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 73A; London art market.

37

37. SIMON DE VLIEGER
Dutch, circa 1600–1653
Landscape with Haymakers at the Left, circa 1640–1653
Black chalk and gray wash on two joined sheets of paper, 38.1 x 71.3 cm (15 x 28 in.). Inscribed: *aen d Doornwaerd* in brown ink in the upper left corner and *1026* in black ink in the lower right corner.
87.GG.105

According to the inscription on this drawing, the site depicted is in the vicinity of the city of Doorn, near Utrecht. The artist has devised an exceptionally dynamic composition, focusing on a sharp bend in a road; this divides the scene into two balanced parts, with the left-hand side of the road ascending into a forest and the right-hand side leading down toward a vast flat expanse punctuated by trees and rooftops. Characteristic of de Vlieger are the sinuous eroded hills in the foreground, heavily worked in black chalk and dark gray wash.

PROVENANCE: Kunsthalle, Bremen, until 1945 (recovered and sold in 1987); London art market.

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38. WILLEM VAN DE VELDE THE ELDER
Dutch, 1611–1693
Figures on Board Small Merchant Vessels, circa 1650–1655
Pen and brown ink and blue-gray wash over pencil; stylus incising, 21 x 32.3 cm ($8^{1}/_{4}$ x $12^{3}/_{4}$ in.)
87.GG.80

This bustling scene accords with the elder van de Velde's drawings of the early-to-mid-1650s, such as *Pinks on Shore* and *A Group of Eight Fishing People* (M. Robinson, *Van de Velde Drawings: A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum Made by the Elder and the Younger Willem Van de Velde* [Cambridge, England, 1974], vol. 2, nos. 777, 792). It is especially appealing due to its focus on human activity, which is somewhat unusual for van de Velde, who tended to concentrate on precise renderings of specific vessels. The cropping of the scene and the wealth of eye-catching detail lend the subject further immediacy. It is also enlivened by van de Velde's characteristic technique of sketchy pen work over pale, blue-gray wash.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 112; London art market.

FLEMISH/BELGIAN

39

39. CIRCLE OF GILLIS VAN CONINXLOO
Flemish, 1544–1607
Forest Scene, circa 1595–1610

Brush and black ink, various tones of gray gouache, and white gouache heightening, 54.4 x 42.1 cm (21 1/2 x 16 9/16 in.)
87.GG.12

This striking drawing presents a synthesis of various aspects of Netherlandish landscape imagery around 1600. On the one hand, it reflects the tendency to focus upon monumental, often gnarled, trees found, for example, in the drawings of Roelandt Savery and Hendrick Goltzius. On the other hand, its use of expressive tree forms as screenlike *repoussoir* elements for a fanciful vista of hilly and forested terrain links it to the work of landscape painters such as Gillis van Coninxloo and Paulus Brill. It is also an early example of the use of nocturnal illumination in Netherlandish landscape imagery, which only became widespread shortly after 1600. Stylistically and compositionally, the drawing is closest to the paintings of Gillis van Coninxloo, but no comparable drawing by Coninxloo survives.

PROVENANCE: Paignon Dijonval, France; Col. H. L. Bradfer-Lawrence, Norwich; by descent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Bénard, *Cabinet of M. Paignon Dijonval* (Paris, 1810), no. 1306 (as Nicolas de Bruyn); K. T. Parker and J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters,* exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1953), no. 205 (as Gillis van Coninxloo); T. Gerszi, *Netherlandish Drawings in the Budapest Museum* (Amsterdam, 1971), p. 36, under no. 54; E. M. Zafran, *Master Drawings from Titian to Picasso: The Curtis O. Baer Collection,* exh. cat. (Atlanta, High Museum of Art, 1986), p. 97, under no. 53.

40. JACOB JORDAENS
Flemish, 1593–1678
Man Kneeling, Facing Right (recto); *Sketches of Figures* (verso), circa 1630–1635
Black chalk, brown and ocher wash, and violet and massicot gouache (recto); black chalk (verso), 36.9 x 33.4 cm (14 1/2 x 13 3/16 in.)
87.GG.130

This drawing of a kneeling bearded man was probably made as a drapery study. Jordaens has summarily brushed in the head and arms in brown ink, while carefully working out the heavy robe in colored pigments and dark brown wash. The sheet is notable for its unusual color combination of violet and massicot, as

40 (recto)

40 (verso)

well as for its thick, painterly application of the massicot gouache, which makes it resemble an oil sketch. One of a number of studies by Jordaens of monumental draped figures, this was presumably made in preparation for a painting—although no related work has been discovered.

PROVENANCE: J. P. Dumont, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19, 1986, lot 121); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jordaens Drawings* (Brussels, 1974), vol. 1, no. A103b, vol. 2, pl. 115.

41

41. CORNELIS SCHUT
Flemish, 1597–1655
The Entombment, circa 1635–1645
Brush and brown wash and white and pink gouache heightening over black chalk; faintly squared in black chalk, 38.4 x 25.4 cm (15 1/8 x 10 in.). Collection mark of Sir Thomas Lawrence (?) in the lower left corner.
87.GG.14

This sensitively modeled drawing might have been made for an unexecuted painting or print. Schut's considerable debt to Rubens is seen in the kneeling figure with the bowl in the foreground, presumably Mary Magdalen, which recalls Rubens' *Entombment* altarpiece in the church of Saint Géry, Cambrai. The torch appears elsewhere in Rubens' oeuvre, such as in his drawing of the *Anointing of Christ's Body* (Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam; J. S. Held, *Rubens: Selected Drawings* [Mount Kisco, N.Y., 1986], no. 12). The influence of van Dyck may be seen in the softness and refinement of the body of Christ, whereas the angels above and the Holy Women and Calvary in the background find parallels in Venetian Renaissance paintings, such as Tintoretto's *Deposition* in the church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence (?), London; Samuel Woodburn (?), London; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 30); London art market.

42 (recto)

42. JOSEPH BENOIT SUVEE
Belgian, 1744–1807
The Invention of Drawing (recto); sketch of lower leg bones of a human skeleton (verso), circa 1791
Black and white chalk on brown paper (recto); pencil (verso), 54.6 x 35.5 cm (21 1/2 x 14 in.). Inscribed *J.B. SUVÉE. A SON AMI VAN SPAENDONCK MEMBRE DE L'INSTITUT NATIONAL* in pencil on an attached strip at the bottom.
87.GB.145

Suvée here depicts Pliny the Elder's account of Dibutades, the daughter of a Corinthian potter, who made a remembrance of her lover by tracing his silhouette on a wall (*Natural History* 35:151). The story was later taken to represent the linear origins of painting. While mentioned in texts on art theory from the seventeenth century on, it only became a common pictorial theme during the late eighteenth century. Suvée probably made this highly finished drawing after his painting of the same subject exhibited at the Salon of 1791 (Groeninge-museum, Bruges). It differs from the painting, however, in its emphasis on the overhead shelf of pots illuminated by flickering lamplight. This is only one of an entire range of effects of nocturnal illumination which Suvée achieved through his meticulous handling of black and white chalk.

PROVENANCE: Gerardus van Spaendonck, Paris; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, December 13, 1984, lot 150); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jean-François Méjanes, et al., *The Age of Neoclassicism,* exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts and Victoria and Albert Museum, 1972), p. 155, under no. 244.

FRENCH

43 (recto)

43 (verso)

43. SIMON VOUET
French, 1590–1641
Study of a Female Figure with a Putto (recto); *Study of a Male Nude* (verso), circa 1630–1635
Black and white chalk, 38.7 x 21.8 cm (15 1/4 x 8 9/16 in.). Collection mark of the marquis Charles-Philippe de Chennevières in the lower left corner of the recto and an unidentified mark in the lower left corners of both recto and verso.
87.GB.104

This study of a female figure with a cupid on the recto is similar to a nymph in Vouet's painting *Rinaldo's Companions in the Garden of Armida,* now in a private Paris collection (W. R. Crelly, *The Painting of Simon Vouet* [New Haven and London, 1962], p. 205, no. 119, fig. 127). This work is part of a series of six paintings, dated 1631, for which nine other drawings are known. One of them, which is in the Louvre (B. Brejon de Lavergnée, *Musée du Louvre: Inventaire général des dessins, Ecole Française: Dessins de Simon Vouet, 1590–1649* [Paris, 1987], no. 18, fig. 18), shows the same nymph in an almost identical position as in the painting except for her head, which comes close to the one in the present drawing. The verso cannot be directly related to any known composition, but similar figures appear frequently in Vouet's oeuvre.

PROVENANCE: Marquis Charles-Philippe de Chennevières, Paris; François Heim, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 22, 1985, lot 4); London art market.

44. MICHEL CORNEILLE THE YOUNGER
French, 1641–1708
Studies of the Madonna and Child and of Heads (recto); *Madonna and Child with Saint John Seated in a Landscape* (verso), circa 1670–1690
Red, black, and white chalk on blue paper (recto); pen and brown ink and brown wash over black chalk (verso), 31 x 27 cm (12 3/16 x 10 5/8 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Les yeux trop pres du née* by the artist in black chalk in the upper right corner and *M. Corneille* by a later hand in black chalk in the lower left corner.
87.GG.1

Drawings comparable to the studies of heads on the recto are in the Louvre, Paris (inv. 25651), the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm (inv. NM THC 4016), the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (inv. 3331), and in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Guy-Philippe L. de Montebello. The head of Saint Joseph derives from Agostino Carracci's engraving of *Saint Jerome.* The head of the boy at the lower left appears to be that of Saint John the Baptist, as it closely resembles the face of that figure in the pen drawing on the verso. Here, the Virgin and Child are shown in a landscape setting. Numerous other studies of this group by Corneille are quite similar, in particular two drawings in the Louvre (inv. 25341, 25408).

Their marked graphic character and thin outlines suggest that they were intended as designs for engravings, of which more than one hundred are known.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France; Paris art market.

44 (recto)

44 (verso)

45. JEAN-BAPTISTE OUDRY
French, 1686–1755
Park Scene, 1744
Black and white chalk on tan paper, 35 x 51.5 cm (13 13/16 x 20 1/4 in.). Signed and dated: *JB Oudry 1744* (initials in paraph) in brown ink in the lower right corner.
87.GB.13

Between 1744 and 1747, Oudry executed a series of large black and white chalk drawings of gardens. This group is known as the "Arcueil" drawings, since

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many depict the abandoned gardens of the prince de Guise's château at Arcueil shortly before its destruction in 1752. It is not known whether the Museum's drawing represents Arcueil or some other park. Like the others in the series, it evidences Oudry's delight in the geometry of the French formal garden, as seen in the perspective vista, straight alley of trees, and circular pool. He also captures the subtle effects of light upon the setting, as in the rich passages of white chalk in the trees lining the alley and in the areas of shadow, evoked by black chalk with abundant stumping.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Fournier, Rouen, December 15, 1985, lot 49); London art market.

46. THEODORE GERICAULT
French, 1791–1824
Classical Nudes (recto); *Classical Statuary* (verso), circa 1814–1815
Pencil, pen and brown ink, and brown wash, 21.3 x 28.4 cm (8 3/8 x 11 3/16 in.). Inscribed (recto): numerous pencil inscriptions by the artist and *M. le marechal de Palais Bertrand. Le Gouveneur general brayer* by a later hand in brown ink in the lower left.
87.GG.97

Gericault's drawings of around 1815 evidence an abrupt and dramatic stylistic change. At this time he turned away from military subjects and figures culled from everyday life and attempted to become conversant in the classical idiom, primarily through copying engravings of antique statuary and paraphrasing figures

46 (verso)

46 (recto)

from Raphael, Michelangelo, Poussin, and Flaxman. This can be seen in the present drawing, in which pen sketches of classical figures overlie pencil studies of *écorchés,* soldiers, and compellingly realistic faces. The exaggerated musculature, strained poses, and thick, angular contours of the classical figures on the recto recall the work of Fuseli. The verso, with its various cursorily drawn gesticulating figures in antique costume, is close to other sheets by Gericault showing a mixture of classical motifs and borrowings from Flaxman's *Iliad.*

PROVENANCE: Hans E. Bühler, Winterthur (sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, lot 39); New York art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Dubaut and P. Nathan, *Theodore Géricault,* exh. cat. (Kunstmuseum Winterthur, 1953), no. 124; idem, *Sammlung Hans E. Bühler: Géricault 1791–1824, Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen* (Winterthur, 1956), nos. 34, 35; L. Eitner, "Géricault's 'Dying Paris,'" *Master Drawings* 1 (Spring 1963), no. 1, pp. 27, 29, 31, 34 n. 18, pl. 27a (recto); L. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), pp. 80, 84, 333 n. 119, fig. 63 (recto).

47 (recto)

47 (verso)

GERMAN

47. MASTER OF THE BERLIN ROUNDELS
German, active 1515
A Standard-Bearer before a Ruin and *A Flutist and Drummer before a Moated Castle,* circa 1515
Pen and black ink, Diam: 6.6 cm (2⅝ in.)
87.GA.146–147

In 1965 W. Hugelshofer published forty-one round drawings by this hand, all of a similar diminutive size. The artist is known as the Master of the Berlin Roundels because thirteen such works are in the Kupferstichkabinett, West Berlin. Hugelshofer proposed that their creator was active in Augsburg, possibly as a goldsmith, as suggested by his exceptionally fine pen style. The roundels testify to the innovative spirit of the master through an abundance of secular subjects as well as the frequent appearance of landscape backgrounds. The landscapes are startlingly spacious and airy, despite their tiny scale.

PROVENANCE: F. Ritter von Hauslab; Fürst Liechtenstein; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, lot 18); London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Hugelshofer, "Der deutsche Zeichner der Rundblätter von 1515," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* (1965), pp. 204, figs. 39 and 40, 206, nos. 39 and 40.

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48. GEORG PENCZ
German, 1484/85–1545
Allegory of Justice, 1533
Pen and brown ink over black chalk, 19.2 x 15 cm (7 9/16 x 5 7/8 in.). Signed and dated: *PG 1533* in brown ink in the lower right corner. Inscribed: *A 115* in graphite in the upper right corner.
87.GA.103

Pencz's obvious inspiration for this monumental female nude striding through the heavens was the engraving *Nemesis—The Large Fortune* of 1501–1503 by his teacher, Dürer. Like its famous predecessor, Pencz's nude follows the Vitruvian system of human proportion. The deeply Italianate character of the image is further evidenced by a second visual source, the engraving of Bacchus attributed to the Italian printmaker Marco Dente of Ravenna (K. Oberhuber, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch,* vol. 26 [formerly vol. 14, pt. 1], *The Works of Marcantonio Raimondi and of His School* [New York, 1978], No. 308-I). Given its highly finished quality, it is likely that Pencz made the drawing in preparation for a print that was never executed.

PROVENANCE: Sir Robert Witt, London; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale, Cumberland (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, May 3, 1976, lot 83); private collection, England; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Dodgson, note in *Old Master Drawings* 2 (March 1928), no. 8, p. 64; F. Winkler, "Ein Dürer-Erwerbung der Berliner Museen," *Der Cicerone* 21 (1929), p. 510; H. Röttgen et al., *Meister um Albrecht Dürer,* exh. cat. (Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1961), no. 266; *Old Master Drawings from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell,* exh. cat. (Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland, 1965), no. 12; D. Landau, *George Pencz: Catalogo completo dell'opera grafica* (Milan, 1978), pp. 30–32; F. Anzelewsky and H. Mielke, *Albrecht Dürer: Kritischer Katalog Der Zeichnungen, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin, 1984), p. 85, under no. 82.

49. HANS HOFFMANN
German, circa 1530–1591/92
Flowers and Beetles, 1582
Tempera and white chalk over black chalk on vellum, 32.1 x 38.7 cm (12⅝ x 15¼ in.). Signed and dated: *. . . Hh./.1582* in black ink in the upper center.
87.GA.98

This drawing shows (from left to right) a peony, a grass-leaved iris, an amaryllis, a May beetle, an *Iris germanica,* and a June

bug. Among Hoffmann's numerous nature studies on vellum of the early 1580s, this stands out due to its focus on flowers and the sensitive arrangement of the objects on the page. An apparently original composition, in contrast to Hoffmann's well-known nature studies inspired by Dürer, the drawing demonstrates his distinctive curvilinear manner of rendering foliage as well as his gifts as a colorist. A preference for brilliant red and blue flowers is found in other works of 1582, such as *Hare among Flowers* (private collection) and *Study of a Peony* (Staatsbibliothek, Bamberg).

PROVENANCE: Paulus Praun (?), Nuremberg; Heinrich Ludwig Petersen, Nuremberg; by descent to Christine Petersen; Amalie Ejselin and Anna Sibylla Richter, Nuremberg; by descent to Leonhard and Sophie Richter, Nuremberg; Dr. Friedrich August Nagel, Nuremberg; Igo Levi, Nuremberg and Lucerne; private collection (sale, Christie's, London, December 8 and 11, 1981, lot 96); Martin Horlamus, Nuremberg; Helmut Riedl, Nuremberg; Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. T. de Murr, *Description du Cabinet de Monsieur Paul de Praun à Nuremberg* (Nuremberg, 1797), Gemälde, no. 133; F. T. Schulz, *Nürnbergs Bürgerhäuser und ihre Ausstattung* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1909–1933), vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 586, fig. 725; K. Pilz, "Hans Hoffmann, Ein Nürnberger Dürer-Nachahmer aus der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* (1962), vol. 51, no. 18; F. Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance,* exh. cat. (Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, 1985), p. 144, under no. 47.

49

ITALIAN

50

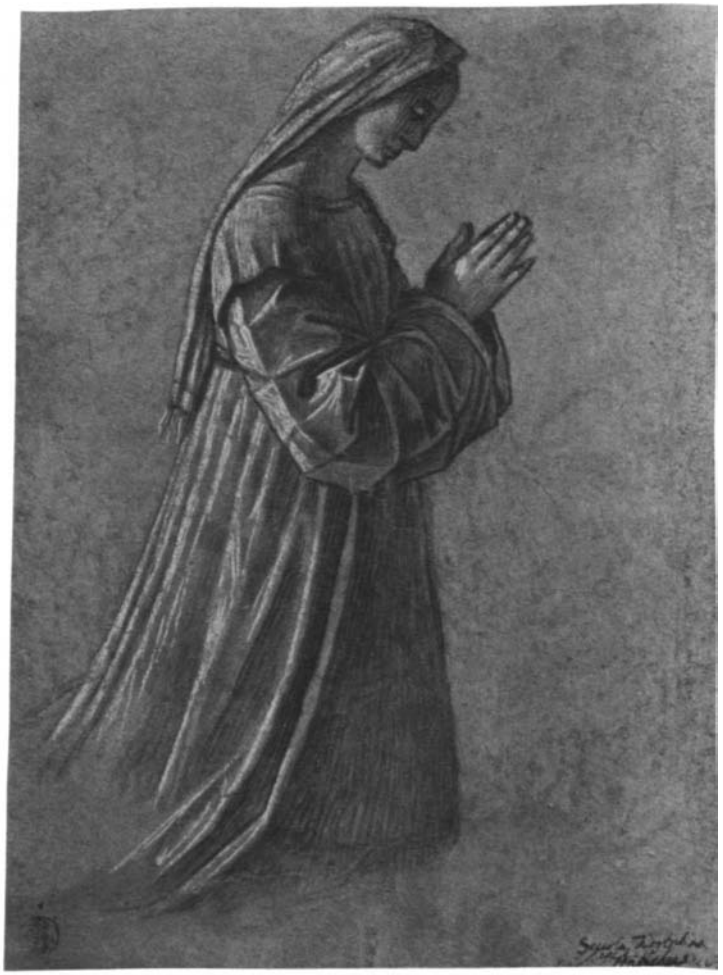
50. AMICO ASPERTINI
Italian, 1474/75–1552
A Thebaid: Monks and Hermits in a Landscape, circa 1505
Pen and brown ink, 20.7 x 20.7 cm (8 1/8 x 8 1/8 in.). Collection marks of Countess Rosa Piatti-Lochis and Ferruccio Asta in the lower right corner. Stamped: *69* in black ink in the lower right corner.
87.GA.11

This rather early drawing devoted to the depiction of landscape shows ascetic monks in a Theban (Egyptian) setting, a subject which was occasionally depicted in Italian Renaissance painting. The scene with two seated hermits and a bird in the left middle distance between the trees can be identified as saints Anthony and Paul the Hermit receiving a loaf of bread from a raven. The drawing is comparable to other works assigned to Aspertini, such as the study in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 166E), which exhibits a similar technique of cross-hatching. The present sheet might have been made with a painting in mind, but none has yet been related to it.

PROVENANCE: Countess Rosa Piatti-Lochis, Venice; Ferruccio Asta, Venice; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, lot 9; London art market.

51. VITTORE CARPACCIO
Italian, circa 1460/65–circa 1523/26
Study of the Virgin (recto); *Study of the Virgin and of Hands* (verso), circa 1505
Black chalk, brush and brown wash, and white gouache heightening on faded blue-gray paper, 25 x 18.7 cm (9 7/8 x 7 3/8 in.). Inscribed (recto): *Scuola Fiorentina Antica* in brown ink in the lower right corner. Inscribed (verso): *S.F.n°: 22.* in brown ink at the lower right. Collection mark of N. Dhikos on the lower left corner of the recto and the lower right corner of the verso.
87.GG.8

The study of the kneeling figure on the recto appears to have been made for the Virgin in Carpaccio's painting of the *Adoration of the Child* of 1505, in the Museu Calouste Gulbenkian, Lisbon. The verso showing a Madonna and hands can be related to the *Virgin and Child with Two Saints* in the Samuel H. Kress collection, University of Arizona, Tucson. The simple but beautifully defined drapery is rendered with typical parallel strokes in a mixture of black chalk and brown wash. Like other drawings by Carpaccio, this sheet contains standard motifs which



51 (recto)

51 (verso)

might have served the artist and his workshop in more than one painting.

PROVENANCE: "Sagredo collection," Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; N. Dhikos, Lyons; New York art market.

52. BALDASSARE PERUZZI
Italian, 1481–1536
The Holy Family, circa 1515
Pen and brown ink; upper left squared in black chalk, 23.8 x 18.9 cm (9 3/8 x 7 1/2 in.)
87.GG.20

A similar group with the Madonna and Child is found in another drawing by Peruzzi of the *Holy Family with Saints,* in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (inv. I, 44; J. Bean and F. Stampfle, *Drawings from New York Collections, I: The Italian Renaissance,* exh. cat. [New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art and Pierpont Morgan Library, 1965], p. 39, no. 47, pl. 47). While the position of the upper part of her body is identical in both drawings, her legs are turned toward the left here. Instead of integrating Saint Joseph in the scene as in the Museum's example, the New York sheet shows a monk presenting a donor, with Joseph in the middle distance. The infant Christ, standing

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with crossed legs on a pedestal, calls to mind some of Parmigianino's preparatory studies for his *Vision of Saint Jerome* of 1527 (National Gallery, London), a work Peruzzi certainly saw during his stay in Rome. Another closely related drawing by Peruzzi is a bust-length figure group of the *Madonna and Child with a Saint,* in a private collection in Paris.

PROVENANCE: Fred Kline collection, Texas (sale, Christie's, New York, January 14, 1986, lot 93); London art market.

53. PONTORMO (Jacopo Carucci)
Italian, 1494–1557
Study of a Nude Boy, Partial Figure Study (recto); *Study of a Seated Man* (verso), 1518
Red chalk (recto); red and black chalk (verso), 38.9 x 24 cm (15 5/16 x 9 1/2 in.). Inscribed (verso): *662.* in graphite.
87.GB.95

Both the recto and verso are preparatory studies for figures in the altarpiece painted by Pontormo for the church of S. Michele Visdomini, Florence, of 1517–1518. The boy on the recto, drawn after a live model, was used for the putto striding to the left, holding the curtain above the Virgin and Child. The seated man with a staff in his hands on the verso was the model for the figure of the young John the Baptist. Other drawings for the Visdomini altarpiece show comparable figure types, facial expressions, and a similar soft modeling of the forms in chalk. Various *pentimenti* indicate a slow

53 (recto)

53 (verso)

development toward the final compositional arrangement in the painting.

PROVENANCE: Dr. Benno Geiger, Vienna (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 7–10, 1920, lot 243); Capt. G. Fenwick-Owen, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 22).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. E. Popham, *Italian Drawings,* exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1930), p. 64, no. 230, pl. 194, no. 230; B. Berenson, *The Drawings of the Florentine Painters,* 2d ed. (Chicago, 1938), vol. 2, p. 301, no. 2256; idem, *I disegni dei pittori fiorentini,* 3d ed. (Milan, 1961), vol. 2, p. 506, no. 2256; J. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), vol. 1, pp. 128–129, no. 38, p. 135, under no. 57, p. 136, nos. 59, 60, vol. 2, pls. 45, 61 (2d ed., New York, 1981, same pages and plates).

54. ANDREA DEL SARTO
Italian, 1486–1530
Study of a Young Man (recto); faint sketch of a standing man with a beard (verso), 1523
Black chalk, 14.3 x 9.7 cm (5 5/8 x 3 13/16 in.). Inscribed: *S.F.n°.245.* in brown ink on the mount. Collection mark of N. Dhikos in the lower right corner.
87.GB.10

This drawing of a young man in contemporary Florentine costume was made as

54 (recto)

a preparatory study for Andrea's grisaille fresco *The Feast of Herod* of 1523, in the Chiostro degli Scalzi, Florence, for which only one other study has been recognized so far with certainty (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, KdZ 12924). Except for the facial expression and the headgear, the artist defined the figure in detail, with characteristic softly modeled parallel chalk strokes. The figure of the boy, probably one of the *garzoni* in Andrea's workshop, has been transferred onto the wall with only minor changes.

PROVENANCE: "Sagredo collection," Venice; de Boissieu collection, Lyons; N. Dhikos, Lyons; New York art market.

55. CORREGGIO (Antonio Allegri)
Italian, 1489-94–1534
Christ in Glory, 1524
Red chalk, brown and gray wash, and white gouache heightening on a pink ground; inscribed circle in brown ink; squared in red chalk, 14.5 x 14.6 cm (5 3/4 x 5 3/4 in.) (between the horizontal and vertical edges)
87.GB.90

The drawing was made as a preparatory study for the illusionistic oculus in the center of the entrance arch of the Del Bono chapel in the church of S. Giovanni Evangelista, Parma. In the fresco, the oculus is supported by four putti, and the figure of the Savior is closely related to two pendant compartments in the arch, the *Conversion of Saul* and *Saints John and Peter Healing the Cripple.* The execution

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of the frescoes, in 1524, was probably done by F. M. Rondani and M. Anselmi following Correggio's design. Two additional drawings for the decoration of the same arch are at Chatsworth.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the dukes of Devonshire, Chatsworth (sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 5).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Ricci, *Correggio* (London and New York, 1930), p. 165, pl. 244 b; A. E. Popham, *Correggio's Drawings* (London, 1957), pp. 58, 158, no. 44, pl. 51; A. Ghidiglia Quintavalle, *Correggio: The Frescoes in San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma* (New York, 1962), p. 41; A. E. Popham, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1962), p. 20, no. 21; C. Gould, *The Paintings of Correggio* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1976), pp. 80, 257–258, pl. 78c; D. DeGrazia, *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth-Century Emilian Drawings,* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1984), under no. 17, fig. 17a.

56. PARMIGIANINO
(Francesco Mazzola)
Italian, 1503–1540
Studies of Saint John the Baptist and Jerome, a Crucifix, and Various Heads (recto); *Studies of the Christ Child, a Crucifix, and a Dog* (verso), circa 1525–1527
Red chalk, 15.1 x 22.1 cm ($5^{5}/_{16}$ x $8^{11}/_{16}$ in.). Collection marks of Sir Thomas Lawrence, Count Nils Barck, and N. Dhikos in the lower left corner.
87.GB.9

56 (recto)

56 (verso)

Related to a group of twenty-five studies for Parmigianino's *Vision of Saint Jerome* of 1527 (National Gallery, London), this drawing seems to reflect an early idea for that altarpiece. The recto comes closest to a sheet in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (A. E. Popham, *Catalogue of the Drawings of Parmigianino* [New Haven and London], 1971, no. 145), which shows the saints in almost identical positions, and to the study for the whole composition in the British Museum, London (Popham, no. 181). The contrapposto movement of the Christ child on the verso is similar to that in a drawing in the Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples (Popham, no. 291). The hunting dog is a motif that appears frequently throughout Parmigianino's oeuvre, as for example in a later drawing in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (Popham, no. 282), or in his frescoes of Diana and Actaeon at the Rocca di Fontanellato, which he completed before he left for Rome in 1524.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Count Nils Barck, Paris; N. Dhikos, Lyons; New York art market.

57. PORDENONE (Giovanni Antonio de'Sacchis)
Italian, circa 1484–1539
Study of the Martyrdom of Saint Peter Martyr, 1526–1528
Red chalk, 24.4 x 20.7 cm ($9^{5}/_{8}$ x $8^{1}/_{8}$ in.). Collection marks of N. A. Flinck in the lower right corner and of the second duke of Devonshire in the lower left corner.
87.GB.91

57

Pordenone made this drawing as a study for the *modello* in the Uffizi, Florence, which he submitted in competition with Titian and Palma Vecchio for the commission to execute an altarpiece of the *Assassination of Saint Peter Martyr* for the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice. Titian won the contest and painted the famous picture, which was destroyed by fire in 1867. This drawing is an outstanding example of Pordenone's fully evolved style, radical in its dramatic use of spatial foreshortening, stark gestures, and dynamic movement. These qualities, so clearly in evidence in this chalk study, are somewhat curbed in the *modello,* possibly in an effort to appeal to the more formal tastes of official Venetian patronage.

PROVENANCE: N. A. Flinck, Rotterdam; William, second duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth; by descent to the current duke (sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 9).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Morelli, *Kunstkritische Studien über italienische Malerei: Die Galerien Borghese und Doria Panfili in Rom* (Leipzig, 1890), p. 400; D. von Hadeln, *Venezianische Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance* (Berlin, 1925), pp. 34–35, pl. 37; K. Schwarzweller, *Giovanni Antonio de Pordenone,* Ph.D. diss. (Göttingen, 1935), p. 78; G. Fiocco, *Giovanni Antonio Pordenone* (Udine, 1939), pp. 102, 153 (2d ed., Padua, 1943, p. 125, ill. 134; 3d ed., Pordenone, 1969, vol. 1, p. 102, vol. 2, p. 179, no. 141); C. E. Cohen, *The Drawings of Giovanni Antonio da Pordenone,* Corpus Graphicum, no. 3 (Florence, 1980), pp. 29, 66–67, no. 746, ill. 38; C. Furlan, *Il Pordenone* (Milan, 1984), pp. 201–202, ill. 4.10.

58. NICOLO DELL'ABATE
Italian, 1509/12–1571
Marriage of a Patrician Couple, circa 1540–1545
Oil on paper; some foreground figures pricked for transfer, 40.6 x 47.8 cm (16 x 18 13/16 in.)
87.GG.41

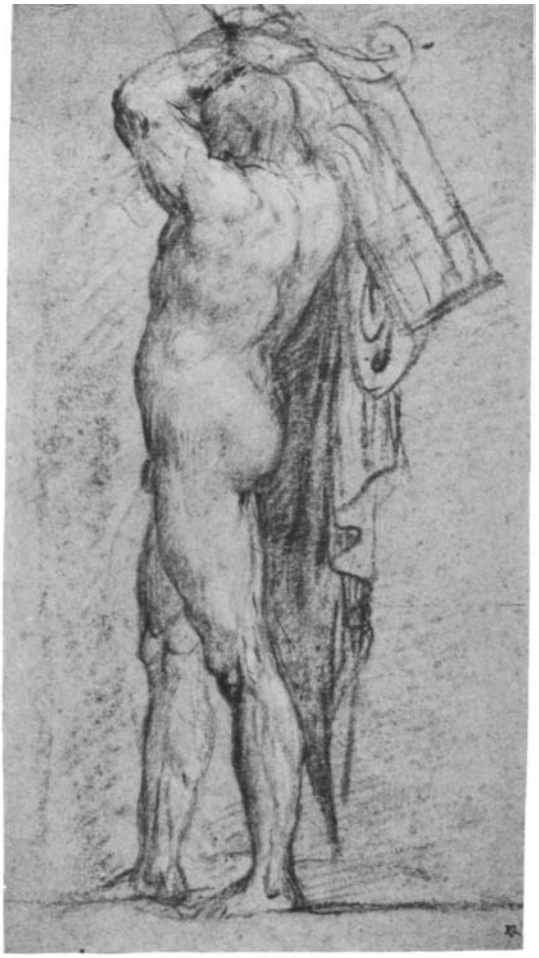
This highly finished drawing seems to have been made in preparation for a painting or a fresco, as it has been partially pricked for transfer. It is closely related to another drawing, in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 593E), executed in the same medium, style, and format. It has been suggested that the latter drawing is connected to a group of similar sheets in the Musée du Louvre, Windsor Castle, and in the Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich (see S. Béguin, *Mostra di Niccolò dell'Abate,* exh. cat. [Bologna, Palazzo dell'Archiginnasio, 1969], no. 31). Their subjects of chivalric scenes may derive from Ariosto's celebrated poem *Orlando Furioso,* which Nicolò illustrated in an early frieze in the Palazzo Ducale at Sassuolo, now lost (ibid., p. 89), and in the Palazzo Torfanini, Bologna. The present scene could therefore show the marriage of Ruggiero and Brandimarte (Canto 46, 73 ff).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, April 8, 1986, lot 28; London art market.

58

59. TITIAN (Tiziano Vecellio)
Italian, circa 1480/88–1576
Nude Man Carrying a Rudder on His Shoulder, circa 1555–1556
Black chalk and white chalk heightening on blue paper, 28.7 x 15.5 cm (11 5/16 x 6 1/8 in.). Inscribed: *Titian* (by van Dyck?) in pen and brown ink on the mount. Collection mark of Sir Peter Lely in the lower right corner.
87.GB.35

It has been assumed that this drawing of a nude man carrying a rudder, probably a symbol of civic constancy, was made as a study for a figure in the votive painting *Faith Adored by Doge Grimani,* in the Palazzo Ducale, Venice (R. Rearick, written communication, October 31, 1986). Commissioned in 1555, the painting remained unfinished at the time of Titian's death. According to this hypothesis, the artist's son Marco, who finished the painting, replaced the man with the rud-



59

der with the more conventional representation of a soldier. Other drawings from Titian's mature period executed in the same medium and with similar painterly modeling include his famous representation of a couple embracing, in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (inv. 2256).

PROVENANCE: Sir Anthony van Dyck (?); Sir Peter Lely, London; Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell, Portinscale, Cumberland (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 28, 1962, lot 20); Lord Wharton, London and Switzerland; by descent.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Old Master Drawings,* exh. cat. (London, P. and D. Colnaghi, 1935), no. 63; J. Byam Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters from the Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Francis Springell,* exh. cat. (London, P. and D. Colnaghi, 1959), no. 25, pl. 7; A. E. Popham, *Italian Art and Britain,* exh. cat. (London, Royal Academy of Arts, 1960), no. 561.

60

60. TADDEO ZUCCARO
Italian, 1529–1566
Scene from the History of the Farnese Family, 1563–1565
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, and wash; squared for transfer in red chalk, 30.2 x 27.5 cm (11⁷/₈ x 10⁷/₈ in.). Collection mark of Giuseppe Vallardi in the lower left corner.
87.GG.52

The drawing was made as a preparatory study for the fresco in the Sala dei Fasti Farnesiani, Palazzo Farnese, Rome, which is situated above the right-hand side window. It shows a scene from the history of the Farnese family, as is clearly indicated by the lilies on the shield on the left, and might refer to the day in 1354 when Cardinal Albornoz ceded the town of Valentano to the Farnese (according to I. Cheney, "Les premières décorations: Daniele da Volterra, Salviati et les frères Zuccari," *Ecole française de Rome, Le Palais Farnèse* [Rome, 1980–1981], vol. 1.1, p. 261). Taddeo started the decoration of the room after Francesco Salviati's death in 1563 but left his work unfinished at the end of his own life (see G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccelenti pittori . . .* , ed. Milanesi, vol. 7 [Florence, 1906], pp. 97, 100, 101). The fresco in question seems to have been executed by Taddeo's workshop. Another drawing of the same composition (Hessisches Landesmuseum Darmstadt, inv. AE 1562), as well as the fresco, have fewer figures than the present drawing. This suggests that it is an earlier study, though it has already been squared for transfer.

PROVENANCE: Giuseppe Vallardi, Milan; private collection, Boston; Boston art market.

61

61. GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Italian, 1598–1680
A Marine God with a Dolphin, 1652–1653
Black chalk, 34.9 x 23.8 cm (13³/₄ x 9³/₈ in.). Collection mark of A. G. B. Russell in the lower right corner of the recto. Inscribed (verso): *Bernini.* in brown ink.
87.GB.142

During his correspondence with Francesco I d'Este, duke of Modena, in August and September 1652 and March 1653, Bernini submitted several drawings for three fountains in the garden of the duke's palace in Sassuolo. This sketch for the fountain in the central niche of the courtyard shows a marine god with a dolphin. In a drawing in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (inv. CAI.416), the figure has been more carefully elaborated with dramatic effects of light and shadow in order to create a powerful image. This design was the basis for a terracotta *bozzetto* by Bernini's assistant Ercole

Antonio Raggi. The final execution of the fountain in stucco, however, was probably due to less talented artists of the workshop and lacks much of the elegance and the freshness of the drawings. The fountain of the marine god as well as two others, showing Galatea and Neptune, are still in situ in the garden at Sassuolo.

PROVENANCE: A. G. B. Russell, London (sale, Sotheby's, London, May 22, 1928, lot 39); Marquis de Talleyrand, Rome and Paris (sale, Christie's, Monaco, June 15, 1986, lot 73); Boston art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Brauer and R. Wittkower, *Die Zeichnungen des Gianlorenzo Bernini* (Berlin, 1931), vol. 1, p. 53, vol. 2, pl. 34; U. Donati, "Tre fontane Berniniane," *L'Urbe* 6 (1941), vol. 2, p. 12, fig. 5; A. S. Harris, *Selected Drawings of Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (New York, 1977), no. 51, pl. 51; P. Ward-Jackson, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogues: Italian Drawings, Vol. 2, 17th–18th Century* (London, 1980), p. 22, under no. 628; R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Sculptor of the Roman Baroque,* 3d ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1981), p. 267, under no. 80 (5); J. Roberts, *Master Drawings in the Royal Collection: From Leonardo da Vinci to the Present Day* (London, 1986), p. 116, under no. 86.

62

62. BACICCIO (Giovanni Battista Gaulli)
Italian, 1639–1709
Adoration of the Shepherds, circa 1672
Black chalk, pen and brown ink, brown wash, and white gouache heightening, 27.1 x 21.3 cm ($10^{11}/_{16}$ x $8^{3}/_{8}$ in.)
87.GG.19

This is the principal preparatory study for Baciccio's painting of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the church of S. Maria del Carmine, Fermo, of around 1672. The composition owes much to the famous painting of this subject by Correggio, *La Notte,* in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden. A very similar drawing by Baciccio, which is in the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf (inv. FP 1877), was probably an alternative study and might have preceded the present sheet. The animated lines show him to be still under the influence of artists from his native Genoa, but the impact of Roman draughtsmen—Bernini in particular—can already be felt.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Christie's, London, July 2, 1985, lot 68); London art market.

63

63. MARCO RICCI
Italian, 1676–1730
Fishing Boats in a Storm, circa 1715
Gouache on leather, 31.5 x 45.1 cm ($12^{3}/_{8}$ x $17^{13}/_{16}$ in.)
87.GG.39

This drawing of boats in a stormy sea was made as an independent work. Its unusual medium is found more frequently in Ricci's landscape drawings than in his marine subjects, which seem to reflect the influence of the animated and dramatic style of the contemporary Anconian painter Francesco Peruzzini. The figure with the swirling drapery in the right foreground appears in an almost identical position in a painting of the same subject by Ricci in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (M. Chiarini, "I quadri della collezione del principe Ferdinando di Toscana," *Paragone* 26 [1975] 303, p. 84, pl. 74a). Later in his career, perhaps in London where he resided from 1712 to 1716, he made numerous landscapes in gouache on leather, many of which remain in English public and private collections.

PROVENANCE: Spink and Son, Ltd., London; sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1985, lot 268; London art market.

SWISS

64

64. SWISS MASTER
Portrait of a Young Man, 1521
Black chalk, 38.2 x 28.7 cm (15 x $11^{5}/_{16}$ in.). Dated: *.1.5.21.* in black chalk at the top. Inscribed: *AD* by a later hand in black chalk beneath the date.
87.GB.30

This image of a fashionably dressed young man recalls Albrecht Dürer's large-scale charcoal portrait drawings; like them, it presumably functioned as an independent work of art. Despite these Düreresque parallels, it is probably the work of a Swiss artist. It is generally closest to *Young Man in an Orange Hat* (Washington, D.C., Kress collection, National Gallery of Art), a painting of the 1520s by an artist active around Basel, working in a style close to that of Hans Holbein the Younger (C. T. Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection: European Schools Excluding Italian* [Oxford, 1977], no. K1892, fig. 16). Its watermark, a bear, is characteristic of Bern paper (close to no. 18 in J. Lindt, *The Paper-Mills of Berne and Their Watermarks* [Hilversum, the Netherlands, 1964]).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Christie's, London, December 11–13, 1985, lot 382; London art market.

DECORATIVE ARTS

66

66 (top)

FRENCH

65. TABLE
French (Paris), circa 1660–1670
Walnut, gesso, gilding, and paint, 82.5 x 100.3 x 68.5 cm (2 ft. 8 1/2 in. x 3 ft. 3 1/2 in. x 2 ft. 3 in.)
87.DA.7

The top of the table is oval and is supported by four S-shaped legs which are joined by scrolled stretchers centered by an oval platform. The legs, which are of square section, are carved on their outer surfaces with lambrequins from which depend bellflowers of diminishing size. A large acanthus leaf springs from the scrolled foot and partially clasps the lower leg. The inner surface of each leg is carved with a large acanthus spike, and the sides bear descending bellflowers and studs. The oval top is carved with concave, tongued gadrooning.

The table is in poor condition and therefore is not illustrated here. It has been cut in half, covered with white paint, and three of the four feet have rotted away. However, beneath the paint the original finely carved gesso and much of the original gilding have survived. Very little carved and gilded furniture of the mid-seventeenth century has survived with its surface intact. After careful conservation this table will stand as a fine and pure example of the late Baroque style.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].

66. BUREAU
French (Paris), circa 1675–1680
Oak veneered with brass, tortoiseshell, pewter, copper, mother-of-pearl, red, green, and blue painted horn, transparent horn, and painted paper; ebony; silvered and gilt-bronze mounts, 70.5 x 89 x 51 cm (2 ft. 3 3/4 in. x 2 ft 11 in. x 1 ft. 8 in.)
87.DA.77

Many examples of this form of desk, commonly known as a *bureau mazarin,* exist decorated with brass and tortoiseshell. However, furniture veneered with brass set with colored decorative ele-

ments, as on this piece, is very rare. The name of the craftsman is not known, but it was probably made by a colleague of André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732) working in Paris in the second half of the seventeenth century. Its surface bears the crown and supporters of a prince of the Holy Roman Empire and the order of the Toison d'Or. The coat of arms was replaced at a later date with an inventive motif, which has been erroneously read as the arms of the Milanese nobleman Francesco Antonio di Porcia (active 1665–1698). A similarly decorated bureau, also of extremely small size, and bearing the arms of the duchesse de Retz (married 1675, died 1705), is in the British royal collection.

PROVENANCE: Capt. Thomas Leyland, London circa 1854; William Cornwallis West, Ruthin Castle, Denbighshire (1835–1917); Mary Theresa Olivia, princesse of Pless (died 1943); David Style, Esq. (sale, Christie's, Wateringbury Place, June 1, 1978, lot 546); private collection, London (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 21, 1987, lot 1097).

67 (one of a pair)

67. PAIR OF TORCHERES
French (Paris), circa 1680
Oak veneered with ebony, tortoiseshell, blue painted horn, brass, and pewter; gilt-bronze mounts, 143.8 x 41.9 x 43.5 cm (4 ft. 8⅝ in. x 1 ft. 4½ in. x 1 ft. 5⅛ in.)
87.DA.5.1–.2

These torchères were intended to carry girandoles (standing candelabra). They are attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732). Engravings by him for torchères of similar form appear in *Nouveaux deisseins* [sic] *de meubles et ouvrages de bronze gravés par André-Charles Boulle* (Paris, circa 1724). No other examples of this model are known to exist, but a pair of apparently the same design is found described in some detail in the catalogue of a sale held at the death of the *fermier-général* Pierre-Louis Randon de Boisset in 1777.

PROVENANCE: (?) Pierre-Louis Randon de Boisset, Paris; (sale, Paris, February 27, 1777, no. 796). (?) Pierre Nicolas, baron Hoorn van Vlooswyck, Paris (sale, Paris, November 22, 1809, no. 593); [Maurice Segoura, Paris].

68

68. MIRROR FRAME
French (Paris), circa 1690–1700
Carved and gilded oak; mirror glass, 203.2 x 127 x 10.2 cm (6 ft. 8 in. x 4 ft. 2 in. x 4 in.)
87.DH.78

Contemporary drawings show that mirror frames such as this were never intended to be part of the paneling of a room but were designed to hang as a separate element above a piece of furniture or a mantelpiece. In one of these drawings, Robert de Cotte (1656–1735), one of the foremost architects of this time, illustrates a large rectangular mirror of similar design on the end wall of the *cabinet de retraite* of Louis XIV at Versailles. Another drawing, of 1678, shows a massive mirror frame in marble created for the *chambre des bains,* again for Louis XIV at Versailles. It was designed by Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), made by Poquelin, and decorated with gilt-bronze mounts by Domenico Cucci (second half of the seventeenth century). Fleurs-de-lys in the design of the Museum's mirror frame might indicate a royal provenance.

PROVENANCE: [Rosenberg and Stiebel, New York].

69

69. CHANDELIER
French (Paris), circa 1700
Gilt bronze, H: 115 cm (3 ft. 9¼ in.); Diam: 107.3 cm (3 ft. 6¼ in.)
87.DF.28

The name of the maker of this massive eight-light chandelier is not known. It is of unique form.

PROVENANCE: Edouard Chappey, Paris, circa 1900; [Michel Meyer, Paris].

70

70. BRACKET
French (Paris), circa 1720–1725

Gilt bronze, 32.5 x 39 x 17.2 cm (1 ft. 3/4 in. x 1 ft. 3 3/8 in. x 6 3/4 in.)
87.DF.136

The bracket originally would have been used to support a clock or other small decorative objects. The designer and *bronzier* are unknown, but recent comparative research has suggested that it may have been made by Charles Cressent (1685–1768), one of the greatest *ébénistes* of this period. He is known to have designed and made gilt-bronze mounts for use on the furniture that he and his workshop produced.

PROVENANCE: Paul Wallraf (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 8, 1983, lot 579); [A la Cour de Varenne, Paris].

71

71. LIDDED BOWL
Mounts: French (Paris), circa 1722–1727
Porcelain: Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1662–1722
Hard-paste porcelain; painted enamel decoration; silver mounts, H: 20.3 cm (8 in.); Diam: 25.1 cm (9 7/8 in.). Each silver mount bears a Saint-Esprit (a dove), the *décharge* mark for the city of Paris, for 1722–1727, the period under the *fermier-général* Charles Cordier.
87.DI.4

In Chinese, the copper-red painted decoration on the lidded tureen is termed "peach bloom," a refined color not often used on export wares such as this. It is unusual that the piece was mounted with silver—rather than gilt bronze—because in Paris silver mounts were generally fitted, for aesthetic reasons, to the Japanese Imari porcelains.

PROVENANCE: [Jacques Kugel, Paris].

72

72. PLATE
French (Moustiers), circa 1740–1760
Tin-glazed earthenware; colored enamel decoration, H: 3.7 cm (1 7/16 in.); Diam: 44.8 cm (1 ft. 5 5/8 in.)
87.DE.25

This plate is a product of the Olerys manufactory, located in Moustiers, which was founded by Joseph Olerys (1697–1749) in 1739. The palette of painted enamel decoration—of violet, green, and orange-yellow colors—shows the influence of Spanish painted earthenware, which Olerys brought to Moustiers following a trip to Alcora. The grotesque motifs of fantastic fowl and creatures, feathered savages, and stylized vegetation are typical of the manufactory during this period.

PROVENANCE: [Georges Lefebvre, Paris].

73

73. COVERED CUP AND SAUCER
French (Sèvres), circa 1760–1765
Soft-paste porcelain, Cup: 9.1 x 14 x 9.7 cm (3 9/16 x 5 1/2 x 3 13/16 in.); saucer: H: 4.3 cm (1 11/16 in.); Diam: 19.3 cm (7 5/8 in.)
87.DE.134

This cup with cover and saucer is called a *gobelet à lait et soucoupe.* The seven reserves are surrounded with gilded bands and are painted in *camaieu rose.* Six of them have scenes depicting military action in Saxon landscapes—notably Dresden, Moritzburg, and Meissen—and may represent battles from the Seven Years War. The seventh reserve shows a kneeling priest presumably administering last rites to a fallen soldier.

The early history of this piece is still unknown, but eventually information, such as the original commission, the painter, and the engraved sources for the paintings, may be found in the archives preserved at the Sèvres manufactory. It is extremely rare to find German towns depicted on French porcelain, and it is this fact which might ultimately permit identification of this piece in the records.

PROVENANCE: (?) Isabella Anne Ingram-Shephard, second marchioness of Hartford (1777–1842), London; anonymous collector (sale, Christie's, London, March 25, 1985, lot 9); [Robert Williams, Eastbourne].

74

74. VASE WITH MOUNTS
Mounts: French (Paris), circa 1785
Porcelain: Chinese (Kangxi), circa 1662–1722
Hard-paste porcelain with incised decoration; gilt-bronze mounts,

54.2 x 27 x 25 cm (1 ft. 9⅝ in. x 10⅝ in. x 9⅞ in.)
87.DI.137

Originally, this vase was most likely one of a pair or part of a larger garniture. An almost identical pair in the combined collections of Baron Cassel and the Baronne Cassel van Doorn was sold at public auction in 1954 and again in 1981, from the Bensimon collection, Paris. A related pair, with dark blue porcelain and similar gilt-bronze mounts, was sold at Sotheby's, Monaco, in 1986. All these vases' mounts are in the style of Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1843).

PROVENANCE: [Michel Meyer, Paris].

GERMAN

75. COMMODE
German, circa 1735–1740
Painted and gilded pine; marble top, 83.8 x 138.5 x 54.5 cm (2 ft. 9 in. x 4 ft. 6½ in. x 1 ft. 9½ in.)
87.DA.47

The design of this commode, with its exuberant carving, appears to be unique and represents the fully developed Rococo style of southern Germany. Its maker is not known.

PROVENANCE: Michael Taylor, San Francisco; (sale, Butterfield's, San Francisco, April 7, 1987, lot 340).

75

76 (one of three)

JAPANESE

76. GARNITURE OF THREE VASES
Japanese (Arita), first half of the eighteenth century
Hard-paste porcelain; enamel and gilded decoration
1. H: 32.1 cm (1 ft. ⅝ in.); Diam: 17.8 cm (7 in.)
2. H: 32.1 cm (1 ft. ⅝ in.); Diam: 18.2 cm (7⅛ in.)
3. H: 32.4 cm (1 ft. ¾ in.); Diam: 17.8 cm (7 in.)
87.DE.26.1–3

Porcelain of this type, intended exclusively for European markets, was produced in Arita for export from the coastal city of Imari. The identities of the modelers and painters of the wares have not been discovered.

PROVENANCE: [Spink and Son, Ltd., London].

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART

CERAMICS: ITALIAN

77

77. *ECCE HOMO*
Italian (probably Faenza or Florence area), circa 1500–1525
Tin-glazed earthenware, 60.3 x 59.7 x 26.7 cm (23 3/4 x 23 1/2 x 10 1/2 in.)
87.SE.148

Presumably made as a devotional object to be placed in a church or private chapel, this bust of Christ with crown of thorns exerts a sculptural force rarely found in maiolica. The work was likely a collaboration between a sculptor who modeled the piece and a ceramist who glazed and fired it. Whereas the haughty demeanor and vigorous rendering of Christ's sinewy face recall the works of late fifteenth-century Tuscan sculptors, the surface decoration—consisting of lively geometric motifs, shiny glazes, and a saturated yellow, green, and blackish-blue palette—is typical of ceramics produced in Faenza during the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

The back of this fully modeled bust is unembellished except for the opaque white ground and incised rendering of the hair. The crown displays holes into which thorns, possibly of wood, originally may have been inserted.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Belgium; sale, Sotheby's, London, April 7, 1987, lot 44; [Rainer Zeitz, Ltd., London].

78 (one of four)

FURNITURE: ITALIAN

78. SET OF FOUR ARMCHAIRS
Italian (Venice), circa 1730–1740
Carved, gessoed, and gilded walnut; modern Genoese velvet upholstery,
Approximate dimensions: 140.3 x 85.7 x 87 cm (55 1/4 x 33 3/4 x 34 1/4 in.)
87.DA.2, 1–4

Although their maker is unknown, these armchairs show strong stylistic similarities with furniture attributed to Antonio Corradini (circa 1700–1752). Corradini is best known as the sculptor who was commissioned in the early eighteenth century by the city of Venice to decorate the last *bucentaur*, or Venetian state barge. Fragments of this *bucentaur*, now preserved in Venice's Museo Correr, have prompted critics to attribute to this artist a number of side chairs, consoles, tables, and a throne in the Ca' Rezzonico, Venice.

The Museum's armchairs share with the Ca' Rezzonico pieces elegant proportions and lavish carving in the round, which incorporates fully sculptural ornamentation with curvilinear scrolls, garlands, and foliage motifs. With their exuberant and delicate forms, these chairs are characteristic of the mid-eighteenth-century transition from a heavier, somewhat more solemn Baroque furniture style toward the more gracefully voluptuous forms of the European Rococo. Their high-quality carving and gilding suggests that these opulent chairs probably functioned as much for decoration as for seating.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England, since the eighteenth century; [Alexander and Berendt, Ltd., London, 1984–1986].

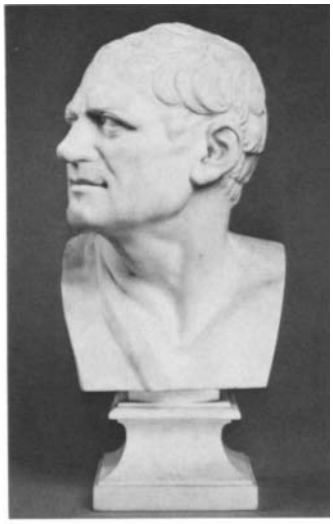
79. SIDE TABLE
Italian, circa 1770
Carved and gilded wood base; marble top, 105 x 153 x 74 cm (41 5/16 x 60 1/4 x 29 1/8 in.)
87.DA.135

The unknown maker of this unusual six-legged side table was influenced by the furniture designs of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778), one of the principal forces behind the development of the Neoclassical style in Europe. As in Piranesi's designs, this table combines such antique ornament as rams' heads, garlands, volutes, acanthus leaves, and rosettes with a flamboyantly Rococo taste for complex and curvilinear elements. Moreover, the delicate and intricate construction of this table, overloaded with antique motifs, resembles the only known surviving furniture executed according to Piranesi's designs—a pair of side tables produced before 1769 for Giovanni Battista Rezzonico, a nephew of Pope Clement XIII, now in the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

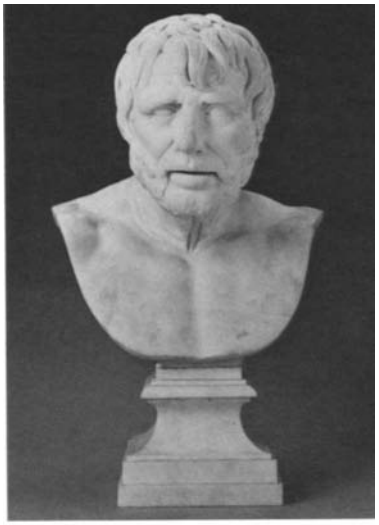
PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland; [Danae Art International, Lugano].

79

SCULPTURE: ENGLISH



80 (*Bust of a Man*)



80 (*Pseudo-Seneca*)

80 (*Priestess*)

80 (*Apollo*)

80. JOSEPH WILTON
English, 1722–1803
Bust of a Man, 1758
Marble, H (with base): 59.7 cm (23 1/2 in.); W: 29.2 cm (11 1/2 in.); D: 25 cm (9 7/8 in.). Signed and dated: *I Wilton.fec+ 1758* on the bottom edge of the front.
87.SA.110

ATTRIBUTED TO JOSEPH WILTON
English, 1722–1803
Bust of a Pseudo-Seneca, circa 1758
Marble, H (with base): 61 cm (24 in.); W: 39.3 cm (15 1/2 in); D: 28 cm (11 in.)
87.SA.111

Priestess of Isis, circa 1760
Marble, H (with base): 75 cm (29 1/2 in.); W: 28 cm (11 in.); D: 21.6 cm (8 1/2 in.)
87.SA.112

Apollo, circa 1760
Marble, H (with base): 76.2 cm (30 in.); W: 47 cm (18 1/2 in.); D: 29.2 cm (11 1/2 in.)
87.SA.113

Joseph Wilton, a leading eighteenth-century English sculptor, was one of the founders of the Royal Academy and an early exponent of the classical revival. These four marbles by or attributed to Wilton are all replicas or reductions of fa-

81 (*Venus*)

81 (*Minerva*)

81 (*Juno*)

mous antiques: the signed *Bust of a Man* is a free copy of a marble in the Museo Nazionale, Naples; the *Bust of a Pseudo-Seneca* is based on an antique prototype which exists in literally hundreds of versions; the *Apollo* is a reduction of the *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican; and the *Priestess of Isis* is a reduction of a marble in the Museo Capitolino, Rome. They were intended to decorate a Neoclassical interior and would have symbolized their owner's antiquarian taste and erudition.

PROVENANCE: Charles Watson-Wentworth, second marquess of Rockingham; Wentworth collection, Wentworth Woodhouse (near Rotherham, Yorkshire), by descent since the eighteenth century; sale, Christie's, London, July 15, 1986, lots 88, 90, 79, 91, respectively; [Cyril Humphris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, rev, ed. (London, 1968), p. 436 (for the *Apollo* and *Isis*).

81. JOSEPH NOLLEKENS
English, 1737–1823
Venus, 1773
Marble, 127 x 50.8 x 50.8 cm (50 x 20 x 20 in.). Scagliola pedestal, H: 94 cm (37 in.). Signed and dated: *Nollekens F.† J773* on the proper left side of the plinth.
87.SA.106
Minerva, 1775
Marble, 147.3 x 50.8 x 44.4 cm (58 x 20 x 17½ in.). Scagliola pedestal, H: 94 cm (37 in.). Signed and dated: *Nollekens.F.† .1775* on the proper left side of the plinth.
87.SA.107
Juno, 1776
Marble, 138.4 x 66 x 45.7 cm (54½ x 26 x 18 in.). Scagliola pedestal, H: 94 cm (37 in.). Signed and dated: *Nollekens, F.† J776* on the proper left side of the plinth.
87.SA.108

PROVENANCE: Charles Watson-Wentworth, second marquess of Rockingham, London; by descent, William, fourth earl Fitzwilliam, Wentworth Woodhouse (near Rotherham, Yorkshire), after 1782; Wentworth collection, Wentworth Woodhouse, by descent since the eighteenth century; sale, Christie's, London, July 15, 1986, lots 84, 86, and 87; [Cyril Humphris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland* (London, 1802), p. 220; J. T. Smith, *Nollekens and His Times* (London, 1828), vol. 1, p. xxxii, 276, vol. 2, pp. 16–19; M. Whinney, *Sculpture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Pelican History of Art) (Harmondsworth, 1964), p. 159, pl. 118b; R. Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors*, rev. ed. (London, 1968), p. 277; N. Penny, letter to the editor, *London Times*, July 14, 1986.

82. *PARIS*
Probably Italian, before 1750
Marble (made to look like a restored antique Roman statue), 138.4 x 53.3 x 47 cm (54½ x 21 x 18½ in.). Scagliola pedestal, H: 94 cm (37 in.)
Inscribed: *48 .I.B* on the back of the tree stump.
87.SA.109

Joseph Nollekens apparently produced the figures of *Venus, Juno*, and *Minerva* for Lord Rockingham to form a group with the marble *Paris*, which Rockingham already owned and believed to be a restored antique Roman statue. Together, the four

82

figures can be seen as illustrating the story of the shepherd king Paris, who was empowered to judge which of the goddesses was the most fair and worthy of the golden apple. Although the depiction of the goddesses is in general quite traditional, Nollekens has shown each of them as if in a different stage of undress. The winner of the competition, Venus, the traditionally unclothed goddess of beauty, is shown in the process of removing her sandals. Juno, the goddess of marriage, bares one breast and is removing her dress. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and warfare, has yet to put down her shield and only just begins to reach up as if to remove her helmet.

Nollekens studied in Rome from 1762 to 1770, and his style reflects the influence of the antique and of sixteenth-century Italian sculpture, particularly the works

of Giambologna. Nollekens' own style is a mannered classicism inflected by a rather coy charm; this is well exemplified in the *Venus*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, which were all executed in the decade following the artist's return to London in 1770.

PROVENANCE: Lyde Brown collection, Wimbledon, by 1767; Charles Watson-Wentworth, second marquess of Rockingham, London, by 1768; by descent, William, fourth earl Fitzwilliam, Wentworth Woodhouse (near Rotherham, Yorkshire), after 1782; Wentworth collection, Wentworth Woodhouse, by descent since the eighteenth century; sale, Christie's, London, July 16, 1986, lot 151; [Cyril Humphris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti* (Rome, 1767), p. 205, pl. 152; R. Warner, *A Tour through the Northern Counties of England and the Borders of Scotland* (London, 1802), p. 220; O. Neverov, "The Lyde Browne Collection and the History of Ancient Sculpture in the Hermitage Museum," *American Journal of Archaeology* 88 (1984), p. 39 and pl. 14, fig. 57; N. Penny, letter to the editor, *London Times*, July 14, 1986.

SCULPTURE: FRENCH

83. *VENUS AND CUPID*
French, circa 1550
Bronze, 89 x 35.5 x 30.5 cm (35 x 14 x 12 in.). Inscribed: *FB* under the base.
87.SB.50

83

With her full-bodied limbs and straight-nosed *all'antica* profile, the *Venus* reveals a general awareness of antique models; her pose, with the head turned sharply to the left, may be inspired by the *Venus de'Medici*. The Museum's *Venus,* however, does not appear to be based upon any single prototype. Almost all the famous antique statues of the goddess show her with hands raised and positioned to cover herself or to lift drapery. By contrast, the *non-pudica* aspect of the bronze is startling; it finds its closest counterparts in the provocative female nudes generally attributed to François Clouet (circa 1510–1572) and others that were painted in the 1540s for the court of Fontainebleau. The bronze figure has slightly elongated proportions, an elaborate hairdo, abstract facial features, and a mannered bending of the wrists with an elegant, fanlike splaying out of the fingers.

The closest parallels are to be found in the works of the High Maniera style executed in the 1540s and 1550s and by Italian artists, such as Primaticcio (1504–1570), who worked at Fontainebleau. Since the *Venus* is signed underneath *FB,* it is tantalizing to note that Primaticcio, who designed many of the stucco decorations for Fontainebleau and oversaw the first series of bronze casts after the antique in France, was generally referred to during his lifetime as Francesco da Bologna.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 17, 1986, lot 152; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

84. AUGUSTIN PAJOU
French, 1730–1809
Two Heads of Women, 1769–1770
Terracotta on white marble socle, H (each, including socle): 56.5 cm (22¼ in.). Inscribed: *Pajou faciebat* on the back of each.
87.SC.114.1–2

These two terracotta heads presumably served as models for two pairs of gilded-wood heads, executed as console ornaments for the large balcony of the proscenium in the opera at Versailles.

84

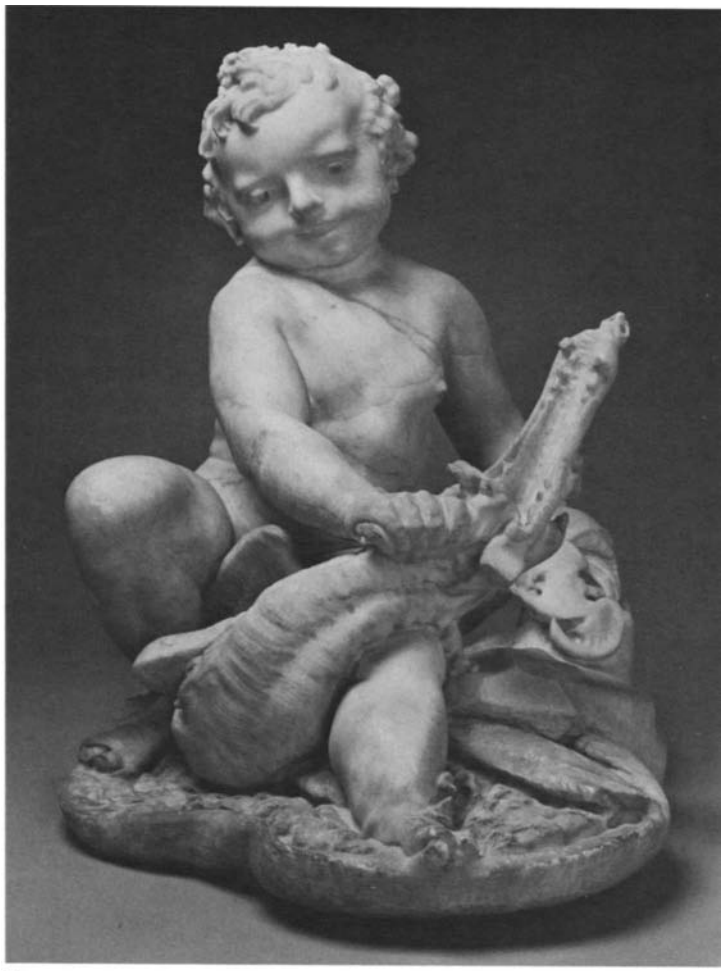
84

They are listed as such in Pajou's accounts of 1769–1770. They are probably the same heads exhibited as terracotta studies in the Salon of 1771 and noted by Diderot in his commentary on the Salon. The final, gilded-wood versions of the heads must have been put in place in the opera before May 1770, in time for the celebration of the marriage of the dauphin to Marie Antoinette. The present location of the wooden heads is unknown. They may have been lost or destroyed when the opera was modified and refurbished to receive the members of the National Assembly in 1871.

The *Two Heads of Women* typify Pajou's suave, gently lyric classicism. The contrast of their poses conveys two distinct moods, both of which fall within the deliberately calm, cool, abstracted expressiveness which pervades the sculpted decoration of the opera project.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Versailles; [Wildenstein and Co., New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Collection des livrets des anciennes expositions depuis 1673 jusqu'en 1800: Exposition de 1771* (Paris, 1870), p. 40, no. 241; S. Lami, *Dictionnaire des sculpteurs de l'école française au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris, 1911), vol. 2, p. 210; H. Stein, *Augustin Pajou* (Paris, 1912), pp. 316, 404; J. Seznec, *Diderot, Salons* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 154, 219.



85

SCULPTURE: ITALIAN

85. GIAN LORENZO BERNINI
Italian (Rome), 1598–1680
Boy with a Dragon, circa 1614
Marble, 54.6 x 43 x 53.3 cm
(21½ x 17 x 21 in.)
87.SA.42

Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the greatest Baroque sculptor, began his training at a very young age under his father, Pietro, demonstrating a precocity that earned him independent commissions by the time he was eleven. The *Boy with a Dragon* dates from near the beginning of Bernini's career, when he was about sixteen years old. It is described in inventories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as an "Ercoletto" (little, or young, Hercules) with a dragon, and its subject is inspired by Hellenistic representations of the infant Hercules strangling snakes. Unlike its antique precedents, the *Boy with a Dragon* presents an individual, unidealized urchin who cracks the jaw of the dragon, not in an heroic struggle but simply with a mischievous smile.

This work, like other of Bernini's early efforts, is conceived with a definite, primary frontal view. The human quality and the actual-life size of the infant tend to blur the boundaries between art and reality, thus encouraging the viewer's psychological interaction with the sculpture.

Boy with a Dragon was apparently intended for use as an indoor fountain—a hole runs from the bottom of the base through the mouth of the dragon to conduct the water. It was most likely commissioned to decorate the palace in the Via dei Giubbonari which Maffeo Barberini, who later became Pope Urban VIII, built jointly with his brother Don Carlo. The *Boy with a Dragon* is mentioned in a Barberini inventory of 1628 as having come from the house of Don Carlo.

PROVENANCE: Reputedly commissioned by Maffeo Barberini (later Pope Urban VIII), Rome; Don Carlo Barberini, Rome; Francesco

Barberini, Rome, by 1628 (mentioned in Francesco's 1628 inventory as having come from the house of Don Carlo: "Un putto a sedere sopra un drago moderno al nat[ura]le"; also listed in the 1632 inventory: "Un putto qual tiene un drago alto palmi 2½ fatto del Cavalier Bernini"); Cardinal Carlo Barberini, Rome, by 1692 (listed in the 1692 inventory: "Un ercoletto intiero a sedere sopra un Drago che con una mano rompe la bocca," with a note in the margin saying it was given to King Philip V of Spain); Philip V of Spain, 1702; [Gallerie Sempe, Nice]; Baron Lazzaroni, Paris, 1905–1934, when the baron died and the object was brought to Rome; [Francesco Romano, Florence, 1955–1966]; Irving and Marilyn Lavin, New York, 1966–1987.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Bulifon, *Giornale del Viaggio d'Italia dell' Invittisimo e gloriosissimo Monarca Filippo V, Re delle Spagne e di Napoli, etc. . .* (Naples, 1703), p. 171; F. Biandini, *Descrizione della solenne legazione del Cardinale Carlo Barberini a Filippo V. . .* (Rome, 1703), ed. P. E. Visconti (Rome, 1858), p. 81; R. Wittkower, *Gian Lorenzo Bernini* (Oxford, 1981), p. 268, no. 81; I. Lavin, "Five New Youthful Sculptures by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and a Revised Chronology of His Early Works," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968), pp. 223–248, pls. 16–19; M. Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), p. 79, no. 120, p. 118 no. 120, p. 134 no. 110, p. 445, no. 454; O. Raggio, "A New Bacchic Group by Bernini," *Apollo* 108 (December 1978) pp. 406, 411, 413, pls. 3, 13, 16.

86

86. *BUST OF OTTAVIO FARNESE*
Italian, late sixteenth century
Marble, H (with base): 88.9 cm (35 in.); W: 62.9 cm (24¾ in.); D: 30.5 cm (12 in.)
87.SA.36

The facial features and decorated armor of the bust identify the sitter as Ottavio Farnese (1524–1586), duke of Parma and Piacenza. The sitter possesses the characteristic features of the duke: large, round eyes; a long hooked nose with a bump below the bridge; thick curls; and a distinctive hairline. The armor displays: the fleur-de-lys (at the back of the bust), a Farnese family emblem; a baldachino surmounting crossed keys, the device of the Gonfalone di Santa Romana Chiesa which was first employed for the Farnese family arms by Ottavio when he was named Gonfaloniere in 1550; and the ceremonial collar and pendant of the Order of the Golden Fleece, to which Ottavio was elected in 1546 by Charles V.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; [Cyril Humphris, London].

WORKS OF ART: CHINESE

87

87. WALL HANGING
Chinese (for Italian export), circa 1700
Silk brocade, 360.5 x 225.5 cm (142 x 88¾ in.)
87.DD.37

These two silk brocade panels originally would have been accompanied by additional sections of the same pattern. Together these panels probably covered an entire wall in a contemporary Italian palazzo; hung in this manner, their unusually scenographic woven decoration would have created an illusionistic arcade.

This textile displays a curious combination of Italian Baroque design with subtle Chinese motifs. The grand scale, architectural framing device, and interest in the pictorial representation of space are common in Italian brocades of this period. Typical of Chinese fabrics, however, is the nervous, fluttering quality of line—particularly evident in the rendering of leaves and in the short, wavy lines embellishing the curved shapes at the bottom of the hanging. These fluttering forms resemble clouds and other curvilinear motifs in Chinese art. The width of the panels also suggests they were woven in the East, since seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Chinese looms could accommodate such wide textiles, whereas European draw looms were generally narrower.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Germany; [Rainer Zietz, Ltd., London].

WORKS OF ART: ITALIAN

88

88. ATTRIBUTED TO GIOVANNI BATTISTA CALANDRA
Italian (Rome), 1586–1644
Portrait of Camillo Rospigliosi, circa 1630–1640
Mosaic in gilded-wood frame, 62.1 x 48.5 x 3.8 cm (24⁷/₁₆ x 19¹/₁₆ x 1½ in.).
Inscribed: *Questo ritratto in mosaico del Balì Camillo Rospigliosi fratello del Papa Clem. IX è di proprietà di mio nipote* [Don?] *Giov. Battista Rospigliosi*

on a paper label attached to the frame.
87.SE.132

According to a paper label attached to the side of its frame, this mosaic depicts Camillo Rospigliosi, brother of Pope Clement IX (1600–1669) and knight commander of the Order of Malta. Giovanni Battista Calandra was arguably the greatest mosaic artist active in early seventeenth-century Rome; his prodigious talent, coupled with the popularity of his work among contemporary noble and papal Roman families, suggest the attribution of this portrait to him.

Mosaics were appreciated as architectural decoration as well as "eternal" imitations of paintings. Calandra likely copied a portrait by one of his famous contemporaries, such as Andrea Sacchi or Guido Reni. By ably using small tesserae, Calandra not only reproduced the pictorial effects of perspective and colorism but also rendered his portrait subjects with great acuity.

A likely companion piece to this work is a portrait mosaic, also attributed to Calandra, in the Sovrano Militare Ordine di Malta, Rome. Like the Museum's mosaic, it portrays a Knight of Malta—identifiable by the cross of that order hung around the sitter's neck—who may have also been a Rospigliosi. The identical frames surrounding both mosaics are decorated with lozenges—a distinguishing feature of the Rospigliosi family arms.

PROVENANCE: Giovanni Battista Rospigliosi; Private collection, Zurich; [Danae Art International, Lugano].

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: Listed here are the individual photographers whose work was acquired during 1987. Each photographer's name is followed by his or her nationality, life dates (or years flourished), and by the number of photographs acquired. This list is followed by reproductions of sixteen chronologically arranged photographs that are highlights of the year's collecting activity. There follows a section of five major groups of photographs acquired during the year, each consisting of a brief commentary and selected reproductions.

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(Hungarian, 1899–1984, active France), 2

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(French, active second half of the nineteenth century), 14

BROISE, ALBERT
(French, active Paris, late nineteenth century), 2

CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET
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KEIGHLEY, ALEXANDER
(British, 1861–1947), 2

KEPES, GYÖRGY
(American, b. Hungary, 1906), 1

KÜHN, HEINRICH
(Austrian, b. Germany, 1866–1944), 1

MAGRITTE, RENE
(Belgian, 1898–1967), 1

MAN RAY (Emmanuel Radnitsky)
(American, 1890–1976), 4

MOORE, HENRY
(American, active 1860s), 3

NADAR (Gaspard Félix Tournachon)
(French, 1820–1910), 6

NEURDEIN FRERES
(French, active Paris: A. Neurdein, before 1840–after 1912; E. Neurdein, circa 1845–after 1913), 8

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(German, 1911–1940, active France), 4

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STEICHEN, EDWARD
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STIEGLITZ, ALFRED
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ULMANN, DORIS
(American, 1882–1934), 159

WATKINS, CARLETON E.
(American, 1829–1916), 5

WEEGEE (Arthur H. Fellig)
(American, b. Hungary, 1899–1968), 7

WESTON, EDWARD
(American, 1886–1958), 4

SELECTED ACQUISITIONS

89

89. ANNA ATKINS
British, 1799–1871
Polypodium Aureum, Jamaica,
circa 1854
Cyanotype, 34.6 x 24.7 cm
($13^1/_2$ x $9^{11}/_{16}$ in.). Titled in negative.
87.XM.115.1

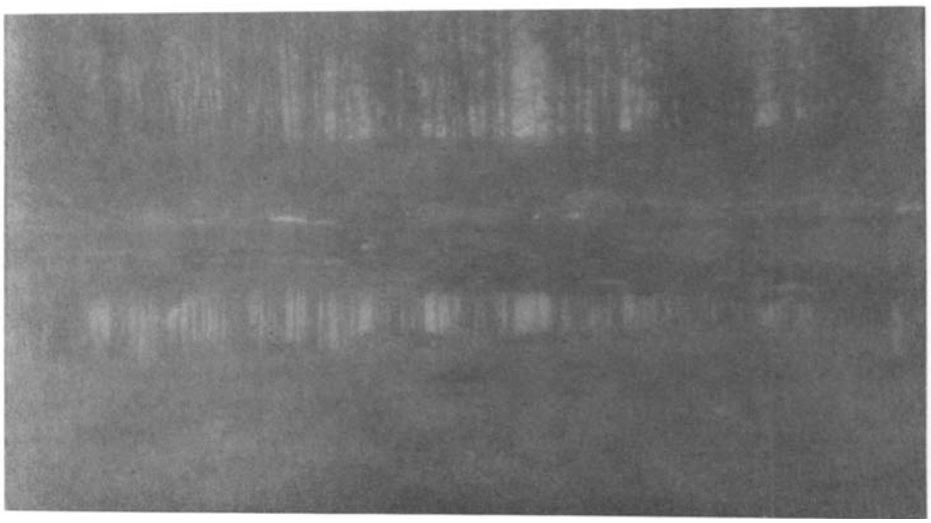
PROVENANCE: Gift of Anna Atkins to Anne Dixon, 1854; [Hans P. Kraus, New York]; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].

90

90. JULIA MARGARET CAMERON
British (b. India), 1815–1879

J. F. W. Herschel, 1867
Albumen print, 27.8 x 22.7 cm ($10^{15}/_{16}$ x $8^{15}/_{16}$ in.). Titled, signed, and inscribed: *Nach dem Lebens* [sic] and *d'apres nature* on the mount. Inscribed: *For Vienna Exhibition, Julia Margaret Cameron, Nach dem Leben, Sir John Herschel, The Great Astronomer* and *Vienna Exhibition, Julia Margaret Cameron, Group 12, no. 42b* on the original exhibition labels on the verso of the mount.
87.XM.63.2

PROVENANCE: [Harry Lunn, London]; Eugene and Barbara Schwartz (sale, Swann Galleries, New York, November 13, 1986, lot 163); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



93

91–92. CARLETON E. WATKINS
American, 1829–1916
Oswego Iron Works: Willamette River, 1867
Albumen prints, 40.1 x 52.5 cm ($15^{3}/_{4}$ x $20^{5}/_{8}$ in.). Titled on the mounts.
87.XM.72.1 (left); 87.XM.72.2 (right)

PROVENANCE: University Club, New York (sale, Swann Galleries, New York, May 10, 1987); [Weston Gallery, Carmel]; Private collection; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].

91

92

93. EDWARD STEICHEN
American (b. Luxembourg), 1879–1973
Autumn, 1904
Gelatin silver print made to imitate platinum, 18.5 x 33.9 cm ($7^{5}/_{16}$ x $13^{3}/_{8}$ in.). Inscribed: *Steichen, Edward J., Autumn, Mamaroneck, N.Y. 1904* in Stieglitz's hand on the verso of the mat. Label: *Loan Collection of the Photo-Secession/Alfred Stieglitz, Director.* . . on the verso.
87.XM.73.1

PROVENANCE: Gift of Alfred Stieglitz to Albert K. Boursault; Marie Rapp Boursault, by inheritance; [Staley-Wise Gallery, New York].

94

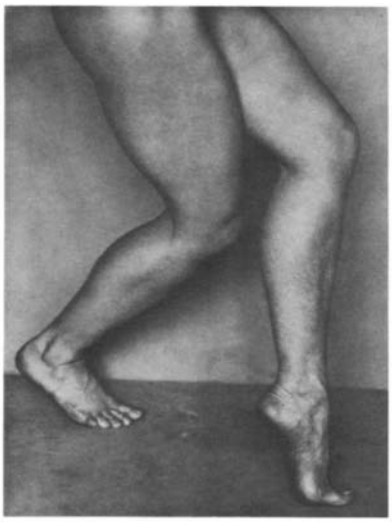
94. HEINRICH KÜHN
Austrian (b. Germany), 1866–1944
The Artist's Children, circa 1912
Platinum print, 47.7 x 36.5 cm ($18^{13}/_{16}$ x $14^{3}/_{8}$ in.). Inscribed: *30 Heiss, Beiderseits 3% + 2% AR, 126,* and *#124* on the verso.
87.XM.127.1

PROVENANCE: Estate of Heinrich Kühn; [Graphics International, Ltd., Washington, D.C.]; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles]; [Private collection]; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

95

95. RUDOLF EICKEMEYER, JR.
American, 1862–1932
Forest Scene, 1916
Carbon print, 36.1 x 28.8 cm (14 1/8 x 11 1/4 in.). Signed on the print. Signed, initialed, dated (twice), and inscribed: *If I could put my woods in song,/and tell what's there enjoyed/All men would to my gardens throng,/And leave the cities void./Emerson/To Dr. Serre/ my friend of many years with compliments of Rudolf Eickemeyer,/Seven Oaks, Yonkers, NY Feb. 29: 1916.* on the mount.
87.XM.129.1

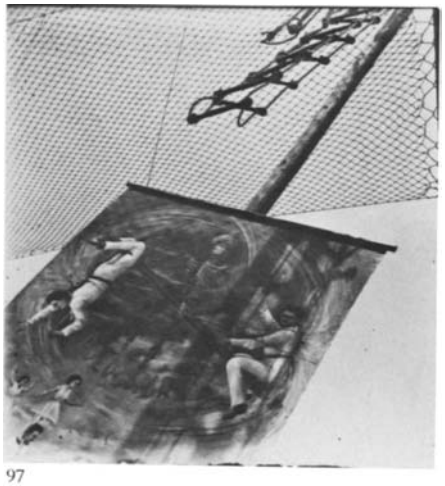
PROVENANCE: Heirs of Dr. Serre (sale, Christie's, New York, May 4, 1987); [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



96

96. EDWARD WESTON
American, 1886–1958
Nude (Bertha Wardell), 1927
Gelatin silver print, 22.1 x 16.6 cm (8 11/16 x 6 1/2 in.). Signed and dated on the mount.
87.XM.61.3

PROVENANCE: [New York dealer]; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles]; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



97

97. JAROMIR FUNKE
Czech, 1896–1945
From the cycle *Time Persists,* circa 1930–1934
Silver bromide print, 18.2 x 17.1 cm (7 1/8 x 6 3/4 in.). Inscribed: *1931* by the artist's wife on the verso.
87.XM.140.3

PROVENANCE: Anna Farova Prague; [Rudolf Kicken, Cologne]; [Robert Koch Gallery, San Francisco].

98

98. PAUL STRAND
American, 1890–1976
Cristo with Thorns, Huexotla, Mexico, 1933
Platinum contact print, 24.7 x 19.2 cm (9 3/4 x 7 5/8 in.). Signed, titled, dated, and inscribed: *platinum print* on the verso.
87.XM.149.1

PROVENANCE: Estate of Paul Strand; [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].

99

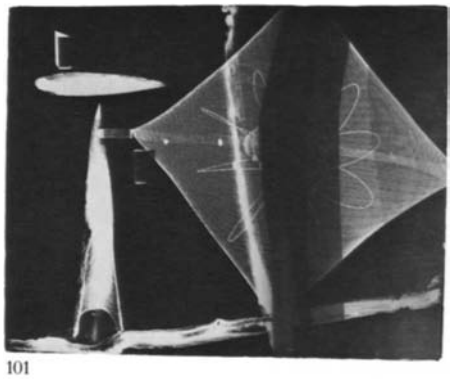
99. RENE MAGRITTE
Belgian, 1898–1967
Le Géant (Paul Nouge), 1937
Gelatin silver print, 8.1 x 5.3 cm (3 3/16 x 2 1/16 in.). Inscribed: *Magritte 9* and *93c* on the verso.
87.XM.87.1

PROVENANCE: Paul Colinet; [Eugene Prakapas, New York].

100

100. PAUL OUTERBRIDGE
American, 1896–1958
Woman with Meat Packer's Gloves, 1937
Three-color carbro print, 25.7 x 22.1 cm (10 1/8 x 8 11/16 in.)
87.XM.66.2

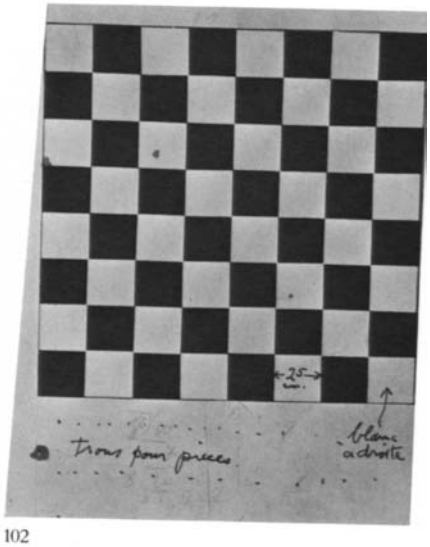
PROVENANCE: Lois Outerbridge; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles].



101

101. GYÖRGY KEPES
American (b. Hungary), 1906
Shadow Collage, 1938
Photogram, 40.4 x 50.2 cm (16 x 19 3/4 in.). Signed and dated, with Mills College exhibition label on the verso.
87.XM.88.1

PROVENANCE: György Kepes [Brent Sikkema, Boston].



102

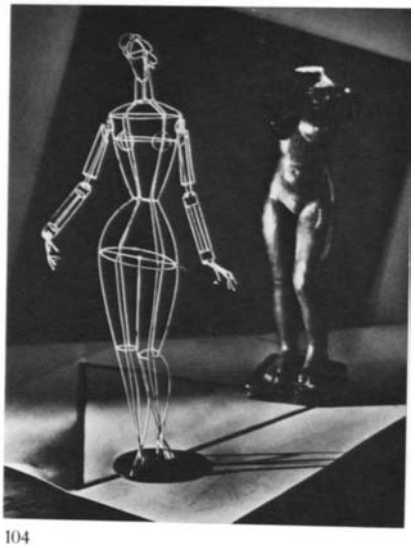
102. MAN RAY (Emmanuel Radnitsky)
American, 1890–1976
Chessboard, circa 1940–1944
Gelatin silver print, 20.5 x 16.2 cm (8 x 6 3/8 in.). Inscribed: [illegible] *pour pieces* and *blanc/à droite* and designer's scaling notations on the mount below the image.
87.XM.57.2

PROVENANCE: Pontus Hulton, Paris; [Zabriskie Gallery, New York].

103

103. WEEGEE (Arthur H. Fellig)
American (b. Hungary), 1899–1968
Caretakers, Madison Square Garden, 1944
Gelatin silver print, 33.8 x 26.4 cm (13 1/4 x 10 7/16 in.). Photographer's wet stamp on the verso.
87.XM.65.4

PROVENANCE: Private collection, New York; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



104

104. OTTO STEINERT
German, 1915–1978
Study of Two Sculptures, circa 1954
Gelatin silver print, 28.6 x 22.1 cm (11 1/4 x 8 11/16 in.). Photographer's copyright stamp and stamp of the magazine *Photo-Monde* on the verso.
87.XM.70.1

PROVENANCE: Alain Paviot, Paris; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

SELECTED GROUPS OF PHOTOGRAPHS ACQUIRED IN 1987

EIFFEL TOWER PHOTOGRAPHS. During 1987 the Museum acquired a group of eighty-two photographs relating to the construction of the Eiffel Tower. Made from 1887 to 1889 and commissioned by the tower's architect-engineer and builder, Gustave Eiffel, they record the project from the laying of its foundations to its completion eighteen months later. The photographs range in size from $4^{15}/_{16}$-by-$6^{3}/_{4}$ to $13^{1}/_{2}$-by-$17^{1}/_{2}$ inches. Eighty are albumen prints; the remaining two are possibly platinum prints. Thirty-six were made by Louis-Emile Durandelle (1839–1917), eleven by Albert Fernique (d. 1898), eight by the Neurdein Frères, two by Albert Broise (active late nineteenth century), and the balance by three or more unknown makers.

Documentation of major construction projects was not uncommon in the second half of the nineteenth century in France. For example, Edouard-Denis Baldus (1815–1882) photographed the extensive additions Napoleon III made to the Louvre, and A. Collard (before 1840–after 1887) documented newly completed railroads which the Rothschilds had financed. (Their photographs of these subjects are well represented in the Museum's collection.)

Durandelle, the most important photographer in the group under discussion, originally worked in collaboration with Hyacinthe-César Delmaet, and, after Delmaet's death in 1862, with that photographer's widow. Durandelle undertook numerous commissions from architects, including the recording of the ornamentation and construction of Charles Garnier's Paris Opéra in 1865, the rebuilding of the Hôtel Dieu in 1868, the archaeological excavations conducted at the Louvre from 1882 to 1884, and, from 1877, the construction of Sacré Coeur. He was still engaged in this last effort when commissioned by Eiffel to make photographs of the construction of the three-hundred-meter tower, the world's tallest structure. Thus Durandelle brought to this project a high degree of experience in photographing architecture, whether complete or incomplete, and the works of art used to embellish it—although the forms and material of the tower differed considerably from his earlier photographic subjects. His style went far beyond the merely documentary. His compositions were forceful and direct, and many were calculated in part to show the audacity of Eiffel's engineering. His views varied from close-up details to groups of visitors at the site (no. 105) to overall views, for which he moved farther away as the tower grew. The image shown here of the nearly completed structure (no. 106) was made from the terrace of the then-standing Palais de Trocadéro, across the Pont d'Iena, which connects the site of the tower with the opposite bank of the Seine. (The Trocadéro was built for the Exposition of 1878 and was replaced by the Palais de Chaillot for the Exposition of 1937.) By his choice of camera placement Durandelle has so emphasized the strength of the tower that the rest of the exposition buildings seem mere matchsticks.

Eiffel also commissioned other photographers concomitantly to record the project at regular intervals. (Durandelle may have been too busy with other projects to detail everything that Eiffel desired.) Albert Fernique was a photographer who specialized in work for architects and engineers. His dramatic photograph of a junction of radically angled girders (no. 107) foreshadows in its abstraction the work of Germaine Krull at the Eiffel Tower forty years later. The graphite hatchings that have been selectively added to the print to strengthen the effect of intersecting planes suggest that the particular beauties of this composition were recognized when it was first made. The unconventionality of Eiffel's materials, combined with Fernique's gift for graphic design, produced a composition that was far in advance of its time.

The Neurdein brothers—only the initials of whose first names are known—made primarily topographical works, among them panoramas exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1889, of which Eiffel's tower was the centerpiece. After the 1880s they made photographs of historic sites, of castles, and in Switzerland. Their photograph of the still sharply truncated tower was made, like Durandelle's, from across the Seine. It includes some of the scaffolding beneath the tower's arch that supported the structure's legs as they rose (no. 108). To obtain a crisp impression of the ironwork required an exposure long enough to blur completely the passersby on the bridge. To the modern eye, accustomed as it is to images of the whole of Paris' most famous icon, the Neurdein photograph seems radically cropped because it omits the top half of the tower. Although Eiffel's tower in the photograph is incomplete in that it has not risen to its full height, it *is* complete in a sense because its framework is its all. By contrast, the skeleton of the domed exposition hall on the right, although full height, lacks its skin.

This group of photographs supplies a valuable record of the building of the Eiffel Tower, and it encompasses a survey of the styles and techniques of photographers who specialized in photographing architecture in the 1890s. The impetus to photograph the tower may have come from Eiffel, but the arresting images come from the vision of the photographers he set to work.

105

105. LOUIS-EMILE DURANDELLE
French, 1839–1917
Architects Visit the Work, June 16, 1888
Albumen print, 27 x 43.1 cm ($10^{5}/_{8}$ x 17 in.) Printed title: *Exposition Universelle de 1889/Etat D'Avancement de la Tour/Au 188 /G. Eiffel, Ingénieur et Constructeur* above the print. Architect's archive wet stamp in red ink, inscribed: *16 Juin 1888/1509/Visite de la Société Centrale des Architects* in black ink in the upper left corner. Inscribed: *No. 68, collection type C de 565.* in black ink above the print and *Visite du Travaux, 1er Etage,* and *Mr G. Eiffel* in pencil below the print with an arrow pointing to Eiffel. All of

the above on the mount.
87.XM.121.5

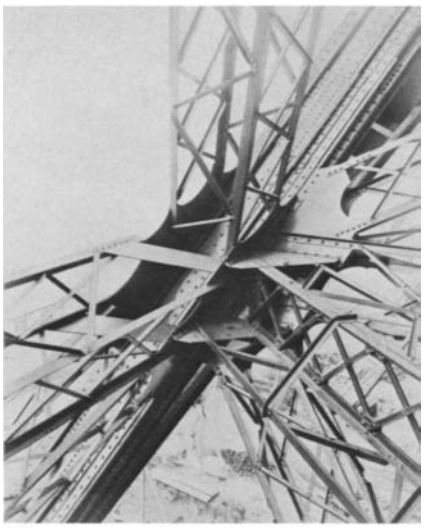
PROVENANCE: Heirs of Gustave Eiffel, Paris; [William and Victoria Dailey, Los Angeles].

106

106. LOUIS-EMILE DURANDELLE
French, 1839–1917
Construction above the Intermediate Level, February 2, 1889
Albumen print, 44.5 x 34.6 cm (17 1/2 x 13 5/8 in.). Printed title: *Exposition Universelle de 1889/Etat D'Avancement des Travaux de la Tour/Au 188 /G. Eiffel, Ingénieur et Constructeur* on the mount above the print. Dated in the lower right corner of the negative. Inscribed: *Montage au dessus de la platforme intermédiare* in pencil in the lower right corner of the mount.
87.XM.121.1

PROVENANCE: Heirs of Gustave Eiffel, Paris; [William and Victoria Dailey, Los Angeles].

107. ALBERT FERNIQUE
French, d. 1898
Girders, 1888
Albumen print with graphite additions, 27.1 x 22 cm (10 11/16 x 8 5/8 in.) Architect's archive wet stamp in red ink, inscribed: *tour,* and *1550* in black ink in the upper left corner. Inscribed: *No. 109, Collection type C de 565.* in black ink above the print. Photographer's blind stamp below the print. All of the above on the mount. Initialed in pencil on the verso.
87.XM.122.3



107

PROVENANCE: Heirs of Gustave Eiffel, Paris; [William and Victoria Dailey, Los Angeles].

108. NEURDEIN FRERES
French
A. Neurdein: before 1840–after 1912
E. Neurdein: 1840–after 1913
Work on the Eiffel Tower, August 1888
Albumen print, 21.5 x 28 cm (8 1/2 x 11 in.) Architect's archive wet stamp in red ink, inscribed: *1522,* in black ink in the upper left corner. Inscribed *No. 81, Collection type C de 565.* in black ink above the print. Printed title: *Travaux de la Tour Eiffel/Août 1888/1129/Neurdein Frères* below the print. All of the above on the mount.
87.XM.123.7

PROVENANCE: Heirs of Gustave Eiffel, Paris; [William and Victoria Dailey, Los Angeles].

GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER. Forty-six photographs by Gertrude Käsebier (1852–1934), a leading Pictorialist at the turn of the century, were acquired by the Museum in 1987. Forty-four of these were purchased from Gertrude O'Malley Cannon, great-granddaughter of the artist, and are chiefly concerned with family subjects, especially Käsebier's daughter Gertrude and Gertrude's young son, Charles. Like other Pictorial photographers working concurrently, such as Alfred Stieglitz and Clarence White, Käsebier favored the platinum process, which yielded prints with a broad tonal range and a softly evocative quality. The majority of photographs in the Museum's group are platinum prints; a minority of them are gum bichromate, a process with which Käsebier experimented extensively. This experimentation is seen in *The Still Water,* of about 1904 (no. 109). The photographs range in

108

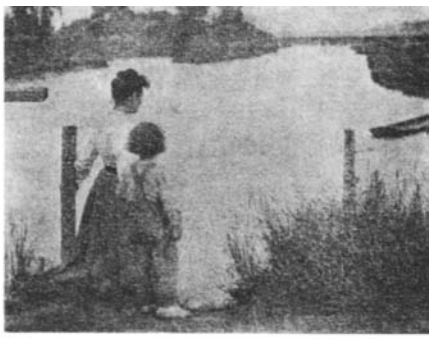
size from a tiny 3 1/2-by-2 13/16-inch oval mother-and-child portrait to a comparatively large portrait (13 1/2-by-10 inches) of Auguste Rodin to the extraordinary *Gertrude and Charles O'Malley: Triptych* (no. 110), which retains its original frame.

Käsebier was born in Fort Des Moines (in present-day Iowa) and spent a picturesque childhood among Indians and goldminers on the Western frontier. When she was twelve her father died, and she moved to New York City with her mother. For the next twenty-five years she lived in a more conventional fashion, attending the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; upon graduating, she married and settled into domestic life in New York.

In 1889, when her three children were in their teens, she enrolled in the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn to study art, intending to become a portrait painter. But an incidental success in a photographic competition coupled with a bit of encouragement from several artist friends inspired Käsebier to pursue photography in earnest. In 1894 she apprenticed herself to Samuel Lifshey, a Brooklyn portrait photographer, and three years later opened her own studio. Käsebier quickly gained a reputation for her portraits, which many critics likened to old master paintings. At the Philadelphia Photographic Salon of 1898, a watershed exhibition sponsored by the prestigious Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Käsebier was hailed by photographic critic Joseph T. Keiley as a talent "unrivalled in the entire professional world." Alfred Stieglitz was equally enthusiastic about Käsebier's work, which, although dominated by portraiture, was clearly Pictorialist in its endeavor to create photographs which were as artistically sound as the best paintings of the day.

Often, as is the case with many of the Cannon pictures, Käsebier merges the portrait with a poetic theme to create an image that is both personal and universal. This is true of *Silhouette of a Woman* (no. 111), an extremely rare platinum print from about 1899, very likely of Käsebier's daughter at about the time of her marriage. The young woman is posed in the conventional attitude of prayer, her hands pressed together and her whole, veiled profile silhouetted against a light-filled door frame. While images such as this appear again and again in religious paintings from the Renaissance on, the impression conveyed here is less one of Christian religiosity than of private meditation. Käsebier admired such Pictorialists as F. Holland Day (1864–1933), who created works with explicitly biblical content, but she avoided the didactic approach herself. *Silhouette of a Woman* exemplifies the artist's preference for the open-ended interpretation and her ability to present a powerful image with a light touch. Within her oeuvre, this work is perhaps most closely related to *The Manger* of about 1898, in the Museum's collection (84.XM.160.1), a photograph depicting a veiled young woman seated by a manger in a rustic interior, with a shaft of light slanting down from a window.

Throughout her career, Käsebier's favorite subjects were relatives and close friends. It is no coincidence that the artist's most fruitful period, 1898–1905, spanned the years when her daughters married and started families. *The Picture Book* (no. 112) is a product of this period, as is the lesser known but monumental triptych of 1902, mentioned above, which depicts Gertrude and Charles O'Malley playing in the garden of their Rhode Island summer home. Rooted in religious altarpiece painting, the triptych format was employed by Pictorialist photographers such as Clarence White (1871–1925) in his celebrated work *Spring* (1898). What strikes us in Käsebier's work is that the harmony between mother and child also flows among the three images, creating an accordance of content and presentation. It is a wonderfully naturalistic portrait of Gertrude and young Charles, but more than that, it epitomizes a theme—the loving bond between mother and child—that runs continuously through the artist's work.



109

109. GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER
American, 1852–1934
The Still Water: Gertrude and Charles O'Malley, circa 1904
Gum bichromate print, 15 x 19.7 cm (5 7/8 x 7 3/4 in.). Inscribed: *Gertrude and Charles O'Malley East Rockaway L.I. About 1905* by a later hand in pencil on the verso of the print.
87.XM.59.16

PROVENANCE: By descent, Gertrude O'Malley Cannon, Santa Monica.

110. GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER
American, 1852–1934
Gertrude and Charles O'Malley: Triptych, 1902
Three platinum prints, 18.8 x 14.9; 19.2 x 14.3; 18.9 x 14.8 cm (7 3/8 x 5 7/8; 7 9/16 x 5 11/16; 7 7/16 x 5 13/16 in.)
Titled by a later hand on the verso of the backing paper found in the original frame.
87.XM.59.1

PROVENANCE: By descent, Gertrude O'Malley Cannon, Santa Monica.

110

111

111. GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER
American, 1852–1934
Silhouette of a Woman, circa 1899
Platinum print, 20 x 10 cm (7 7/8 x 3 15/16 in.). Photographer's blind stamp at the bottom center.
87.XM.59.28

PROVENANCE: By descent, Gertrude O'Malley Cannon, Santa Monica.

112

112. GERTRUDE KÄSEBIER
American, 1852–1934
The Picture Book, circa 1903
Platinum print, 15.2 x 20.2 cm (6 x 8 in.)
87.XM.59.30

PROVENANCE: By descent, Gertrude O'Malley Cannon, Santa Monica.

ALFRED STIEGLITZ. The Museum acquired seven photographs by Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946) in 1987, including a group of five from the Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe that date from 1917, when he first met her, to the early 1930s, when the couple began to grow apart. The O'Keeffe group includes four portraits printed on palladiotype paper and a landscape printed in gelatin silver. They are all approximately 9 13/16-by-7 7/8 inches (or the reverse) in size.

The story of how Alfred Stieglitz and Georgia O'Keeffe met and fell in love in 1917 and together changed the course of American art is one of the legends of the twentieth century. In the realm of aesthetics their union was marked by an oscillation between figuration and abstraction, both in his photographs and her paintings. The first photographs Stieglitz made of O'Keeffe transformed her hands and torso into subjects for metaphysical still-life arrangements (no. 113). In the photograph in which O'Keeffe is dressed in a white blouse and bowler hat and stands in front of one of her paintings (no. 114), the canvas is composed of bold but soft-edged shapes against a painterly ground. In 1917 O'Keeffe's ambiguous paintings and drawings were the stylistic opposite of Stieglitz's clean and complex figuration. During the course of their relationship, however, their roles and styles changed. At first he was the highly focused nurturing force, and his art reflected skillful observation of precise details and the organization of them into powerful compositions. Her art at this time, on the other hand, was generalized and yielded to outside influences.

A decade later, it was Stieglitz who was in need of nurturing. In response to criticism that he manipulated his portrait subjects through a kind of hypnotism, his work now became generalizing and philosophical. In the *Equivalents*, his series of studies of cloud formations, Stieglitz attempted to prove that his photographs were the product of a power to perceive and to organize the parts of a composition in his mind rather than for aspects inherent in the subject itself. Between 1924 and 1934 Stieglitz concentrated on subjects, such as the moon and clouds, where a gulf of space existed between his camera and what he was photographing. Among the most powerful of these are studies of tall buildings that surrounded his apartment in New York City (no. 115). He studied the structures at various times of day, transforming the specifics of architectural form into compositions that are at once miraculously hard-edged and painterly, concrete and general, austere and emotional. The power to reconcile opposites was perhaps Stieglitz's greatest gift.

He invoked this gift in surprising ways. The portrait of Margaret Treadwell (no. 116), for example, represents a girl who had been raised in a highly protective upper-class environment as though she were a stage vamp. Stieglitz, who never—so far as is known—accepted a commercial assignment, has here appropriated the style and attitude pioneered by commercial photographers who took pictures for the theater. Some later portraits of O'Keeffe, made during the 1930s, similarly combine drama and intimacy.

113

113. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait—Torso, 1918
Palladium print, 24.1 x 19.2 cm (9 1/2 x 7 9/16 in.). Inscribed: *Treated by Steichen, 1950.* in Doris Bry's hand on the mat.
87.XM.94.1

PROVENANCE: Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe; [Robert Miller Gallery, New York].

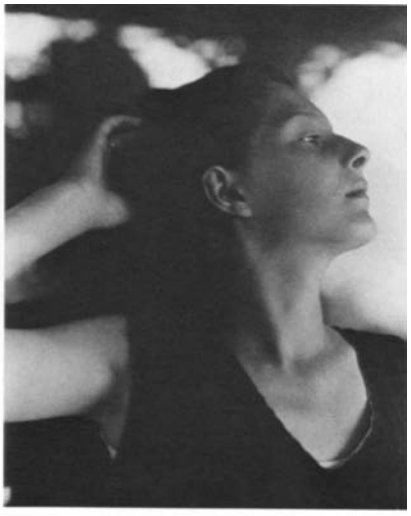
114

114. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait, 1918
Palladium print, 25.2 x 20.1 cm
($9^{15}/_{16}$ x $7^{15}/_{16}$ in.)
87.XM.94.2

PROVENANCE: Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe; [Robert Miller Gallery, New York].

115. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
From My Window at the Shelton, North, 1931
Gelatin silver print, 24.3 x 19 cm
($9^{9}/_{16}$ x $7^{1}/_{2}$ in.)
87.XM.62.1

PROVENANCE: Dorothy Norman; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



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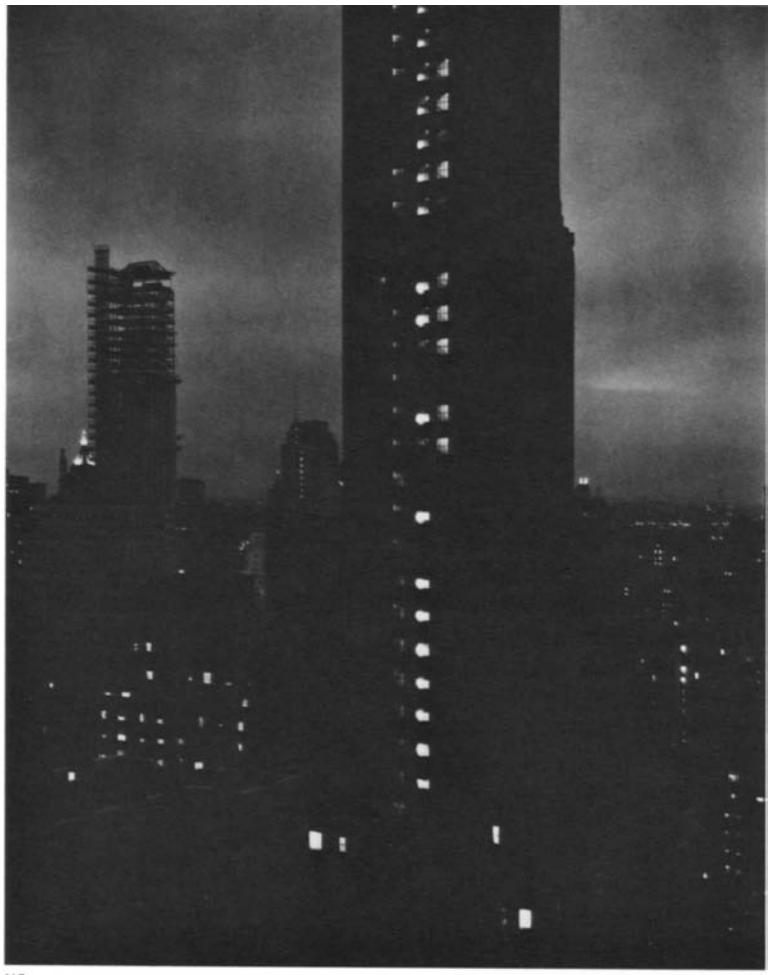


115

116. ALFRED STIEGLITZ
American, 1864–1946
Margaret Treadwell, 1921
Palladium print, 23.8 x 18.7 cm
($9^{3}/_{8}$ x $7^{3}/_{8}$ in.)
87.XM.94.3

PROVENANCE: Estate of Georgia O'Keeffe; [Robert Miller Gallery, New York].

DORIS ULMANN. During 1987 the Museum acquired a group of 159 photographs by Doris Ulmann (1882–1934) from the heirs of John Jacob Niles. This collection of gum bichromate, gum-platinum, and platinum prints ranging in size from 5-by-4 to 8-by-6 inches spans the photographer's professional career (1918–1934) and includes a few examples of work from 1916–1917. In a manner some critics have called retrogressive, Ulmann consistently employed a view camera ($6^{1}/_{2}$-by-$8^{1}/_{2}$-inch format) and glass-plate negatives. She also preferred soft-focus lenses and shunned the use of a light meter.

Born in New York City, Ulmann attended the Ethical Culture School there and studied psychology at Columbia University. At Columbia she also studied photography with Clarence White (1871–1925), a prominent member of the Pictorialist movement. In 1918 she established herself as a professional portrait photographer in the city and became a member of the Pictorial Photographers of America. She also explored landscape work, photographing at Gloucester, Massachusetts (no. 117), with her husband, Charles Jaeger, a physician and amateur photographer. After divorcing Jaeger in 1925, she began to travel and to photograph the rural people, architecture, and landscape of Pennsylvania, Virginia, New York, and New England.

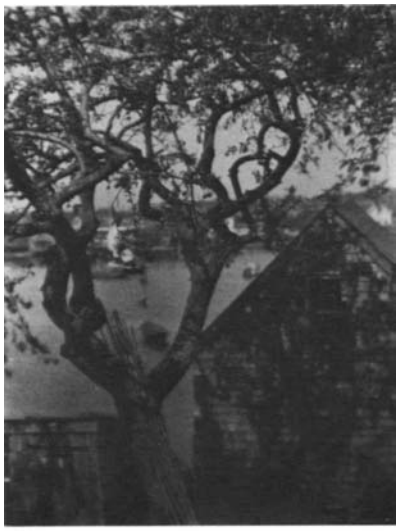
From 1927 until her death she was assisted in her work and travels by John Jacob Niles. They met that year in New York. A native of Kentucky, Niles

(1892–1980) was an actor, musician, poet, and folklorist with a passion for collecting, arranging, and performing American ballads. Over the next seven years he served as Ulmann's guide, grip, darkroom assistant, and model while expanding his collection of traditional American music and instruments. The Ulmann collection acquired through his family contains twenty-one photographs of Niles, including a playful portrait of him in hat and coat (no. 118). It seems likely that this is a genuinely collaborative work. The pose, both comic and sinister, may have been a Niles inspiration, but the composition and print reflect Ulmann's eye and handicraft.

During 1929 and 1930 Ulmann made at least three trips to South Carolina to photograph rural inhabitants and prepare illustrations for Julia Peterkin's book *Roll, Jordan, Roll* (1933). Ulmann and Peterkin met at a literary gathering in New York and agreed to collaborate on this nonfiction work about the Gullah Negroes working on Peterkin's Lang Syne Plantation, near Fort Motte, South Carolina. Seventy of Ulmann's images appeared as gravures in the first edition. The portrait of a young girl standing in the shadow of a tree (no. 119), although not published, was probably made for this project, as were at least eight other images of blacks acquired from the Niles heirs. The pensive mood of this print is typical of Ulmann's work and of the pictorial tradition out of which she came. The girl's backward glance is also apt for a wary adolescent.

Ulmann began her lifelong project of photographing American "types" with portraits of the Amish, Shakers, and Mennonites in rural areas of Pennsylvania and other Eastern states. In 1931 she made a summer trip to New Orleans, where she encountered Creole and Cajun residents and made a lengthy study of the Sisters of the Holy Family at their French Quarter convent. Portraits like number 120 were made during the time she spent with the black women who made up this Catholic order. Whether Catholic or Shaker, Ulmann seems to have been captivated by the severe simplicity of the dress and behavior of her subjects. She sought to enhance the honesty and dignity of her sitters through a patient and straightforward technique—a formal pose, natural light, and a long exposure against a simple background.

Ulmann is not so well known today as some of her near contemporaries, such as Paul Strand, Walker Evans, and August Sander. But her focus on uncelebrated individuals (no. 121) was every bit as pioneering and was equally directed by an intense faith in humanity.



117

117. DORIS ULMANN
American, 1884–1934
Gloucester, Massachusetts, circa 1920–1925
Platinum print, 20.4 x 15.5 cm (8 x 6 1/8 in.)
87.XM.89.38

PROVENANCE: Doris Ulmann to John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; John Jacob Niles to Mrs. John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; Gift of Mrs. J. J. Niles to Thomas M. T. Niles and John Edward Niles.

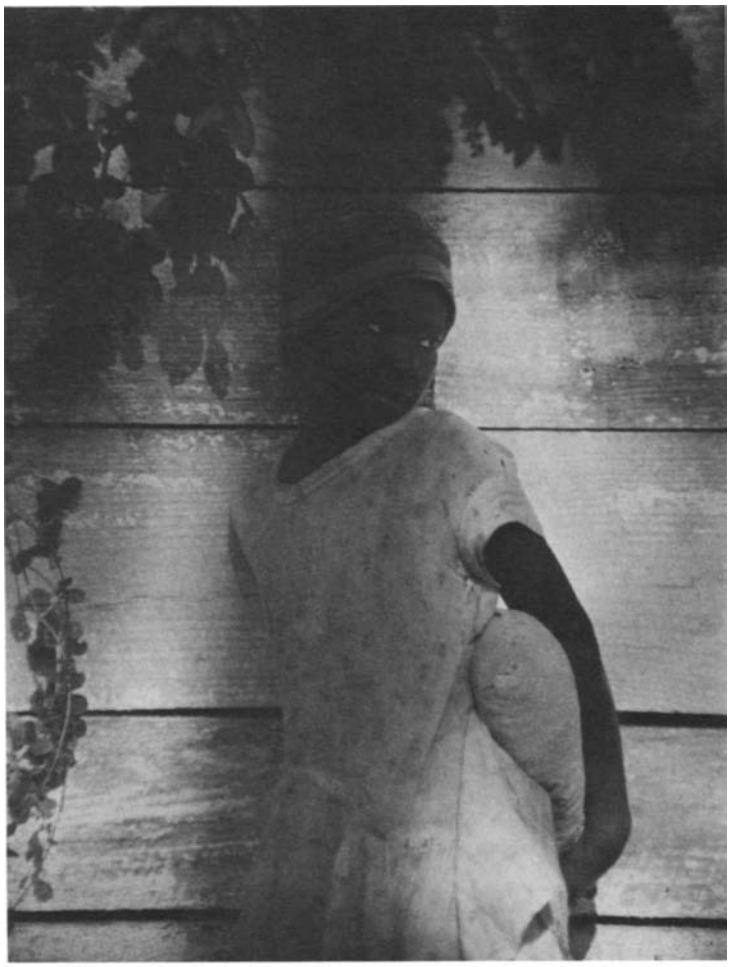
118

118. DORIS ULMANN
American, 1884–1934
John Jacob Niles in Hat and Coat, circa 1927–1934
Platinum print, 20.2 x 15.4 cm (7 15/16 x 6 1/16 in.). Signed on the mount. Inscribed: *I have some rights.* in J. J. Niles' hand on the verso of the mount.
87.XM.89.19

PROVENANCE: Doris Ulmann to John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; John Jacob Niles to Mrs. John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; Gift of Mrs. J. J. Niles to Thomas M. T. Niles and John Edward Niles.

119. DORIS ULMANN
American, 1884–1934
Portrait Study, South Carolina, circa 1929–1930
Platinum print, 20.6 x 15.4 cm (8 1/8 x 6 1/16 in.)
87.XM.89.81

PROVENANCE: Doris Ulmann to John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; John Jacob Niles to Mrs. John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; Gift of Mrs. J. J. Niles to Thomas M. T. Niles and John Edward Niles.

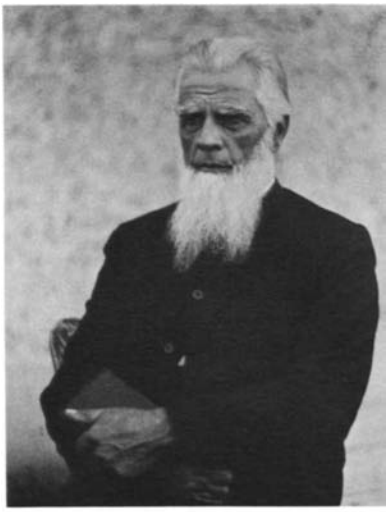


119

120

120. DORIS ULMANN
American, 1884–1934
Portrait, New Orleans, 1931
Platinum print, 21.3 x 16.4 cm
($8\frac{3}{8}$ x $6\frac{7}{16}$ in.)
87.XM.89.80

PROVENANCE: Doris Ulmann to John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; John Jacob Niles to Mrs. John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; Gift of Mrs. J. J. Niles to Thomas M. T. Niles and John Edward Niles.



121

121. DORIS ULMANN
American, 1884–1934
Mennonite Clergyman, circa 1927
Platinum print, 20.1 x 15.4 cm
($7\frac{15}{16}$ x $6\frac{1}{16}$ in.)
87.XM.89.140

PROVENANCE: Doris Ulmann to John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; John Jacob Niles to Mrs. John Jacob Niles, by inheritance; Gift of Mrs. J. J. Niles to Thomas M. T. Niles and John Edward Niles.

IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM. In 1987 the Museum acquired a group of thirty-one photographs by the California photographer Imogen Cunningham (1883–1976). These span the first half of Cunningham's long career and include her earliest Pictorialist portraits and plant studies, as well as one interior of her first studio. This group of twenty platinum and eleven gelatin silver prints came from a variety of sources, including the estate of the artist, her childhood friends, and her first collectors. More than half of the photographs are from the collection of Cunningham's lifelong friend Gertrude Walsh. Their friendship is commemorated in an album of ten platinum photographs which Cunningham made in honor of Walsh's marriage in 1913.

In about 1905, inspired by gravures of photographs by Gertrude Käsebier, Cunningham bought a camera designed for 4-by-5-inch plates and initiated her study of photography via a correspondence course. She began to take soft-focus photographs of landscapes around her

family's Washington state farm, printing the glass-plate negatives in her father's woodshed. By 1910, she was working in Seattle as a professional portrait photographer in the Pictorialist style that she learned about through Alfred Stieglitz's journal, *Camera Work*. The influence of English Pre-Raphaelite poetry and painting was very strong among Cunningham and her friends. They read aloud the poetry and prose of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and William Morris and struck medieval poses in landscapes for Cunningham's camera.

More than half of the newly acquired photographs are from the Seattle years. One of two self-portraits in the group (no. 122) shows Cunningham early in her "Pre-Raphaelite" period, which would last most of the decade. Like most of her other work from that time, this richly toned platinum photograph was contact printed by Cunningham from a 4-by-5-inch glass negative. It shows her expertise in platinum printing, which she had learned while working at the Edward Curtis Studio in Seattle a few years earlier and which she continued to study at the Technische Hochschule in Dresden. When she made this self-portrait, she had just returned from Germany to open her own portrait studio in Seattle. Its dreamlike atmosphere is enhanced by Cunningham's skillful manipulation of natural light and delicate printing techniques.

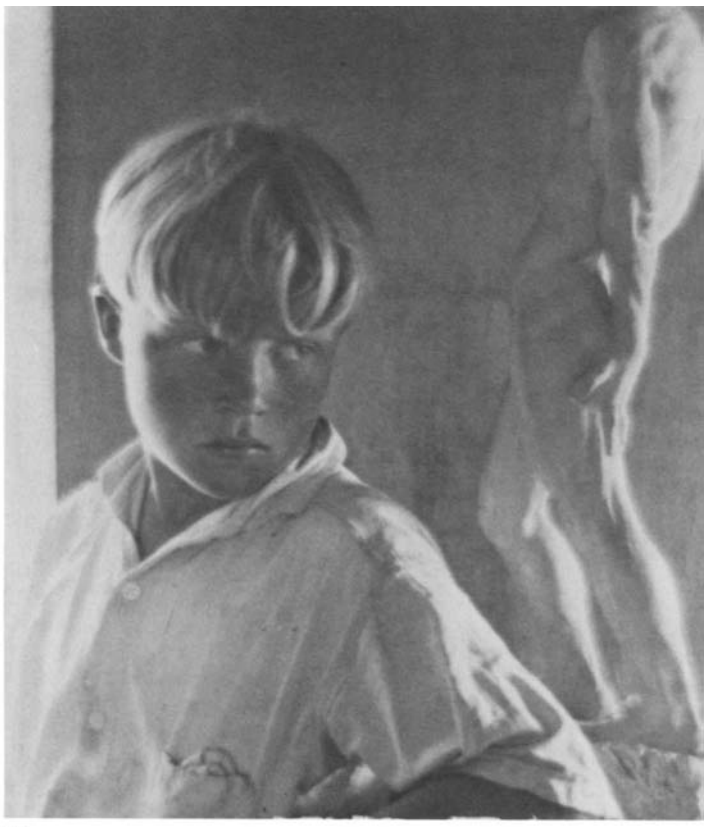
In 1917 Cunningham and her new husband, the etcher Roi Partridge, moved to Berkeley, where the first signs of her interest in modernism materialized. She became friendly with the most important photographers in California. In 1923 she met Edward Weston, who made a stunning portrait of her, and she in turn photographed his son Brett (no. 123). Cunningham saw Weston many times after that first meeting, and several years later they collaborated with Ansel Adams and others to found the Group *f*/64. That group came to define the San Francisco Bay Area style and to have a tremendous impact on the medium for generations to come. *Brett Weston* exploits the wide tonal scale of platinum paper. The twelve-year-old boy is modeled with the same kind of light that falls on the sculpture in the background, creating a symbiotic relationship between the human model and the sculpted torso. Brett's shirt becomes classical drapery. Shadow and light are key formal elements, a technique Weston himself often utilized.

Although she was principally a photographer of people, in the mid-1920s Cunningham began to photograph plants. Her interests in photography and horticulture complemented and nurtured each other. She created a substantial garden of succulents in her backyard to support her dual interests. Several photographs from this new series of plant studies were exhibited in the 1929 Stuttgart exhibition *Film und Foto* that was a landmark in the evolution of the New Objectivity. One image from this *Plantzenformen* series, which possibly appeared in that show, is *Partridge Aloe* (no. 124). In *Amaryllis* (no. 125), of 1933, Cunningham returned to this subject, which would continue to fascinate her throughout her career. This gelatin silver print, contact printed from an 8-by-10-inch negative, is a striking example of her powerful close-up realism, characterized by precision and sensitivity.

122

122. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
American, 1883–1976
Self-Portrait, 1910
Platinum print, 12.1 x 8 cm ($4^{13}/_{16}$ x $3^{1}/_{8}$ in.)
87.XM.74.7

PROVENANCE: Gift of Imogen Cunningham to Maryla Patkowska, Poland; [Susan Ehrens, Berkeley].



123

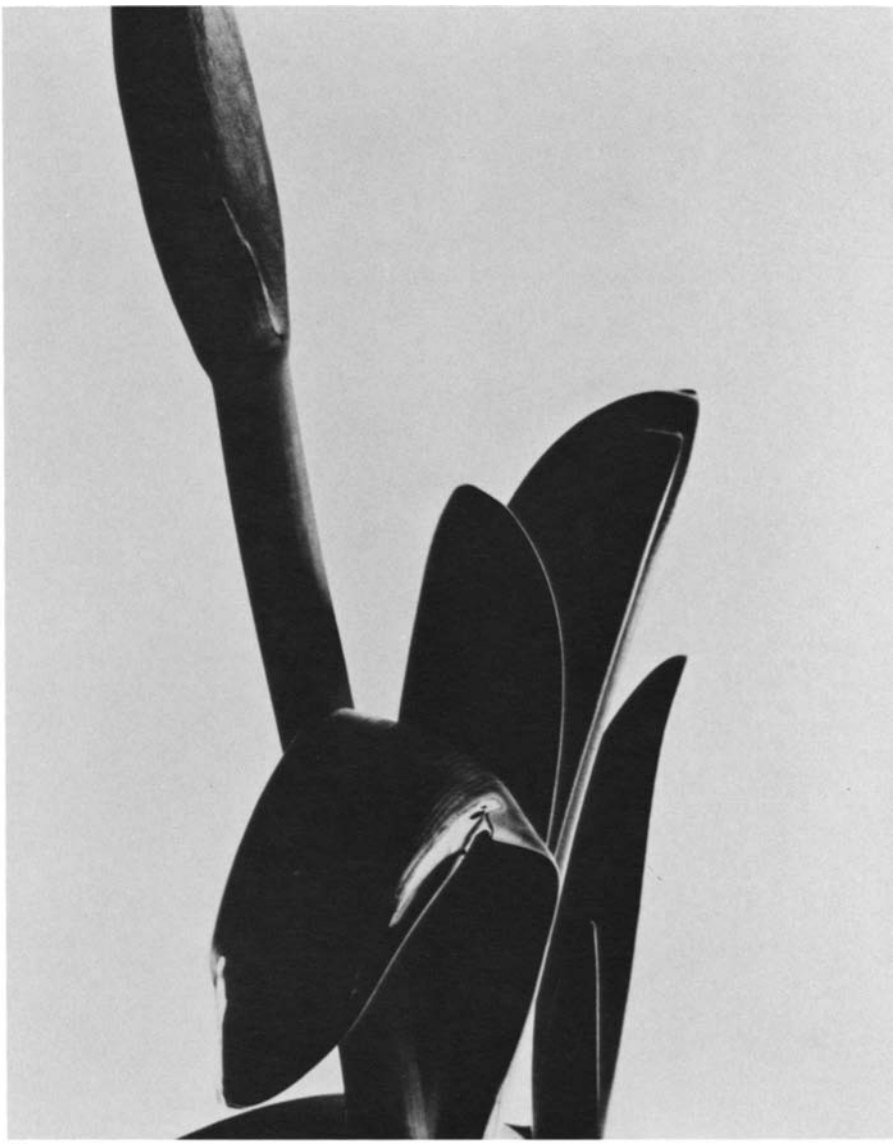
123. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
American, 1883–1976
Brett Weston, 1923
Platinum print, 10.7 x 9.2 cm (4 1/4 x 3 5/8 in.)
87.XM.74.3

PROVENANCE: Estate of Imogen Cunningham; [Robert Klein and Brent Sikkema, Boston]; [Susan Ehrens, Berkeley].

124

124. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
American, 1883–1976
Partridge Aloe, 1928–1929
Gelatin silver print, 20.8 x 16.5 cm (8 3/16 x 6 1/2 in.). Signed and dated erroneously 1920 on the mount.
87.XM.74.1

PROVENANCE: [Lieberman and Saul Gallery, New York]; [Susan Ehrens, Berkeley].



125

125. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
American, 1883–1976
Amaryllis, 1933
Gelatin silver print, 23.9 x 18.9 cm (9 7/16 x 7 7/16 in.). Signed on the mount.
87.XM.74.2

PROVENANCE: Gift of Imogen Cunningham to Alice Erskine, 1933; [Susan Ehrens, Berkeley].

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