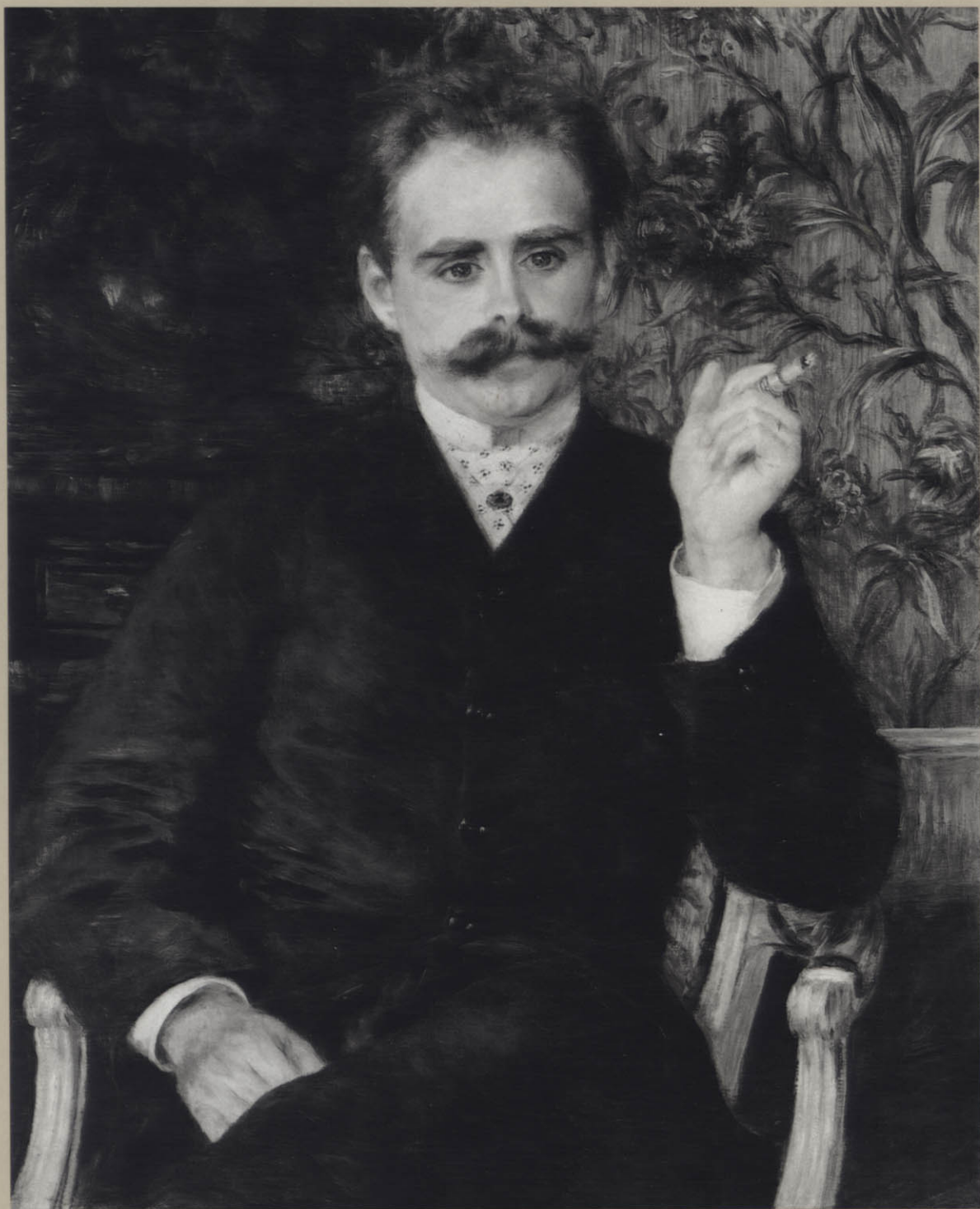


The J. Paul Getty Museum

JOURNAL Volume 17/1989



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Including Acquisitions/1988

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An Ivory Fulcrum Medallion

Elisabeth Doumeyrou

In the beginning of 1987, the J. Paul Getty Museum acquired a very handsome Hellenistic ivory appliqué depicting the head of the god Pan in profile (figs. 1a–b). The carving's quality, inspired iconography, and function make it a unique piece.

The figure stands out in profile, turned toward the left. The relief, flat at the top and the nape of the neck, becomes deeper in the locks on the forehead, and is so high around the nose, the mouth, and the chin that these parts seem almost carved in the round.

When first created, the object must have had approximately the same shape as today and thus did not belong to a broader composition. The original silhouette is formed by the top and the back of the head (almost entirely preserved) and the profile down to the middle of the nose. The lower part of the piece is limited by the incised edge under the chin, delineating the turn of the beard. This detail indicates that the appliqué was meant to be seen from below. The major losses are the nape and the background on which the lower part of the muzzle stands out. Only the beginning of this background exists today, but according to the general balance of the piece, it must not have been very wide. The back of the appliqué is flat and a hole is drilled through it, emerging on the face close to the temple.

The figure is unique in the mix of human and goatish features. The general silhouette, round head, thick neck, expressive forehead, and rather regular profile are more human, while the fleece, flat muzzle, beard, thin lips, pointed ears, and horns reflect the animal side of the god.

Little comma-like curls, themselves incised in the curved locks, are very close to the style of hair traditionally used in Hellenistic sculpture and metalware, yet here they are woollier to represent fleece.¹ On the

forehead they become tormented and complex, standing upright upon the eyebrow and giving the face a wild expression.

The frown is the most expressive element in the face: it offsets the lack of a right eye and forms a dark shadow that gives force to the whole piece. This absence of the right part of the face is also made less obvious by the slight deviation of the muzzle. This shifting (noticeable when seen from the front) disappears in the general design of the profile. The violent movement of eyebrows is common in Hellenistic Pans and can be found in a simplified version on coins.

The very detailed eye, with thin eyelids and marked pupil and iris, is seen, for instance, on a silver oinochoe of tomb II in Vergina.² A Hellenistic terracotta head from the Treviso Museum also shows the same features (fig. 2). The flat nose with goatlike triangular nostrils is rare in representations of Pan. A statue in the National Museum in Athens presents a similar, but more naturalistic, nose.³

The prognathous mouth opens on a delicate row of upper teeth. The prominent chin curves softly and the wavy beard, formed of thin strands, joins the hair of the cheeks and turns under the chin at the edge of the piece. An equivalent beard treatment can be found in a terracotta bust of Pan in the Varvakeion.⁴ The delicate and expressive cheeks, with supple muscles, high cheekbones, and thin hair, are particularly well carved, especially around the nose, the mouth, and the corner of the lips.

A flat, double-edged bacchic fillet is tied around the head, although the knot on top is not apparent. This area was roughly carved, perhaps to save space for a nail. The cloth fillet falls down the cheeks and in front of the temple in a soft, thick bow, then rolls diagonally

I would like to thank here Dr. Marion True, Curator of Antiquities, the J. Paul Getty Museum, for giving me the opportunity to publish an article on this wonderful piece. I am also grateful to Dr. F. Causey, Dr. H. Prag, Dr. E. R. Williams, K. Wight, A. Smitt, A. Leinster, and all of those who helped me during this study.

1. On sculpture, see for example, L. Laurenzi, *Ritratti Greci* (Rome, 1968); M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955); C. Vermeule, *Greek Art: Socrates to Sulla* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980); idem, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in America* (Boston, 1981). For goldware, see E. Gioure, *O Krateras tou Derveniou* (The Derveni Kra-

ter) (Athens, 1978).

2. M. Andronicos, "The Royal Graves in the Great Tumulus (Basilikos taphoi tes megales toumpas)," *AAA* 10 (1977), pp. 1–72. The abbreviations used are the ones listed in *American Journal of Archaeology* 82 (1978), pp. 3–10 and 84 (1980), pp. 3–4.

3. Statuette of Pan seated on a rock. From the Olympeion. Athens National Archaeological Museum 683.

4. A. Furtwängler, "Büste Pans in Terracotta," *AM* 3 (1878), pp. 155–160, pl. 8.



Figure 1a. Appliqué depicting the head of Pan, three-quarter view. Hellenistic, circa 2d-1st century B.C. Ivory. H: 8.56 cm (3³/₈ in.); W: 7.97 cm (3¹/₈ in.); Th (max): 2.3 cm (1⁵/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.A1.18.

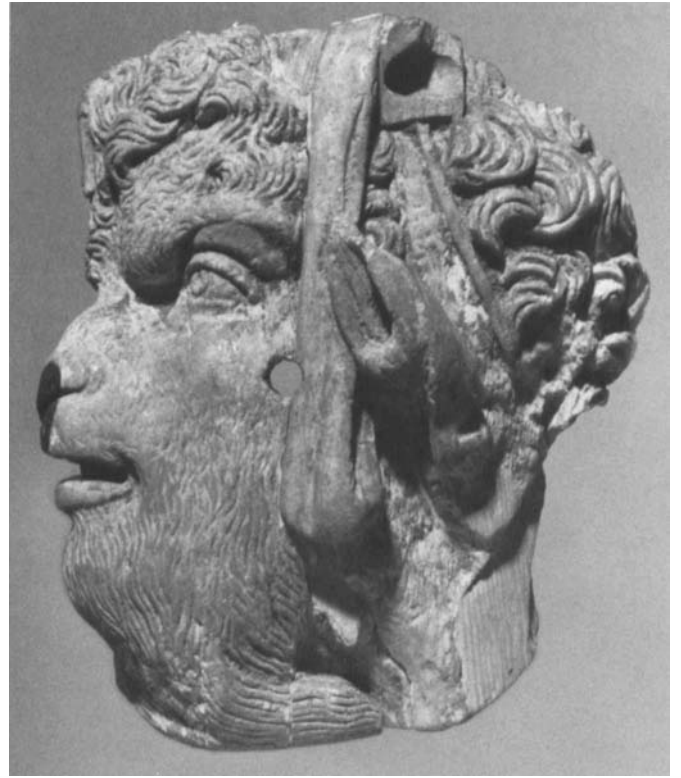


Figure 1b. Side view of figure 1a.

around the ear and floats freely in a decorative twist. Its end has been chipped away.

In the fleece, a space had been drilled for a horn too large to be worked from the same piece of tusk. This horn, now missing, may have been made from another piece of ivory or from a nonreactive material (for example, wood or bone). In keeping with the general proportions of the object, it probably was not very prominent.

The extremely fine and skillful craftsmanship makes the appliqué unique. The little details are highly finished and decorative: the treatment of the hair, for example, ranges from the large curls of the fleece to the small incisions of the beard (typical for the representation of beards on Hellenistic bronze statues), and the

short lines of the hair on the nose, the eyebrows, and the ear. Some details add to the sensitivity and naturalism of the figure, for example, the small wrinkles on the nose and under the lower eyelid, and the lock of hair between the eye and the forehead.

Among ivories, a very beautiful group from the first century B.C. depicting Achilles and Penthesilea, now in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City (fig. 3), shows the same interest in details as the Getty Museum's Pan, but in a more Neoclassical and sculptural manner.⁵ This artful rendering of the small motif and the accurate miniature without sacrificing the sensitive expression and general coherence is distinctive of the artist. To achieve such effects, including the hole of the iris, he used only a small gouge or chisel. The

5. E. C. Banks, "A Roman Ivory of the First Century B.C.," *Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum Bulletin* 5, no. 5 (September 1979), pp. 3–22.

6. Athenaeus, 2.49a, 5.202, 6.2–552. On the use of bone see Pliny, *NH* 2.8. White details on furniture in black-figure vases may represent ivory inlays. See C. Ransom, *Studies in Ancient Furniture: Couches and Beds of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (Chicago, 1905), p. 40, n. 4. On ivory furniture, see also P. Bernard, "Sièges et lits en ivoire d'époque hellénistique en Asie Centrale," *Syria* 67 (1960),

pp. 189–286, pls. 1–3.

7. Athenaeus, 5.204e, 5.207c.

8. For Syrian and Phoenician ivories, see R. D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carving," *PEQ* (1933), pp. 12ff. For Etruscan ivories, see Y. Huls, *Ivoires d'Etrurie* (Bruxelles-Rome, 1957). For Mycenaean ivories, see J. C. Poursat, *Catalogue des ivoires mycéniens du Musée National d'Athènes* (Paris, 1977). For Archaic ivories, see R. D. Barnett, "Early Greek and Oriental Ivories," *JHS* 68 (1948), pp. 1–25. For late antique ivories, see W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätan-*



Figure 2. Bust of a bearded man. Hellenistic, circa second half of the 2d century B.C. Terracotta. H: 15 cm (5⁷/₃₂ in.). Treviso, Museo Civico DT.68.



Figure 3. Group in the round of Achilles and Penthesilea. Graeco-Roman, circa late 1st century B.C. Ivory. H (max): 8.5 cm (3¹¹/₃₂ in.). Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art 76.11.

same tools were also employed for flattening the back of the piece.

A significant number of texts and discoveries prove the extensive use and value of ivory in classical antiquity. This material, and its cheaper substitute, bone, were used for small- and large-scale sculpture (among which chryselephantine works are the most famous), toilet objects, arms, musical instruments, and furniture.⁶ In the Hellenistic period, it was widely employed as a luxury product for ornamental details on the walls, doors, and ceilings of palaces of princes and rulers.⁷

Phoenician, Syrian, Etruscan, Mycenaean, Archaic Greek, and late antique ivories have been well studied and published.⁸ However, few works have focused on ivory pieces of the Classical, the Hellenistic, and the

tike und des Frühen Mittelalters (Mainz, 1952).

9. The most extensive and recent publications are: R. D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries*, *Qedem: Monographs of the Institute of Archaeology* 14 (1982); H. Randall, "Classical Ivories" in *Masterpieces of Ivory in the Walters Art Gallery* (New York, 1985); E. Rodziewicz, "Greek Ivories of the Hellenistic Period," *Travaux du centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences II: Etudes et Travaux* 5 (1971), pp. 72–89; idem, "Les ivoires de la période classique (Greckie wyrobry z kosci sloniowej 'okresu

Roman periods.⁹ The very common use in these latter periods of the lamination technique for building up ivory inlays has led to the material's fragmentation over time into small, unattractive bits and layers. This, along with the quick decay of ivory in damp soil, is largely responsible for making these objects unimpressive and explains the lack of interest among scholars and excavators for the ivories of these periods.

The cross-section of the Getty Museum's appliqué is typical of elephant ivory, though the piece is worked in such detail that there is no polished area where one can observe the normal crisscross surface pattern of this material.¹⁰ That the object was carved from a very large tusk is evident from the marrow hollow visible at the back.¹¹

klasycyzwego)," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* V–18 (1976), pp. 59–110 (in Polish, summary in French). See also H. Graeven, *Elfenbein und Knochen Schnitzereien in photographischer Nachbildung* (Hanover, 1903); this still-important work needs to be updated.

10. See L. Pennimann, *Pictures of Ivory and Other Animals' Teeth, Bone, and Antler*, Occasional Papers on Technology 5 (Oxford, 1968), pp. 13–14, pl. 1.

11. B. Burack, *Ivory and Its Uses* (Tokyo, 1984) and A. McGregor, *Bone, Antler, Ivory and Horn* (Totowa, N.J., 1985).



Figure 4. Appliqué of a satyr walking to the left. Roman, circa 1st century B.C. Ivory. H: 22.8 cm (8³¹/₃₂ in.). Said to come from Sicily. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.557.

Under the microscope, there is no decisive element to indicate if the ivory comes from an Indian or an African elephant. In the Hellenistic period, ivory was partly imported from Africa—from the west (so-called Libya) and, more importantly, from the east (Ethiopia) by way of the Nile and above all the Red Sea.¹² Indian ivory, also frequently used, came by land following the east-

west Hellenistic road (through Afghanistan and the Hindu Kush passes) or by sea via the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea.¹³ The re-exporting areas were Alexandria, Syria, and the Greek islands (chiefly Rhodes and Delos, coincident with either's preeminence during the period).¹⁴ From these markets, both types of ivory traveled widely. Thus it is impossible, on this basis, to

12. Herodotus 3.114, 4.191; Pausanias 5.12.3. Adulis (Zala) on the Eritrean coast was the most important market for ivory during the Classical period.

13. Pausanias, *idem*. For trade routes, see M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (London, 1924); E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India* (London-New York, 1928), 2d ed. 1974; and R. Mauny, "Le Périple de la mer Erythrée et le problème du commerce romain en Afrique au sud du Limes," *Journal de la société des africanistes* 38, 1 (Paris, 1968).

14. M. Rostovzeff, *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic*

World (Oxford, 1941).

15. See, for example, *Anticka bronza u jugoslaviji* (Beograd, 1969), no. 63; A. Roes and W. Vollgraff, "Le canthare de Stevensveert," *MonPiot* 46 (1952), pp. 39–67.

16. Small hanging Marsyas in marble, Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.AA.107; bronze statue of a standing man, Rome, Museo Nazionale 1049; terracotta head of a bearded man, Treviso, Museo Civico DT 68; bronze portrait from Delos, Athens, National Museum 14612.

17. On iconography see F. Brommer, "Pan," *PW Supplement* 8

determine the provenance of our material.

The piece obviously belongs to the Hellenistic tradition of decorative arts and is especially related to metalwares in silver and gold.¹⁵ One can find in it influences of the baroque pathos recurrent in this period, as well as signs of the beginning of a classical revival. The strong construction, the delicate study from nature, and the fine expression—neither totally naturalistic nor wholly fantastic—are part of the eclecticism of late Hellenistic art.

General comparisons of proportions can be made with other sculpture of this period, including a small Marsyas in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu, the *Hellenistic Ruler* in the National Museum in Rome, the head in Treviso, and the portrait of a man from Delos in the National Museum in Athens.¹⁶ However, the wide silhouette, the triangular nose, the exaggeratedly caprine mouth, and, above all, the absence of the typical long and tormented mustaches of the goat-god (replaced here by a more realistically hairy upper lip) set the Getty Museum's Pan apart from the many iconographic types of Pans from the Hellenistic period.¹⁷

One of the most handsome Hellenistic ivories comes from tomb III in Vergina.¹⁸ It represents a Dionysiac pair preceded by Pan playing the flute. The craftsmanship is delicate, freely artistic, and Lysippan. But it is a young Pan whose iconography is totally different from that of our piece.

Another cruder and more elementary Pan, playing the flute, is incised on a plate from Great Bliznitsa in southern Russia.¹⁹ Unfortunately the figure of the god is broken in another small, delicate relief showing a Dionysiac procession (sold in Basel in 1972).²⁰ I have not been able to see a "little damaged Pan holding a syrinx and a pedum" of the Imperial period, mentioned in the catalogue of the museum in Ostia.²¹

In the same iconographic range, one can include an ivory *ajouré* depicting a satyr from the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 4), a small furniture support in the shape of a Marsyas in the Museo Archeologico in Naples—both of which are more classical—and a statuette of Silenus in a private collection in Basel, typical of the late Classical period.²²

(1956), cols. 950–1008; R. Herbig, *Pan* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1949).

18. Excavated in 1978. See Andronicos (note 2); idem, "The Finds from the Royal Tomb at Vergina," *ProcBritAc* 65 (1979), pp. 355–367 and figs.; idem, "The Royal Tombs at Vergina: A Brief Account of the Excavations," *The Search for Alexander*, ex. cat. (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1982), pp. 26–38.

19. E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks* (Cambridge, 1912), fig. 314 (1–15).

20. *Bronzen der Antike; Tarentinische Skulpturen; Schnitzereien aus Bein und Elfenbein* (Sonderliste O); *Münzen und Medaillen*, sale cat.,

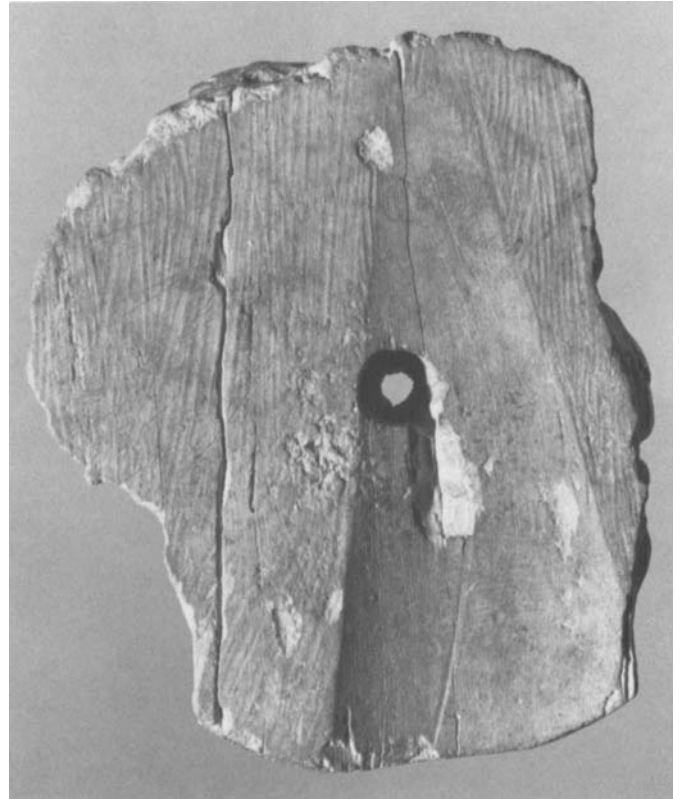


Figure 5. Back of figure 1a.

The flat back of the piece (fig. 5) was scratched to increase its adherence to a background.²³ The hole in the face, which seems ancient, was probably filled by a (metal?) nail that projected beyond the surface; the hole is partially bored in the thickness of the fillet, and shows traces of oxidation. The second part of the hole may be modern. It was connected to the first one but drilled from the back, not quite on the same axis, by a screw that broke chips out of the back. This second hole was certainly added sometime later to reinforce the adherence to the background.

The somewhat round shape of the piece leads one to the conclusion that it was a medallion. Too large to belong to a toilet object, a casket, or a musical instrument, it would have suited a piece of furniture—more specifically the fulcrum of a couch or a bed.

Basel, December 1972, lot 59.

21. R. Calza and M. Floriani Squarciano, *Museo Ostiense* (Rome, 1947), pp. 97–104, inv. 4214.

22. Randall ([note 9], fig. 8, n. 18), inv. 71.557; G. Pesce, *Il Museo Nazionale di Napoli: Oreficeria, toreutica, gliptica, vitraria, ceramica* (Rome, 1932), pp. 7–8, fig. 6; K. Schefold, "Klassische Statuette aus Elfenbein," *Mélanges Koutouléon* (Athens, 1980), pp. 112–116, pl. 38.

23. For a similar treatment, see F. Rossi, "Una plachetta d'avorio dall'acropoli di Monte Sannace" in *Archivio Storico Pugliese* 33 (1979) Fasc. 1–IV, pp. 243–251, fig. 4.

Since Homer, ancient texts have reflected the importance of ivory inlaid beds in classical antiquity, especially during the Hellenistic period.²⁴ These beds were adorned with ivory inlaid feet and headrests, and sometimes ivory frames. No complete ivory examples of these survive, but a significant group of bone Roman couches and other partial discoveries give an idea of these pieces.²⁵ There are several traces of ivory inlays from a type of bed with square legs and volutes from Kul Oba in southern Russia, the Kerameikos of Athens, and from Vergina and Lefkadia in Macedonia.²⁶

Isidorus defines the fulcrum as the solid, movable pillow or headrest of a bed.²⁷ The oldest examples are found in Tarquinia (today in the Villa Giulia) from the seventh century B.C.²⁸ and in Duvanlij from the fifth century B.C.,²⁹ as a small movable metallic (or, in Duvanlij, wooden) plate.

One can see on vases from the middle of the fifth century B.C. representations of small movable headboards for all types of beds. By the end of the same century, head- and footboards were incorporated into the bed; they stood upright and curved slightly at the ends. Gradually, these curved extremities became volutes which then evolved into medallions.³⁰

The oldest complete examples of this type of couch are in bronze, from Artijukhov in the Taman peninsula (southern Russia) in the third century B.C.,³¹ and from Priene (lost during World War II) in the second century B.C.³² They show a slightly curved fulcrum at the head. This shape survived without major changes throughout the Hellenistic period and until the end of the first century A.D.³³ During this time, one can distinguish two types of fulcra: one ending in medallions in its upper and lower parts (cf. Taman), and the other with a lower medallion and an upper animal (lion, horse, or mule) or, more rarely, human protome (cf. Priene). The solid cast fulcrum was a variation of either of these two types.³⁴

24. *Odyssey* 23.195–201; Timeus in Aelian: *VarHist* 12.29; Propertius 3.13–21. We also find mention of ivory couches in the Parthenon inventories (*JG*, I276, l. 16; 288, ll. 216–217) and in the inventories of the Heraion in Samos (C. Ransom [note 6], p. 40).

25. See the very important study by R. V. Nicholls, "A Roman Couch in Cambridge," *Archaeology* 106 (1979), pp. 1–32 and notes; E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel* (Berlin, 1843), pl. XIV; *Beschreibung römischer Altertümer gesammelt von Carl Anton Niessen* (Cologne, 1911); Th. Eckinger, "Knochenschnitzereien aus Gräbern von Vindonissa," *AnzSchweiz* 31 (1929), pp. 239–256; G. Sordini, "Bolsena: nuove scoperte nelle necropoli di Barano presso la città," *NSc* (1893), pp. 64–68; Ransom (note 6), pp. 102–108, figs. 20–26; *Cat. Collection H. Hoffmann 28–29 May 1888*, Paris, lots 585–593; E. Brizio, "Ancona: Tomba dell'epoca romana," *NSc* (1902), pp. 445–459; A. Pasqui, "Di un antico letto di osso in una tomba di Norcia," *MonAnt* 1 (1889), cols. 233–244; *Cat. Münzen und Medaillen* (note 20), lot 58; sale cat., Sotheby's, London, June 13, 1966, lot 118–128; and an unpublished group on loan to the J. Paul Getty Museum L79.AI.43.

The two types are found simultaneously and do not seem to indicate a clear chronology. They are distinguished mainly according to whether the fulcra are located on the front or the back side of the bed, and at the bed's foot or head.

Fulcrum medallions were generally glued to a wooden background; the use of nails and dowels was rare, but did occur.³⁵ In the Museum's medallion, the hollow of the tusk in the back of the piece may have weakened the attachment to the fulcrum and necessitated the piercing of the nail hole in the piece. Another nail may have fixed the ivory at the top of the head, where the material had been merely roughly carved.³⁶

Although large in comparison to other ivory and bronze fulcra, the dimensions of the Getty Museum's medallion are not exceptional.³⁷ Too large for an upper medallion, the piece seems to have come from the lower part of a headrest, the latter usually being of greater dimensions than the one at the foot.

R. V. Nicholls, applying A. Greifenhagen's theory about bronze fulcra to bone examples, draws a chronological evolution for the shape of the medallion: profiles and low reliefs may be older, and projecting busts and three-quarter views later.³⁸ It seems, however, that this chronology does not apply as strictly to the known bone and ivory examples, and that the two medallion types coexisted, each reflecting the specific evolution of local workshops and representing separate solutions to the problem of scarcity of raw materials and the need to take full advantage of the shape of the tusk or bone.

A well-studied group of ivory and bone fulcra protomes depicting the head of Silenus (fig. 6) shows more stereotyped and provincial work than the Getty Pan, sometimes reaching the grotesque level.³⁹ The most elaborate among them, from the Agora museum in Athens (fig. 7), has the same qualities of sensibility as the Getty appliqué but is smaller and less detailed.

26. See Minns (note 19), p. 205, fig. 100–103. See E. Knigge, "Die Sudhügel," *Kerameikos* 9 (1976), pp. 60–83. See also n. 18. See K. Rhomiopoulou, "A New Chamber Tomb with Paintings of the Hellenistic Period Near Lefkadia (West Macedonia)," *AAA* 5 (1973), pp. 87–92.

27. See W. C. F. Anderson, "The Meaning of Fulcrum and Fulcri Genius," *CR* 3 (1889), pp. 322–324.

28. P. Girard, "Lectus," *DarSag* 3.2 (1877, repr. 1962), cols. 1014–1023, fig. 4395.

29. B. D. Filow, *Die Grabhügel Nekropole bei Duvanlij in Südbulgarien* (Sofia, 1934), pp. 119–126, 188–189, figs. 145–150.

30. On this evolution, see Ransom (note 6); G. M. A. Richter, *The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans* (London, 1926; 2d ed. 1966).

31. B. Barr-Sharrar, *The Hellenistic and Early Imperial Decorative Bust* (Mainz, 1987), p. 163, pl. FA1.

32. T. H. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene: Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895* (Berlin, 1904).

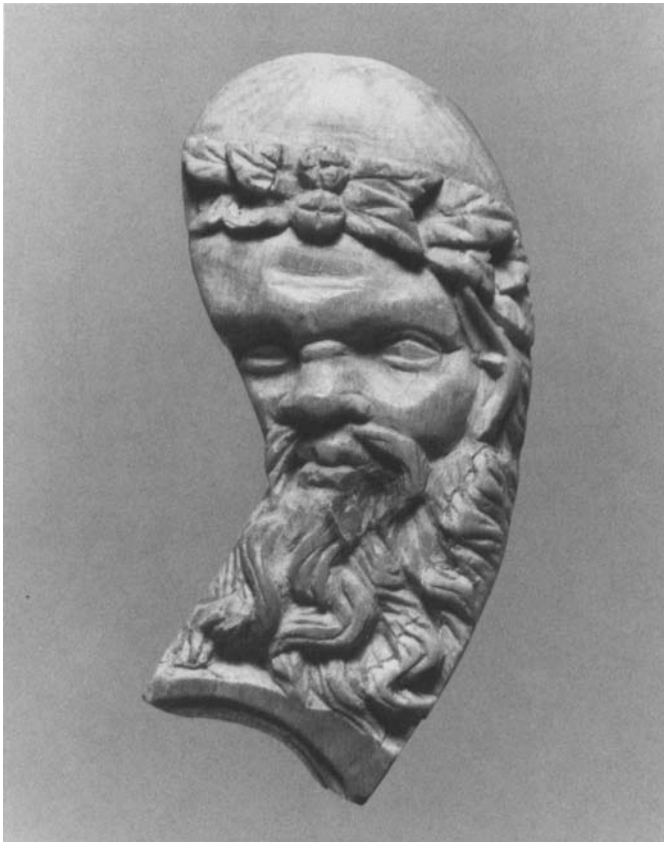


Figure 6. Appliqué of Silenus' head. Hellenistic, circa 2d century B.C. Ivory. H: 9.4 cm ($3^{23}/_{32}$ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.616.



Figure 7. Appliqué of Silenus' head. Greek, circa 2d century B.C. Ivory. H: 10.0 cm ($3^{31}/_{32}$ in.); Th: 0.7 cm ($7/_{32}$ in.). American School of Classical Studies at Athens: Agora Excavations B17.62.

Two other ivory reliefs representing Silenus—one in the round from Pompeii, the other, curved, in the Agora Museum—may have been protomes that adorned fulcrum finials.⁴⁰ These two examples are later, more rigid and less imaginatively decorative than the Getty Museum's ivory. Prominent among the fulcrum medallions is a group of bone appliquéés related to funerary

couches from the western Hellenistic world, mainly central Italy (fig. 8). These works are stiffer, cruder, and obviously from a local workshop.

A bust of Alexander in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore (fig. 9) is in very high relief and demonstrates the plenitude of the Hellenistic style.⁴¹ Two female head medallions in the Museo Archeologico in

33. After the first century A.D., the head- and footboards became steeper and steeper until they would stand upright upon the frame. Then, very often, a back was added to the couch.

34. For an example of a solid cast fulcrum with medallions, see the Artjukhov fulcrum, or, for instance, G. Libertini, "Frammenti di 'kline' bronzea con rappresentazione figurata," *RivIstArch* ser. 1, 8 (1930), pp. 91–103. For a solid cast fulcrum with medallion and animal protome, see Barr-Sharrar (note 31), p. 59, pl. C104, from Berlin-Charlottenburg.

35. There are a hole and a dowel in a fulcrum depicting the bust of Alexander in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, 71.493; and in a medallion showing a Medusa head in the Stuempfig Collection in the University Museum in Philadelphia 74.3342. The appliqué from the upper part of a fulcrum depicting a Silenus in the Agora Museum in Athens shows a row of holes around the edge for attachment, and some other bone appliquéés of the same type also have a central space for a nail.

36. Other fulcra in ivory or bone have the same method of attach-

ment; see D. Kent Hill, "Ivory Ornaments of Hellenistic Couches," *Hesperia* 32 (1963), pp. 293–300; and G. Siebert, "Mobilier délien en bronze," *Etudes déliennes, BCH Supp. I*, (1973), pp. 555–581.

37. The average diameter is 7.5 cm ($2^{9}/_{16}$ in.), the greatest, 9 cm ($3^{7}/_{32}$ in.). The average thickness is 2.4 cm ($1^{5}/_{16}$ in.), the thickest, 3.1 cm ($1^{7}/_{32}$ in.).

38. Nicholls (note 25) and A. Greifenhagen, "Bronzekline in Pariser Kunsthandel," *RomMitt* 45 (1930), pp. 137–161 and figures.

39. See the study of Hill (note 36); see also a bone fulcrum depicting Dionysos in Naples (Pesce [note 22]); and a bust of Perseus, *Vente Castellani Rome, March 17–April 10, 1884*, lot 726.

40. Pesca (note 22); V. Spinazzola, *Le arti decorativi in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* (Milano, 1928); D. B. Thompson, *Miniature Sculpture from the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, 1959), n. 43.

41. See Randall (note 9).



Figure 8. Reconstruction of a foot-end fulcrum with ornamental pattern and Cupid's head (side view). Graeco-Roman, circa 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. Bone. Diam (max): 6.7 cm (2⁷/₈ in.); Th (max): 1.6 cm (5/8 in.). Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 3.1973. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum.

Naples are provincial in their rigidity and severity.⁴² Two Medusas, one in the University Museum in Philadelphia⁴³ and the other from Pompeii,⁴⁴ show the same background of Classical and decorative details typical of the later period. Another head of a satyr, also in the Walters Art Gallery and certainly Roman, lacks the freedom and naturalistic style of the Getty Museum's medallion (fig. 10).⁴⁵

42. Pesce (note 22), fig. 7; Spinazzola (note 40), p. 229.

43. E. D. Edwards, "An Ivory Gorgoneion," *Expedition* 3 (1961), p. 23.

44. Spinazzola (note 40), p. 229.

45. Randall (note 9), inv. 71.595.

46. See Ch. Picart, "Dionysos Mitrephoros," *Melanges Glotz* 2 (Paris, 1932), pp. 70–72; H. Brandenburg, *Studien zur Mitra, Beiträge zur Waffen und Trachtgeschichte der Antike: Fontes et commentationes* 4 (Munster, 1966); and D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardmann, "Booners," *Greek Vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum* 3, Occasional Papers on Antiquities 2 (Malibu, 1986), pp. 35–70, especially pp. 50–56.

This medallion with its head of Pan can be associated with the decorative tradition of Hellenistic art in its expression and general proportions but surpasses the other fulcrum medallions in its level of inventiveness, creativity, sensitivity, freedom of expression, and decorative effect.

I have mentioned already that this appliqué does not have a close equivalent in the Hellenistic iconography of the god Pan. The way the easily recognizable Dionysiac fillet is boldly tied around the ear is not found elsewhere.⁴⁶ We know that after the fourth century B.C. and during the entire Hellenistic period, this fillet was not the exclusive attribute of Dionysos but was related to the whole thiasos. The same type of headband is found in other instances, but it is generally in the form of a ribbon lying on the shoulders or a bow standing upright on each side of the head or falling down softly on the temples. Never is it as daring, original, capricious, and well observed, yet at the same time decorative, as in this medallion.

This iconographical element, as well as being part of the general aesthetic of the piece, reinforces the Dionysiac spirit linked with the furniture. The depiction of Pan is rare on beds: to my knowledge, the only other occurrence is in the Vergina group. However, most of the couches and fulcrum decorations, and in particular those made of ivory and bone, are connected to the thiasos.

The function of these precious pieces of furniture is still unclear.⁴⁷ They have been found mostly in a funerary context. But nothing indicates that they did not exist in other settings. They have been preserved in areas where the funerary traditions (inhumation on beds in Italy, cremation on pyres followed by inhumation in western areas, in Macedonia, and in Asia Minor) called for the burying of a bed. Their fragility and richness can lead us to conclude that they served a purely funerary function. But it seems that there were no structural differences between funerary and everyday beds, and the Dionysiac iconography is appropriate to either context. A dual function is not to be excluded. In the case of the Getty Museum's medallion, we cannot arrive at any decisive conclusions in this regard.

47. On funerary beds, see Girard (note 28); Nicholls (note 25), pp. 25–26; Squarciano (note 21); L. Heuzey, "Des lits antiques considérés particulièrement comme forme de la sépulture," *GBA* 7 (1873), pp. 39–46, 301–314.

48. See note 25.

49. Rodziewicz (note 9); Pesce (note 22); Spinazzola (note 40), p. 224; and A. Ippel, "Archaeologische Gesellschaft zu Berlin: Sitzung am 28 März 1939," *AA* (1939), cols. 350–376, figs. 16–18; P. C. Sestiere, "Statuine eburnee di Posidonia," *BdA* 9 (1953), pp. 9–13; Fl. Squarciano, *Scavi di Ostia III. Le necropoli: Parte I: Le necropoli lungo la via Ostiense* (Roma, 1953); and *NSc* 8 (1911), p. 447; 9 (1912), p. 95–101;



Figure 9. Bust of Alexander. Graeco-Roman, circa 4th–3d century B.C. Ivory. H: 8.9 cm (3½ in.); Th: 3.1 cm (1⅞ in.). Said to come from Alexandria. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.493.



Figure 10. Appliqué representing a satyr's head. Roman, circa 1st century B.C.–1st century A.D. Ivory. H: 7.3 cm (2⅞ in.). Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery 71.595.

Trying to decipher the places of manufacture of Hellenistic ivories, one finds six groups: a provincial one (certainly central Italian and Etruscan) of bone couches;⁴⁸ a group in Pompeii, Ostia, and Magna Graecia that can be divided into local works mainly in bone and imported pieces (some of them possibly Alexandrian) of a more elaborate manufacture;⁴⁹ another group, generally more provincial and less carefully carved, located around the Black Sea;⁵⁰ a very fine group in northern Greece and in Macedonia dating from the fourth century B.C. through the Hellenistic period;⁵¹ another Greek group, very diverse in chronology and of a high quality;⁵² and lastly, an Alexandrian group, difficult to determine and to which there is a tendency to assign all the ivories of uncertain provenance.⁵³

In this context, the Getty Museum's Pan seems closer to the continental Greek group. The stylistic study, in view of the eclecticism of the combined echoes of Lysippan, Classical, and baroque influences, and also of the strong construction, the sensitive decoration and

expression, the originality and the fineness of the work, leads one to date this piece at the end of the Hellenistic era, possibly at the end of the second or beginning of the first century B.C., and to attribute it to an East Greek workshop, perhaps in Asia Minor.

The traditional oriental luxury of the rulers of this area, the wealth of its numerous traders and landowners, and their taste for rare ivory, all suggest that this sort of piece may have been commissioned there. The fact that the main routes (and particularly the ones for ivory) crossed the peninsula, by land from the East or from Syria and by sea from Alexandria and the islands, has always facilitated the settlement of ivory carvers in Asia Minor. Texts identify cities of this area as traditional places where beds were made (especially of bronze) or as hometowns for famous bedmakers, and this craft was certainly carried on in different materials.⁵⁴ Moreover, the aforementioned funerary custom of inhumation on a bed is a tradition of this area.

The Getty Museum's appliqué is remarkable for its

10 (1913), p. 71; 28 (1974), pp. 103–123.

50. Rodziewicz (note 9).

51. Andronicos (note 2); Rhomiopoulou (note 26).

52. Thompson (note 40); Banks (note 5).

53. Rodziewicz (note 9), and, for example, the fulcrum figure of Alexander in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, a group in the Canessa sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, May 19–21, 1910, a group in the Louvre with Isis and Serapis, the Medusa head in Philadelphia, a lot in the Borelli Bey Collection sale, Paris, Hôtel Drouot, June 11–13, 1913. Also for a group from an eastern origin, see J. Hackin, *Recherches archéologiques à Bégram* (Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan) 9 (1939); 11 (1954); A. Maiuri, "Statuette eburnea di arte indiana a Pompei," *Le Arti* 1, fasc. 2 (1938–1939), pp. 111–115.

54. On Milesian beds see Critias, frag. 1, 1.5 (p. 31, ed. Bach); frag. 28 (p. 95, ed. Bach) and references in the Parthenon inventories for the year 434/33 and in the list of Alcibiades' properties. For Tralles, see I. Dahlen, "Fragments of a kline from Labranda," *OpAth* 3 (1955), pp. 37–46. On bedmakers and on one of the most famous among them, Beitenus, see *IG II*, 2135.

state of preservation and because of the scarcity of Classical ivories and fulcrum pieces. Even more remarkable, however, are the quality and the originality of the carving. It can easily compete with the most beautiful ivories of the period: the Vergina ivories, the Nelson-Atkins Museum group in Kansas City, the Pompeii

group, and many pieces in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. Indeed, it stands unique in its category for its delicacy and its elegance. It helps us imagine the magnificence of couches otherwise known only from ancient texts or less fine examples in bone.

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A New Drawing by Giovanni Battista Naldini

Gerhard Gruitrooy

With the recent acquisition of a hitherto unpublished drawing by the Florentine Mannerist Giovanni Battista Naldini (circa 1537–1591), the J. Paul Getty Museum made another important addition to its strong holdings of sixteenth-century Italian drawings. Although he was an accomplished and rather prolific draughtsman, only a few sheets by this artist are in American collections today, the majority being preserved at the Uffizi.

Naldini was born in Fiesole and apprenticed to Pontormo, remaining an assistant in his workshop until Pontormo's death in 1557. In 1560 he went to Rome for four years but was back in Florence to participate in the elaborate obsequies held for Michelangelo in 1564. Later on in his career he became one of Vasari's collaborators in the decoration of the Salone dei Cinquecento and of the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio. He also painted for a number of churches in Rome and Florence. During his early years, Naldini was principally inspired by his master Pontormo, as well as by the example of Andrea del Sarto. His later works also reflect the influence of younger contemporaries such as Vasari and Bronzino.

The recto of the new drawing at the Getty Museum, executed in pen and brown ink with white heightening over black chalk on blue tinted paper, depicts the *Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim*, the verso being a sketch in black chalk for a *Nativity* (figs. 1, 2).¹ When in the Robert-Dumesnil collection at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the sheet had been attributed to the Venetian painter Andrea Schiavone,² superseding an

older inscription on the verso that assigned it to Jacopo Palma il Giovane.³ These misattributions are probably due to the use of blue paper, a characteristic Venetian tradition that was quite common among Florentine draughtsmen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as well. There are in fact undeniable stylistic similarities with other drawings that are clearly by Naldini and leave no doubt about the authorship of this drawing.

In the *Raising* the frequently interrupted yet fluid pen lines, the controlled use of quickly applied washes of various densities, and the bold strokes of white tempera are all characteristic of Naldini's highly mannered drawing style. Also typical are the twisted body of the young man on his bier, the sweeping movement of Christ, and the careful arrangement of the complex figure groups. In particular, Christ's head rendered in profile is almost identical with that of Christ in another pen-and-ink study, now in the British Museum (fig. 3).⁴

The scene portrays the crucial moment of the miraculous event outside the walls of the city of Naim, closely following the Gospel:

And it came to pass afterwards, that he went into a city that is called Naim; and there went with him his disciples, and a great multitude. And when he came nigh to the gate of the city, behold a dead man was carried out, the only son of his mother; and she was a widow: and a great multitude of the city was with her. Whom when the Lord had seen, being moved with mercy towards her, he said to her: Weep not. And he came near and touched the bier. And they that carried it, stood still.

1. The sheet measures 21.6 x 31.8 cm (8½ x 12½ in.). The condition is generally good, even though the ink has eaten through the paper at some points, which makes the verso difficult to read. The most comprehensive study on Naldini is still the article by P. Barocchi, "Itinerario di Giovambattista Naldini," *Arte Antica e Moderna* 31–32 (1965), pp. 244–288; see also A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana, La pittura del Cinquecento* 9, pt. 5 (Milan, 1932), pp. 252–268; F. Viatte, "Two Studies by Naldini for the 'Deposition' in S. Simone, Florence," *Master Drawings* 5, no. 4 (1967), pp. 384–386; A. Forlani Tempesti, "Alcuni disegni di Giambattista Naldini," *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf* (Berlin, 1968), pp. 294–300, with further references.

2. There is a faintly visible collection mark of A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil (1778–1864) at the bottom center, just below Christ's left foot (F. Lugt, *Les Marques de Collections de Dessins et d'Estampes* [Amsterdam, 1921], no. 2200). At a sale of this collection (Phillips, London, May 18, 1838, lot 754), the drawing was attributed to Andrea

Schiavone and the subject identified as "Jesus at the Pool." When recently offered on the market with a provenance from a private collection in Paris, the old attribution to Schiavone was still extant (on the mount?), but is now lost (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 29, 1986, lot 77).

3. The inscription "di Jacopo Pa(lma?)" in pen and brown ink appears to be by an eighteenth-century Italian hand. Because of some damage to the paper, only the first two letters of the second name are legible. A reference to Naldini's master Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci) can be ruled out as the damaged area does not extend far enough to the right to have included that name.

4. *Christ on the Way to Calvary*, London, British Museum, inv. 1856-7-12-9; see most recently N. Turner, *Florentine Drawings of the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), no. 158. For another closely related drawing with some variations, also in the British Museum, see *ibid.*, no. 159.



Figure 1. Giovanni Battista Naldini (Italian, 1537–1591). *The Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim*. Pen and brown ink with white heightening over black chalk on blue tinted paper. 21.6 x 31.8 cm (8½ x 12½ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.GA.53 recto.

And he said: Young man, I say to thee, arise. And he that was dead, sat up, and began to speak. And he gave him to his mother.

(Luke 7:11–15)

Naldini divided the composition into two parts, with Christ and his followers on the right and the deceased with the crowd of the funeral procession on the left. The division line coincides with the right side wall of the open gate through which some buildings can be seen in the distance. The event is naturally dominated by the presence of Christ with a gesture of blessing reviving the young man, who is just about to rise from the bier. A figure in the left background who is being consoled by a bystander might be identified as the

widow bemoaning her son. Behind Christ the apostles witness the miracle with attitudes of contemplation, while the citizens of Naim show expressions of fear and awe. The motif of the apostle resting on a staff seems to be inspired by figures of the shepherds or by that of a Saint Joseph in an *Adoration* or a *Nativity*. The frieze-like conception of the scene stresses the horizontal format, while shadows indicate an imaginary light source on the left outside the composition itself.

The sheet seems to have served Naldini as a study for an altarpiece of the miracle of Naim that he painted for the church of Santa Maria del Carmine, Florence. Unfortunately, that work like so many other decorations was destroyed by a fire that ravaged the church in 1771.

5. R. Borghini, *Il Riposo*, vol. 4 (Florence, 1584), p. 618: “Fa ancora una tavola per Jacopo Carucci, che dee esser posta nel Carmine, in cui egli figura Cristo, che risuscita il figliuol della vedova.” Borghini also mentions another painting by Naldini as unfinished, the *Resurrection of Lazarus* for the convent of Santa Marta a Montughi,

near Florence. An inscription dates this work, however, to 1583, that is, one year before the publication of Borghini’s treatise (see Venturi [note 1], p. 254). It is possible, therefore, that the author’s information concerning the chronology is not quite exact, and the *Raising* might already have been in situ in Santa Maria del Carmine by then. The



Figure 2. Giovanni Battista Naldini. *The Nativity*. Black chalk on blue tinted paper. 21.6 x 31.8 cm (8½ x 12½ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 88.GA.53 verso.

According to R. Borghini, who was the first to mention the painting in his treatise *Il Riposo*, published in Florence in 1584, the artist received the commission from a certain Jacopo Carucci.⁵ Although Borghini described it as still being in progress, it is likely that Naldini had begun the project considerably earlier, since construction of the altar itself had been completed

by 1575,⁶ a terminus post quem for our drawing. Indeed, Naldini appears to have been an artist who worked very slowly and who frequently changed his compositions even at an advanced stage. A good example of this is his *Calling of Matthew* in the Salviati Chapel in San Marco, Florence, which Borghini also noted as being incomplete. This painting, however, was

patron of the painting, Jacopo Carucci, was probably a Florentine citizen, not identical, however, with Naldini's master Jacopo Carucci, called il Pontormo, who died in 1557.

6. W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, vol. 3 (Frankfurt, 1952), p. 233; U. Procacci, "L'incendio della Chiesa del Carmine del

1771," *Rivista d'Arte* 14 (1932), p. 169. The altar of the widow of Naim, by that time under the patronage of the Carucci family, was the last but one on the left side of the nave near the transept (see *ibid.*, p. 151, scheme).



Figure 3. Giovanni Battista Naldini. *Christ on the Way to Calvary*. Pen and brown ink and brown wash with white heightening on a ground washed light brown. 31.6 x 22.6 cm (12³/₈ x 8⁷/₈ in.). London, British Museum, 1856-7-12-9. Photo: Trustees of the British Museum.

not signed and dated until 1588, four years later, and it differs from the modello in various details.⁷

Although a fully developed study, the new drawing

7. M. B. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce, 1565-1577* (Oxford, 1979), p. 71, figs. 73-74. For the modello, now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, see also V. Lazareff, "Appunti sul Manierismo e tre nuovi quadri di Battista Naldini," *Arte in Europa: Studi di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, vol. 1 (Pavia, 1965-1966), p. 586.

8. F. Bocchi, *Le Bellezze della città di Fiorenza* (Florence, 1591), p. 80: "Cappella di Iacopo Carucci, molto da gli artefici comandata. Ci ha dipinto il Naldino, quando Cristo risuscita il figliuolo della vedova di Naim con molto guidizio, & con grande arte. Si vede il giovanetto di bellissima incarnazione, & col color pallido, & smorto, ma in alcun luogo con sembianza di vivo, mostra non senza grave senno con virtù divina, come miracolosamente è da morte à vita rivotato. La madre rivolta à Cristo in atto de pregare, col volto, con le mani, & con viva attitudine esprime una brama, quanto più esser puote, affettuosa, perche le sia la grazia, che chiede, conceduta. Ma Cristo, pieno de reverenza, ascoltando la donna, alza in alto la destra

at the Getty Museum should be considered *una prima idea*. An almost contemporary description of the painting by F. Bocchi apparently refers to a different composition, where the interaction between Christ and the mother has become predominant.⁸ A visual clue of what the painting might have looked like is provided by a drawing in the Uffizi with a traditional attribution to Naldini that has been connected convincingly to the lost altarpiece (fig. 4).⁹ It corresponds far better with Bocchi's words and thus appears to be of a later date than the Getty Museum sheet.

But what a difference both in style and composition! Executed in black chalk with white heightening and also on blue paper, the drawing has a much smaller number of figures. Again in profile, Christ is now on the far right with his hand raised for a salute, while the widow is kneeling in front of him with a gesture of supplication and despair. On the ground next to her lies her deceased son in a rather awkward position showing some sign of life ("smorto, ma in alcun luogo con sembianza di vivo"¹⁰) as he tries to raise himself up. Bystanders in the background and on the left complete the scene.

Virtually nothing recalls the sketch at the Museum. The discrepancy, however, cannot simply be ascribed to the use of a different medium—chalk instead of pen and ink—but may also be explained by the different purpose of the Uffizi sheet and its later date of execution. The study reveals a rather academic, even lifeless, handling of the subject. The figures are set into an undefined, incoherent space, their anatomical structure hidden under abstract patterns of sharply folded draperies reminiscent of antique sculptures. At the same time the use of chalk has allowed Naldini to define details like facial expressions that are lacking in the Getty drawing, which otherwise has strong atmospheric, painterly qualities.

The stylistic and compositional disparity between the

insegno di salute, con maniera di vero naturale in guisa, che pare di rilievo."

9. Black chalk with white heightening on blue paper, 21.25 x 27 cm (8³/₈ x 10⁵/₈ in.); Uffizi, Florence, inv. 747 S verso; Barocchi (note 1), p. 259.

10. See note 8.

11. Compare Poppi's painting of *Saint Anthony of Padua Liberating the Possessed* in Santa Croce, Boscomarengo, executed under Vasari's supervision, in particular the man on the stretcher and the figure of the saint blessing; P. Barocchi, *Vasari pittore* (Milan, 1964), p. 122, pl. 24; idem, "Appunti su Francesco Morandini da Poppi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 11 (1963), p. 128, fig. 11. No other work by Naldini with the rather rare representation of the miracle of Naim is known. A confusion with the iconographically close subject of the Raising of Lazarus, which has also been treated by the artist, can be excluded because of Naldini's strict adherence to the biblical source.

drawings goes hand in hand with an iconographic shift from the narrative act of the raising as such toward a more intimate, even touching representation of the pleading widow before Christ. This change of subject matter is not justified by the Gospel but may well have been motivated by the patron's personal preference or by the growing influence of the Counter-Reformation, which promoted religious paintings that were more appealing to the faithful by offering identification figures (in this case the mother bemoaning her son).

Notwithstanding their diverse approaches, both drawings have at least one feature in common: the horizontal layout of the composition. The question as to why Naldini made them in a format that was unsuitable for an altarpiece cannot be answered with ease. The Getty drawing seems to be an early sketch that was perhaps influenced by a horizontal painting by Francesco Morandini, called *Il Poppi*, who was a fellow artist in Vasari's studio.¹¹ Furthermore, the Uffizi composition could have been transformed into a vertical one by leaving out the figure of the bystander on the left, who is already disconnected from the scene itself.

The Getty Museum's *Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim* can be dated approximately between the completion of the altar in 1575 and about 1577, the year Naldini is generally believed to have left for his second trip to Rome.¹² Comparisons to the above-mentioned drawing of *Christ on the Way to Calvary* in the British Museum of circa 1566¹³ or to the studies for a *Dead Christ* in the Metropolitan Museum¹⁴ and in a French private collection¹⁵ make an early dating likely. The academicism of the Uffizi drawing on the other hand reminds one of Vasari's late style as favored by Naldini in the succeeding years. It should therefore be dated somewhat later,¹⁶ perhaps after the artist's return to Florence, presumably by 1580.¹⁷

At this point the sketch for the *Nativity* (fig. 2) on the verso remains to be considered. The Virgin kneeling in



Figure 4. Giovanni Battista Naldini. *The Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim*. Black chalk with white heightening on blue tinted paper. 21.25 x 27 cm (8³/₈ x 10⁵/₈ in.). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni, 747 S verso. Photo: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici, Florence.

the center of the scene has directed her attention toward the (standing?) Christ child, who can hardly be discerned in the scribbled chalk lines. Among the onlookers on the right are some children, and a woman approaches the group from the left. In the background Saint Joseph can be seen through the window of a hut working in his carpenter shop. Next to it a figure descends a staircase while on the right people are walking underneath an arch toward the front, as in a procession. Some rapidly sketched figures on the top left appear to be part of a celestial group of angels.

The sketch is reminiscent of a pen-and-ink drawing in the Uffizi (fig. 5),¹⁸ which is considered a prepara-

12. Barocchi (note 1), p. 260. The point of reference is the *Presentation at the Temple* in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, dated 1577; see also Hall (note 7), p. 99, pl. 62.

13. See note 4.

14. J. Bean and L. Turčić, *Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Italian Drawings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1982), no. 137, fig. 137.

15. *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell'Europa del Cinquecento, Il Primato del Disegno*, ex. cat. (Florence, Palazzo Strozzi, 1980), no. 328, fig. 328 (catalogue entry by A. M. Petrioli Tofani).

16. The recto contains a study of three apostles for a destroyed painting of *The Agony in the Garden* executed after 1577 for the Martellini altar also in Santa Maria del Carmine; see Paatz (note 6), p. 234; Procacci (note 6), p. 168; also Borghini (note 5), vol. 4, p. 506.

17. The Roman influence can be seen in his frescoes in the Salviati Chapel, San Marco, Florence, dated 1580 (Barocchi [note 1], p. 262), although according to Baldinucci they have been executed by

Giuseppe Balducci after Naldini's design as his master suffered from gout (F. Baldinucci, *Notizie dei professori del disegno*, vol. 3 [Florence, 1846], pp. 512–513). Hall (note 7), p. 71, note 35, on the other hand pointed out that the only year before 1585 in which Naldini apparently failed to pay his taxes to the Accademia di Disegno was 1580. The author's attempt, however, to squeeze the Rome trip into a period of less than 18 months is not convincing as a slowly producing artist like Naldini could hardly have left such a number of works there in such a brief time (cf. the list in Venturi [note 1], p. 268). As the Accademia di Disegno elected Naldini to the office of "console" in 1577/78 (January) and again in 1579 (December) (D. E. Colnaghi, *A Dictionary of Florentine Painters from the 13th to the 17th Centuries* [London, 1928], pp. 187–188), one might assume that the artist traveled between the two cities several times.

18. Inv. 705 F; Hall (note 7), p. 98, pl. 57.



Figure 5. Giovanni Battista Naldini. *The Nativity*. Pen and brown ink. 41 x 27.5 cm (16¹/₈ x 10¹³/₁₆ in.). Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei disegni, 705 F. Photo: Soprintendenza per i beni artistici e storici, Florence.



Figure 6. Giovanni Battista Naldini. *The Nativity*, 1573. Oil on canvas. Florence, Santa Maria Novella (Mazzinghi Chapel). Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

tory study for one of Naldini's best-known altarpieces, *The Nativity*, in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, of 1573 (fig. 6).¹⁹ In the painting Naldini abandoned the architectural elements that are so prominent in both drawings in favor of a landscape setting, while maintaining the semicircular arrangement of the main figures and the idiosyncratic position of the Virgin in particular.²⁰ The Uffizi sheet, somewhat more elaborate and closer to the altarpiece, might well be of a later date than the chalk study in the Getty Museum.

Consequently, one has to assume that there was a difference of at least two or three years if not more be-

tween the execution of both sides of the Getty drawing, the verso possibly dating from 1572–1573. One reason why Naldini re-used the same sheet for his study of the *Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim* might have been the simple fact that the blue-tinted paper served best in his pursuit of atmospheric and rich tonal qualities.

The drawing at the Getty Museum sheds some new light on Naldini's complex and still largely unknown working methods, documenting the long process that preceded the final painting. The recto with the *Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim* is in itself a remarkable demonstration of the artist's creativity and inventiveness.

New York

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 97–99, pl. 56. The painting combines a *Sacra Conversazione* with an Adoration of the Shepherds.

20. The same figure appears in the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, formerly Dresden, Gemäldegalerie; see H. Ebert, *Kriegsverluste der Dresdener Gemäldegalerie: Vernichtete und vermisste Werke* (Dresden, 1963), p. 44, with repr. Other motifs as the water carrier (in the painting on the far right) or the architectural set pieces such as arches, stairs, balconies, etc., recur repeatedly in three drawings representing the Adoration of the Shepherds, of which one is in the Uffizi (inv. 503 S

verso; Tempesti [note 1], pp. 296–297, fig. 12), one in Lyon (*Dessins du XVIe au XIXe siècle de la collection du Musée des Arts Décoratifs de Lyon*, ex. cat. [Lyon, 1984–1985], no. 7, fig. 7 [cat. entry by H. Pommier]) and one in Frederikssund, Denmark (C. Fischer, *Italian Drawings in the J. F. Willumsen Collection*, ex. cat. [Frederikssund, The J. F. Willumsen Museum, 1984], no. 58, pl. 49). All three drawings are in horizontal format and might have been done as studies for a private devotional painting.

A New Drawing by Hanns Lautensack

Lee Hendrix

Among the most important developments in German Renaissance art was the emergence of landscape as an independent pictorial subject in the work of Albrecht Altdorfer and Wolf Huber, the principal artists of the Danube School. Focusing upon natural forms such as mountains, firs, pollard willows, and river valleys, these artists created landscapes of surging vitality and vast scale. Yet despite the superhuman dimensions of the subject matter, the images themselves generally tend to be quite small, often taking the form of drawings made as finished works of art. With their intricate, highly wrought surfaces, they must have been collected as objects for private contemplation and delectation. Altdorfer and Huber created these opulent surface effects through the application of brilliant hues of watercolor and gouache on the one hand and flamboyant pen work on the other, or a combination of color and line in their well-known drawings on colored grounds with brilliant white heightening.

This tradition was carried on by later artists, as seen in a colored-ground landscape drawing that has recently come to light (fig. 1), executed in pen and black ink with white gouache heightening on paper prepared with a red-brown ground. Although the lead whites have partially oxidized in spots, it is still possible to appreciate the exceptional delicacy of handling, especially in the background peaks. Here, softly rounded contours are adumbrated by hair-fine broken pen strokes; equally thin white lines reinforce these con-

tours and also outline clouds in the sky. The drawing depicts a walled city situated in a valley against a backdrop of high mountains. The city, a type frequently encountered in Danube School imagery, presents a fantastic blend of classicizing, centrally planned buildings, fortifications, and steeply pitched roofs and spires, the latter imparting a gothic feel to the whole. A moat, indicated by broad patches of white, encircles the city and is bounded at the left by a flat plain. On the right, the city extends into the distance, following the upward contour of the mountainside. The higher hills behind the city, many with towns at their summits, are dwarfed, in their turn, by towering peaks.

On first sight, *Mountain Landscape with an Imaginary City* calls to mind a group of colored-ground landscape drawings generally localized to Nuremberg.¹ These include the nine examples in black ink and white gouache on blue-grounded paper by the "Master of 1544," so named because he dated seven of the drawings "1543" and "1544."² Associated with these blue-grounded drawings is a red-grounded group comprising one in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, two in the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt (both dated 1540), and one in the National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (dated 1544).³ The Washington drawing (fig. 2), which has recently been attributed to a Nuremberg printmaker and *Formschneider*, the Monogrammist HWG, is one of the most beautiful of this group of colored-ground landscape drawings.⁴ With its wealth of detail and lavish

1. For the fullest discussion of this group see A. Schmitt, *Hanns Lautensack*, *Nürnberger Forschungen* 4 (Nuremberg, 1957), pp. 31–32, 103–104, under no. 97 (hereafter Schmitt).

2. Schmitt, nos. 97–99, 103, 116, 120–123. These drawings were first grouped by P. Halm in "Die Landschaftszeichnungen des W. Huber" (Ph.D. diss., Munich, 1927) as cited by Schmitt, p. 103. See further C. Talbot and A. Shestack, *Prints and Drawings of the Danube School*, ex. cat. (Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1969), pp. 97–98, nos. 110–111.

3. For the Berlin and Washington (formerly Oppenheimer collection, London) drawings and the most complete discussion of this group, see Schmitt, nos. 102, 110. For the Darmstadt drawings see H. van de Waal, "Graphische Arbeiten des Monogrammist P.S.," *Graphische Künste*, 1939, N.F. 4, pp. 59–60. Halm and van de Waal were the earliest to bring these drawings into association, with van de Waal proposing they were by the Monogrammist P.S., a printmaker whom he located in the orbit of Augustin Hirschvogel and Hanns

Lautensack; this attribution to the Monogrammist P.S. has not gained acceptance. Schmitt (p. 106, under no. 102) thought they were made by a Nuremberg artist and showed parallels with the blue-grounded group by the "Master of 1544" and prints by the Monogrammists CR and HWG.

4. Heinrich Geissler tentatively upholds Schmitt's localization of the drawing to Nuremberg (H. Geissler, *Zeichnung in Deutschland. Deutsche Zeichner 1540–1640*, ex. cat., vol. 1 [Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, 1979], p. 50, no. A 45). Andrew Robison separates the Washington drawing from those in Darmstadt and attributes it to the Monogrammist HWG, an opinion supported by Thomas Kaufmann (T. DaC. Kaufmann, *Drawings from the Holy Roman Empire 1540–1680*, ex. cat. [The Art Museum, Princeton University, 1982], p. 42, no. 5). HWG was a printmaker and *Formschneider* probably active in the Nuremberg shop of Virgil Solis. For HWG see further Schmitt, p. 104; Talbot and Shestack (note 2), pp. 99–100, no. 112; M. Geisberg, revised and edited by W. L. Strauss, *The*

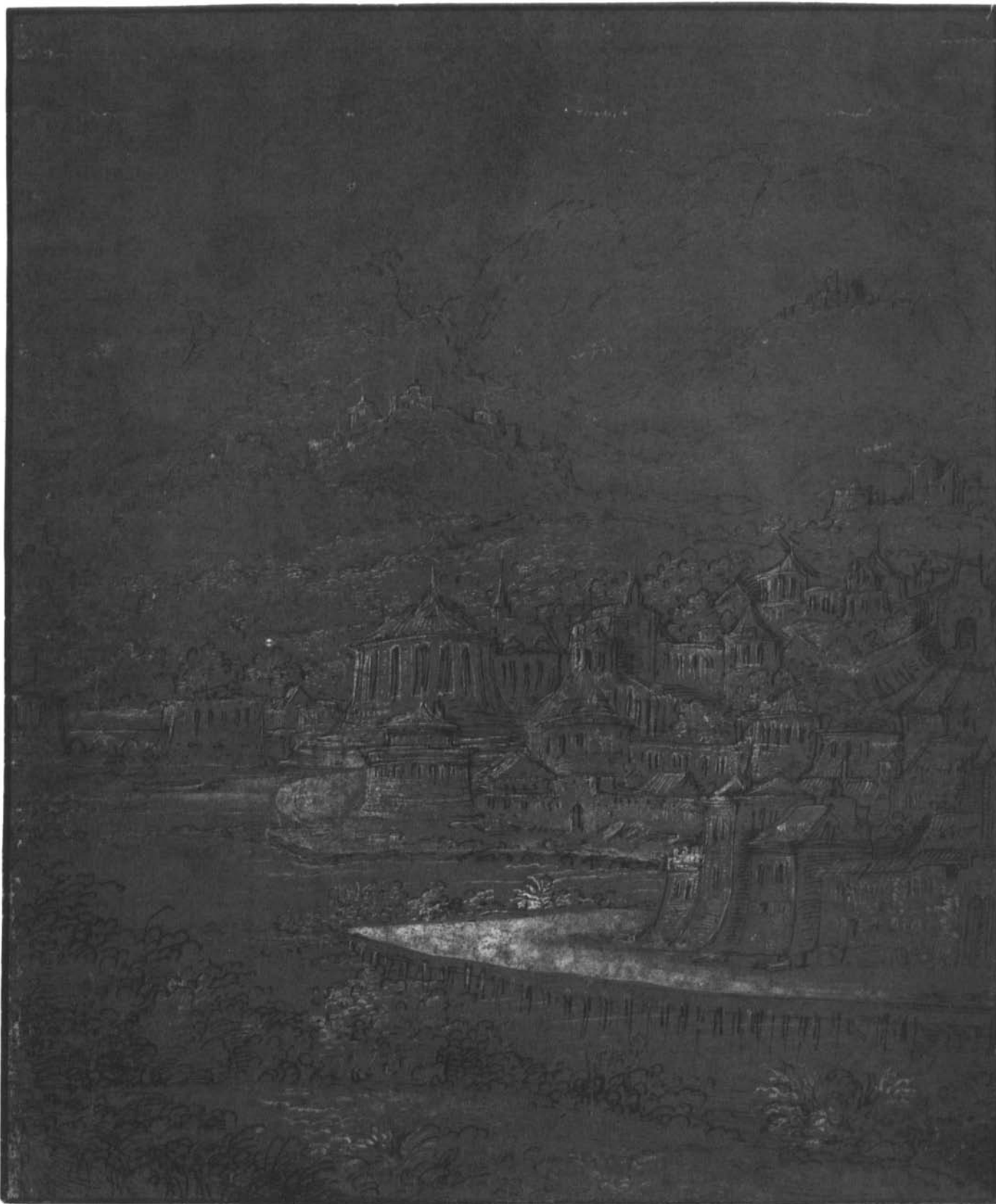


Figure 1. Hanns Lautensack (German, circa 1520–1564/65). *Mountain Landscape with an Imaginary City*, circa 1554/55. Pen and black ink and white gouache heightening on red-brown prepared paper. 18.5 x 15.6 cm (7⁵/₁₆ x 6¹/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 89.GG.14.

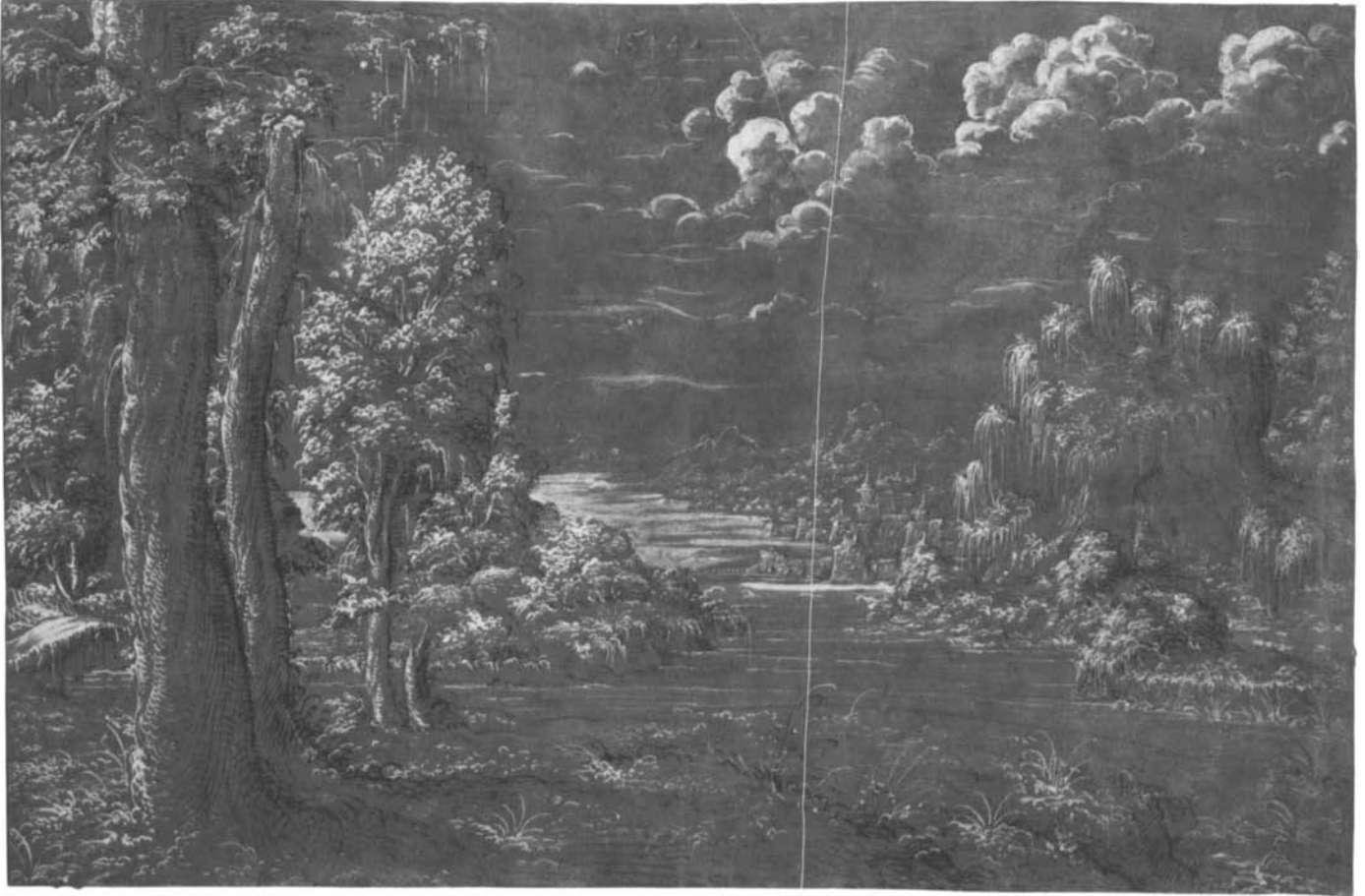


Figure 2. Monogrammist HWG (?). *River Landscape*. Pen and black ink and white gouache heightening on red-brown prepared paper, dated 1544. 20.6 x 31.8 cm (8¹/₈ x 12¹/₂ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund 1971.66.6.

use of whites, it is representative of the tendency in this group of drawings to emphasize preciousity and a miniaturistic character at the expense of the grandeur of vision achieved by Altdorfer and Huber.⁵

The newly discovered landscape is comparable to the Washington drawing in several respects, including the use of a red-brown ground and the thick application of the whites in the moat, which is similar to the execution of the river in the center of the Washington example. In a general sense, the waterbound city set against mountains seen in the background of the Washington drawing calls to mind the composition of the newly discovered landscape. On the other hand, there is a more sparing application of white in the new drawing,

which militates against a precious, jewel-like effect. In addition, its vision of the landscape is more majestic and its ink lines livelier. All of this is indicative of an artist who built upon the tradition of colored-ground landscapes that existed in Nuremberg during the 1540s but who also made a direct study of Altdorfer and Huber. Indeed, it is possible to attribute the new *Mountain Landscape with an Imaginary City* to the artist who was once wrongly thought to be the author of the Washington drawing, Hanns Lautensack.

Lautensack is most widely appreciated for carrying on the tradition of landscape etching begun by Altdorfer.⁶ His work owes a generic debt to that of Augustin Hirschvogel, who was the first artist in Nuremberg to

German Single-Leaf Woodcut: 1500–1550, vol. 3 (New York, 1974), nos. 936-1–936-6.

5. Geissler (note 4), p. 50, under no. A 45.

6. Schmitt's book remains the fundamental study on Lautensack. See further K. Oberhuber, *Die Kunst der Graphik IV, Zwischen Renaissance und Barock. Das Zeitalter von Bruegel und Bellange*, ex. cat. (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, 1967), pp. 135–139,

nos. 175–184; Talbot and Shestack (note 2), pp. 93–97, nos. 104–109; F. Winzinger, *Wolf Huber. Das Gesamtwerk*, vol. 1 (Munich and Zurich, 1979), p. 47; Geissler (note 4), pp. 28, 30–31, no. A 28; J. C. Smith, *Nuremberg: A Renaissance City, 1500–1618*, ex. cat. (Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery, The University of Texas at Austin, 1983), pp. 74–75, 254–262, nos. 163–170.



Figure 3. Hanns Lautensack. *Pathway Along a River in a Mountainous Landscape*. Etching, monogrammed HSL and dated 1554. 16.6 x 11.7 cm (6½ x 4¾ in.). London, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum. By permission of the Trustees of the British

make a specialty of producing landscape etchings in the style of the Danube School. Like Hirschvogel, Lautensack not only mastered the formal vocabulary of Altdorfer and Huber but, following the example of the older masters, he used landscape as the vehicle for the exploration of innovative spatial effects. *Pathway Along a River in a Mountainous Landscape* (fig. 3), from Lautensack's earliest series of etchings published in 1553/54, exhibits the vertical format exploited by Altdorfer and Huber to convey overwhelming effects of height combined with a tunnel-like spatial recession.⁷ Here, Lautensack juxtaposes foreground rocks and trees, cropped at the top and side to enhance their massive, towering quality, and similarly vertical distant forms composed of mountain peaks and a large expanse of sky. The year 1554, when Lautensack moved to Vienna to become a court artist to King Ferdinand I, marks a stylistic change as well. Later prints, such as the *New Testament Cycle* of 1554/55 and the landscape etchings of 1558 and 1559, are panoramic in scope.⁸ With its sweeping vista of a river valley and mountains, *Christ Curses the Fig Tree* (fig. 4), from the New Testament series, creates a sense of unencumbered expansiveness which contrasts with the startling juxtapositions of near and far seen in the earlier landscapes.⁹

Lautensack's drawings oeuvre is very small. Schmitt lists a scant six examples, including four pen-and-ink landscapes, three of which are double-sided, that probably belonged to a sketchbook and appear to have been made in connection with the series of landscape etchings of 1553/54.¹⁰ Also listed in her catalogue are a study of heads and a scene of Christ with the centurion of Capernaum that was probably a study for an unexecuted addition to Lautensack's series of New Testament etchings of 1554/55.¹¹ Besides those listed by Schmitt, there is one additional example, *Landscape with a Knight* of 1550–1555 in the *Graphische Sammlung*, Munich.¹² None of these drawings are as elaborately worked as his etchings. The new example, by contrast, is a complete composition with a high degree of finish; there are no other known drawings by Lautensack made on a colored ground with white heightening.



Figure 4. Hanns Lautensack. *Christ Curses the Fig Tree*. Etching, monogrammed HSL and dated 1554. 15.5 x 22.0 cm (6⅛ x 8¾ in.). Paris, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale.

7. Schmitt, no. 65; J. S. Peters, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 18, *German Masters of the Sixteenth Century* (New York, 1982), no. 29 (217).

8. For the *New Testament Cycle* see Schmitt, pp. 26–28 and nos. 68–74, and for the landscape etchings of 1558 and 1559, idem, pp. 28–31, nos. 75–81. In the latter series, Schmitt (pp. 29–31) notes an increased unity of space and integration of the figures in the landscape, effects she attributes to the influence of Netherlandish prints. Among those she believes were influential is a series of thirteen landscapes published by Hieronymus Cock after Matthys Cock (F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and*

The subject and composition of the newly discovered drawing come closest to one of the previously mentioned sketchbook sheets in Budapest showing a fantastic city (fig. 5). Dated 1550, it served as a model for the etching of the same subject of 1551.¹³ Like the Budapest drawing, the new example (fig. 6) shows a fanciful walled city against a mountainous backdrop. Both cities are situated on rises allowing the eye to follow the winding ascent of buildings and city streets. Types of structures found in the new drawing, such as the round turret at the lower left center, the large, temple-like building directly above it, and the city gate at the upper right, find analogies in the Budapest sheet.

On the other hand, the new drawing differs from the one in Budapest in that the city is shown from a greater distance and the pen work is more delicate, with more use of the blank ground. In these respects, it is closer to the Frankfurt *Christ and the Centurion* (fig. 7). Other similarities with the Frankfurt drawing include the small, frothy trees interspersed among the buildings, and the tangled, dark patch of foreground hatching in the lower left corner, which recalls the treatment of the area underneath the bridge in the Frankfurt example. Perhaps the most telling similarity between the two drawings, however, occurs in the execution of the mountains in the far distance. In both, these are drawn primarily in a delicate outline, with little interior modeling, and with the peaks swelling and rounded rather than jagged.

Indeed, this mountainous passage provides the most compelling evidence for Lautensack's authorship. Distant mountains form a major component of the landscape etchings of 1553/54. The peaks in the previously mentioned *Pathway Along a River in a Mountainous Landscape* (fig. 3) are especially close to the new drawing both in the manner in which they form the climax of the steeply rising landscape and in their execution in fine, flicked lines. In addition, the busy, detailed character of this etching is echoed in the line work of the new drawing. Background peaks play an even more conspicuous role in the later panoramic etchings. Here, while exploring the sense of openness and lateral expansive-



Figure 5. Hanns Lautensack. *Fantastic City*. Pen and brown ink on gray prepared paper, monogrammed HSL and dated 1550. 20.1 x 15.4 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 6 in.). Budapest, Kupferstichkabinett, Szépművészeti Múzeum 224.



Figure 6. Detail of figure 1.

Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700 [Amsterdam, 1949–], vol. 4, p. 179, nos. 8–9, 11–21).

9. Schmitt, no. 73; Peters (note 7), no. 51–I (225).

10. Budapest, Kupferstichkabinett, Szépművészeti Múzeum; Schmitt, nos. 82–85.

11. Frankfurt, Kupferstichkabinett, Städelsches Kunstinstitut 6932; E. Schilling, *Städelsches Kunstinstitut Frankfurt am Main. Katalog der deutschen Zeichnungen Alte Meister* (Munich, 1973), vol. 1, no. 132, vol. 2, pl. 32; Schmitt, no. 85a and 86.

12. Winzinger (note 6), vol. 1, p. 42, vol. 2, pl. 239.

13. Schmitt, p. 20, no. 83; Geissler (note 4), no. A 28.

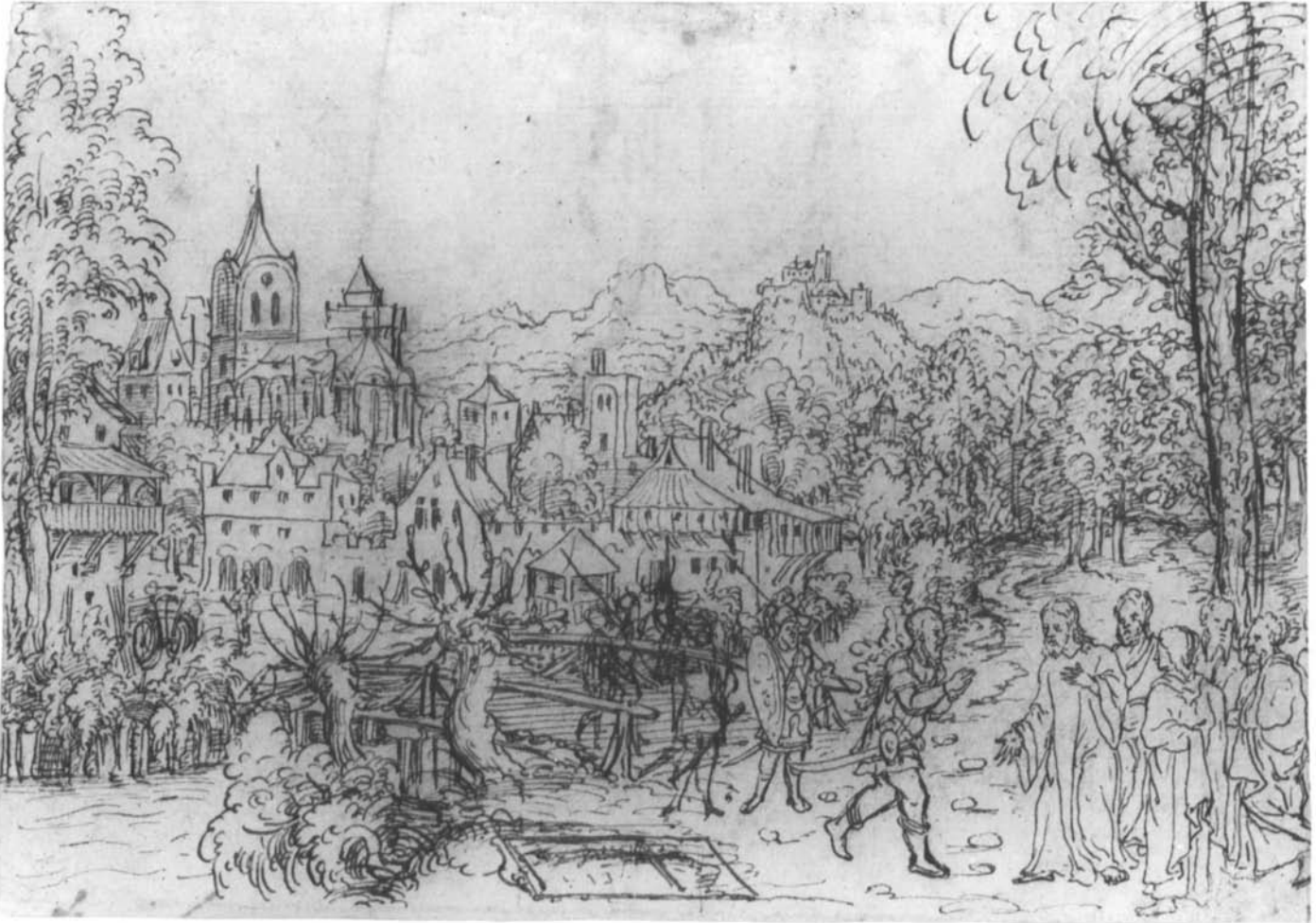


Figure 7. Hanns Lautensack. *Christ and the Centurion*, 1554/55. Pen and dark brown ink on paper washed light pink, inscribed on the tablet in the foreground *ex Hans(?)*. 13.5 x 19.8 cm (5½ x 7⅞ in.). Frankfurt, Kupferstichkabinett, Städtisches Kunstinstitut 6932.

ness allowed by a horizontal format, Lautensack continues to entertain a gothic predilection for vertical elements. In *Christ Curses the Fig Tree* (fig. 4), he plays with foreground/background relations by causing the precipitous peaks at the right to rise abruptly from the hills of the middle distance, thereby forming a counterweight to the spaciousness of the river valley. This heightened prominence of mountains in the overall composition is also apparent in the new drawing. In this case, however, Lautensack removes foreground elements almost entirely so that the whole composition is focused on the city and mountains in the distance.

Until the invention of pure landscape by Altdorfer and Huber, mountains had been treated primarily as background elements on the horizon, as in Dürer's *Large Cannon* etching (fig. 8). Altdorfer and Huber, however, made mountains one of the principal focuses of their landscape compositions, where the soaring verticality of craggy peaks seems to embody the vital pres-

ence of God in nature. The linear style of their drawings, moreover, rendered nature as pure energy, devoid of mass, as in Altdorfer's *Alpine Landscape with Pollard Willows* (fig. 9). Altdorfer later turned to the still-experimental medium of etching as a vehicle for portraying this ultimately spiritual vision of nature. One of the first artists to exploit the inherent potential of the medium, he developed an exquisitely delicate linear vocabulary, which made use of points and dash-like strokes as well as the blank paper. *Landscape with a Large Pine Tree* (fig. 10) demonstrates how this vocabulary successfully captured the energy of Altdorfer's drawn line, while adding to this a richness of texture and detail, as well as scintillating luminosity. With Erhard Altdorfer, Lautensack was the principal artist to master and further develop this linear vocabulary. While Lautensack's etched oeuvre undeniably owes a great debt to Huber, the prominence of the mountains, their delicate handling, and the overall graphic vocabu-



Figure 8. Albrecht Dürer (German, 1471–1528). *Large Cannon*. Etching, monogrammed AD and dated 1518. 22.0 x 32.7 cm (8³/₄ x 12¹⁵/₁₆ in.). New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Fritz Achelis Memorial Collection 1925.73.

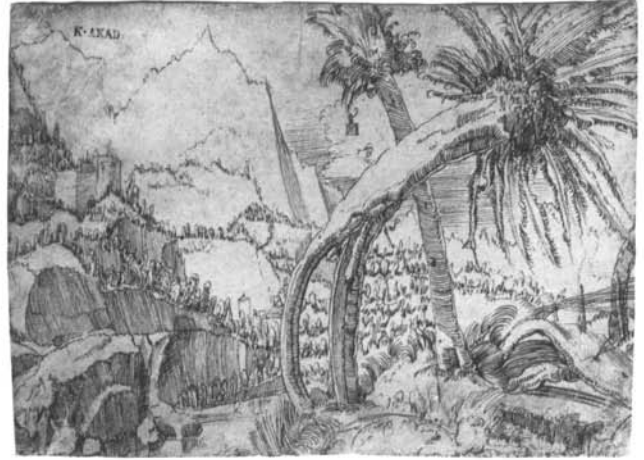


Figure 9. Albrecht Altdorfer (German, circa 1480–1538). *Alpine Landscape with Pollard Willows*. Pen and two shades of black ink on paper toned light brown, monogrammed AA on the tablet hanging from tree in upper center. Vienna, Kupferstichkabinett der Bibliothek der Akademie der bildenden Künste 2518.



Figure 10. Albrecht Altdorfer. *Landscape with a Large Pine Tree*. Etching, monogrammed in the upper left corner AA. 23.4 x 17.8 cm (9¹/₄ x 7 in.). Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz.

lary of his etchings are for the most part based upon his close study of the etchings of Altdorfer.

The exceptional fineness of line, which separates the new landscape from Lautensack's other drawings, at the same time is markedly similar to etchings such as *Pathway Along a River in a Mountainous Landscape*. Lautensack appears, in fact, to come full circle in *Mountain Landscape with an Imaginary City*, translating the linear vocabulary of his etchings back into the medium of drawing. The use of grounded paper with white heightening, moreover, successfully conveys the luminosity of

Lautensack's etched line as well as its delicacy. Based on its similarity to the etchings *Pathway Along a River in a Mountainous Landscape* and *Christ Cursing the Fig Tree* and to the drawing *Christ and the Centurion*, the new drawing appears to have been made around 1554/55. As his only drawing on a colored ground with white heightening, it exemplifies his contribution to the development of the type of drawing which is among the most beautiful and characteristic creations of the artists of the Danube School.

The J. Paul Getty Museum
Malibu

The Significance of Titian's *Pastoral Scene*

Clark Hulse

Titian's drawing variously called a *Pastoral Scene* or *Landscape with a Sleeping Nude and Animals* (fig. 1), now in the Getty Museum, seems even at a glance to have a story to tell.¹ The heroically proportioned, half-naked, half-shrouded female figure at the lower right, the goat and boar conspicuously placed in the center foreground, and the brooding landscape that stretches away to the left background, all suggest that Titian had some specific, if unidentified, subject in mind. John Walsh described it as "full of enigmatic poetry," and James Byam Shaw marveled at how Titian "composes an imaginary landscape as the setting for a mysterious subject."² Konrad Oberhuber, in a prescient response, suggested that "the odd figure of a sleeping woman in the foreground, semi-dressed and watched over by a great boar, can probably be explained as an allegory of the sloth that leads to lechery."³

At the risk of dispelling some of the charm of its mystery, one can identify the subject of Titian's drawing as Venus mourning the death of Adonis. The female figure is not sleeping; she is the goddess Venus, her head covered as she weeps for the young shepherd Adonis. The boar "watching over" her is the beast that killed her lover, and the goat standing just behind it represents the desire that bound together the goddess and the mortal. The allegory (for this inevitably is one) is, as Oberhuber suggested, about the effects of sloth and desire, but it is less concerned with morality than with physical nature. The drawing depicts that moment of high summer when amorous ease is first disturbed by thoughts of the coming fall, of hardship and death.

I am grateful to two valued friends, Ann Roberts of the University of Iowa and Albert Ascoli of Northwestern University, for their guidance and thoughtful suggestions.

1. The drawing bears an old but not autographic inscription, *Titiano*, and was reproduced as Titian's work by LeFebvre in 1682. S. A. Strong attributed it to Campagnola in his 1902 catalogue of drawings at Chatsworth (no. 59). It was reattributed to Titian by James Byam Shaw, and the attribution has been accepted by Terisio Pignatti and Konrad Oberhuber. See Shaw, "Drawings from Chatsworth," *Apollo* 119 (1984), p. 459.

2. J. Walsh, "Acquisitions/1985," *GettyMusJ* 14 (1986), p. 234; Shaw (note 1), p. 456.

3. K. Oberhuber, *Disegni di Tiziano e della sua cerchia* (Venice, 1976), p. 103.

4. Titian's skillful and imaginative manipulation of his visual and

Titian was interested in subjects drawn from pagan mythology throughout his creative life, but never so much as in his later years. In 1544/45 he painted a Danaë for one of the Farnese and in 1548 undertook canvases depicting Tityus, Tantalus, Sisyphus, and Ixion for Mary of Hungary. By 1553 he had begun a version of the Danaë for Philip II of Spain, and between then and 1562 he executed for Philip the astonishing series of Ovidian paintings known as the *Poesie*, which included a second version of the Danaë, plus *Venus and Adonis* (fig. 2), *Diana and Actaeon* (fig. 3), *Diana and Callisto*, *The Rape of Europa*, and *Perseus and Andromeda*. In these paintings, Titian drew upon his knowledge of both classical sources and Renaissance commentaries in producing his own distinctive renderings of the myths.⁴ The Getty Museum drawing, probably done around 1565,⁵ may be seen in relation to this remarkable group of works, for it gives evidence of the characteristic mixture of classical and Renaissance sources and of the artist's own creative insights that is found in Titian's paintings.

Any coherent version of the story of Adonis must be put together from bits and pieces scattered through Greek and Latin literature. In the *Metamorphoses* Ovid tells how Venus fell in love with the youth, conducted a love affair with him, and warned him repeatedly about hunting dangerous animals. When Adonis was gored by the boar, Venus "leaped down, tore both her garments and her hair and beat her breasts with cruel hands."⁶ She then used her divine powers to transform Adonis into an anemone, whose flowers are quickly blown away by the rough winds. There is nothing here,

literary sources is examined by Erwin Panofsky in *Problems in Titian, Mostly Iconographic* (New York, 1969), chap. 6: "Titian and Ovid," pp. 139–171. The fullest examination of the allegorical sources of the *Poesie* is that of M. C. Tanner, "Titian: The 'Poesie' for Philip II," Ph.D. diss. (New York University, 1976). Tanner's analysis of the Prado *Venus and Adonis* includes a consideration of it as an allegory of the seasons (pp. 39–49).

5. Oberhuber (note 3), p. 104, associates the drawing on stylistic grounds with the Cambridge *Venus and Cupid with Lute Player* of about 1565, with the Vienna *Diana and Callisto* of 1566, with the Prado *Saint Margaret* of 1565, and with the Bayonne drawing of *Ruggero and Angelica*, which he also dates to 1565.

6. "Desiluit pariterque sinum pariterque capillos / rupit et indignis percussit pectora palmis." Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 10.722–723, ed. E. J. Miller (London, 1916).



Figure 1. Titian (Tiziano Vecellio [Italian, 1488/90–1576]). *Pastoral Scene*, circa 1565. Pen and brown ink, black chalk, and white gouache on paper. 19.6 × 30.1 cm (7¹¹/₁₆ × 11⁷/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 85.GG.98.

however, about the time of year when all this happens, about the distinctive action with which Venus shrouds herself in mourning, or even about the sheep that populate Titian's drawing.

Other authors provide these details. Vergil and Theocritus affirm that Adonis' occupation included shepherding as well as hunting.⁷ In his third *Idyll* Theocritus also describes in some detail the festival of Adonis at Alexandria, which was essentially a ritual about the alternation of the seasons. Young Adonis was put to bed with the goddess to celebrate the fertility of summer, after which his corpse was carried on a bier to lament the onset of winter. The Orphic "Hymn to Adonis" (which in the Renaissance was widely taken to be a work of the legendary Orpheus) associates Adonis with

the sun, whose vigor produces the crops in summer and whose power weakens in winter.

Though very learned for a painter, Titian was not a classical scholar and would not have spent his time rooting around after odd variants as he worked out a composition. Carlo Ginzburg goes so far as to question Titian's knowledge of Latin and to insist that he read the *Metamorphoses* only in Italian translation.⁸ Titian was interested in what had pictorial value and was likely to look for it in the various Renaissance editions, commentaries, and compendia that would do the source-hunting for him, synthesizing and analyzing the details of the fables. Such handbooks were actually a late classical invention, and one of the first of them, the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius, assembled the elements of the

7. Vergil, *Eclogues* 10.16–18; Theocritus, *Idylls* 1.109.

8. C. Ginzburg, "Tiziano, Ovidio e i codici della figurazione erotica nel Cinquecento," *Paragone* 339 (1978), p. 10.

9. "Ab apro autem tradunt interemptum Adonin, hiemis imaginem in hoc animale fingentes, quod aper hispidus et asper gaudet locis umidis lutosus pruinaque contactis proprieque hiemali fructu

pascitur glande. ergo hiems veluti vulnus est solis quae et lucem eius nobis minuit et calorem, quod utrumque animantibus accidit morte. simulacrum huius deae in monte Libano fingitur capite obnupto, specie tristi, faciem manu laeva intra amictum sustinens, lacrimae visione conspicientium manare creduntur. quae imago, praeter quod lugentis est ut diximus deae, terrae quoque hiemalis est, quo tempore obnupta

myth very much as Titian did.

Writing either as a pagan or as a fainthearted and hellenized Christian in late fourth-century Rome, Macrobius wished to show how all of the pagan gods were manifestations, within various natural guises, of a single divine power that he identified with the sun. Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, Horus, Osiris, Attis, and Adonis are all allegorized in a similar way, though with variations appropriate to the narratives and iconography traditionally associated with each. Thus, Adonis himself is the sun and Venus the earth. The time Adonis spends with Venus corresponds to the six months of warmth in which the sun is in the upper signs of the zodiac; the death of Adonis (in which he goes to live with infernal Proserpina), represents the six cool months of winter, in which the sun is in the lower signs:

In the story which they tell of Adonis killed by a boar the animal is intended to represent winter, for the boar is an unkempt and rude creature delighting in damp, muddy, and frost-covered places and feeding on the acorn, which is especially a winter fruit. And so winter, as it were, inflicts a wound on the sun, for in winter we find the sun's light and heat ebbing, and it is an ebbing of light and heat that befalls all living creatures at death.

On Mount Lebanon there is a statue of Venus. Her head is veiled, her expression sad, her cheek beneath her veil is resting on her left hand; and it is believed that as one looks upon the statue it sheds tears. This statue not only represents the mourning goddess of whom we have been speaking but is also a symbol of the earth in winter; for at that time the earth is veiled in clouds, deprived of the companionship of the sun, and benumbed, its springs of water (which are, as it were, its eyes) flowing more freely and the fields meanwhile stripped of their finery.⁹

Macrobius' account of the death of Adonis was a principal source for Boccaccio when he compiled what was either the first Renaissance handbook or the last medieval one. Like Macrobius, Theocritus, and the author of the Orphic hymn, Boccaccio saw in the story of Adonis an allegory of the seasons. He identifies Adonis as the sun and Venus as the earth. The love between them nourishes the plants and flowers, bringing forth their lush leaves and ripe fruit. But winter is like the boar that lays waste the beautiful Adonis, for then, as

nubibus sole viduata stupet, fontesque veluti terrae oculi uberius manant, agrique interim suo cultu vidui maestam faciem sui monstrant." Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, bk. 1, chap. 21:1–5, ed. J. Willis (Leipzig, 1963), p. 116. English translation from Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, trans. P. V. Davies (New York, 1969), pp. 141–142.



Figure 2. Titian. *Venus and Adonis*, 1554. Oil on canvas. 186 × 207 cm (73¼ × 81½ in.). Madrid, Museo del Prado.



Figure 3. Titian. *Diana and Actaeon*, 1556–1559. Oil on canvas. 188 × 203 cm (74 × 79⅞ in.). Duke of Sutherland, on loan to National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.

Venus mourns, it seems as if the sun were banished from our world and the earth lay barren.¹⁰

The Macrobius version of the myth as an allegory of nature similarly dominates the influential handbooks published in the 1540s, 1550s, and 1560s, mostly by Venetian printers. As Natale Conti observes in his *Mythologiae* (first published in 1551), fables about men pertain to ethics while fables about the pagan gods pertain to natural science.¹¹ Conti's attitude reflects the Counter-Reformation atmosphere in which the use of pagan myth to express Christian theological subjects was discouraged and interpreters of myth began avoiding the christological interpretations that had been popular from the twelfth through the fifteenth centuries. Instead, they began to approach pagan myth almost as a study in comparative religion or even in anthropology, whereby the fables would reveal what ancient minds, unaided by revelation, had been able to comprehend about the workings of the stars, of the earth, and of animal or human nature.

In his *De deis gentium . . . historia*, first published in 1548, Lilio Gregorio Giraldi gathered up all the variants and interpretations of the myth of Venus and Adonis. He was especially interested in the different images of worship that surround each of the gods, and in his survey of local cults repeats word for word Macrobius' sentence describing the statue of the shrouded, mourning Venus.¹² Vincenzo Cartari's treatise *Le imagini con la spositione de'i dei de gliantichi*, first published in Venice in 1556, is more of an iconographic handbook for artists and poets, and he is quick to explain how the characters of this fable were translated into pictorial form by the ancients. Venus, he tells us, was depicted with her entire body wrapped in a mantle as she wept for her lover:

[There was], besides, an image of Venus similar to that which one saw on Mt. Lebanon, which had a cloak around it beginning at the head, that covered it entirely. She seemed to be utterly sorrowful and disconsolate, and with her hand, which was also all wrapped up in the cloak, she held up her falling face, and, as Macrobius says, everyone who saw her believed that the tears were falling from her eyes. Here Venus was shown to be so sorrowful because of the death of Adonis killed by a boar.¹³

Cartari's linking together of the shrouded Venus, the

boar, and the natural landscape as an allegory of nature, love, and death allows us to recognize the principal elements of Titian's drawing. Venus turns her face away from the boar who has just killed her lover, covers it, and begins to weep in grief. The murderous boar stands in front of the lustful goat, in effect supplanting him, so that death triumphs over desire.

Sixteenth-century illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses* liked to show Venus and her mortal lover dallying in the shade, as in the popular 1559 Italian paraphrase printed at Lyons with woodcuts by Bernard Salomon (fig. 4). In his great canvas of *Venus and Adonis* executed in 1554 for Philip II of Spain, Titian chose the midpoint of the narrative, the moment in which Adonis leaves the amorous and apprehensive goddess to go on the hunt (fig. 2).¹⁴ In the 1565 drawing, Titian illustrates the third, and final, important episode of the narrative.

Nevertheless, Titian has not simply illustrated the text of Macrobius, Giraldi, or Cartari, nor is it even possible to say from which of the many possible source-books Titian took his information. Titian was an ingenious and subtle student of classical fable, and he had a way of reworking rather than following the interpretations offered by Renaissance commentaries and handbooks. The most striking difference between Titian's drawing and Macrobius' text is that he shows a summer landscape, not a winter one. The moment when Venus begins her mourning is the first moment of the turn from fertility to death, and Titian's landscape reflects this. It is high noon (there are no long shadows) or just after it, and midsummer, or just past it. The leafy lushness is at its full, with autumn somewhere ahead. A winter landscape might require an altogether different composition: Proserpina, not Venus, would be its presiding deity, and the goat and boar would no longer be relevant.

Titian chooses to follow Macrobius and Giraldi rather than Cartari in that the figure of Venus covers only her head and upper body. The 1556 first issue of Cartari was not illustrated, but the engraving in the 1571 edition shows the goddess with "un manto intorno che cominciando dal capo lo copriva tutto" (fig. 5). In covering only the face, Titian uses a gesture that is recognizable in both classical and Renaissance Venetian contexts as an expression of grief. Titian's friend and

10. Giovanni Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, bk. 2, chap. 53.

11. Natale Conti (Natalis Comes), *Mythologiae* (Venice, 1568), p. 161b^v. The statement occurs in Conti's discussion of the festival of Adonis.

12. Lilio Gregorio Giraldi, *De deis gentium varia & multiplex Historia* (Basel, 1548), p. 547.

13. "Facevasi oltre di ciò un simulacro di Venere simile à quello

che nel monte Libano si vedeva, ilquale haveva un manto intorno che cominciando dal capo lo copriva tutto, e pareva stare tutto mesto, e sconsolato, e con mano pur'avolta nel manto sosteneva la cadente faccia, e come dice Macrobio credeva ognuno che lo vedeva che le lachrime gli cadessero da gliocchi, e quiui si mostrava Venere cosi addolorata per la morte di Adoni ucciso da un cinghiale." Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini con la spositione de'i dei de gliantichi* (Venice, 1556),

fellow Venetian Lodovico Dolce, writing in 1557, drew on Pliny and Cicero to describe how, in a painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the painter “arranged for the father [Agamemnon] to cover his face with a length of linen, or rather with the edge of his mantle,” to suggest inexpressible grief.¹⁵

The pose of Venus (fig. 6) may also have had a purely formal value for Titian, apart from its emotional effect. In a letter to Philip II in 1554 concerning the painting of *Venus and Adonis*, Titian pointed out the skillful pose of the central figure, arranged so as to display the nude female body from the back (fig. 2), complementing the frontal pose used in the companion painting of Danaë.¹⁶ Similar considerations may be at work in the decision to leave the figure in the drawing half-revealed and to give it a powerful torsion much like that of the Venus in the earlier painting.

There may be an allegorical motive as well. Cartari's fully draped Venus is a figure of death, deprived of all her beauty, all her reproductive power. On other pages, in other engravings, Cartari portrays different aspects of Venus. Titian has only a single figure to work with and captures both sides of Venus in that one figure. The organs of generation are turned toward us and revealed, but the face is averted. The part of her that is naked still inhabits summer, while the part of her that is covered anticipates winter. Her duality is reiterated by the boar and goat in the foreground. The animals do not serve any narrative function; they are neither attacking nor defending her. Standing at the center, they embody Venus' double significance: the goat looks toward a scene of pastoral *otium* in the background, in which the sheep graze as the shepherds and dog rest in the shade; the boar, pawing the ground with his hoof and bristling his hairy back, directs us toward the figure of grief.

Titian departs from Macrobius and Giraldi in one small detail, in that Venus reclines with her head on her right hand rather than her left. Macrobius gives the left hand no explicit allegorical significance, and so Titian may have felt at liberty here. Certainly her rightward lean has compositional significance, since it leads us into the center of the picture. If Titian executed the drawing for an engraver, as Oberhuber suggests,¹⁷ then he may have expected that the entire composition would be reversed, in which case Venus would indeed



Figure 4. Bernard Salomon (Italian, 1506/10–1561). *Venus and Adonis*. Woodcut. From Gabriello Symeoni, *La vita et metamorfoseo d'Ovidio*. Lyons, 1559. Evanston, Northwestern University Library, Department of Special Collections.

lean on her left hand. (In the engraving that was made from the drawing, however [fig. 7], the composition is reversed in the plate, and so the foreground figure, much altered in all other respects, still inclines to its right.)

In a second, perhaps less significant detail, Titian may follow Cartari rather than Macrobius or Giraldi. The heavy cloak that swaths the head of Venus is aptly described by Cartari's word *manto*, while Macrobius describes Venus less exactly, as *capite obnupto*, “with her head covered.” If Titian read Cartari he may have been attracted to the word *manto* by more than its literal description of a garment, for it is a word often used to denote the “veil” of allegory that concealed the true and divine subject of a poet's verse.

The emblematic character of the figure of Venus accounts for the odd effect she has had on those viewing the drawing. She looks as if she does not quite fit in the landscape. Like the animals who share the foreground plane, she appears to be placed deliberately, as if composed in a different mood than the landscape behind her. David Rosand describes the effect precisely, observing that the goat, the boar, and the nude undermine

p. CXVII^v.

14. Panofsky (note 4) considered the possibility that the painting depicted the “leave-taking of Adonis” but preferred to think that it showed Adonis spurning the advances of Venus (pp. 151–153). David Rosand has argued persuasively—I think conclusively—that the subject is indeed the “leave-taking.” See his articles “*Ut Pictor Poeta*: Meaning in Titian's *Poesie*,” *New Literary History* 3 (1972),

pp. 527–546 and “Titian and the ‘Bed of Polyclitus,’” *Burlington Magazine* 117 (1975), pp. 242–245.

15. M. W. Roskill, ed. and trans., *Dolce's Aretino and Venetian Art Theory of the Cinquecento* (New York, 1968), p. 123.

16. The text of the letter is given in C. Hope, *Titian* (New York, 1980), p. 125.

17. Oberhuber (note 3), p. 104.



Figure 5. Bolognino Zaltieri (Italian, fl. 1560–1580). *Venus Mourning the Death of Adonis*. Engraving. From Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*. Venice, 1571. Chicago, Newberry Library.



Figure 6. Figure of Venus (detail of fig. 1).



Figure 7. Attributed to Battista Angolo del Moro, after Titian. *Landscape with a Swineherd*, after 1565. Engraving. 20.5 × 32.7 cm (8 1/8 × 12 7/8 in.). Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina.

the shaded noontime repose of the drawing.¹⁸ In contrast, the 1571 Cartari engraving (fig. 5) is a more consistent, if more pedestrian, composition. Opposite the shrouded Venus is a bearded, skirted, hermaphroditic Venus; between them lies the fair but dead Adonis. From his feet springs a peculiar bush, leafy yet with conspicuously bare branches, expressing the duality of death and life. Another of these rare shrubs grows in the lower left corner. A cloud hangs over the head of the mourning Venus, and from beneath her shroud run rivulets of tears, like long, snaky locks of hair.

Cartari gives us thoroughly allegorical figures set in an allegorical landscape. Titian, with more daring, has set his allegorical figures in a real landscape. If pagan allegorical figures are to convey any “truth” or “reality” after all, it is, as Natale Conti reminds us, the truth and reality of physical nature. Why then distort nature to suit the allegory, as Cartari’s illustrator has done? Better to seize that natural truth to which the allegory has led, and to develop it fully in its own terms. Titian’s technical resources are more than adequate to the task

18. D. Rosand, “Giorgione, Venice, and the Pastoral Vision,” in R. Cafritz, L. Gowing, and D. Rosand, *Places of Delight: The Pastoral Landscape* (Washington, D. C., 1988), p. 77.

of fusing the allegorical and the natural. Like the artist of the Cartari engraving, Titian uses a stepped landscape that provides a series of rocky platforms for his figures. Venus sits among the rocks that make up her little stage (fig. 6); indeed, her cloak seems to flow into the rocks, and the full masses of her thighs and belly are like the stones. The dense clumps of trees and shrubs give thick shade to the resting figures of the background, even in the midday sun. The sheep stand in a tight bunch, ready to be shorn of their summer coats.

From the closed-in righthand side of the drawing, Titian opens and extends the composition to the left, sweeping the eye down over the thatched cottages of a tiny hamlet and through a forest to the dome and spires of a distant city. His pen gives an almost palpable thickness to the atmosphere of haze and smoke and storm-cloud that moves in from the left to obscure the clear sky of the center (the plume of smoke shows the wind direction). The clouds deepen the air of brooding expectancy, of imminent change, that hangs over the entire scene. Yet the city, the hamlet, the sheep, the goat, the resting figures of the background, their dog crouching to the left of the copse of trees, all ignore the strange, grieving figure of the lower right who looms ominously over them all. Only the boar notices her.

The drawing is radically different from other depictions of the death of Adonis in its focus on the landscape and on the grief of Venus. Woodcuts in sixteenth-century editions of Ovid illustrate the climax of the story, the moment when Venus discovers the body of her love. This can be seen in the 1559 Lyons redaction, for instance (fig. 8), where Venus throws up her arms in a graceful arc as a prelude to reciting one of the long laments popular in Renaissance poems on the subject. Another visual tradition, represented by Baldassare Peruzzi (fig. 9) and Titian's friend Sebastiano del Piombo (fig. 10), depicts Venus examining her foot, which she has wounded by stepping on a rose thorn as she rushes to her lover's side. In each case Adonis, wounded rather more seriously than Venus, lies neglected in the background, for the real interest of this version is to explain how roses were turned from white to red by the goddess' blood. Both the woodcut and the Peruzzi-Sebastiano composition are purely literary and mythological. Only Titian has produced from his textual sources an allegory of nature.

While the allegorical significance of the myth of Venus and Adonis penetrates most of the elements of

the drawing, a few details may escape its reach. The two figures reclining in the shade (fig. 11) are so sketchily drawn that it is difficult to tell who they are and what they are doing. The one on the left, with close-cropped hair and snug garments, seems to be male. He sits with his back against the tree, his right leg extended and his left drawn up. His head rests on his left hand, with his elbow supported by his knee. At his side is a small bag. Perhaps he is the shepherd whose flock grazes nearby; perhaps he is sleeping. The other figure seems to be more fully coiffed and wears a long, loose, faintly classical tunic. This figure could be either male or female. (S)he lies stretched out across the rocks, with knees tucked up and arms folded beneath the head, which is turned to the right, toward Venus.

If the two figures are indeed male and female, then they may be none other than Venus and Adonis, taking their ease after lovemaking. If this is so, then the lecherous goat's interest in them would be more than casual, and the dog, who looks more like a hunting hound than a sheepdog, would be awaiting his master's decision to leave. Such a use of continuous narration, in which events from two different moments in time are included in the same frame, may seem archaic, but Titian knew that it was a good way to tell a story. Throughout his work, he employed subsidiary figures and details to develop and extend the significance of his main figure, and in his later Ovidian canvases began to use them to glance at earlier or later moments in a story. In the *Diana and Actaeon* of 1559 (fig. 3) the deer's skull on the pillar above the goddess looks forward to Actaeon's fate.¹⁹ The *Death of Actaeon* (fig. 12), apparently begun at about the same time and completed by 1568, has elements from three different time frames. Actaeon himself is half-man, half-deer, in the midst of transformation; his hounds live in the slightly later moment when they attack the fully transformed deer; and the huntress at the left, dressed exactly like one of Diana's nymphs and perhaps representing Diana herself, carries us back to the moment of the first painting, in which the goddess curses the unfortunate man. Even the sleeping Cupid in the background of the 1554 painting of *Venus and Adonis* is used to suggest other points in the narrative. By his posture Cupid foreshadows the impending death of Adonis, for the two were so alike, says Ovid, that if the one did not have wings and a quiver, and the other a boar-spear, you could not tell them apart.²⁰ The use of the languorous background

19. Panofsky (note 4), p. 157. Panofsky notes the link between the painting and the woodcut of the same subject in the first edition of Lodovico Dolce's 1553 translation of the *Metamorphoses*.

20. For details of the Cupid-Adonis identification, see my *Metamorphic Verse* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 159–162.



Figure 8. Bernard Salomon. *The Death of Adonis*. Woodcut. From Gabriello Symeoni, *La vita et metamorfoseo d'Ovidio*. Lyons, 1559. Evans-ton, Northwestern University Library, De- partment of Special Collections.



Figure 9. Baldassare Peruzzi (Italian, 1481–1536). *The Death of Adonis*, circa 1515. Fresco. Rome, Villa Farnesina. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.



Figure 10. Sebastiano del Piombo (Sebastiano Luciani [Italian, circa 1485–1547]). *The Death of Adonis*, circa 1512. Oil on canvas. 189 × 295 cm (74³/₈ × 116 in.). Florence, Galleria degli Uf- fizi. Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

figures to suggest lovers in the Getty Museum's drawing would, by comparison, be a rudimentary device.

The second problematic detail in Titian's drawing is the city in the left background (fig. 13). Sebastiano had also placed an urban landscape in that corner of his composition (fig. 10), although in Sebastiano's case the skyline is distinctly that of Venice. Titian's city does not look at all like Venice. It is generically urban: its dome looks Italian, its spires look Northern. Over the right quarter of the city rise thick columns of smoke from a mysterious fire. Again, one can only speculate about what this all means: the progression through pasture- land, forest, village, and city may be Titian's way of suggesting Venus' total dominion over human and ani- mal nature in every setting.

Titian's *Pastoral Scene* has a significant place in the series of paintings and drawings of the 1550s and 1560s in which he explored the matter of Ovid. The paintings were executed for the highest and most discerning pa- tronage. The drawing, though more humble by nature of its medium, also seems to be a finished work and not simply a preparatory drawing for a painting. If Ober- huber is right and the drawing was executed specifically as a design for a print, then its mythological subject matter would give it a dignity and seriousness appro- priate for a work that was to be made public.

Soon after its completion, the drawing did in fact

21. A. Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur*, vol. 16 (Vienna, 1818), p. 100, no. 6; H. Zerner, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 32, (New York, 1979), p. 150. The attribution to Battista Angolo is by Oberhuber (note 1), p. 103.



Figure 11. Background figures (detail of fig. 1).



Figure 12. Titian. *The Death of Actaeon*, 1559–1568. Oil on canvas. 198 × 179 cm (77⁷/₈ × 70¹/₂ in.). London, National Gallery.

provide the basis for a print, executed perhaps by Battista Angolo del Moro (fig. 7).²¹ The landscape, the livestock, and the background scene of the etching are all substantially the same as in the drawing. The foreground figure of Venus, however, either proved incomprehensible to the engraver, or else he feared she would bewilder his audience. In her place and essentially in her posture is a sleeping agrarian laborer. The cloak of the goddess is replaced with a tunic, his arm is raised slightly higher to mask his face, and his eyes are covered by an absurd hat. He is, plausibly, one of the shepherds whose flock grazes in the middle ground, although his proximity to the boar has won him the unlikely title of swineherd. The mysterious recumbent figure on the right in the background is now made unambiguously male, so that the entire picture is thoroughly pastoral. Only the goat, the boar, and the pair of rabbits added to the right foreground preserve a venereal touch.

The transformations wrought in the engraving suggest that the subject of the Getty Museum's drawing has been misunderstood virtually from the moment of its execution. It is not alone in this respect among Titian's works. In 1584, Raffaello Borghini criticized Titian's great painting of *Venus and Adonis*, thinking that Titian had departed from the text of Ovid to show Adonis rejecting Venus altogether.²² Such are the risks run by an artist who always sought to be both learned



Figure 13. Cityscape (detail of fig. 1).

22. Raffaello Borghini, *Il Riposo* (Florence, 1584), quoted in R. Lee, *Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting* (New York, 1967), p. 44.

and inventive, who hoped to achieve what Panofsky calls “the triumph of an imagination fertilized by attentive reading and intelligent thought.”²³ Charles Hope observes that Titian “would have been right to regard himself, and indeed was regarded by contemporaries, as

the equal of any poet.”²⁴ With that poetic status came a poetic license to imitate, rework, and transform the fables of the ancients, and a poetic responsibility to endow them with a richness and subtlety of meaning.

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23. Panofsky (note 4), p. 157.

24. Hope (note 16), p. 135. The fullest treatment of Titian's poetic

status is that of Rosand, “*Ut Pictor Poeta*” (note 14).

Two Bronzes in Poussin's *Studies of Antiquities*

David Jaffé

The Getty Museum's newly acquired Poussin drawing (fig. 1) was recently discussed and described in *The J. Paul Getty Journal*.¹ It is my purpose here to explore further the significance of this pen drawing. The drawing, formerly in the Blunt Collection, was reproduced as the frontispiece to a recent publication on Etruscan mirrors. The object drawn in the top right-hand corner is there described as an early representation of an Etruscan mirror, the work of an artist who clearly understood what it was. On the basis of its border, the mirror is further classified as a member of the Spikey Garland group.²

Poussin's drawing is a visual reminder that in the early seventeenth century, Etruscan mirrors were eagerly collected items. For instance, there is a drawing of a *Mercury and Paris* mirror (fig. 2) in the Roman antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo's album, copied from Pedro Chacon's album then in the possession of Bishop Sagrati.³ The mirror, now in Berlin, was owned by Natalio Benedetti da Foglino until his death in 1614; it

then passed, with other bronzes, into the collection of Francesco Angeloni and finally into that of Gian Pietro Bellori.⁴ Cardinal Francesco Barberini gave an Etruscan mirror to the powerful Spanish minister, the Count of Olivares, presumably during the cardinal's Spanish legation of 1626.⁵

On December 17, 1633, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc wrote to his Roman agent Claude Menestrier, authorizing the purchase of an Etruscan mirror showing the *Building of the Trojan Horse* (fig. 3), and he immediately sought information on other mirrors.⁶ His correspondence surrounding the acquisition of this handsome bronze mirror from Orvieto (an object now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) provides much material about the provenance of other antique mirrors. Following his 1623 Paris visit, Peter Paul Rubens had become interested in a *Three Graces* mirror in Bartolomeo Gioly's collection, and Peiresc asked Girolamo Aleandro to obtain a drawing of this work for him.⁷ Given the international interest in these mirrors, or *pa-*

1. *GettyMusJ* 15 (1987) p. 195.

2. N. Thomson de Grummond, *A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors* (Florida, 1982), p. 2. I am grateful to Ian Jenkins for bringing this publication, and the Poussin drawing, to my attention.

3. Windsor, Royal Library 10,218; cf. Montpellier Ms. 267, f. 172v. Pietrus Ciacconius (Pedro Chacon, 1527–1581) was a distinguished antiquarian and author from the generation before Cassiano dal Pozzo. Peiresc's notes on P. Ciacconius, *De triclinio* (Rome, 1590), include a reference to *patina*. See Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Ms. 1831, ff. 322–5. Peiresc acquired some antique weights from Alfonso Chacon's collection in Rome in 1600. Sagrati was Bishop of Comacchio.

4. Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikenmuseum 122. See De Grummond (note 2), pp. 65–66, 88, 95, 134–135, 162, 198, and fig. 75. The provenance of this mirror can be determined on the basis of notes made by Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc in Carpentras, Bibliothèque Inguimbertaine, Ms. 1764, f. 238.

5. During his final audience (in August 1626) with King Philip IV, Cardinal Barberini received a number of gifts, among them a small portrait of the king in a diamond-studded frame, a piece valued at 12,000 *scudi*. See A. Bazzoni, "Il Cardinale Francesco Barberini legato in Francia ed in Spagna nel 1625–1626," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 5th ser., 12 (1893), pp. 335–360. Cassiano dal Pozzo's *Diarium*, in the Vatican Library, Ms. Barb. Lat. 5688, may shed further light on the gift.

6. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles 1333. On December 17, 1633, Peiresc thanked Menestrier for his letter of November 19, and offered to buy the mirror. See P. Tamizey de Larroque, *Lettres de Peiresc* (Paris, 1888–1893), 7 vols. (hereafter TdL.), V, p. 675,

lix. Peiresc later discovered that his mirror came from Orvieto. See TdL., V, p. 715, lxxx.

7. On August 10, 1623, Rubens asked Peiresc for a drawing of Gioly's mirror if Aleandro had a copy. See R. Magurn, ed., *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens* (London, 1955), p. 93, no. 53. On August 14, Peiresc asked Aleandro for a drawing and informed him that M. de Fontenay had acquired the collection: Barb. Lat. Ms. 6504, f. 123v.

Two years later, on September 25, 1625, Aleandro wrote to Peiresc of his difficulties in obtaining drawings from the uncooperative Gioly, but stated that he would pursue his search on the Rome art market for a "specchio antico" for Peiresc. See Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Française (hereafter B.N.f.f.), Ms. 9541, f. 190v.

In notes in a manuscript in The Hague (Museum Meermanno Westreenlanum), Ms. 10C f. 543, Peiresc gives a characteristically full description of Gioly's mirror (which he saw in July 1623) as showing the three Graces assisted by two putti or genii, one holding a myrtle crown and a palm, the other a column or key in one hand and a *citula* [= *situla*] in the other, the mirror bordered by a wreath of flowers or leaves. The handle is designed as the club of Hercules attached to lion's legs. Peiresc used the words *miroir* and *specchio*, leaving no doubt that he, like Poussin, recognized the object's function.

Gioly made a number of buying trips to Italy and was a friend of dal Pozzo. On August 21, 1615, Paolo Gualdo wrote to Peiresc, "Adesso si ritrova qui in Padova un franchise detto il Sr. Bartolomeo Gioly grandissimo antiquario" (B.N.f.f., Ms. 9543, f. 63). The Gioly collection was sold to François Olivier de Fontenay (1581–1636), abbé of St. Quentin de Beauvais, and was later acquired by the Marquis d'Effiat.

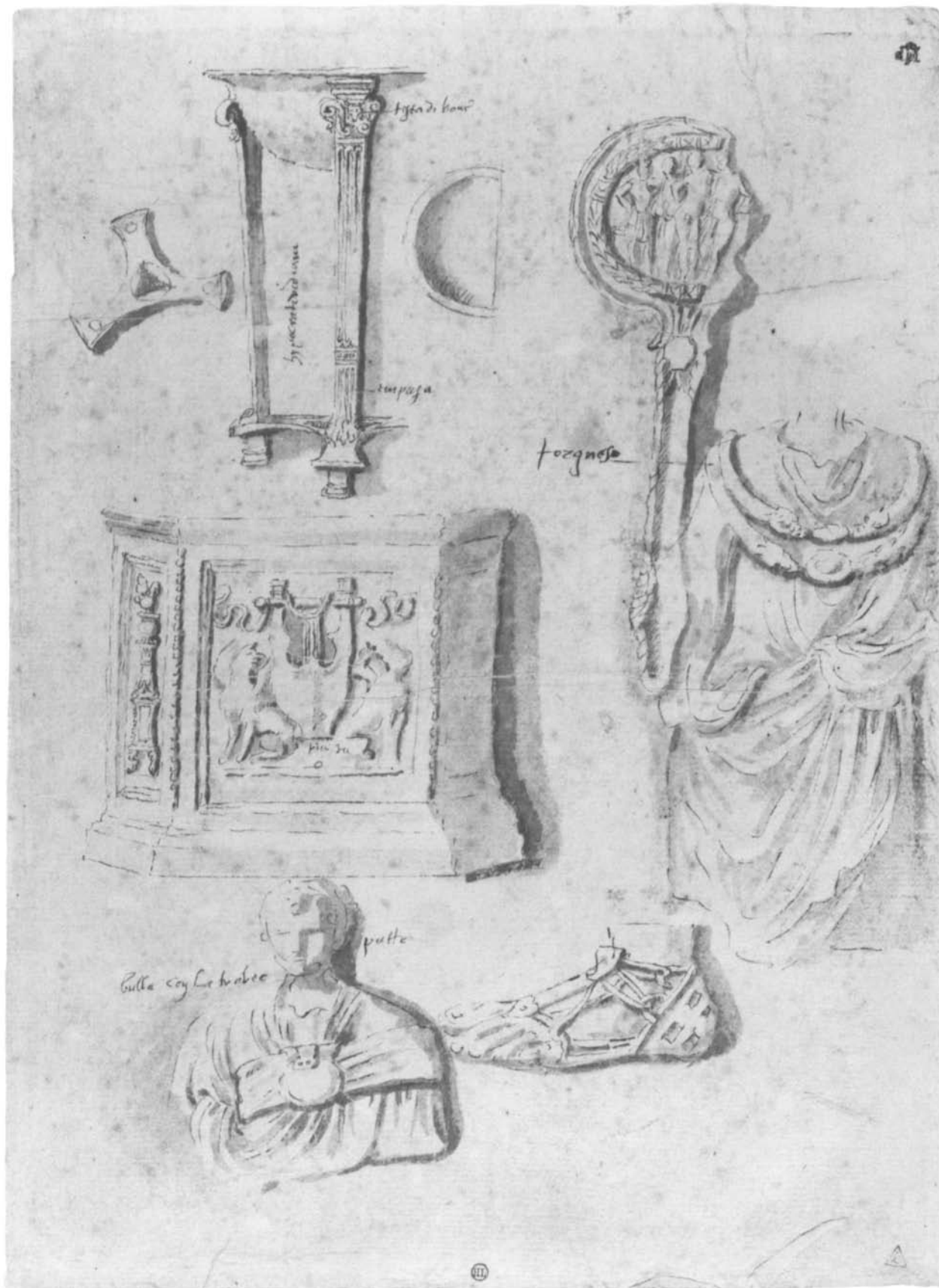


Figure 1. Nicolas Poussin (French, 1594–1665). *Studies of Antiquities*, circa 1635–1640. Pen and brown ink and brown wash. 26.8 x 18 cm (10½ x 7⅞ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.GA.467r.



Figure 2. Unknown artist. *Mercury and Paris*, after Etruscan bronze mirror, circa 1630. Pen and dark brown ink. 26.4 x 18.8 cm (10³/₈ x 7³/₈ in.). Windsor Castle, Royal Library 10,218v. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. Photo: A. C. Cooper.



Figure 3. Etruscan mirror with *Building of the Trojan Horse*, third century B.C. Bronze. Diam: 25.4 cm (10 in.) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, Babelon 1333.

ternae as the seventeenth-century Roman archaeologists preferred to call them, the presence of an example in the Getty Museum's drawing is hardly surprising.

In fact this particular piece was one of some significance to the archaeologists of Poussin's time. Besides a copy (fig. 4) in one of Cassiano dal Pozzo's albums of drawings after antiquities, his "Museum Chartaceum,"⁸ we find another record of the mirror in the British Museum (fig. 5). Nicholas Turner has tentatively attributed this drawing, showing two views of the mir-

ror, to Poussin. A comparison of the three images shows the precision of Poussin's abbreviated record, even if the artist's shorthand is not immediately readable. The subject matter is a nude man surrounded by two men and a woman dressed in Phrygian costume; several examples of this popular composition survive in Paris.⁹ The mirror depicted in the two drawings may have been the one given by Cardinal Francesco Barberini to Olivares, as Peiresc describes that mirror as featuring Phrygian hats, and I have been unable to iden-

8. Windsor Castle, Royal Library, 10,219r., as noted by Ian Jenkins.

9. The male figures are often identified as the Dioscuri and the nude female as Helen or Turan: D. Rebuffat-Emmanuel, *Le Miroir Etrusque d'après la collection du Cabinet des Médailles* (Rome, 1973), p. 325, no. 69, pp. 462–469. The author reproduces a mirror featuring the same pattern as that found in the Poussin drawing and carrying the inscription *suoina* written—as in Peiresc's Trojan Horse mirror—

across the back of the object. The author notes that this mirror was in the Froehner Collection in 1929 and had earlier appeared in Alessandro Castellani's sale of March 17–April 10, 1884 (cat. no. 192). The nude male becomes female in B.N. inv. 1317 (Rebuffat-Emmanuel, no. 35), and the popular design is repeated in B.N. inv. 1318 (Rebuffat-Emmanuel, no. 36). For further examples, see E. Gerhard, A. Kluegmann, G. Koerte, *Etruskische Spiegel*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1840–1897), pl. CCLXIII.6, pl. CCLXVI.1/5, pl. CCLXVII.1/4.



Figure 4. Unknown artist, after Etruscan bronze mirror *Dioscuri and Ajax*(?), circa 1630–1648. Pen and dark brown ink. 25.6 x 15.2 cm (10¹/₁₆ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Windsor Castle, Royal Library 10,219r. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty the Queen. Photo: A. C. Cooper.



Figure 5. Nicolas Poussin (?). *Drawing After Etruscan Mirror*, circa 1625. Pen and brown ink. 29.5 x 20.9 cm (11⁵/₈ x 8¹/₄ in.). London, British Museum, Jenkins Catalogue 58. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

tify any other Etruscan mirror circulating in Italy during the early seventeenth century that fits this brief description.¹⁰

More is known of the tripod at the top left of the Getty Museum drawing; it is the Roman bronze example acquired by Peiresc in 1629 (fig. 6). Two drawings removed from the dal Pozzo albums in the British Mu-

seum are probably the source of Poussin's annotated image (figs. 7, 8).¹¹ Poussin's inscriptions correspond to the terminology used to label various parts of the tripod in these two plan drawings, but he seemed to be uncertain about their specific meanings.¹² The drawn view of the tripod is annotated with another alphabetical index. The key to this drawing has been separated but survives

10. The Etruscan mirror given to Olivares is mentioned in several letters, but on December 29, 1634, Peiresc wrote to dal Pozzo, "et quella ancora donata al conte d'Olivares, mi par ben notabile con quei cappucci Phrygij," Montpellier, Ecole de Médecine, Ms. 272, II, f. 141v. There are many unpublished dal Pozzo drawings of Etruscan mirrors. None of these show more than one hat in its design, so the identification is possible, if not conclusive. If this provenance is correct, Poussin must have copied an earlier record of the mirror (the ex-Franks British Museum drawing?) onto the Getty Museum sheet.

11. W. Friedlaender and A. Blunt (*The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*,

vol. 5 [London, 1974], n. 344, p. 41) have already identified the tripod as Peiresc's on the basis of the reproduction and information included in Montfaucon's *Antiquité expliquée*. Ian Jenkins kindly brought these sheets, the contents of which I identified as Peiresc's tripod, to my attention. See I. Jenkins, "Cassiano dal Pozzo's Museo Cartaceo: New Discoveries in the British Museum," *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* 2 (1987), pp. 29–41.

12. For instance, Peiresc uses *empusa* to denote the whole of the leg of the tripod (not a part) and *hypocrateridium* to refer to the base structure (not just the space below the bowl).

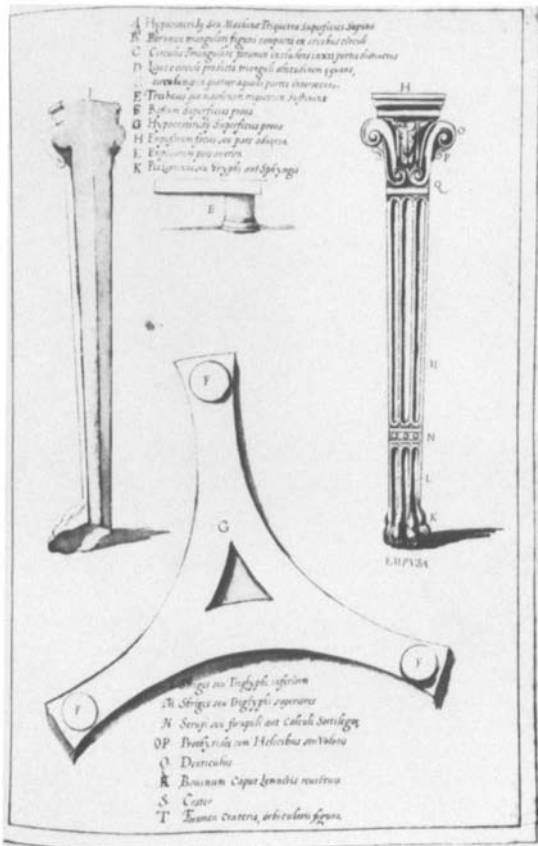
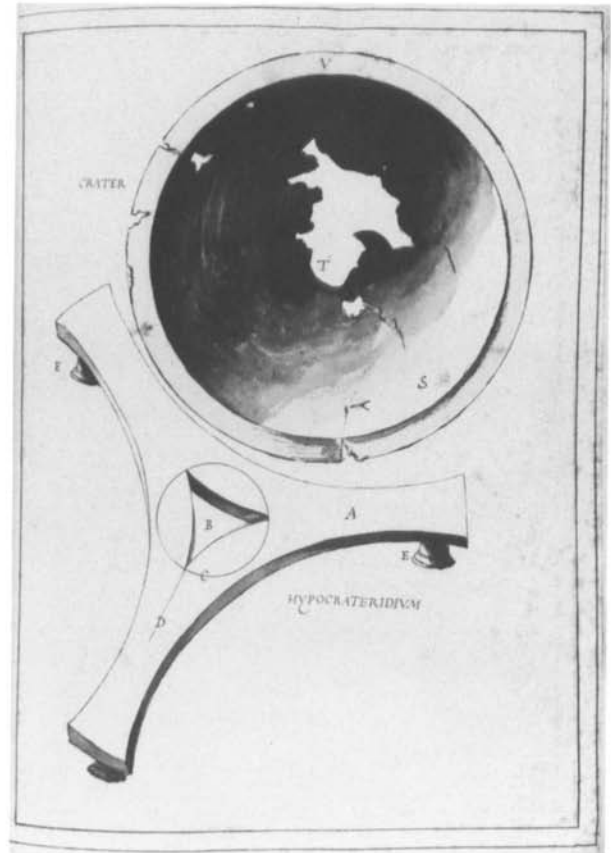
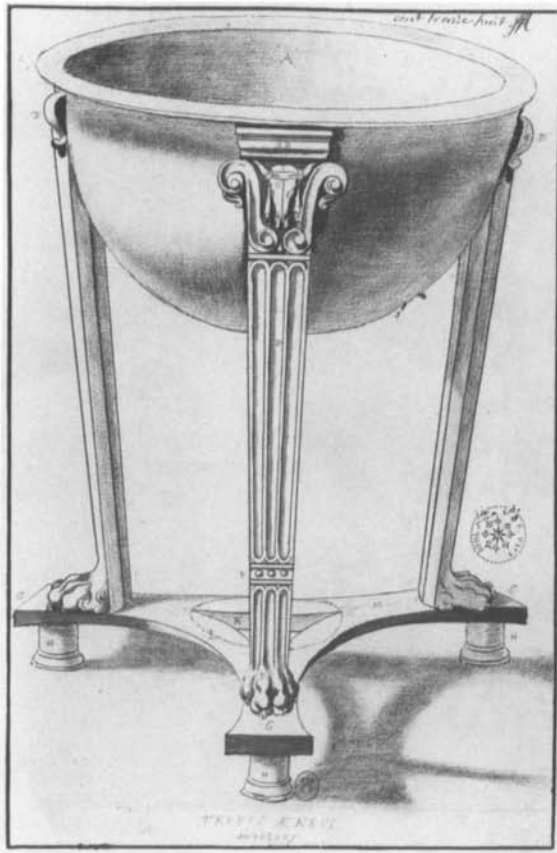


Figure 6. Above left, attributed to Mathieu Frédeau (French, active 1629–1644), after *Roman Bronze Tripod*, 1630. Pen and ink and wash. 32.5 x 23.0 cm (12¹³/₁₆ x 9¹/₁₆ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes Aa53 f. 64.

Figure 7. Above right, attributed to Engobert (French, circa 1590–1633). *Plan Drawing of Roman Bronze Tripod*, circa 1630. Pen and brown ink and wash. 36.7 x 20 cm (14⁷/₁₆ x 7⁷/₈ in.). London, British Museum, Jenkins Catalogue 53. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Figure 8. Left, attributed to Engobert. *Plan Drawing of Roman Bronze Tripod*, circa 1630. Pen and brown ink and wash. 41.7 x 26.4 cm (16³/₈ x 10³/₈ in.). London, British Museum, Jenkins Catalogue 52. By permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Figure 9. Unknown artist, after *Marble Tripod and Priestess Relief*, 1634. Black chalk. 27.3 x 17.0 cm (10³/₄ x 6¹/₁₆ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes Aa54 f. 45.



Figure 10. Nicolas Poussin. *Studies of Antique Sculptures: A Priestess of Cybele, and Others*, circa 1635. Pen and brown wash over light black chalk. 34 x 22.9 cm (13³/₈ x 9 in.). Oxford, Christ Church JBS 1458. Photo courtesy the Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.

in the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹³ Peiresc's dissertation on the bronze tripod is well known, as is his exchange of ideas on the subject with Rubens.¹⁴ However, although both Rubens and Poussin included tripods in their paintings, neither precisely reproduced the bronze

example owned by Peiresc, nor the folding example in Francesco Gualdo's collection.¹⁵ (It would be interesting to know why these two well-documented tripods were familiar to both artists yet not assimilated into their pictures.) Thus, the Getty drawing is a record of addi-

13. B.N.f.f., Ms. 9530, f. 323 (cf. f. 289v).

14. See especially M. van der Meulen, "A Note on Rubens's Letter on Tripods," *Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), pp. 647–651. M. Gérard, "L'Archéologue" in J. Ferrier, ed., *Les fioretti du quadricentenaire de Fabri de Peiresc* (Avignon, 1980), pp. 191–202.

15. Francesco Gualdo's tripod (illustrated Windsor Royal Library 10214) passed into Cardinal Flavio Chigi's collection and possibly survives in the Museo Civico, Bologna; see Silvio Bedini, "Citadels of Learning: The Museo Kircheriano and Other Seventeenth-Century Italian Science Collections" in *Enciclopedia in Roma Barocca*, ed. M. Casciato (Venice, 1986), pp. 249–267, esp. p. 254.

16. Peiresc obtained his marble tripod relief from the Bishop of St.

Grégoire in 1634, TdL., V, pp. 705, 711, 721, 731, and 775. In August 1635 he was worried about how to reconstruct the missing arms (ibid., p. 783), and a drawing in Peiresc's album, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes Aa54, f. 45, shows the marble in its broken state. Pierre Pavillion probably made the repairs. The sculpture is described in his 1637 inventory. See J. Guibert, *Les dessins du Cabinet Peiresc au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1910), p. 99. It should be noted that dal Pozzo's circle also appear to have had no scruples about restoring marbles, as his commentary (Montpellier, Ecole de Médecine, Ms. 277 f. 171) to Windsor, Royal Library 10,197 suggests.

17. J. B. Shaw, *Drawings by Old Masters at Christ Church, Oxford*



Figure 11. Nicolas Poussin. *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*, 1648. Oil on canvas. 118 x 199 cm (46⁷/₁₆ x 78³/₈ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre 704. Photo courtesy Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

tions to two famous seventeenth-century collections. The drawing should be seen as an archaeological note that circulated among the members of the Republic of Letters, that distinguished circle of men amongst whom Poussin moved.

The acquisition of the bronze tripod prompted Peiresc to purchase a marble relief showing a priestess and a tripod (fig. 9), which in turn appeared in Poussin's paintings.¹⁶ A Poussin drawing at Christ Church, Oxford, shows Peiresc's antique marble relief of a Delphic priestess leaning on a tripod (fig. 10).¹⁷ Poussin was to incorporate this image into a number of his works, including his *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well* of 1648 (fig.

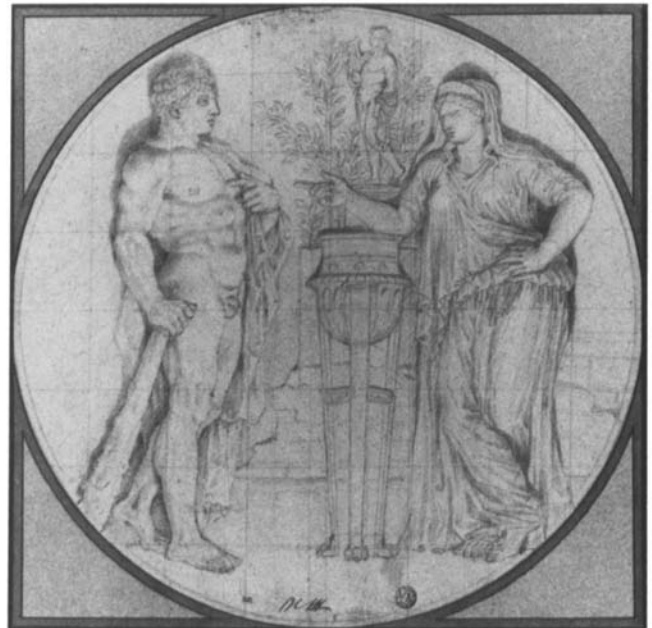


Figure 12. Workshop of Nicolas Poussin. *Hercules Consults the Delphic Oracle*, 1642. Black chalk. Diam: 28.8 cm (11⁵/₁₆ in.). Paris, Musée du Louvre 32507. Photo courtesy Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

(Oxford, 1976), p. 353, inv. 1458, pl. 862. A. Blunt ("Newly Identified Drawings by Poussin and His Followers," *Master Drawings* 12 [1974], pp. 239–248, p. 247, n.37) draws attention to Montfaucon's publication of Peiresc's drawing (*Antiquité expliquée* 2, pl. 2, fig. 1) and notes the relation with Windsor 8579 and British Museum Franks II, 391. The author did not, however, establish Peiresc's ownership of the relief. In all Poussin and dal Pozzo's interpretations of the relief, the classical stasis of the figure in the relief has been replaced by a Baroque swirl. Cf. D. Jaffé, *Rubens' Self-Portrait in Focus* (ex. cat., Australian National Gallery, Canberra, 1988), p. 53.

18. *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, 704. Poussin's *The Finding of Moses* of 1647 (Paris, Musée du Louvre 706),

11) and his workshop drawing for *Hercules Consults the Delphic Oracle* of 1642 (fig. 12).¹⁸ He presumably gained access to illustrations of Peiresc's tripods through dal Pozzo, with whom Peiresc enthusiastically exchanged drawings and casts.¹⁹ Like the drawing in Christ Church, Oxford, Poussin's drawing in the Getty Museum is a window onto the discoveries that excited the archaeological world that the artist frequented.

Poussin rarely quotes a precise archaeological fragment in his persuasive re-creations of the ancient world. When specific objects are accurately reproduced, such as Francesco Gualdo's Egyptian sistrum in *The Finding of Moses* (1647), they may be intentional references ac-

knowledging erudite collectors.²⁰ Similarly, Poussin's introduction of ibises in his Leningrad *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1657) quotes details from the mosaic found in the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste and acquired by the Barberini for their Roman palace.²¹ The ibises could also have been a reference to contemporary discussions of the Egyptian cult of these birds and their significance in hieroglyphics.²² Such visual and literary references show Poussin's interest in the reconstruction of antique life.²³ In the examples discussed, we see Poussin responding to the antiquarian circle of which he was so much a part.

Australian National Gallery
Canberra

commissioned like the *Rebecca and Eliezer at the Well* by Pointel, quotes the hippopotamus hunt from the Palestrina mosaic and features a sistrum (probably Francesco Gualdo's). As has already been pointed out (Friedlaender and Blunt [note 11], p. 35, no. 327), Poussin copies this sistrum in his Turin drawing. Further reflections of the tripod relief occur in Poussin's *Birth of Bacchus, Landscape with Orion*, and most faithfully in the workshop drawing of *Hercules Consults the Delphic Oracle* (W. Friedlaender and A. Blunt, *The Drawings of Nicolas Poussin*, vol. 4 [London, 1963], p. 17, no. A 86.) The *Hercules Consults the Delphic Oracle* drawing for the Long Gallery could establish a terminus ante quem of 1640 for the Christ Church drawing.

19. The exchange of drawings began in 1624, and at the Royal Library, Windsor, the dal Pozzo "Museum Chartaceum" includes drawings of Peiresc's Etruscan mirror, 8388 (cf. Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes Aa 53 f.65), the Constantine Calendar 354AD, 11365/75, and tripod relief 8579 (cf. Aa54 f. 45).

20. The bulla hanging from the neck of the marble bust drawn on the bottom left of the Getty Museum sheet may be the one illustrated in Windsor, Royal Library 11219. Francesco Gualdo's sistrum appears prominently in *The Finding of Moses*; B.N.f.f. Ms. 9530 f. 176 has an

engraving of the sistrum of Francesco Gualdo accompanied by Aleandro's text. In a letter of November 2, 1623, of Peiresc to Aleandro, Gioly's three-bar sistrum is compared to Gualdo's four-bar example: Barb. Lat. Ms. 6504, f. 128. As has been observed by Friedlaender and Blunt (note 18, pp. 35–36), Poussin probably copied the sistrum from Windsor Royal Library 8393/4.

21. A. Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin* (London, 1958), p. 310.

22. N. Poussin, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, Leningrad, The Hermitage. See Vatican Library, Capponi Ms. 267, f. 46, f. 49, for Peiresc's views on the ibises.

23. A. Blunt has demonstrated Poussin's absorption of Pirro Ligorio's triclinium research; see "The Triclinium in Religious Art," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2 (1938), pp. 271–276. Poussin's use of multivalve terracotta oil lamps in his *Last Supper* also reflects current collecting. Windsor Royal Library 8026 of *Servants Boiling a Pig* may have inspired the stooping figures in Poussin's *Triumph of Pan and Camillus and the Schoolmaster of the Falerii*. The pose could have been transmitted via Adam's engraving after Giulio Romano (Bartsch 1803–21, 15, n. 104, p. 428) or directly from the antique sculpture now in Naples.

Science and Luxury: Two Acquisitions by the J. Paul Getty Museum

Jean-Nérée Ronfort

I. SCIENCE AND THE SOCIAL ELITE DURING THE EARLY REIGN OF LOUIS XV

The J. Paul Getty Museum has recently acquired a pair of globes with lacquered stands and a large microscope in gilt bronze, each belonging to the period of Louis XV. These pieces are in harmony with the interior decoration of eighteenth-century French residences. They require us to examine the period's ambience of "scientific curiosity," with particular reference to its relationship with art.

The *siècle des lumières* has been well described as the century during which the introduction of new scientific data modified the prevailing world view in a fundamental way and during which the rationalism of scientific method reached enough minds to bring about a questioning of social structures. The essential phases of these radical changes took place during the reign of Louis XV. It is not the least paradox of this time that the first stirrings of the intellectual revolution occurred among the aristocratic and financial elite at the highest levels of the state.

Art and Science at the Beginning of the Régence: A Change of Mentality

The death of Louis XIV in 1715 did not leave France without scars. The long official reign of this king, from 1643, and the total domination of the state from 1661 on by this powerful spirit, had made him for fifty-four years the only national symbol of stability. His departure could not help but provoke profound unease in French society as a whole.

Through the multiplication of allegorical representations, through the science of *devises* that was the essential task and the very object of the foundation of the Académie des Inscriptions, and through the abundance of engravings commissioned by the Crown, the "Sun King" unceasingly had displayed to Europe the new

masterpieces of architecture, painting, interior decoration, and furniture that had been created under his aegis by French genius. Quite simply, the Monarch had used art as an instrument to shape minds.

Science had benefited from this: its assistance and its prestige were necessary to one who did not wish any site on earth to be really out of his reach, let alone any intellect to stay removed from his influence. The Académie Royale des Sciences and the Paris Observatoire were founded;¹ French and foreign scientists were granted subsidies; modern geodesy was created; and French maritime expeditions traveled worldwide to measure the earth.

The sovereign's death, occurring after those of his son and his grandsons, marked the end of the organizing force of this great movement.

In contrast to the political determination that Louis XIV had known how to impress on his reign's endeavors, the uncertainties and the economic ups and downs of the Régence, along with the youth of the new king and his temporary political weakness, produced an intellectual environment in which all too often entire domains of knowledge were left unexplored.

Though no longer subject to a centralizing power, the development of the sciences was nevertheless rich. The main innovating energy came from a better understanding of Newton's theories and a first attempt to apply them. These theories modified the human vision of the universe almost as radically as the discoveries of Copernicus a century and a half earlier. Through the affirmation and the quantification of the universal attraction of bodies, Newton's conceptions introduced an explanatory cause of the movement of the planets; through the mathematically complete statement of the equations of dynamics, they gave physics the means not only to describe but to explain and predict. Slowly becoming new paradigms, Newton's ideas led to the first

The author would like to thank Gillian Wilson and Barbara Roberts who facilitated his examination of the acquisitions under study. The English translation of the original French text has been prepared with the editorial help of Jean-Dominique Augarde.

1. The Paris Observatoire was founded in 1666. It is the oldest presently active observatory and the first in Western history to have remained continuously active for so long.



Figure 1. François-Hubert Drouais (French, 1727–1775). *Portrait of Louis de Bourbon, Comte de Clermont*, 1771. Oil on canvas. 220 x 145 cm (86⁵/₈ x 57¹/₈ in.). Musée National du château de Versailles 4117.

true changes in European attitudes. The crystallization of these elements and of their far-reaching implications was to be the source of the *rationalisme éclairé* which antedated and prepared the way for the *despotisme éclairé* of the second part of the century. At the early time which is our concern, in French society the proper economic and political conditions were present for a reorganization of the image of the world.

Social conditions had changed and the fabulous wealth of a few had greatly contributed to creating an unprecedented habit of luxury. The elite, most potentially receptive to the new ideas, was more accustomed to revere the supreme manifestations of art than those of science. In order not to be perceived as an esoteric form of knowledge not immediately accessible to it, science—its apparatus and its social manifestations—had to be associated in some way with art, fashion, and elegance.

Science and luxury were therefore not antithetic: their association should be considered both as a necessary consequence of the activity of a period that could not separate from art any element of its cultural expression² and as a necessary means without which intellectual renewal could not have occurred among those who were socially the most capable of experiencing it.

To describe and teach on one hand, to observe and contribute to the progress of knowledge on the other: these were the two roles to which the most advanced

representatives of the French aristocracy would devote themselves in the early reign of Louis XV.

Several participants in this phenomenon are to be found among the principal figures involved in the history of the new acquisitions of the Getty Museum.

An Original Attempt: The Société des Arts

At a time when the generation that twenty-five years later would begin to publish the *Encyclopédie* was still in its infancy, an original attempt was made to group artists and scientists in a common academic organization. Its members, reviving in 1726–1729 an aborted initiative of the Régent, gave to the new institution the name of the Société des Arts.³

The Société was implicitly opposed to the existing academies, which, in its opinion, were responsible for the partitioning of culture and the fragmentation of knowledge. Moreover, the academies were excluding from their concerns the technical achievements and innovations that were already felt to have changed daily life in a drastic way. The new group established as its main aim to provide the basis for the collaboration of painters and musicians, sculptors and clockmakers, architects and goldsmiths, astronomers and mechanics, in the realization of an ideal cultural synthesis.

Louis de Bourbon-Condé, comte de Clermont (1709–1771)⁴ (fig. 1), became the protector of the Société at the end of 1728⁵ and soon offered his Hôtel

2. A sentence used by the clockmaker J. A. Lepaute (1720–1789) referring to his long case precision clock of 1756 for the laboratory of La Muette is significant in this context: “Il était naturel que la magnificence extérieure de cette pièce répondit à la somptuosité des autres instruments que le Roy avait fait faire.” (A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584-44.)

3. Two manuscript projects of the program and statutes of the Société survive (cf. ref. below) in the papers of the Abbé Jean-Paul Bignon (1662–1743), well known as a statesman and director of the Bibliothèque Royale. The first name of the Société des Arts was the “Société Académique des Beaux-Arts.” It was in late 1729, when the Société established the final text of its statutes and had them printed, that its name was changed.

The early history of the group of artists and scientists who, under the Régence, were the Société’s original members, is, for the moment, practically undocumented. Bignon was its protector and allowed its members to hold their meetings in the Galeries du Louvre, probably around 1721–1723. The death of the duc d’Orléans put a temporary end to its activity until it was reestablished on a new basis. Cf. “Idée de l’Etablissement de la Société Académique des Beaux-Arts” (Paris, B.N., ms.fr. 22225, fols. 7 to 10) and its offspring, the “Règlement de la Société des Arts” (ibid., fols. 1 to 6) (both of them before 1728).

4. The comte de Clermont was made *abbé commendataire* of several *abbayes royales* before the age of ten. Already at the age of fourteen he had a mistress; the grandson of Louis XIV and of Madame de Montespan on his mother’s side, he may have manifested in this instance a kind of hereditary trait. He received a papal brief authorizing him to bear arms, was nominated *lieutenant-général des armées du Roi* in 1735, and *abbé commendataire de Saint-Germain-des-Prés* in 1737. He made a name for himself in numerous campaigns, notably at the capture of

Louvain and that of Antwerp (1746). His scientific collections were later reassembled in his *maison de plaisance* on the rue de la Roquette, which had served Réaumur as his laboratory. In 1744 he became Grand Maître de la Franc-Maçonnerie and was later made a member of the Académie Française, to which he was elected without having ever been a candidate and practically without ever attending a meeting. His debauchery earned him a severe and unjust judgment from posterity and led Sainte-Beuve to call him humorously the *abus vivant*. A more attentive study of his life shows him to have had a character of considerable diversity, finally very modern.

5. On December 7, 1728, Languet de Gergy led the delegation of the Société being presented to the prince. By that time it was already “devenue considérable par le nombre de Sçavans, d’Ingénieux Artistes & de goût qui la composent” (“become considerable by the number of scientists and artists of great ingenuity and taste who compose it”). (Cf. *Mercur de France*, December 1728, pp. 2893–2895). The French political context in which the comte de Clermont put the Société des Arts under his protection was certainly as determinative as his taste for sciences. The elder brother of Clermont was the duc de Bourbon, like him a grandson of Louis XIV, and prime minister from December 2, 1723, to his disgrace by the king in favor of the minister of state, Cardinal de Fleury, on June 11, 1726, a date after which the Condé family went on nourishing great political ambitions. Members of the Société were appointed to give their advice on nine practical questions, viz., the perfection of fine arts through the help of the sciences; the perfection of some parts of medicine through the help of other sciences; the advancement of textile industries; civil and military architecture; naval architecture and navigation; agriculture and economy; time measurement and the manufacture of scientific instruments; the manufacture of optical glass; and metallurgy. (Cf. “Statuts

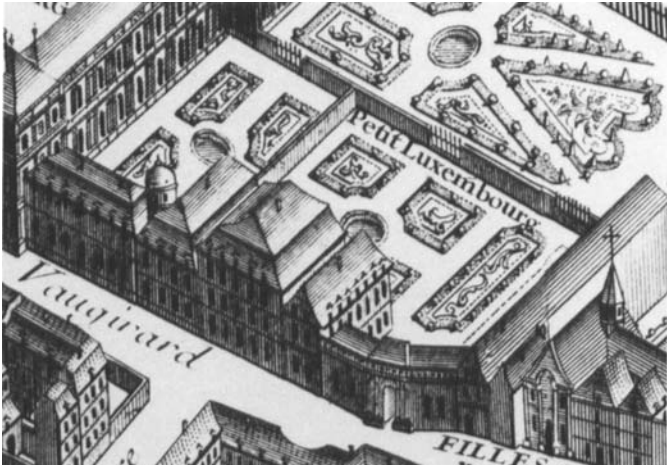


Figure 2. The Hôtel du Petit-Luxembourg, built by Germain Boffrand on the right side of the Palais du Luxembourg: seat of the Société des Arts at the time of its greatest activity. Engraving. Plan of Louis Bretez, so-called plan of Turgot. Paris, 1737. Centre de Recherches Historiques sur les Maîtres Ebénistes, Paris.



Figure 3. J. F. de Troy (French, 1645–1730). *The Astronomy Lesson of the Duchesse du Maine* (detail). Oil on canvas. 95 x 130 cm (37⁷/₁₆ x 51³/₁₆ in.). Private collection. Photo courtesy of Rosenberg and Stibel, New York.

du Petit-Luxembourg as a meeting place (fig. 2). This prince who, in the nineteenth century, attracted the interest of historians of literature and sexuality,⁶ is worthy of our consideration as a patron of the arts. For more than ten years, until the Académie Royale des Sciences and other academies absorbed them each in turn, many of the most original talents of the time met under his auspices.

The development of the Société des Arts from about 1726 on, little known until recently, acquires a special significance in that it coincided with the first signs of a wider endeavor by the state to reconquer the popular imagination and reorganize it around the king. This restructuring was symbolized in the arts by the opening at the Louvre, in 1725, of the eleventh Salon of painting and sculpture, an exhibition that had been abandoned since 1704.⁷ In 1726 the duc d'Antin organized a genuine competition among the members of the Académie. Twelve painters took part in the event, their works scheduled to be ready for the following year. At their exhibition, which took place in May 1727, the government requested, as a rather novel idea, that the nonparticipating academicians give their advice on the value of the works of the participating ones. De Troy *fils*, with his *Bain de Diane*, shared the first prize with Le Moyne, who presented *La continence de Scipion*.

In the cenacle of the Petit-Luxembourg, the mixture of generations would be a catalyst for the mixture of genres. The mathematician and astronomer Alexis Clairault became a member in 1726 at the age of thirteen and met with the already aged Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, who died at the age of one hundred in 1757. The painter Jacques de Lajoue, the architect Germain Boffrand, and the sculptor Claude-Antoine Vassé met the already famous musician Jean-Philippe Rameau. The clockmaker and inventor Julien Le Roy and the illustrious goldsmith Thomas Germain, whose masterpieces graced the tables of every European court,

de la Société des Arts," Paris, 1730. [The imprint of this book is dated January 7, 1730.] The Société des Arts, which certainly had Masonic ties, was scheduled to include some one hundred members, some of whose names were until now not identified. We can mention: *protecteurs*: Languet de Gergy (curé of the church of Saint-Sulpice which was still being built), later, the comte de Clermont; *amateurs*: Bonnier de La Mosson, Puisieux, Renard du Tasta; architects: Boffrand, Chevotet, Aubert, Vigny; astronomer: Grandjean de Fouchy; mathematicians: Clairault *père*, Clairault *fils*, La Condamine, l'abbé de Gua; sculptors: Vassé, Lemoyne; painter: Lajoue; clockmakers: Pierre Gaudron, Julien Le Roy, Pierre Le Roy, Gourdin, Gallonde, Henri Sully; mechanic: Magny; engraver: Jean-Michel Papillon; engineers: Pierre Le Maire, Jacques Le Maire; musician: Jean-Philippe Rameau; goldsmith: Thomas Germain; writer: Fontenelle; physicist: Nollet; etc.

6. J. Cousin, *Le comte de Clermont: Sa cour et ses maîtresses* (Paris, 1867).

7. As G. Wildenstein (*Le Salon de 1725* [Paris, 1924]) has demon-

joined the wealthy amateur Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson, who had recently come into an inheritance from his father and established himself in Paris. Among them was a black-clad young man whose teaching was destined for great renown: the Abbé Nollet.

To Describe and to Teach: The Abbé Nollet

A worldly physicist whose experimental genius was recognized by the whole of Europe, Jean-Antoine Nollet, born on November 19, 1700, in Pimprez near Compiègne, took up residence in Paris, where he received his degrees in theology. He never reached the priesthood but only a deaconship, which was generally sufficient at the time for one to be called “abbé”; he used this title until the end of his life.

His remarkable manual dexterity and precocious scientific knowledge enabled him at an early age to mingle with the most brilliant minds of the late Régence. Engaged as a tutor by the Taitbout family at the Hôtel de Ville, he learned the art of enameling in the workshop of Jean Raux, the royal enameler, who lived on the rue Saint-Martin,⁸ and founded his first laboratory. At the same time he completed his theological studies.

His association with the intellectual milieu assembled around the comte de Clermont and his aunt, the duchesse du Maine⁹ (fig. 3), determined the social ascension of this man of science.

In this sparkling atmosphere the Abbé Nollet made his contribution to a new effort at cultural synthesis. The first accomplishment of his career was a daring intellectual endeavor: to represent the world. The astronomical and geographic missions sent under the previous reign to North America, South America, and the Orient had provided the members of the Académie Royale des Sciences with a large number of absolute positions of cities and principal points, to which were added, within an international climate of economic and maritime competition, the results of the recent English

and Dutch expeditions. These positions were numerous enough to lay down a new representation of the earth, in the same way that the precision of the triangulations of the years 1670–1680 had made possible the establishment of the new map of France in 1682.¹⁰ A first attempt in this direction had been made around 1700 by G. Delisle, but over the course of nearly thirty years the state of knowledge had grown considerably.

It is in this context that we can situate the making of the terrestrial globe of 1728 and of the matching celestial globe by the Abbé Nollet (fig. 13). Like his later productions, these were richly constructed: all the instruments he built were beautiful (figs. 4, 5). The rococo esthetic was used for the first time without coming for an instant into conflict with the purpose of the object. This lightness and efficient elegance required an abundance of *vernis*, a material that the Martin brothers were in the process of bringing back into fashion. The financial support of the duchesse du Maine aided in the realization of the terrestrial globe, and that of the comte de Clermont in the realization of the celestial globe.

The next stage of Nollet’s work was centered on a promising domain of physics: the discovery of electricity and the first hypotheses concerning its nature. Charles-François de Cisternay du Fay (1698–1739) and René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur (1683–1757), in whose laboratory Nollet worked from 1731 on, initiated him into this discipline and encouraged him to construct the physical instruments required for his and their experiments.

In 1734 he left for London with the famous naturalist Bernard de Jussieu and Cisternay du Fay. He was elected a member of the Royal Society. In 1736 he traveled in Holland, where experimental physics, notably in electricity, was making great progress.

In Paris he had already begun two years earlier to give courses to a selected public (fig. 6), an activity that

strated, the 1706 exhibition should not be considered as a Salon. In spite of the short-lived effort of the duc d’Antin, the revival of the Salon, traditionally grouping the recent works of all the members of the Académie de Peinture et Sculpture in a public show, opened on the day of Saint Louis (August 25) for one month, was to wait till 1737. From then on only, it was organized each year.

8. Enamelers played an important role in the construction of physical instruments, notably barometers and thermometers, their guild being the principal one allowed to make them.

9. The granddaughter of the Grand Condé, Louise-Bénédicte de Bourbon, duchesse du Maine (1676–1753), had married the eldest of the legitimized sons of Louis XIV and Madame de Montespan. Retired from political affairs and removed from the court after the conspiracy of Cellamare in 1719, the duchesse devoted herself to a brilliant intellectual circle that met at her Paris hôtel and at her châteaux of Clagny, Sceaux, and Anet. Intelligent and passionate, she was actively interested in the development of science and encouraged

scientists. At her death her various residences contained globes and numerous scientific instruments, among which were telescopes and microscopes, some signed by Passemant, Butterfield, and Edward Scarlett of London.

10. By Jean Picard (1620–1682) and Gabriel Philippe de La Hire (1640–1719). The striking discrepancy between the new outline of France and the one established by Nicolas Sanson (1600–1667) less than twenty years before, which led to a decrease in surface of from 31,657 *lieues carrées* to 25,386 *lieues carrées*, made a deep impression on the general public. A table in *pietra dura* representing the new map was offered to Louis XIV on January 1, 1684, to commemorate this event and was originally placed in the Cabinet des Curiosités of the king. It is still preserved at the Musée National du Château de Versailles. Its original rich, carved, gilt-wood base no longer exists. (Cf. A. N., Maison du Roi, 01* 3336, no. 467.)

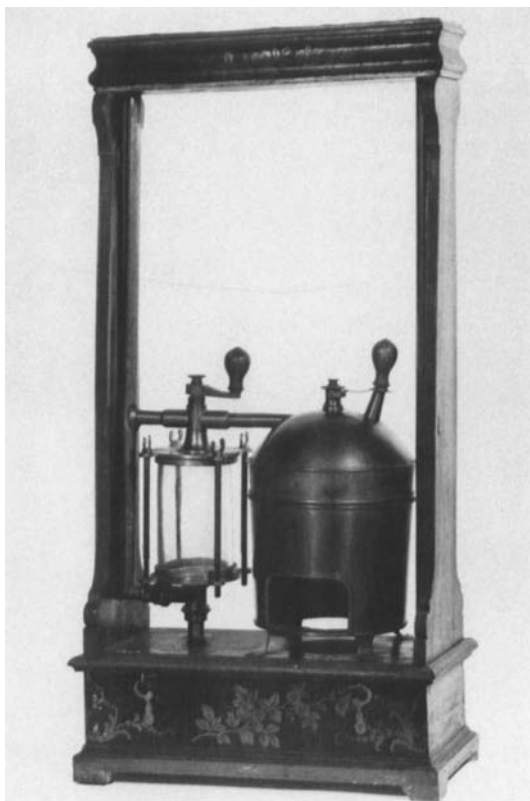


Figure 4. Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700–1770). Fire pump, circa 1743. The lacquer is *Vernis de Paris façon de la Chine*. The wooden parts with red, gold, and black lacquers. Musée National des Techniques, Paris. Photo copyright C.N.A.M., Paris.



Figure 5. Jean-Antoine Nollet. Compound microscope with accessories, circa 1743. The wooden parts of the microscope with gold lacquer on a black background. The box with gold and polychrome chinoiserie on a *camomille* background. Musée d'Histoire des Sciences, Genève, 149.

he resumed upon his return. His success was remarkable: “On ne voit à sa porte que des carosses de duchesses, de pairs, et de jolies femmes” (“One sees at his door nothing but the carriages of duchesses, lords, and beautiful women”), wrote the famous Madame du Châtelet, the first translator in France of the works of Newton, who was one of the Abbé’s pupils and, like him, a friend of Voltaire.¹¹ In 1738 the young duc de Penthièvre also became a pupil, soon followed by his cousin, the duc de Chartres, the future duc d’Orléans.

On April 27, 1739, Nollet was admitted to the Académie des Sciences. During the same year he traveled to Turin to give a physics course to the king of Sardinia, the duke of Savoy. He left after having entirely furnished with his own instruments the laboratory that Charles-Emmanuel III was establishing in his capital.

After his return to Paris, Nollet introduced physics into the court of Versailles, where he gave his first lessons during the spring of 1744 to the dauphin, son of Louis XV. The queen, Marie Leczinska, and Madame Henriette participated several times. His scientific activity flourished and he published his main works on electricity. In 1746 the king housed him in the Louvre in Paris, where he occupied the four-story apartment that had lodged the sculptor Guillaume Coustou the elder¹² and he was granted by the Crown an annual pension of 4,800 francs.¹³ In 1749 he made another triumphant trip to Italy, where his physics demonstrations were requested by the royal family of Sardinia and Pope Benedict XIV. As proof of his friendship, the Savoyard ruler offered the Abbé a beautiful diamond that he kept until his death on April 24, 1770.¹⁴

In 1753 his portrait by Maurice-Quentin de La Tour (now in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich [H.U.W. 5]) was displayed at the Salon. It was later engraved by Molès (fig. 7). The Abbé and the painter became friends, and Latour set up a physics laboratory in his residence at Chaillot.¹⁵ On May 15 of the same year, Nollet inaugurated the chair of physics at the Collège de Navarre, an occasion for which a special amphitheater had been constructed and where six hundred persons crowded together. On May 1, 1758, Jean-Antoine Nollet was named Maître de Physique des Enfants de

11. J. Torlais, *Un physicien au siècle des lumières, l'abbé Nollet* (Paris, 1954), p. 50.

12. A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 90 fol. 80, patent of March 22, 1746. It is residence no. 7 on the 1744 list.

13. A large sum which corresponds very approximately to 1,500,000 FF today. (Cf. the equivalences given by the author in “Art et horlogerie à l’époque de Ferdinand Berthoud: Du rocaille au néo-classicisme,” in *Ferdinand Berthoud 1727–1807, Horloger Mécanicien du Roi et de la Marine*, La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1984.) This pension was the prelude to Nollet’s comfortable material situation. There were added



Figure 6. Abbé Nollet teaching experimental physics. The methodical arrangement of the collections of instruments constitutes the dominant element of the decor, enriched by the presence of a wall regulator clock by Charles Cressent, with a pendulum marking the seconds. Frontispiece of Nollet's *Leçons de physique expérimentale*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1743–1764), from the author's collection.



Figure 7. Pascal-Pierre Molès (French, 1741–1797). Engraved portrait (1771) of the Abbé Nollet, from the pastel displayed at the 1753 Salon by Maurice-Quentin de La Tour. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

France.¹⁶ He created and installed the famous physics laboratory that Louis XV was establishing for his grandsons in the Hôtel des Menus-Plaisirs in Versailles. Thus, the future kings Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X became his pupils.¹⁷

He was probably the only man of his time who was able both to contribute greatly to the fundamental development of science and to bring the results obtained within the reach of a public that would not otherwise

have been interested in them.¹⁸

To Observe and to Contribute to the Progress of Knowledge: Scientific Collections, Bonnier de La Mosson, and the Duc de Chaulnes

The multiplication of scientific collections and laboratories in France from around 1740 constitutes a phenomenon that, if not unique in Europe, certainly attained a unique scope in that country.¹⁹ A first survey

other pensions of 1,200 *livres* (1753), 2,000 *livres* (1757), 1,000 *livres* (1758), 2,000 *livres* (1761), 400 *livres* (1765), amounting to an annual pension from the crown of 11,400 *livres* at his death. Cf. A. N., Min. XVII-935, May 14, 1770, inventory after the death of Jean-Antoine Nollet.

14. A. N., Y 13544, April 24, 1770, *scellé*, and A. N., Min., XVII, 984, April 25, 1770, deposit of will.

15. Torlais (note 11), p. 187.

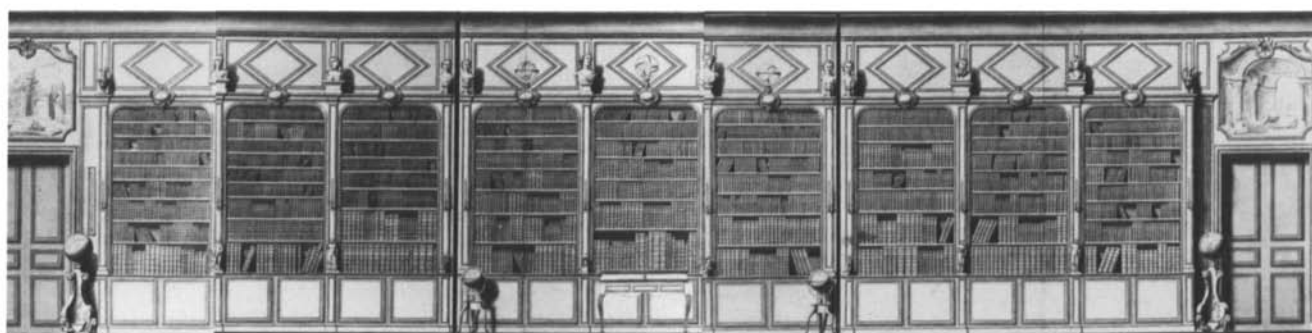
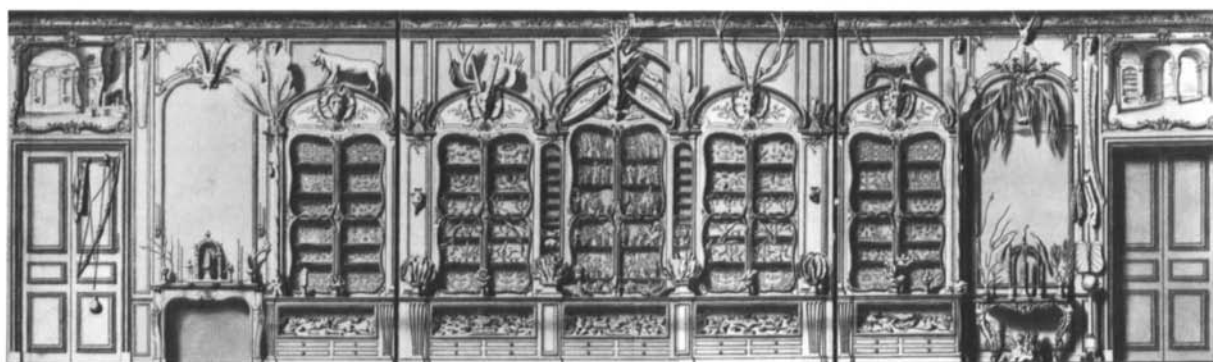
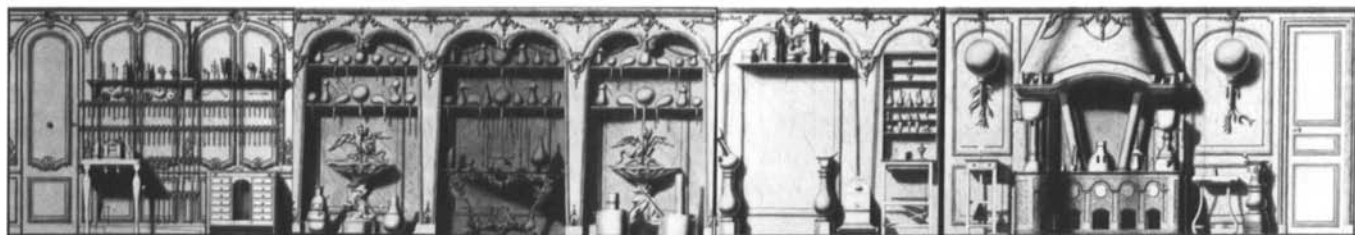
16. A. N., Maison du Roi, 01* 102, fol. 256.

17. Until the end of his life, Nollet continued to construct or to su-

pervise the construction of physical instruments that were his specialty. He went on furnishing some to the laboratory of the Menus-Plaisirs that he directed, as evidenced by the mentions in the "Registre des dépenses faites pour le cabinet de physique de Monseigneur le Dauphin" for 1768 (1,630 *livres*) and for 1769 (1,728 *livres*). (I. A. D., loc. cit.)

18. On the scientific publications of Nollet as well as on his debate on electricity with Benjamin Franklin, see J. L. Heilbron in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biographies*, vol. 10 (New York, n.d.), pp. 145–148.

19. On French scientific cabinets in the seventeenth century cf. A. Schnapper, *Le géant, la licorne et la tulipe. Collections et collection-*



Figures 8a–d. The laboratory of Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson. The overdoors were painted by Jacques de Lajoue. Pen and wash by Jean Courtonne, 1739/40. Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie.

made recently allows us to count a minimum of 235 significant collections of this nature in Paris and 188 in the provinces between 1740 and the 1780s.²⁰ So the efforts of the first twenty years of the regime bore fruit: coinciding with the period when French art enjoyed its greatest expansion, the new freedom of thought helped to produce a rare modernism.

Never before had art and science been of such mutual benefit. The progress of chemistry permitted the reinvention of soft-paste porcelain, then of hard-paste porcelain, which, in an effort to imitate the Oriental wares, craftsmen had tried to fabricate for several centuries, and which brought to the decorative arts an entirely new means of expression. The progress of mechanics applied to acoustics led to the perfecting of new stringed instruments that, in turn, generalized the tempered scale: beginning with the conception of the *clavecin à maillets* in Italy around 1709, improved in France by 1716 and in Germany by 1721, the invention of the *piano forte* received its definitive form.

The first stages of a new museology appeared: in 1746, Lafond de Saint-Yenne²¹ proposed to create at the Louvre a museum with some of the paintings of the Cabinet du Roi and, starting on October 14, 1750, the marquis de Marigny and Bailly showed to the public in the Palais du Luxembourg 110 paintings belonging to the Crown.²² The *cabinets scientifiques* had indeed played a part in preparing collectors for the general trend in reorganizing along more rational lines the presentation of works of art.²³

neurs dans la France du XVIII^e siècle (I. Histoire et histoire naturelle) (Paris, 1988).

20. Y. Laissus, "Les cabinets d'histoire naturelle," in *La curiosité scientifique au XVIII^e siècle: Cabinets et observatoires* (Paris, 1986), pp. 659–712. To the 213 collections in Paris mentioned by the author, we can add, among the most important ones, those of the comte de Clermont, of baron Crozat de Thiers, of the duc d'Estouteville, of Monsieur Fortier, of the engineer d'Hermant at the Louvre, of the duc and duchesse du Maine, of the duc de Mortemart. We must include in this group the royal collections of the Menus-Plaisirs, of Fontanieu at the Garde-Meuble, of the château de La Muette, of the Collège de France, of the Collège de Navarre, of the Académie Royal des Sciences, as well as the scientific instruments and natural *curiosités* of the king and of the ladies of the royal family located in various royal houses. In the provinces, we can add at least the collection of Abbé Desbiey given to the Académie des Sciences in Bordeaux, as well as, in Lille, those of Libert de Beaumont and of M. Gosselin père.

21. *Réflexions sur quelques causes de l'état présent de la peinture* (Paris, 1746).

22. Lebrun, *Almanach historique et raisonné* (Paris, 1776), p. 196. The movement was European. In Germany, the publication in 1753 of the great catalogues of the Galerie Royale de Dresde made of the museum established by August III of Saxony an example practically without equivalent until the end of the century.

23. Cf. O. Impey and A. MacGregor, eds., *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1985).

From this point of view, it is certainly the collection of Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson (1702–1744) that chronologically constitutes for us the best model of methodical presentation (figs. 8a–d), both because it is well known²⁴ and because its decor and the order of the rooms in which it was displayed followed a rigorous method of presentation and of arrangement according to the nature of the objects exhibited.

Trésorier Général de la Bourse des Etats du Languedoc, possessor of an immense fortune, this financier occupied in 1726 an hôtel on the rue Saint-Dominique that his father had bought during the same year, a few months before his death.²⁵ A part of the second floor of the hôtel was to be devoted to scientific collections; this was an apartment in the form of a gallery comprising seven *cabinets*, one after the other: a *cabinet de chimie* with fountains, still, and ovens; an apothecary; a lathe room; a *droguier*; a collection of minerals and specimens of rare animals, stuffed or in jars; a fifth *cabinet*, very large, grouping birds, reptiles, insects, butterflies, marine plants, and corals, in cupboards that are still preserved at the Musée d'Histoire Naturelle in Paris; a sixth "mechanic's" *cabinet* containing machines and models related to hydraulics, artillery, navigation, and architecture, as well as clockmaking and optical and astronomical instruments; and, finally, a large library in which there were two globes that appear to be the companion pieces of those in the J. Paul Getty Museum (figs. 9a–b).²⁶

Bonnier de La Mosson died at an early age. The dis-

24. By its sale catalogue, edited by Gersaint (Paris, 1744). The sale itself took place on March 8, 1745 and the days following. The catalogue describes 966 lots. Gersaint was obviously aided by Alexis Magny in the editing of the entries concerning scientific models and instruments. The near totality of the laboratory was moreover drawn with the greatest precision by the architect Jean Courtonne in 1739 and 1740 (Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie, Fondation Jacques Doucet). Cf. B. Pons in *Le faubourg Saint-Germain, la rue Saint-Dominique: Hôtels et amateurs* (Paris, 1984), pp. 150–163. In the present state of research, the post-mortem inventory of the financier must be presumed lost. The scientific importance of the cabinet of Bonnier as a landmark in the history of the subject is analyzed in C. R. Hill, "The Cabinet of Bonnier de la Mosson (1702–1744)," in *Annals of Science* 43 (1986), pp. 147–174.

25. On the life of Bonnier, cf. Grasset-Morel, *Les Bonnier* (Paris, n.d.) and G. Chaussinand-Nogaret, *Les financiers de Languedoc au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1970), esp. p. 344 and pp. 292–294.

26. Lot 615 of the 1745 sale, they fetched 173 *livres* and were bought by Monsieur de Foissac. Bonnier owned five pairs of celestial and terrestrial globes. His Nollet library globes were the most up to date. A pair of table globes by Delisle, dated 1702, were one *pie*d in diameter. They fetched 240 *livres* as lot 596, and were also bought by de Foissac. The third pair, in faience from the Rouen workshops, is perhaps now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Céramique in Rouen. It fetched 97 *livres* and was bought by Monsieur de La Roche. The fourth pair was composed of the two large Coronelli globes of 1693. Not quite modern but the largest ever to be produced in the Ancien Régime, they fetched 250 *livres* as lot 616 and were bought by

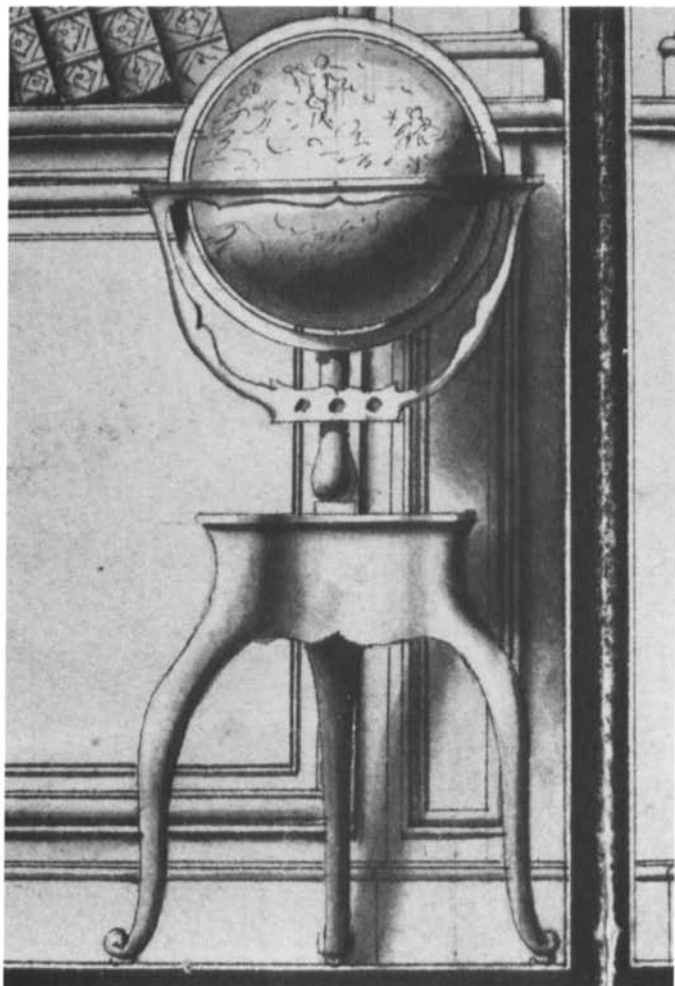


Figure 9a. Library of Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson: detail. One of a pair of globes with tripod stands similar to the Abbé Nollet's globes of 1728 and 1730 in the J. Paul Getty Museum. Paris, Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie.

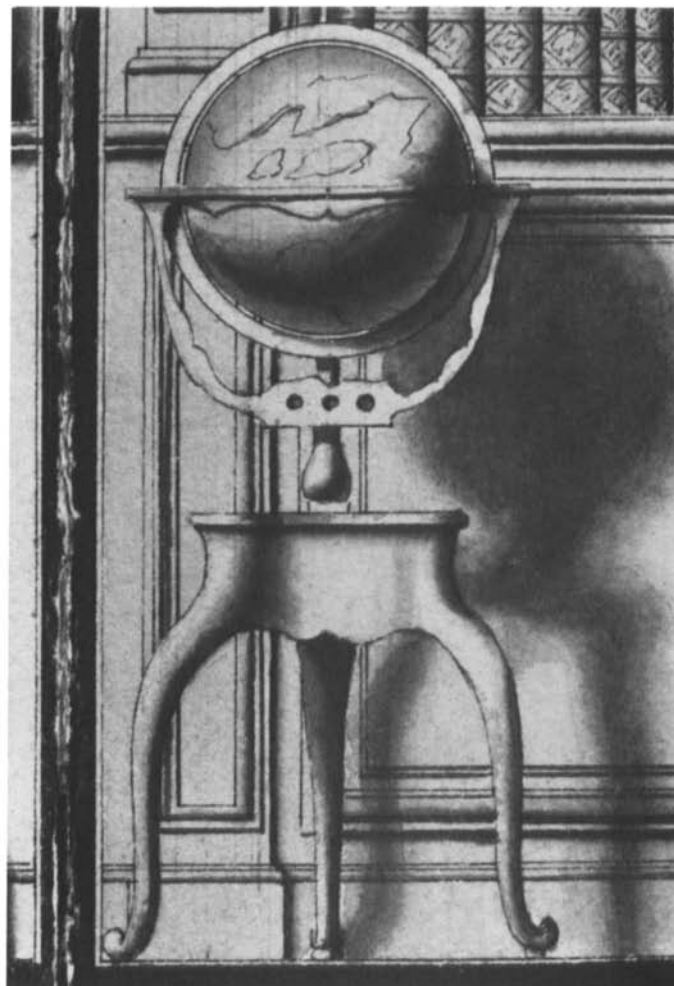


Figure 9b. Second of the pair of globes in the library of Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson.

persal of his collection nourished many other collections that were created in Paris or in Europe.²⁷ His brother-in-law, Michel-Ferdinand d'Albert d'Ailly, fifth duc de Chaulnes (1714–1769),²⁸ in turn played a promi-

nent part and, with him, a different aspect of scientific collection should be considered: the figure of the aristocratic amateur who becomes a high-ranking scientist, contributing to the progress of knowledge by develop-

André Vassal, *procureur* of the Jacobins (Dominican friars) for the library of their order, rue Saint-Dominique (where they are described in 1784 in Thiéry, *Almanach du voyageur à Paris*, p. 371). The fifth pair, lot 560, bought for twenty-four livres by M. Lacroix, was composed of two small hanging globes of six *pouces* in diameter, made by Jean Pigeon in 1717. Only a copy of the terrestrial globe of this model is known to survive (P. van der Krogt, *Old Globes in the Netherlands* [Utrecht, 1984], p. 214). For the general list of prices and buyers in the Bonnier sale, cf. B. N., Est., Yd^{10/8}.

27. The king of Sweden bought the rose engine (*tour à guillocher*) for his château in Dröttningholm, and Bonnier's mechanical opera.

28. Three members of the same family, all bearing the title of the duc de Chaulnes, were scientifically active during the eighteenth century. These were: Louis-Auguste, fourth duc de Chaulnes and maré-

chal of France (1678–1744); his son, Michel-Ferdinand, the fifth duc, to whom we are referring and who married the sister of Bonnier when he was twenty-four; and his grandson, Louis-Marie-Joseph-Romain (1741–1792), the sixth duc, who excavated in Saqqarah and was a member of the Royal Society. The founder of the scientific laboratory was the maréchal, who installed it in his magnificent hôtel on the rue d'Enfer, behind the Luxembourg. His son, the fifth duc, moved it in 1758 to the rue de Varennes, to a residence which would later be that of the comte d'Orsay, then brought it back around 1766 to the rue d'Enfer (Hébert, *Dictionn. pitt.*, I, pp. 135–137). Having inherited the laboratory in 1769, the sixth and last duc transferred it a little before 1784 to the rue de Bondi (Thiéry [note 26], editions of 1783 and 1784). Two years before the death of the duc, who was bankrupted, his collections were finally sold by auction, on Septem-

ing instruments of observation.

Chaulnes certainly appeared to be the representative of the scientific world at court. He was a brilliant soldier and a friend of Madame de Pompadour.²⁹ The comte de Maurepas wrote about him: “Il faisait sa cour assidument à Louis XV, avait même des conversations particulières à des heures où personne n’entraît ordinairement chez le roi; il vivait en quelque sorte dans la plus grande intimité tant chez Louis XV que chez le duc de Chevreuse, son cousin.” (“He curried favor assiduously with Louis XV, even enjoyed private conversations at hours when no one was ordinarily admitted to the king; he lived, so to speak, in the greatest intimacy both with Louis XV and with the duke of Chevreuse, his cousin.”)³⁰ His role, together with the tastes of the favorite—who appointed Doctor Quesnay, the well-known physician and economist, as her librarian and whose culture and intelligence permitted her to remain until her death in the favor of the king—is therefore essential in explaining the benevolence that the sovereign showed, beyond any political motive, toward science. His initiative was behind the new *cabinets* of instruments and machines belonging to the Crown, which had until then limited itself to encouraging the growth of the collections of state institutions.

The entire work of the duc de Chaulnes was concerned with optical research and the perfecting of instruments. He was an initiator of the use of the micrometer in microscopy, a use of which the microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum offers one of the oldest and most beautiful examples. He invented or perfected the dividing machines necessary to the fabrication of circular stages for astronomical instruments, indispensable tools for the improvement of the measure of longitudes that were essential to maritime navigation. With an instrument derived from his first micrometer, he became one of the founders of modern precision metrology, a science that was a prerequisite for the elaboration of the metric system.

His private collection was organized according to the

principles of Bonnier’s collection, that is, as a rigorous succession of rooms within which a precise methodology determined the presentation of specimens of natural history, then models and machines. Dezallier d’Argenville, in 1757, wrote a remarkably lively description of this collection.³¹ At the time of the death of the duc, a new description shows that there was in his house a private workshop where, together with the perfected microscope and the dividing machine that he had presented the preceding year to the Académie, various unfinished instruments were found at different stages of completion.³² From the early 1740s he employed a personally paid precision toolmaker, the first one being André Maingaut.³³ Less than twenty years later, this artisan became the first precision toolmaker for the collection that the king had installed at the château de La Muette under the influence of the duc de Chaulnes.

The First Collection of Louis XV at the Château de La Muette

Acquired in 1716 by the duchesse de Berry, the château de La Muette became at her death in 1719 the property of the Crown, having been given by the Régent to the young Louis XV, who used it as his personal *maison de plaisance* before reaching his majority and before the court’s return to Versailles. The château was later entirely reconstructed according to the plans of Ange-Jacques Gabriel (1698–1782): the garden façade was finished in 1735, the courtyard façade in 1746. Major construction followed between 1753 and 1755.

It is at the end of the latter period that a *Pavillon d’Optique* was constructed. The plans were completed on May 26, 1756 (figs. 10a–b) and the work at the end of the year. The exact date of this completion is confirmed by the *Gazette de France* of March 26, 1757: “Le Roy, qui avoit fait construire un pavillon, à l’extrémité du jardin de La Muette, pour y placer le télescope de huit pieds [fig. 11] que le Père Noël, de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur³⁴ a fait pour Sa Majesté, sous les conseils du duc de Chaulnes, le vit pour la première fois, le 14

ber 20, 1790 and the days following. The well-known physical instrumentmaker Dumotiez was the expert for the 232 lots of scientific instruments, while the *naturaliste* Gaillar catalogued the 220 lots of the *cabinet d’histoire naturelle*. The painter and dealer Paillet was in charge of the rest (594 works of art, including numerous Egyptian and Etruscan antiquities—the fruits of the excavations of the owner—sold en bloc with their presentation cupboards).

29. To such a point that, according to the marquise d’Argenson (May 16, 1751, *Mémoires*, vol. 6 [Paris, 1864], p. 414), she lent him the enormous amount of 240,000 *livres*. That she might have been given a copy of the microscope of the new model invented by the duc would have been quite natural in the circumstances.

30. J. F. de Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas, *Mémoires*, vol. 4 [Paris, 1792], p. 148.

31. Dezallier d’Argenville, *La Conchiliologie*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1757), pp. 116–117.

32. A. N., Min. 23, 704, October 10, 1769, inventory following the death of the fifth duc de Chaulnes.

33. The long service of Maingaut in the duc de Chaulnes’ laboratory would have given him the best possible training. After staying a short time in La Muette, this scientific instrumentmaker established an independent workshop. In 1769 this atelier was located in the rue Fromenteau, in one of the houses permitted to be built by the king inside the Louvre perimeter. Maingaut was probably still occasionally working for the duc and his son and was chosen by the latter as the expert valuating the instruments of his father after his death.

34. The monk, whose activity started in Amiens, had been presented to the king by the duc de Chaulnes and it was the king who

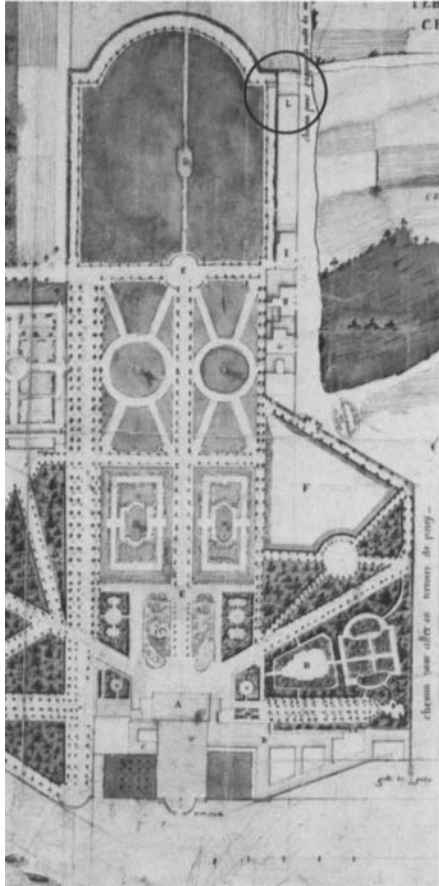


Figure 10a. Overall view of the château de La Muette and part of its park before 1760, showing the site of Louis XV's optical pavilion or "Petit Observatoire" (area circled), 1756. From the Direction Générale des Bâtiments du Roi. Paris, Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, N III Seine 807.

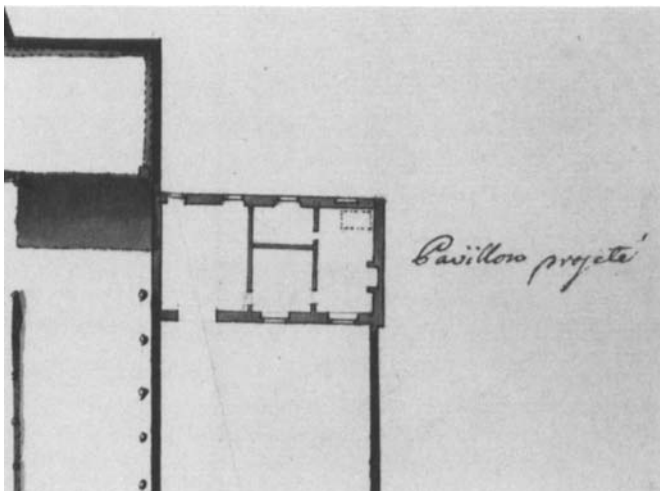


Figure 10b. Projected plan of the Petit Observatoire, 1756. From the Direction Générale des Bâtiments du Roi. Paris, Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, N III Seine 807.

décembre 1756. Le 18 mars 1757, le Roy étant venu à ce château, le P. Noël eu l'honneur de lui présenter une machine pneumatique à deux corps de pompe, d'une construction nouvelle." ("The king, who had a pavilion constructed at the end of the garden of La Muette to house the eight-foot telescope that Father Noël of the Congregation of Saint-Maur has built for His Majesty, on the advice of the duc de Chaulnes, saw it for the first time on December 14, 1756. On March 18, 1757, the king having come to this château, Father Noël had the honor to present him with a double-barreled air-pump of a new design.")

Little by little there were brought together in this pavilion the instruments still being constructed within the walls of the abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, under the direction of Dom Noël and of the duc de Chaulnes, and some which already existed, paid for from the king's privy purse.³⁵ Soon this "small observatory" that measured no more than 28 meters by 16 meters became insufficient. Attempts were made to enlarge it, but the estimates were too high for the Royal Treasury at a time when financial restrictions were being imposed by the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). It was decided rather to acquire buildings neighboring the château, on the other side of the rue de La Pompe, within the parish of Passy (fig. 12).³⁶ Dom Noël, who was the official guardian of the royal collection between April 18, 1759 and December 31, 1774,³⁷ was able to live there and install his workshop.

These buildings would constitute what we must call the *Deuxième Cabinet de La Muette*, called in certain documents, because of its location, the *Cabinet de Passy*.³⁸ The park pavilion became no more than an annex and all the collections were probably moved to the new locations.³⁹ The king had brought there the parallactic machine presented to him by Passemant in 1757 and the instruments previously stored at Saint-

had made possible his establishment in Paris by waiver of the monastic rule (Jérôme de Lalande, *Bibliographie astronomique* [Paris, 1803], p. 835). It is almost certain that he was more the director of operations than an independent producer of the instruments that he commercialized during that period, as is implied by the expression *quarante ouvriers occupés* (and not *employés*) that we find in his correspondence (A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584-8). Dom Noël finally had a *bâtiment de charpente* built to house his instruments inside the precinct of Saint-Germain-des-Prés; it was moved to Passy in 1760.

35. A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584-6.

36. A convenient location that, according to Gabriel, allowed the king to reach it by passing through the small enclosed garden which was parallel to the principal body of the château. Cf. A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584-19bis. The order of the king to buy the rue de La Pompe buildings is dated May 28, 1760.

37. M. G. Bigourdan, "Un institut d'optique à Paris, au XVIII^e siècle," in *Comptes rendus du Congrès des Sociétés Savantes en 1921: Sciences*, pp. 19-74. After the accession of Louis XVI to the throne, a new director took over the laboratory: the Abbé Rochon, an astronomer who assumed his functions on January 1, 1775.

Germain-des-Prés, among which were the celestial and terrestrial globes with astronomical movements of 1759 commissioned by the marquis de Marigny from the same artist.⁴⁰ Dom Noël added his own apparatus, kept in the abbey and which he offered to the sovereign. Barely established, the new collection encountered financial difficulties that slowed or practically halted the scientific work of Dom Noël toward 1761. It was only ten years later that he was able to finish the large twenty-four-foot telescope that he had begun.

We should certainly date from the reorganization of this collection in 1760 the series of twenty-one folio plates describing in detail several optical instruments (but not the twenty-four-foot telescope) belonging to Louis XV's collection in the château de La Muette, engraved under the direction of Dom Noël by Guillaume Dheulland and later published by Basan.⁴¹ The present author was fortunate to discover the only complete copy of these plates belonging to the old royal collections.⁴² We must emphasize that never during the eighteenth century were scientific instruments represented with such a luxury of detail, including general, frontal, and three-quarter views, as well as particular views of separate parts, a more frequent procedure although also quite rare. Among these plates there appear engravings of a microscope almost identical to the acquisition which will be discussed later (figs. 20, 22, 24, 31).

Conclusion

We can see that the objects acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum can only be understood in relation to the history of science and their intended owners. Scientific progress was the result of a double effort: a broad private initiative of the wealthiest class of the realm that was also sustained by the political and personal will of the monarch. Louis XV had succeeded in a difficult

38. It is under this name that it is mentioned in the *Comptes de la Maison du Roi* during the reign of Louis XVI.

39. A. N., *Maison du Roi*, 01 1584–25.

40. These globes are still preserved at the Observatoire in Paris.

41. Six prints of the first state (without the title and the publisher's name but with the name of the engraver) were sold in Paris on March 7, 1977 (lot 98). Guillaume Dheulland (sometimes written d'Heulland), was "dessinateur et graveur du Roi pour la Marine." He died on March 4, 1770 (A.N., Y 15469). On his work, cf. M. Roux, *Inventaire du Fonds Français. Graveurs du XVIII^e siècle. vol. 7* (Paris, 1951), pp. 276–279, and J. Guiffrey, "Scellés et inventaires d'artistes," *Nouvelles Archives de l'Art Français* (1884), p. 274.

42. "SUITE DE XXI PLANCHES // GRAVEES SOUS LA DIRECTION DE DOM NOEL // Garde du Cabinet Royal de Physique // Représentant les Elévations et Coupes de plusieurs télescopes et microscopes // qui se voyant audit Cabinet à Passy, près la Meute." Second state. Paris, B. N. Cabinet des Estampes (la 21 fol). The title page is mentioned by M. Daumas, *Les instruments scientifiques aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Paris, 1953).

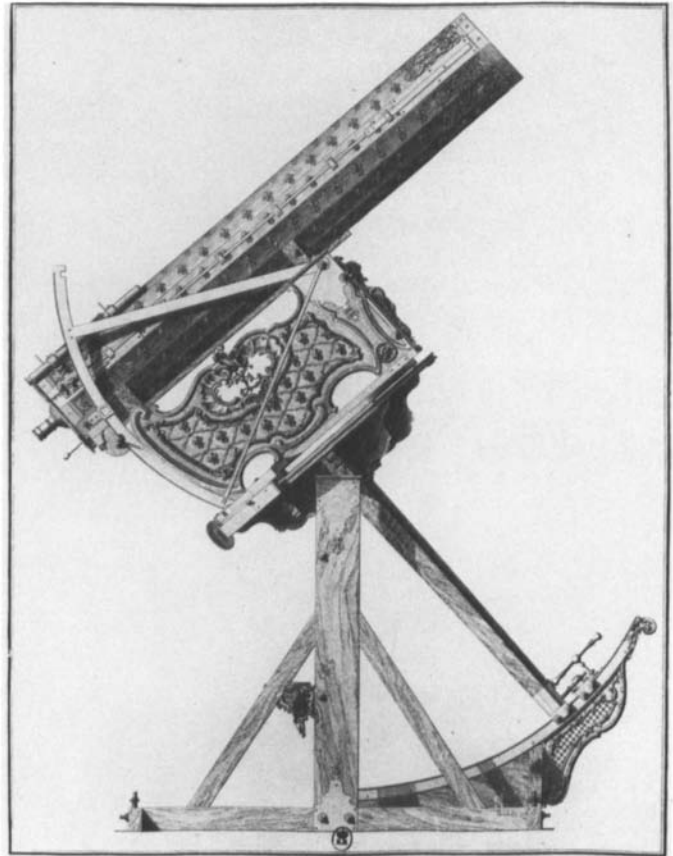


Figure 11. Eight-foot telescope constructed by Dom Noël following the instructions of the duc de Chaulnes, presented to the king on December 10, 1756. Plate three of the series engraved under the direction of Dom Noël. Each plate 41 x 31.5 cm (16¹/₈ x 12⁷/₁₆ in.). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

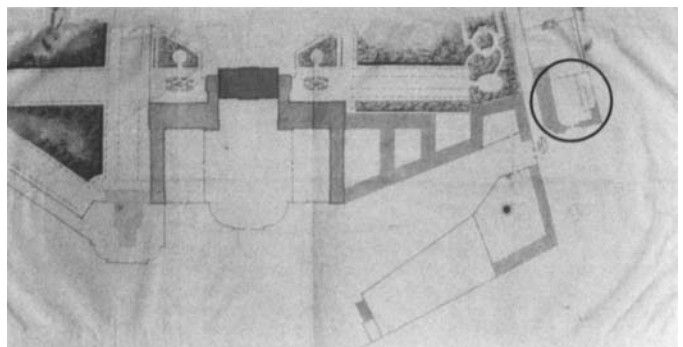


Figure 12. Overall plan of the château de La Muette around 1760, showing the site of Louis XV's second physics and optical laboratory, or the "Cabinet de Passy" (area circled). Paris, Archives Nationales, Cartes et Plans, N III Seine 768.



Figure 13. Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700–1770) in collaboration with the engravers Nicolas Bailleul and Louis Borde. Pair of terrestrial and celestial globes bearing the dates 1728 and 1730. Stands in *Vernis de Paris façon de la Chine* attributed to the workshop of Guillaume and Etienne-Simon Martin. H: 107 cm (3 ft. 6 in.); Diam. of spheres: 32 cm (1 ft. 1 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DH.705.1–2.



Figure 14. Abbé Nollet's celestial globe. Detail: one of the three lacquered cartouches of the stand's entablature. Paris, circa 1728–1730.

mission of which he was probably not even aware: the introduction of advanced scientific knowledge into the daily life of many of his subjects. Art had been the unusual means to this end. The analysis of the two acquisitions to which we will now proceed will only confirm this truth.

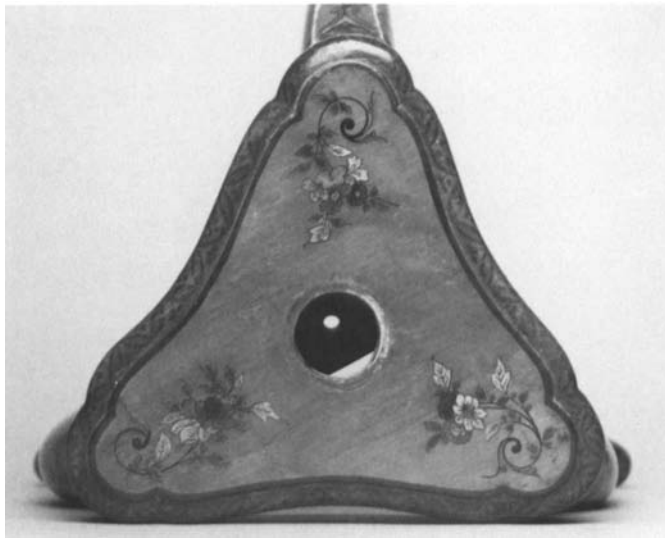
II. A TERRESTRIAL AND A CELESTIAL GLOBE BY J. A. NOLLET (1700–1770) (PARIS, circa 1728)

Description

The terrestrial globe and the celestial globe are mounted on a tripod base of lacquered wood, of a rather exceptional form and size (fig. 13).

The lacquer generally used as a ground is *camomille* (light yellow) lacquer. All the profiles and angles are outlined with a so-called *capucin* (brown) lacquer. Three console legs, with simulated *sabots*, support a triangular pedestal on the sides of which large entablatures are decorated with cartouches of rococo design, with Chinese figures, trees, and rocks in gold or silver varnish on red backgrounds. All the cartouches have slightly different compositions. Those of the terrestrial globe entablatures show a figure in various attitudes always to

the right of center and a rock left of center, while those of the celestial globe entablatures show a figure to the left of center and rocks right of center (fig. 14). The chutes of the consoles display other cartouches, with reserves with a marbled ground and pendants of red, yellow, and blue flowers (fig. 15a). A profile with repeating “mosaic” motifs of Japanese influence, likewise on a red background, surrounds the platform on which discrete entwining floral motifs recall the pendants of the consoles (fig. 15b). A short lacquered baluster supports a mobile tripartite “basket” of extremely ornate form, lacquered in keeping with the other parts. At the base of this “basket,” a compass ensures the absolute orientation of the instruments. The top of the “basket” supports a horizontal circle covered with lacquered paper on which are painted the signs of the zodiac and its degrees, counted from the vernal point. A meridian bronze circle, divided into degrees of latitude, surrounds the globe and moves freely in a bronze gorge situated above the compass, thus permitting the adjustment of the axis of the sphere, which represents the axis of the earth. A final small bronze circle, on which the degrees of longitude are indicated, crowns the entire object.



Figures 15a–b. Abbé Nollet's terrestrial globe: details of the decoration of the stand. Polychrome lacquer predominantly yellow and red. Filigrees in *capucin*, gold, and silver lacquer. Paris, circa 1728–1730.

Marks

On each stand are the following numbers, more or less effaced:

1. on a crossbar situated under the entablature: “N. 32” in yellow paint, in slight relief and in cursive writing;

2. in the same place a number: “3323” (?), originally in blue paint, perhaps a stencil.

Cartouches

On the terrestrial globe:

Above a large cartouche situated in the Northern Hemisphere are the arms of the duchesse du Maine with the crown of the French princes of the blood, supported on the left by Fame and on the right by Minerva. At the base, the four continents are represented by allegorical figures. Between the two motifs is the dedication: *Dédie et présenté a S.A.S. MADAME LA DUCHESSE DU MAINE par son très humble et très obéissant serviteur NOLET Lic. en Theologie*. Under Africa can be read: *Borde exc.* (fig. 16a).

Another cartouche, located in the Southern Hemisphere, of a purely rococo composition, reads: *GLOBE TERRESTRE dressé sur les observations les plus nouvelles et les plus exactes approuvées par M^{rs} de l'Academie Roiale des sciences AParis. avec privilege du Roi. 1728*. In a circle: *Monté par l'Auteur* (fig. 16b).

On the celestial globe:

A large cartouche, situated in the Northern Hemisphere, of a similar style to that on the terrestrial globe, bears the arms of the Bourbon-Condé surrounded by collars of the Ordres du Roi and adorned with the crown of the French princes of the blood. It bears a partially effaced inscription beginning with “*DÉDIÉ et présenté à S. A. Monseigneur le Comte de CLERMONT*,” which was probably followed by *son très-humble et très-obéissant serviteur Nollet de la Société des Arts*.

Another cartouche, inspired by the Italian Renaissance, reads: *Globe céleste calculé pour l'année 1730 sur les Observations les plus nouvelles et les plus exactes. À Paris avec privilège du Roy. Baillieul le Jeune sculpsit*. In a circle: *Monté par l'auteur*.

A third rectangular cartouche, located between the constellations of the Whale, the Phoenix, and Eridanus, bears the symbols used for six magnitudes of stars.

Date

The date of 1728 on the terrestrial globe must also be retained for the issuing of the celestial globe. It was in fact the current practice to represent the position of the stars, variable because of their proper motions and the procession of the equinoxes, calculated for the rounded-off date nearest to that of publication.



Figures 16a–b. Abbé Nolle's terrestrial globe: details of the cartouches.

Geographical Elements

On the terrestrial globe (fig. 17):

The principal maritime routes indicated are the route of Magellan, the route of Caetano in 1542, the route of Olivier van Noort (1598–1601), the routes of Mandana in 1568 and 1595, the routes of Quiros (among them that of 1605), the route of Le Maire in 1616, the return routes of Le Maire (1615–1617) and Tasman in the 1590s, the route of Halley in 1700, and the route of the ship *Le Saint Louis* in 1708. Nouvelle Bretagne is distinct from Nouvelle Guinée, demonstrating a knowledge of Dampier's second voyage (1699 to 1701).

Gores and Mountings

The globes are composed of twenty-four gores, twelve in each hemisphere. Each gore is triangular; longitudes and latitudes represented are five degrees apart; the gores meet at the poles without the use of a polar cap, according to a practice introduced into

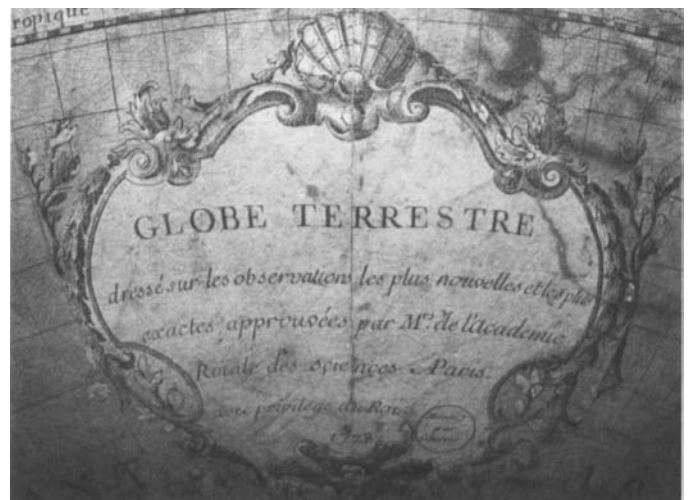




Figure 17. Abbé Nolle's terrestrial globe: detail showing the state of California and the route of Gaetano (1542).

the making of globes by Nicolas Bion in 1710.

The globes rotate on a steel axis attached to the engraved brass mounting. Following the classical arrangement, this mounting is reduced to only the meridian circle surmounted with a small horary circle. A careful examination shows that the mounting and its engraving are absolutely contemporaneous with the globe.

The horizontal circle is in gold-lacquered paper on a red background, with concentric divisions of the wind rose, the signs of the zodiac, and the days of the week and their names.

43. F. L. Stevenson, *Terrestrial and Celestial Globes*, vol. 2 (New Haven, 1921), p. 268.

44. H: 110 cm (3 ft. 7 in.); Diam: 45 cm (1 ft 6 in.); Diam. of globes: 32 cm (1 ft 1 in.); Acc. no. 86.DH.705 1-2. The Getty globes were bought from Maurice Segoura, Paris, and were previously in the collection of the duc de Talleyrand, château de Saint-Brice-sous-Forêt, Pavillon Colombe (Val d'Oise).

Other Known Examples by Nolle

In pairs:

—France, ex-collections of the ducs de La Roche-Guyon, at the château de La Roche-Guyon, sale, Sotheby's Monaco, December 6, 1987, lot 85, probably acquired as early as 1732 by Alexandre de Durtal, duc de La Rochefoucauld, with a stand of sculpted wood;

—Italy, Maldoltti Library, Guastalla, in 1921;⁴³

—Italy, Library of the Bishop's Seminary of Mondovì, in 1921.⁴³

45. Nuremberg, National Germanischesmuseum.

46. Inventories of the preserved globes in public collections are being made under the aegis of the Union Internationale d'Histoire et de Philosophie des Sciences. Published or in manuscript form, they concern, among other countries, France, Italy, the German Federal Republic, the D.D.R., England, and Holland.

47. Louis Borde lived on the rue Saint-Jean de Beauvais in the area

Terrestrial globes alone:

—England, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich (inv. no. G. 113/NA 9014–36C), the only known copy with a stand identical to those of the J. Paul Getty Museum;

—Italy, Count Fenaroli's Library, Brescia, in 1921.⁴³

Celestial globe alone:

—Italy, Astronomical Museum of the Observatory, Rome;⁴³

—France, Musée National des Techniques, Paris (inv. no. 3853).

Only the globe of the National Maritime Museum and the two globes of the J. Paul Getty Museum⁴⁴ are floor globes, the other models being table globes.

Commentary

The significance of the terrestrial and celestial globes acquired by the J. Paul Getty Museum may be analyzed from a three-fold point of view: as vehicles of the geographical knowledge of their time, as art objects, and, finally, as evidence concerning the contemporary society, the last having been examined above.

The first terrestrial globes were constructed in the West in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. They did not precede but followed the movement of the *Grandes Découvertes*. One of the first and, for a long time, the largest among them was that constructed in 1477 by Nicolas Germanus for Pope Sixtus IV, a globe that has been lost since the Sack of Rome in 1527. The oldest preserved terrestrial globe is that constructed by Martin Behaim in 1492.⁴⁵ These first globes were hand-drawn and -illuminated, and we must consider as a decisive innovation the use of printing and the invention of the *fuseaux* (gores) technique for the making and diffusion of globes. It was probably Martin Waldseemüller (1470–1522), the geographer of Duc René de Lorraine, who was the first to develop this technique in 1507 and who on the same occasion used the word *America* to designate the newly discovered territories.

From whatever period, the old manuscript or printed globes preserved today are rare. The most recent surveys show that probably fewer than two thousand globes anterior to 1850, that is out of a period of production of nearly four centuries, are preserved in the public and private collections of Western Europe and

North and South America.⁴⁶

The Abbé Nollet's globes, because of the inscriptions they bear, permit us to discover the names and the roles of the artists who collaborated in their production.

The Abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet conceived the work, assembling geographical observations and directing the designers and engravers. The phrase *monté par l'auteur* is not pro forma: it indicates that the mounting of the *fuseaux*, on a hollow sphere made from *papier-mâché* covered with plaster and polished, is the work of the scientist who, especially at that time, was beginning to develop a very important workshop for the construction of instruments. We will see that it is also to Nollet that we owe the choice of their lacquer mounting, following a practice that is found in all his works.

The engraver of the terrestrial globe was Louis Borde, who bore the title of *Graveur du Roi et des Affaires Etrangères* and who specialized in the engraving of geographical maps.⁴⁷ From the same year of 1728 we owe to his burin the famous map of Paris by the Abbé Delagrive.⁴⁸

Nicolas Bailleul, called Bailleul the Younger, is the author of the engraving of the letters and inscriptions on the celestial globe and probably also of those on the terrestrial globe. This type of engraving, very different in its technique from the work required to draw the continents and constellations, was during the eighteenth century the specialty of a small number of artists, among whom was the Bailleul family (Gaspar, the father, François, the eldest, Marie, and Nicolas, the youngest).⁴⁹

Louis Borde did not limit himself to the engraving of the terrestrial globe but also sponsored this costly enterprise, a fact confirmed by the mention *excudit* which, as Mademoiselle Marianne Grivel has recently demonstrated,⁵⁰ designated the publisher who provided the money needed for the engraving of a copper plate, supervised the different stages of its printing as well as the distribution of the prints, and remained in principle the owner of the plate.

As vehicles of knowledge, the celestial and especially the terrestrial globes have always been considered indispensable objects in the library of a man of culture. From the Renaissance on, engravings and paintings show them placed in the middle of reading rooms.

of the university. His competence in matters of cartography was well known. He was the expert craftsman asked to appraise the plates for the globes of Jean-Baptiste Delure on the occasion of the latter's post-mortem inventory, on May 7, 1736 (cf. A. N., Min. 85, 458).

48. Paris, B. N. Est., Va 455a, five plates in folio. Cf. *Inventaire du Fonds Français, XVIIIème siècle*, vol. 3 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale).

49. Gaspard and François Bailleul, father and brother of Nicolas,

bore the titles of Geographer and Engineer. The latter mentions on his trade card: *Graveur en Lettre Pour ce qui regarde l'écriture, Les Cartes et Plans en général*. The productions of Nicolas are rather few. Before 1724, he engraved maps for the *Nouveau voyage en France* of Piganiol de La Force.

50. M. Grivel, *Le commerce de l'estampe à Paris au XVIIème siècle* (Geneva, 1986), p. 8.

They are also instruments designed to represent, in a form far more evocative of reality than maps, the location of the most recent discoveries of navigators. This function lent importance to the didactic use of ancient globes and increased the necessity of frequently bringing them up to date in order to account for expeditions that regularly enriched the knowledge of our planet.

In France, the last large globes produced were those of Coronelli measuring three French feet (110 cm; 3 ft. 6 in.) in diameter. These globes were sponsored by the Académie des Sciences in 1693 and, given the exceptional dimensions of the copper plates necessary for their impression, such a sponsorship was never given again during the eighteenth century. With the exception of these, before the spheres of Didier Robert de Vaugondy in 1751, no printed French globe was larger than the pieces under study, measuring 1 *pie*d (32.48 cm; 12.8 in.) in diameter. Their production is situated between the rather unoriginal globes of Nicolas Bion in 1710–1712, essentially imitating the work of Guillaume Delisle of 1700–1709; and those of Hardy in 1737, modernized fifteen years later by Louis-Charles Desnos.

A geographical analysis demonstrates that Nollet integrated rather well the knowledge acquired from discoveries before 1725; because of this, his globes were truly new.

They were also new because of the design of their stands. An examination shows that the stands for the Getty Museum's globes are the originals.⁵¹

Present knowledge of lacquer work done in Paris during the first half of the eighteenth century is almost nonexistent. For this reason, we must not neglect the evidence that the present objects give of the practice of this art around 1728–1730. Studies now in progress reveal the surprising proliferation of secondary workshops but also show that only a few enterprises were capable of producing work of high quality.

Nearly exhaustive research on the subject leaves only two ateliers as possible producers of the stands of the globes of the J. Paul Getty Museum and of the National Maritime Museum.⁵² The first is that of Pierre de Neufmaisons (1672–1752) and of Jacques Dagly (d. 1728), established at the Manufacture des Gobelins after its reopening at the end of the reign of Louis XIV;

however, it is almost certain that the lacquers of this workshop were executed in relief and that they used only oriental themes, to the exclusion of all rococo motifs (except on carriages, which were in point of fact the major product of these artists). The second is that of the Martin brothers. The elder, Guillaume, active on the rue de Charonne from 1711, was certified as a master craftsman on August 11, 1713, then named *Vernisseur du Roy* on June 25, 1725. He signed a contract with his brother Etienne-Simon on November 10, 1727 to operate their workshops jointly, geographically separated in Faubourg Saint-Antoine and Faubourg Saint-Martin. An inventory made in 1730 of the contents of their workshops shows very clearly the use of colored lacquer and designs similar to those on the pieces in question (figs. 15a–b).

Jean-Antoine Nollet remained faithful to this type of design, which we find on practically all the instruments that he constructed until his death in 1770. Preferring at first to use red backgrounds, he later chose lacquers on a black ground.

III. A MICROSCOPE SIMILAR TO THAT OF LOUIS XV IN THE CABINET DE LA MUETTE, WITH A MICROMETRIC STAGE BY THE DUC DE CHAULNES (PARIS, AFTER 1749)

Description

A compound microscope in gilt bronze, steel, enamel, and shagreen, in the rococo style (figs. 18, 19, 21, 23).⁵³

The stand rests on a large base with ornate bronze scrolls from which rise four rococo consoles supporting the stage of the instrument. On the stage is fixed a lens holder with a screw micrometer and a white enamel dial. A vertical bar of rectangular section, attached to the pedestal and decorated at its base with an inverted console, crosses the back of the stage and supports the body of the microscope. It is divided into two sliding parts, which can be moved quickly by means of a rack and pinion, or slowly through a vertical screw. The tube of the microscope is encased in fine-grained green shagreen (a recent replacement) and, through its top part, there is an ocular micrometer with screw and dial. The body ends in a dome decorated with *godrons* and *canaux* and is closed with a cap in the shape of a small

51. A confirmation of this is given, in this respect, by the examination of the globes of La Roche-Guyon, the bases of which (built on special order in 1731–1732), although in sculpted wood, display an identical compass, an identical meridian circle, and an horary circle in bronze engraved by the same artist. They also display the same horizontal circle in gilded lacquer on a red background, established from the same printed template, and include in addition the remnants of a small "mosaic" edging identical to that found on the pedestals of the globes of the J. Paul Getty Museum.

52. A. Czarnocka, *Les laques européennes du XVIII^e siècle*. Thesis, Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1988. The author thanks Ms. Czarnocka for this specific research.

53. The microscope (set to minimum extension), H: 49 cm (1 ft. 7 in.); W: 28.3 cm (11¹/₈ in.); D: 20.7 cm (8¹/₄ in.); the case, H: 66 cm (2 ft. 2 in.); W: 34.9 cm (1 ft. 1 in.); D: 27 cm (10.6 in.); acc. no. 86.DH.694. The Getty microscope was bought from Mrs. Kila Kugel, New York (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 23, 1986, lot 901).

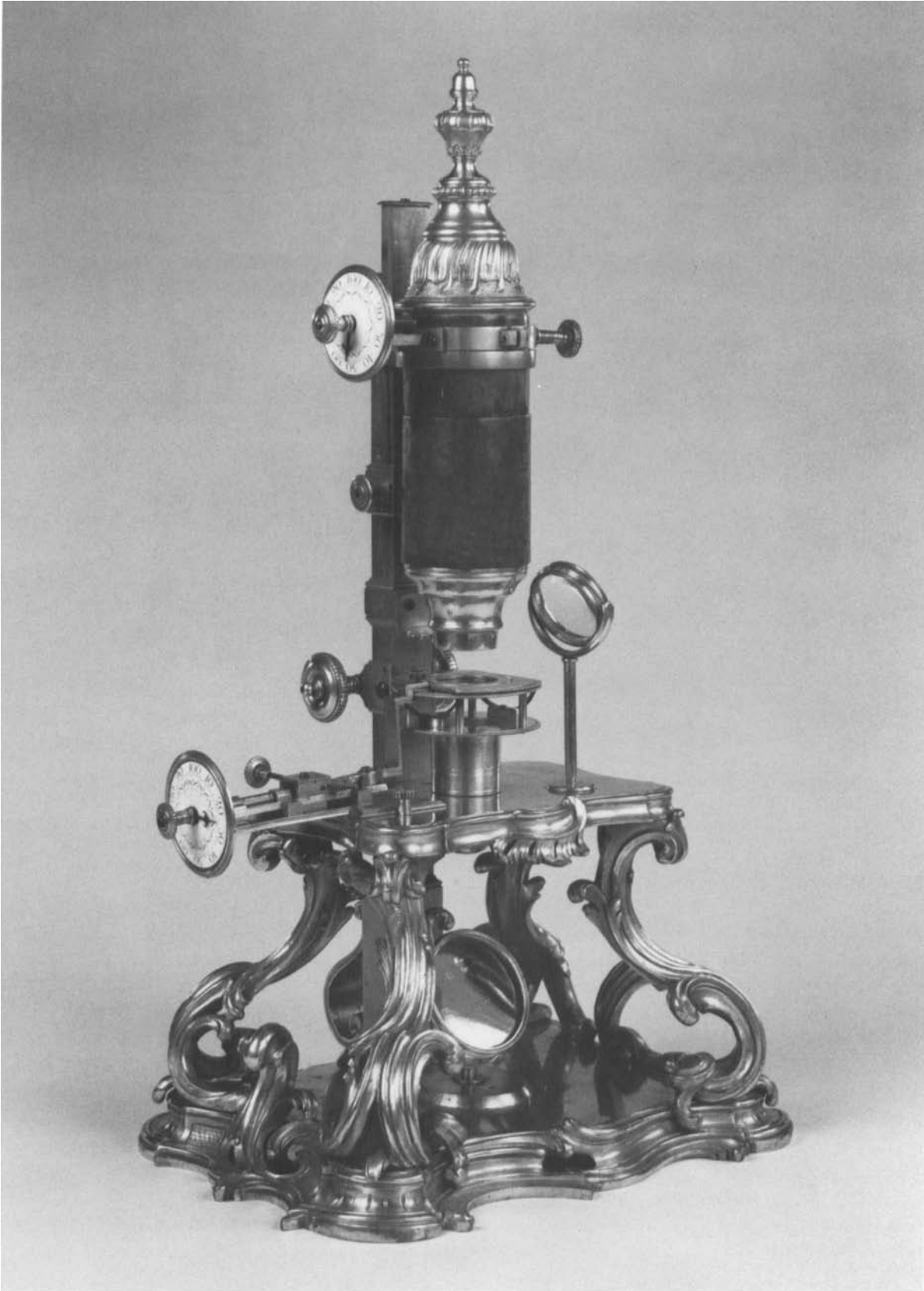


Figure 18. Compound microscope with micrometric eyepiece and stage. Gilt bronze, steel, white enamel, green shagreen. Paris, circa 1749. Microscope: H: 49 cm (1 ft. 7 in.) (at minimum extension); W: 28.3 cm (11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) (base); Diam: 20.7 cm (8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in.) (base). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DH.694.

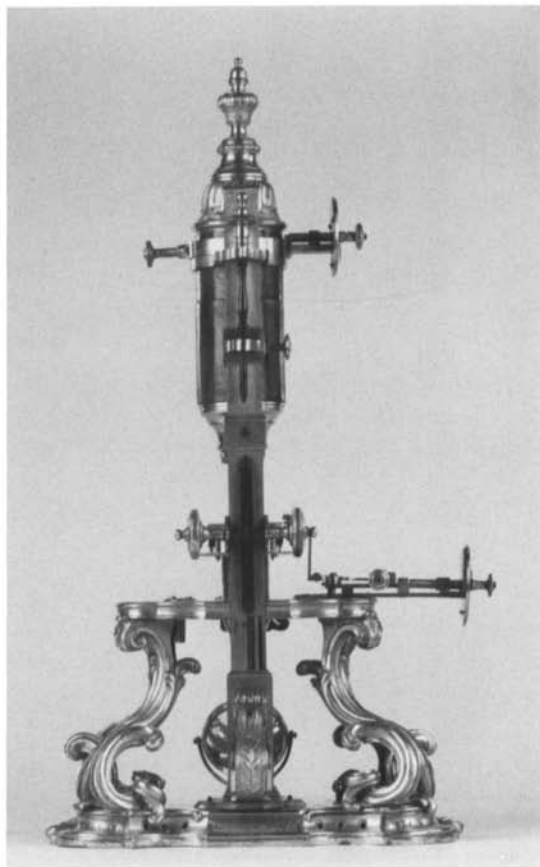


Figure 19. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: three-quarter view, seen from the back.

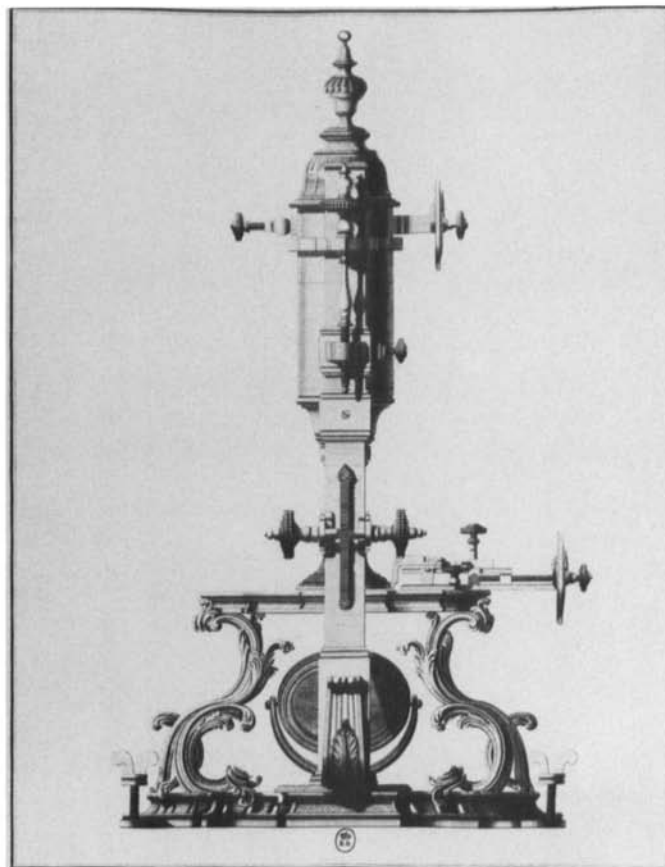


Figure 20. Microscope of Louis XV's laboratory at the château de La Muette. Plate 14 of the series of Dom Noël's engravings. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

vase. An adjustable concave mirror is placed under the opening of the stage, along the optical axis, to control the illumination.

The microscope is accompanied by its very rich travel case, in red morocco leather lined inside with green velvet and its original silver braiding (fig. 25a). This case is profusely decorated with bookbinder's punches and equipped with its original gilded brass fittings. There is a drawer holding spare lenses and accessories (fig. 25b) at the front; inside this drawer is a second one, opening the opposite way, with four compartments designed to hold the slides.

History of the Model

It is around 1600 that we must date the invention of the microscope by the Dutch opticians of Middelburg.⁵⁴ An adaptation of the astronomical refracting telescope,

the principal elements of which it imitated, the microscope was perfected by Galileo during the years 1600–1610; several examples of this new instrument were mentioned in the correspondence of the scientists of the time.

The microscope under study is a compound microscope with three lenses (cf. fig. 28), an optical arrangement of which we find a first example as early as 1631.⁵⁵ Most compound microscopes until circa 1740 were equipped either with a tripod supporting the stage and extended to support the optical body (adjustment of the focus was then made by pulling the eyepiece tube within the tube holding the objective lens) or, in a less primitive fashion, with a lateral rod along which the optical body was affixed.

This last arrangement, which appeared around 1670 in England, was perfected almost simultaneously by

54. R. Clay and T. Court, *The History of the Microscope* (London, 1932), p. 8.

55. G. Turner, *Collecting Microscopes* (New York, 1981).

56. A fact that can be checked with the library of the duc de

Chaulnes, which was auctioned from March 19, 1770 on, and is well catalogued. Lot 1246 is the original Baker work; lot 1247 its French translation of 1754; lot 1249 the translation of the microscopical observations of Needham, containing the "Mémoire" of Passemant that we

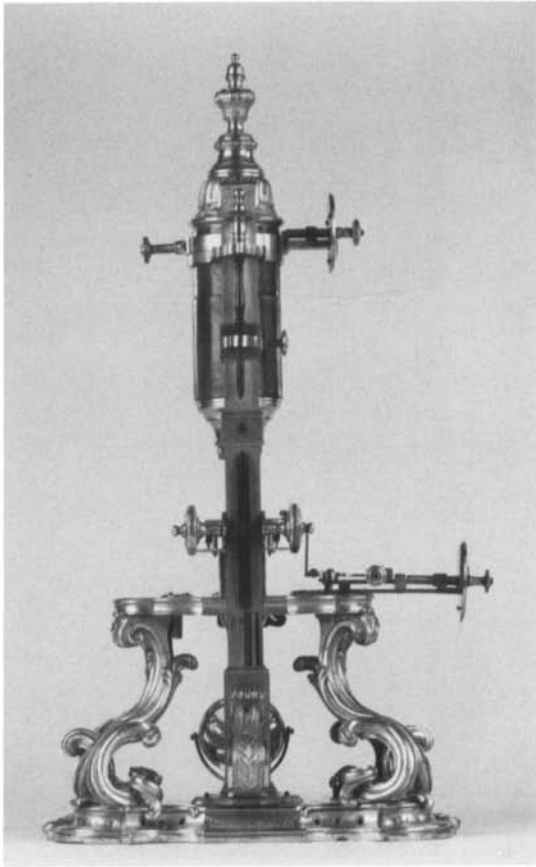


Figure 21. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: back view with profile of micrometric stage.

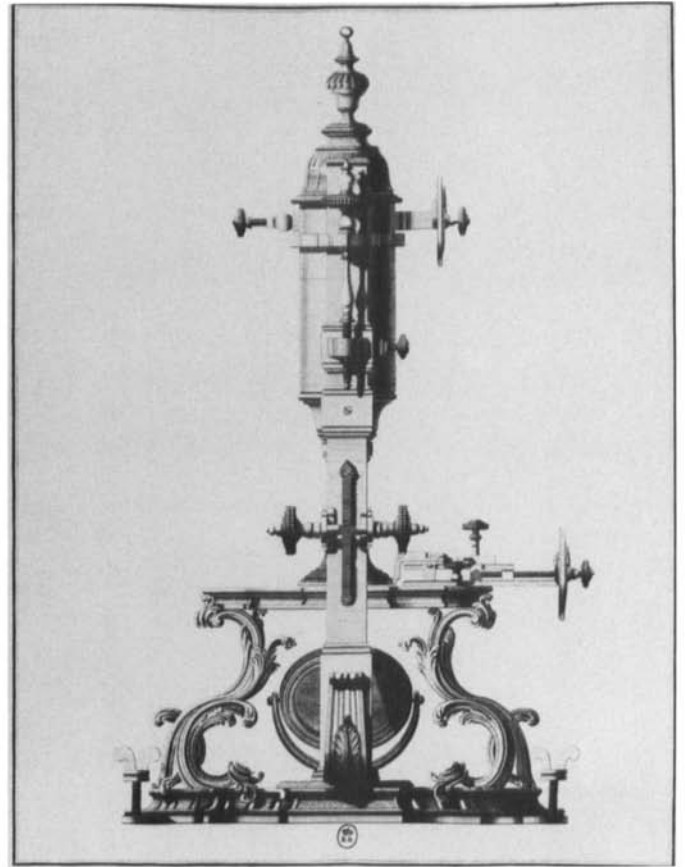


Figure 22. Plate 15 of the series of Dom Noël's engravings. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

Louis Joblot in Paris (fig. 26) and John Marshall in London, who added a mobile lensholder and a fine adjustment of the focus with the help of a screw. The naturalist Henry Baker reorganized these different elements in a model of very modern appearance that he described in *The Microscope Made Easy*, published in London in November 1742. Baker had his microscope constructed by the artisan John Cuff (fig. 27), whose name remained attached to the model. It is not without interest for the chronology of our object to remark how quickly and to what extent the publication of Baker spread: printed in 1,000 copies, it was already out of print in the May following its publication. In June 1743 a second edition was published; the many copies preserved today in France lead one to think that this book was the reason behind the adoption in that country of the Baker and Cuff model.⁵⁶

reproduce in Appendix 1.

57. See Appendix 2 ("Memoire" of Magny, sect. 3).

58. E.G.R. Taylor, *The Mathematical Practitioners of Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 216–217; *Philosophical Transactions*

It is Claude-Siméon Passemant (1702–1769) who seems to have been the first in Paris and, for several years, the only one to produce for his clients the model designed by Baker. His microscopes were almost identical to those of Cuff. The rectangular pillar, the adjustment screw, and the console supporting the base of the pillar at the back of the microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum are identical to the corresponding devices of Cuff and Passemant.

The coarse adjustment of the focus with the help of a rack and a two-wheel pinion (fig. 28) was conceived by the botanist Henry-Louis Duhamel du Monceau (1700–1782) before 1750.⁵⁷

The ocular micrometer (fig. 29) used on the object under study is a model with points, screw, and dial. It derives from the invention of William Gascoigne (1612–1644),⁵⁸ who applied it to the eyepieces of astro-

(1717), p. 603.

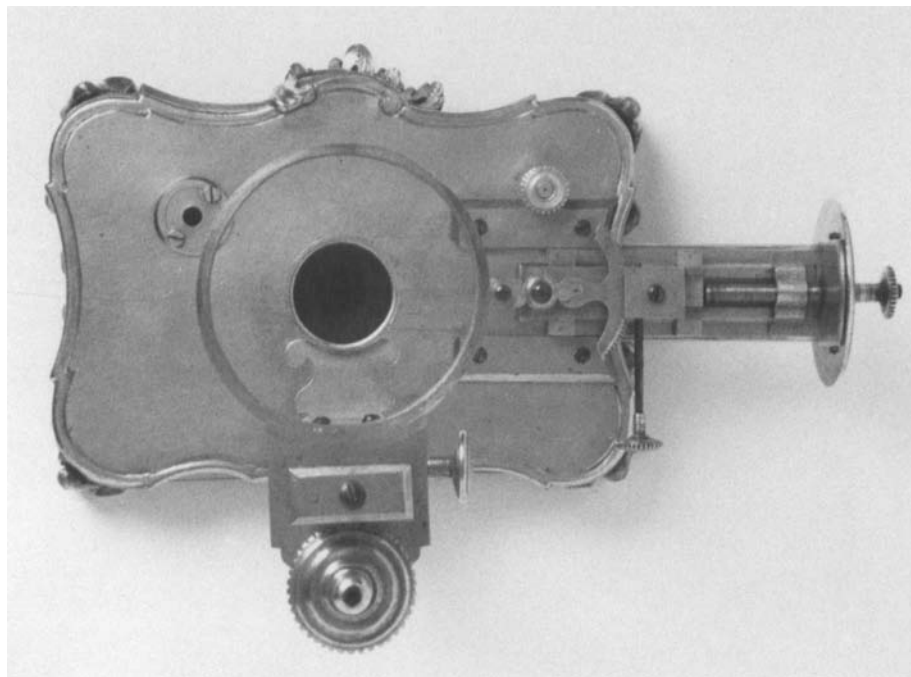


Figure 23. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: view of the stage.

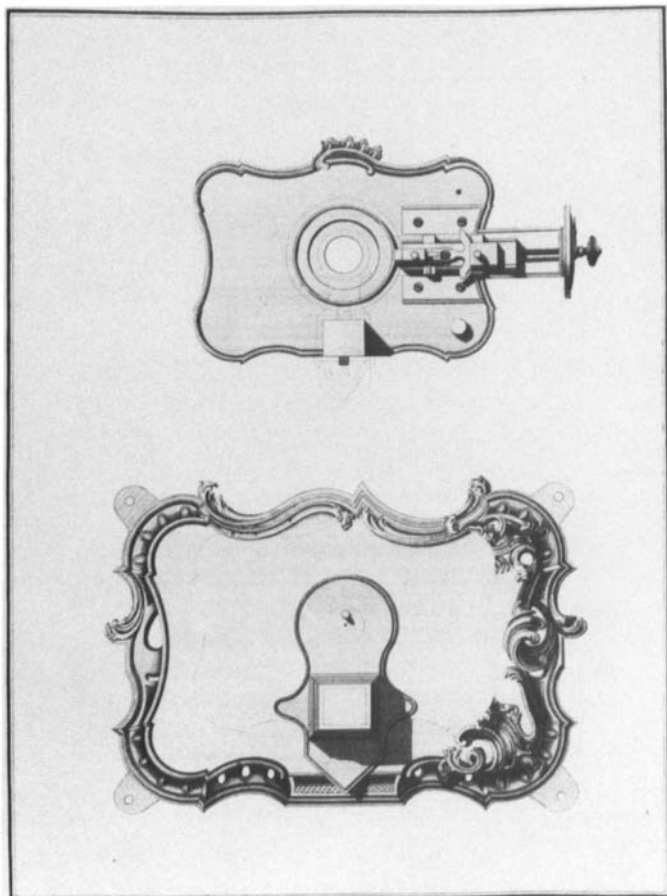


Figure 24. Plate 16 of the series of Dom Noël's engravings. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

nomical telescopes. The first idea for its use on microscopes dates from 1710.⁵⁹ In Germany, the microscopist Hertel began to develop it around 1716. In England, Benjamin Martin introduced a simplified version of it in the eyepiece of some of the microscopes that he commercialized from 1738 on.⁶⁰ In France it was Michel-Ferdinand, duc de Chaulnes, who was the first to apply this improvement to microscopes built under his supervision.⁶¹

This simple invention allows great precision of measurement: if the micrometric screw is divided into forty-two steps per inch and if, as on the example under study here, the dial allows a reading subdivision of 1/100th, the precision of measurement in the focal field of the eyepiece is around six microns (somewhat limited by the mechanical irregularities of the device), which is theoretically equivalent to a range of from a few microns to only a fraction of a micron in the object field, according to the objective lens used. In practice

59. T. Balthazar, *Micrometria, hoc est de micrometrorum tubis opticis sicut Telescopiis et Microscopiis applicandorum varia structura et usu* (Erlangen, 1710).

60. B. Martin, *Description and Use of a Pocket Reflecting Microscope with a Micrometer* (London, 1739).

61. Circa 1740–1745 if we trust a suggestion of the *Histoire et Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences* (Paris, 1765): 'M. le duc de Chaulnes . . . s'était aperçu qu'au moyen du micromètre, qu'il avoit appliqué il y a plus de vingt ans au microscope, il pouvoit distinguer très sensiblement la quatre millièrne partie d'une ligne,' a statement which more readily applies to the ocular micrometer than to the micrometric stage.



Figure 25a. Compound microscope with case in red embossed and gilded morocco leather. Case: H: 67 cm (2 ft. 2 in.), W: 33 cm (1 ft. 1 in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.DH.694.



Figure 25b. Case of the microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: detail of the drawer containing slides and extra lenses.

one is limited by the defects of the optical part, which at the time was rarely capable of attaining a sufficient separating power.⁶²

The micrometric stage used here (figs. 23, 28, 29) was an original invention of the duc de Chaulnes and does not seem to have had antecedents (cf. fig. 24). The duc only published a late detailed account of it in his paper of 1768 presented to the Académie Royale des Sciences, accompanied by plates, showing a perfected version on which he was still working at the time of his death.⁶³ Alexis Magny's (1712–circa 1777) memorandum of 1751 (see Appendix 2) and that of Passemant in 1750 show

for the first time that the invention of this stage is anterior to 1749.

The micrometric stage represents a considerable technical advance. Provided that it is made carefully, it permits easy measurement to a precision of one hundredth millimeter. As evidence of the scientific exchanges linking both nations, the invention spread quickly to England, where George Adams constructed for the Prince of Wales between 1751 and 1760 a superb microscope comprising a micrometric stage with two cross-screws (London, Science Museum); for the same prince, who had now become King George III, he com-

62. P. H. Van Cittert, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Microscopes in Charge of the Utrecht University Museum* (Groningen, 1934) and S. Bradbury and G. L'E. Turner, *Historical Aspects of Microscopy* (Cambridge, 1967).

63. Cf. note 32.

64. A. Nacet, *Collection Nacet: Instruments scientifiques et livres*

anciens (reprint, Paris, 1976), no. 50.

65. Former collection of the vicomte de Noailles, then of Arturo Lopez-Willshaw (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 23, 1976, lot 23). Traditionally said to have belonged to Madame de Pompadour, but without enough supporting documents to enable us to distinguish between that model and the others. Through the king, the favorite

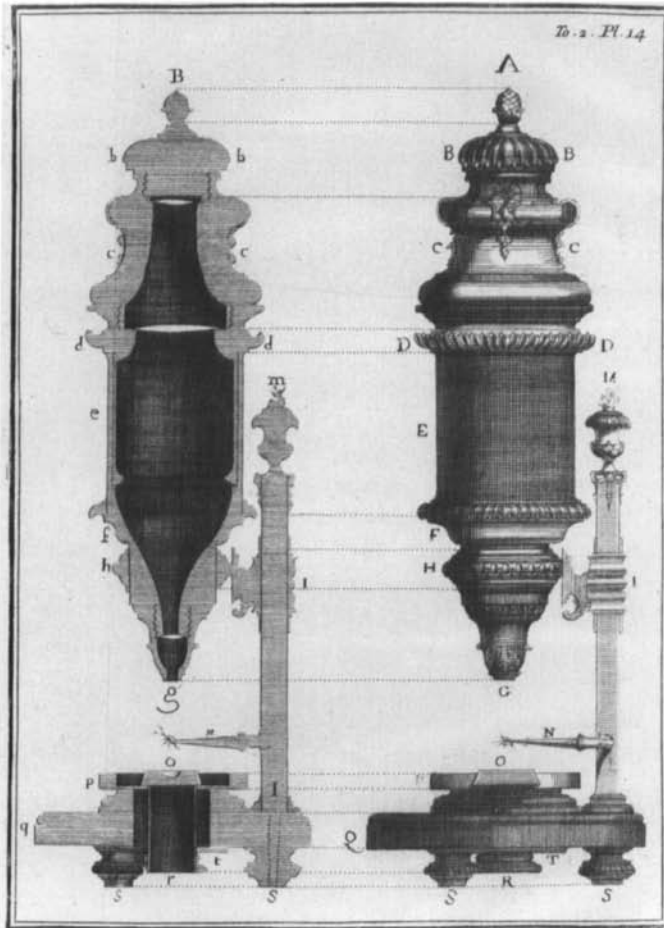


Figure 26. Compound microscope of the end of Louis XIV's reign and the beginning of the Régence. Model made by Louis Joblot according to his *Description et usages de plusieurs nouveaux microscopes* (Paris, 1718), plate 14. From the author's collection.



Figure 27. Microscope of the type commissioned by H. Baker from J. Cuff in 1742. Signed J. Cuff, Lond. Inv. and Fecit. Oxford, Museum of the History of Science.

bined this device with that of the ocular micrometer in his large silver microscope of 1761 (Oxford, Science Museum). During the same period, Passemant used the same two devices on certain rare microscopes.⁶⁴

It seems that the application to the microscope of this mechanism was somewhat ahead of its time, and its value ill understood by its contemporaries. Its use was never widespread. It was only toward the mid-nineteenth century, about one hundred years after its conception, that German and English microscopists incorporated it more or less systematically into precision apparatuses.

had at her disposition the *Menus-Plaisirs cabinet* of the Abbé Nollet, as well as the royal collection at La Muette. Though her interest in science is well known, she does not seem to have personally collected scientific instruments and curiosities on a high level. Her posthumous inventory, made on June 17, 1764 and the following days, was only finished on July 17, 1765 (published by J. Cordey, *Inventaire des biens de*

Other Known Examples Similar to the One in the J. Paul Getty Museum:

- Paris, Musée de l'École Polytechnique;
- Paris, Musée National des Techniques, former collection of the Académie Royale des Sciences;
- Paris, collection Michel Meyer;
- Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts;
- Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 9870;
- Antwerp, private collection.⁶⁵

Marks: None.

Madame de Pompadour [Paris, 1939]). It enables us to list some of the few instruments in her possession, among them a large and expensive three-foot reflecting telescope, most probably by Passemant (no. 1732 of the inventory, estimated by Poirier at 300 *livres*), a large barometer and large thermometer (no. 209), a burning mirror on a floor stand (no. 178, 500 *livres*), a mathematical instrument set of

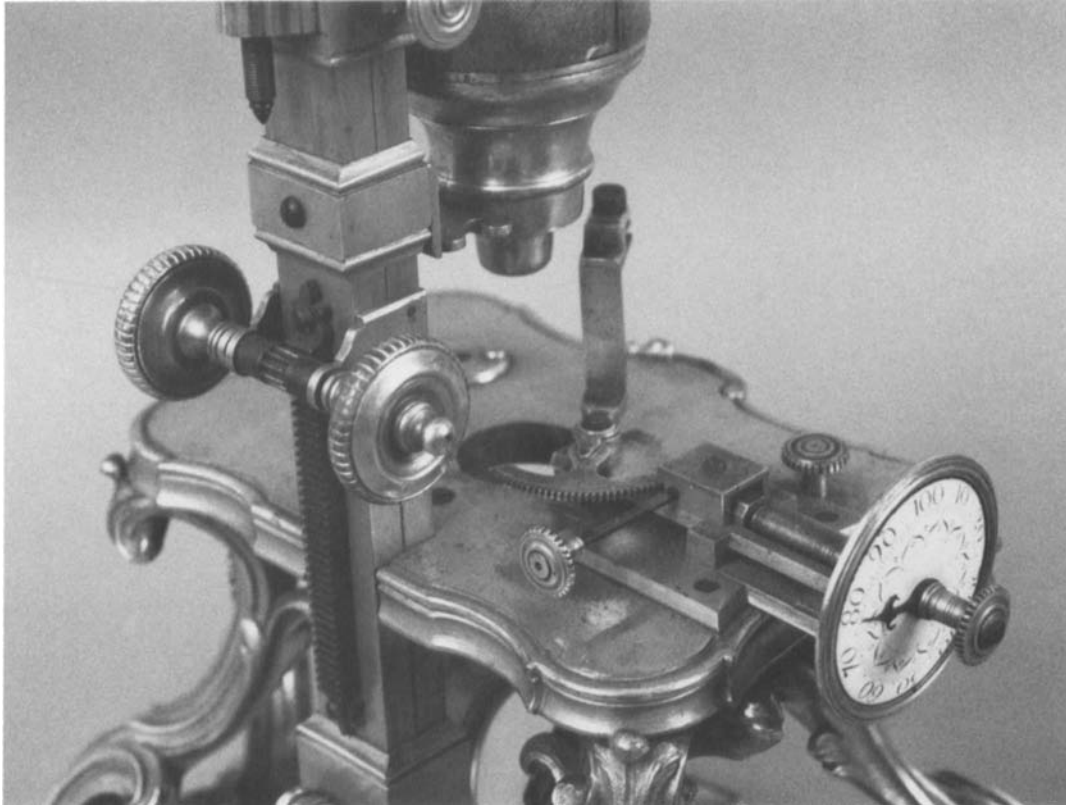


Figure 28. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: detail of the stage.

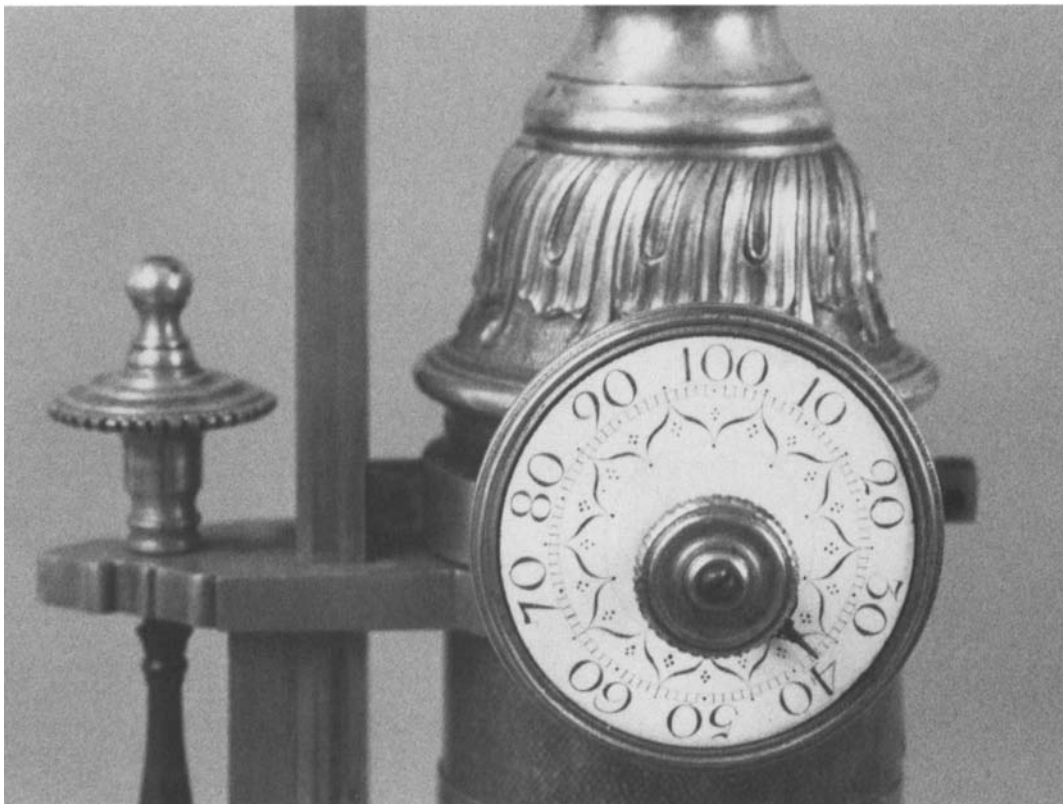


Figure 29. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: detail of ocular micrometer.

Magnification of Lenses

Lens no.	Magnification ⁶⁶	Approx. ratio
1	29 x	1
2	42 x	1.5
3	61 x	2
4	124 x	4
5	248 x	8

Date

Very probably one of the copies, including a stage modified by Passemant circa 1749 or just after (see the commentary below and the extracts of the 1750 “Mémoire” by Passemant), a date which fits quite well with the general style of French gilt bronze of the period.⁶⁷

Commentary

Despite the elegance and the admirable chasing of the gilt bronze parts of this object and the beauty of its leather work, we must not consider it only as an instrument for salons. Intended for a social elite with money and taste, it constitutes a significant example of bronze artistry; but the advanced state of the technical innovations that it incorporates and the precision of measurement that it permits could only find a use in the hands of a member of the scientific elite. This consideration must remain in view if we are to better understand the manner in which it was created.

A few similar examples survive, but historians of the subject have unfortunately confused them with other microscopes that possess only similarities or analogies. Until now these examples have been associated from

fourteen pieces, in gold (no. 2442, 704 livres), and a framed *tableau mouvant* with a view of her château at Saint-Ouen (no. 2238, 200 livres), that can be identified with the *automaton* preserved since the Revolution in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, Paris (inv. no. 1407.2), the different moving parts of which had been made by the mechanic Desmares in 1759.

The furniture and works of art of the marquise de Pompadour were sold during a very long series of auctions that took place in her Paris residence, the hôtel d’Evreux (also called the hôtel de Pompadour, the present palais de l’Elysées). The paintings were sold apart (April 28, 1766). The sale of the other lots, uncatalogued, lasted at least from November 19, 1764 to the end of July 1765 (cf. Cordey, op. cit., pp. 263–267), and maybe later through anonymously advertised sales (cf., for instance, *Annonces, affiches et avis divers*, July 20, 1767). A careful study of the inventory reveals that the inventory itself was interrupted during the sale. Unfortunately, the auction records are now lost; together with the inventory, they would have provided a complete list of the marquise’s belongings. It is therefore probable that the wealth of the marquise is incompletely reflected by the surviving evidence. As far as scientific instruments are concerned, her possession of a microscope of the type under study can be more precisely deduced from the advertisement for its resale, which appeared in the same *Annonces, affiches & avis divers* on August 13, 1767, p. 660: “(Vente) D’un beau MICROSCOPE provenant de la vente de Mad. la Marquise de Pompadour. Il est regardé comme un des plus beaux morceaux qu’on ai encore vu en ce genre. Il a été acheté 1200 liv. à

a technical standpoint with a series of engravings, already alluded to, published in 1768 by the fifth duc de Chaulnes in an appendix to his communication to the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris. These plates show a highly evolved version of the microscope under study; the stand is simplified and the stage equipped with not one but two micrometers, placed at right angles, outsized and equipped with *vernier* dials. The only known example of this microscope, from which every decorative element has disappeared for the sake of functionality, is preserved in the Museo di Storia della Scienza in Florence (fig. 30).

The confused state of criticism until now has resulted from the slightly anachronistic comparison of this unique iconographic document with objects belonging to much earlier periods. Consequently, historians were unable to rely on any precise point of reference.

The plates from the *Cabinet du Roi* (figs. 20, 22, 24, 31) put an end to this situation. The preceding general discussion has shown that the Cabinet d’Optique et de Physique of La Muette began to function as early as 1756, that is, three years before the formal status it was accorded in 1759, before its transfer the following year to new quarters. We have seen that a portion of the instruments belonging to the king were transported there immediately and, much later, those that had until then been stored with the collection that Dom Noël had established in his laboratory and in his workshops at the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.⁶⁸ Among the instruments belonging to the sovereign, probably from the very beginning,⁶⁹ were a tripod microscope de-

ladite vente: on se contentera d’un petit bénéfice. Il faut s’adresser au Sr. Laurent, chez le Sr. de Sève, Md. de vin en gros, rue de la Tissanterie.” (B. N., V 28273. This advertisement was kindly brought to my attention by M. Christian Baulez.) The price quoted practically excludes any other known model than the de Chaulnes one.

The instruments often given as coming from the collection of the marquise, and not to be found in her inventory or her sale (an air pump, a microscope of the Passemant-Cuff type, a camera obscura, a magic lantern, an odometer, etc.) might well have belonged to her brother and not to her. The original error on the Pompadour’s instruments was introduced by E. Campardon (*Madame de Pompadour et la cour de Louis XV* [Paris, 1867]), which mixes the two collections. The instruments of the marquis de Marigny are listed in his sale catalogue (Paris, March 18, 1782) under lots number 715–768.

66. Measurement kindly made by William Ginnel, the Getty Conservation Institute, Venice, California.

67. This date is also consistent with the absence of the crowned C mark on the bronze parts, a tax mark which was used from March 5, 1745 to February 4, 1749 (though not at all systematically).

68. The establishment of Alexis Magny (for which see below) was within the same Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés as that of Dom Noël but totally independent and in a different location.

69. Except for the physics instruments in glass made by Capy (*Gazette de France*, March 26, 1757) and those produced by Navarre between 1756 and 1761 (A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584–63 and 64), Dom Noël seems in fact to have added as a genuine optical instrument only

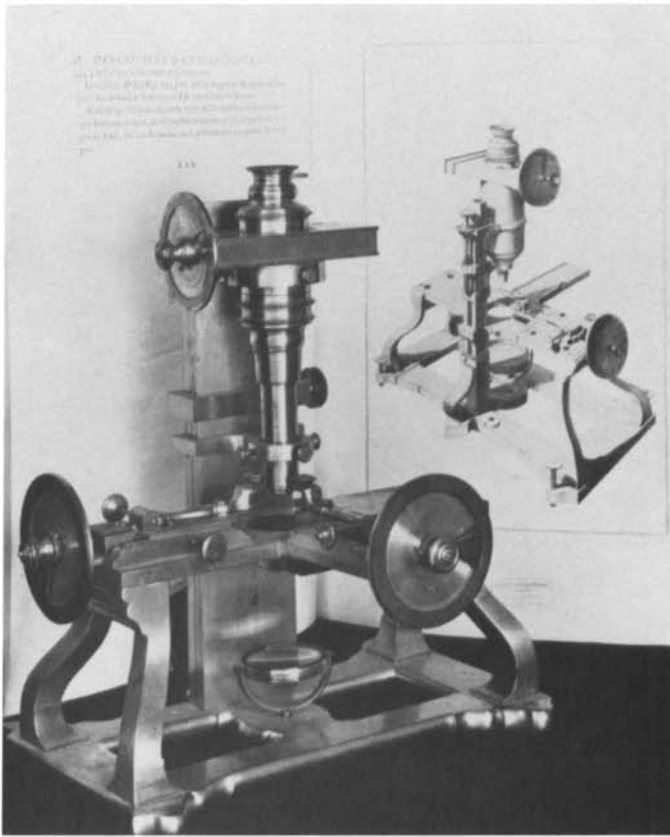


Figure 30. Microscope with orthogonal micrometric stages. Paris, circa 1768. Reproduced on the facing page of one of the plates of the duc de Chaulnes' work. Florence, Museo di Storia della Scienza, inv. 3202.

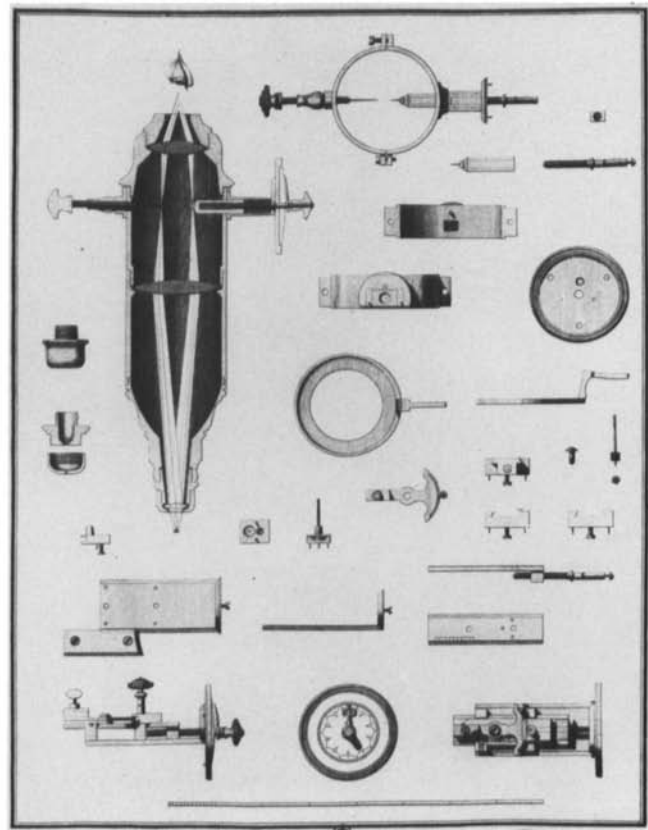


Figure 31. Plate 17 of the series of Dom Noël's engravings: individual views of separate parts, including interior of ocular tube with three lenses. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.

pictured in other plates of the same series⁷⁰ (fig. 32) and the microscope of the type under study.⁷¹

Daumas⁷² has made the assumption that Alexis Magny (1712–1807?)⁷³ was the creator of the series of seven microscopes, including the Getty Museum's, of which the Musée National des Techniques preserves an altered copy. He bases this attribution on an incorrect reading and an extensive interpretation of the memorandum presented by Alexis Magny in 1751 to the Académie des Sciences, a paper which only applies to the

inclinable microscope presently located in the Musée Lorrain in Nancy (fig. 33). The precision of this memorandum, relatively inaccessible, and the fact that it was never reproduced after its first publication, have led us to translate it in Appendix 2.

We can clearly see that at the end of 1750 Magny was given a copy or the details of a model (the "pro-forma") of the microscope of the duc de Chaulnes, with the very urgent mission⁷⁴ of adapting it for use in a sitting position, a perfectly understandable situation if we take

his twenty-four-foot telescope of 1775 (ibid., 01 1584–384, p. 11, report of the astronomer Montucla).

70. Plates 18 and 19 of Dom Noël's series.

71. J. N. Ronfort, "Les microscopes du roi Louis XV au Cabinet de La Muette," a paper presented at the VIIème Symposium de la Commission Instruments Scientifiques de l'Union Internationale d'Histoire et de Philosophie des Sciences (Paris, 1987).

72. M. Daumas (note 42), pp. 350–351.

73. On Magny see Daumas (note 42) and Jöcher, *Allgem. Gelherten-Lexiko*, suppl. by Adelung and Rottermund, vol. 4 (Delmenhorst and Bremen, 1813). Around 1734–1735 Magny had entered the service of

Joseph Bonnier de La Mosson, whom he served as mechanic until the death of this collector in 1744 (Gersaint, *Catalogue de la collection Bonnier de la Mosson* [Paris, 1744], p. 83). It is very probable that Magny had been introduced to him by Chaulnes, the brother-in-law of the financier. Magny was born at Namps-au-Mont near Amiens, of which the duc de Chaulnes was the gouverneur. Four years after the death of Bonnier, on June 24, 1748, Alexis Magny established himself inside the precinct of the Abbaye de Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The first lease of his workshop reveals its precise location in a "grand et ancien bâtiment," "rue Sainte Marthe, cour et cloître extérieur de l'Abbaye, paroisse Saint Symphorien." The premises included six



Figure 32. Tripod microscope on lacquered stand, signed by Claude-Siméon Passemant, circa 1745–1750. Almost identical with the second microscope of the laboratory of La Muette. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1986-1, a–b.



Figure 33. Inclinable microscope made for the king of Poland, Stanislas Leczynski. Signed *Magny const. et fecit Paris, anno 1751*. Nancy, Musée Lorrain. Photo Gilbert Mangin, Nancy.

into account the age and the state of health of King Stanislas Leczynski of Poland (1677–1766), for whom it was intended. This was the first microscope made by Magny, whose laboratory “was not designed for this kind of work” and who had yet to cut his first microscopic lens.

The Nancy microscope, unlike those of the group under study, is signed by Magny and bears the date of 1751 (fig. 33). Its ownership by King Stanislas is traditional and perfectly compatible with what we know of

the fate of the collections of this sovereign. All the microscopes preserved genuinely bearing the signature of Magny derive uniquely from this model, with only that of the king of Poland possessing an ornamental stand. The pieces from the series that they constitute are for the most part dated and numbered.⁷⁵ All the copies deriving from the prototype of La Muette are, on the contrary, neither signed nor dated. The same applies to all those of their less ornate antecedents or simplifications that this author has been able to exam-

rooms on the first and second floors and the cellar, but apparently not the ground floor (cf. Paris, A. N., Min., 91, 846, 1748). The lease was for nine years. It was renewed at least once in 1757 (ibid., 91, 848, September 2, 1757). In both these documents, Magny calls himself “Horloger et Machiniste.” On his beautiful trade card, engraved in the rococo style by C. D. J. Eisen (reproduced in L. Maillard, *Les menus et programmes illustrés* [Paris, 1898]; a good copy of this rare card is in the Bibliothèque d’Art et d’Archéologie, Fondation Jacques Doucet, Paris, under ref. 107 P II vol II), he takes the title of “Ingénieur pour l’Horlogerie, les instruments de Mathématiques et de Phisique ainsi qu’en Mécanique.” At the time he was finishing the microscope

of the king of Poland (1751, see below), Magny had as an apprentice François-Robert Pellerin, who had entered the workshop in 1750 with a contract of four years (A. N., Min., I, 447, 21 Oct. 1750).

74. The final deadline was eight days.

75. 1754, no. 13 and 1754, no. 14: both in the former Coll. Nachet (under catalogue nos. 45 and 46); 1755: Paris, Musée du Louvre, Donation Grog, OA 10573 (Probable provenance: former collections of M. Watelet, June 12, 1786, then of Claude Tolozan, February 23, 1801. That provenance from the *Computerized Survey of Works of Art in Eighteenth-Century Sales* of the C.R.H.M.E., Paris, version 1988.1).

ine⁷⁶ and which could quite possibly be some of the numerous microscopes sold by Dom Noël between 1750 and 1759.⁷⁷

A memorandum by Passemant in 1750⁷⁸ details and confirms these remarks (cf. Appendix 1): we note that the works of the duc de Chaulnes are clearly anterior to Magny's first microscope and, in particular, that he had initially built a microscope for which Passemant had only supplied the lenses and the concave mirror serving as a condenser. He had added to it, probably in his own workshop, a rather cumbersome ocular micrometer and object micrometer, the description of which recalls the very device depicted on the plates of the laboratory of La Muette. It is this device that was later shortened, this time by Passemant, at the request of the duc: a modification that a close examination shows to have taken place on the Getty Museum's microscope.

All of these facts taken together show that the conception of our microscope appears to be centered on the duc de Chaulnes, who indeed was the only scientific man of high rank (a member of the Académie Royale des Sciences) to intervene in the stages of the creation of the model that we have analyzed. He acted as a true director of operations. It was perhaps André Maingaut who constructed the micrometers, the most complex part of the microscopes that we are studying. It was probably C. S. Passemant who adapted the adjustable blade holders that are still found on it, as well as the lenses and the mirror. A *fondeur-ciseleur* was given the responsibility for constructing the ornamental bronzes and worked both on the microscope of the king of Poland and on our series of microscopes. It seems logical that one of the first prototype copies is indeed the one that was displayed in the laboratory of La Muette, which included both the technical and decorative elements that characterize the series and which we have every reason to believe was created for the king on the

initiative of the duc de Chaulnes, his intimate friend, around 1749.

As for Magny, he remained faithful to the commercialization of instruments, simplified but inclinable, different from that of La Muette and derived from that of Stanislas Leczynski. It was the microscope designed for this sovereign that he compared to one of the microscopes of Louis XV on December 10, 1750.⁷⁹

Daumas' attribution of the bronze parts to Philippe Caffiéri has become more or less traditional.⁸⁰ In the absence of any documents on the subject, this attribution must be considered as a pure matter of opinion. A comparison with the only scientific instrument mounted in bronze certainly built by the Caffiéri—the astronomical clock presented to Louis XV by Claude-Siméon Passemant in 1749,⁸¹ the case of which was finished in 1753—does not permit any conclusion. The celestial and terrestrial globes with astronomical movements of 1759 by Passemant, of a workmanship similar to that of the astronomical clock, are not for the moment associated with these *fondeurs-ciseleurs* in any contemporary text.

The facts surrounding the construction of the astronomical clock of Versailles are nevertheless instructive: after the sovereign had examined the clockwork mounted in a first ornamental case, he wanted it to be placed in a more elaborate one. It was Passemant who personally submitted different designs to the king, who finally chose the Caffiéri drawing. Passemant was named the master of the work: the Caffiéri worked under his orders and the specifications were transmitted through him.⁸²

As for the microscope, it seems that its creator was also the master of the work, since the stand had to obey imposed technical imperatives. Because the copying of the model implies that it was the property of the person giving the commission, it is unlikely that we can find

76. This is a simplified, unsigned model, with neither a micrometric stage nor a micrometric eyepiece, in Georges Bernard collection, Paris; no. 47 of the Nacet collection, by Chapotot fils, later modified and offered to Buffon in 1758; no. 48 of the Nacet collection, without a micrometer and with a functional stand; and no. 50 of the Nacet collection, of the Passemant-Cuff type, conforming to Passemant's descriptions of 1750 and 1763, with micrometers derived from those of the duc de Chaulnes. Passemant's microscope, derived from Culpeper's model, at the Metropolitan Museum (acc. no. 186-1), signed, and his two unsigned copies: collection Pierre Marly (Paris) and former collection Jacques Doucet (J. Kugel, Paris, in 1975), represent another model which should not be confused with the one under study.

77. *Il . . . débita, tant à la cour qu'à la ville, un grand nombre de Téléscopes et Microscopes à un prix énorme* ("Mémoire" of the comte d'Angiviller to the king, A. N., Maison du Roi, 01 1584-384, p. 9).

78. The authorship of the Passemant text—first published anony-

mously at the end of J. T. Needham's *Nouvelles Observations Microscopiques*—is ascertained: (1) by its partial identity with Passemant's *Description et usage des télescopes, microscopes, ouvrages et inventions* (Paris, 1763); (2) by the affirmation of the *Journal des savants*, tables, 1750, sub "Micromètres": "Nouveau Micromètre inventé par M. le Duc de Chaulnes et exécuté par M. Passemant: on ne peut rien voir de plus ingénieusement imaginé: on en trouve la description et les usages à la fin des Observations Microscopiques de M. Needham," referring to the compte-rendu of Needham's book in the *J. des S.*, 1750, pp. 860–861.

79. Cf. "Mémoire" of A. Magny (Appendix 2). Dom Noël's later role belongs very naturally to a system of collaboration and coordination of workers after 1750, perhaps associated with the commercialization of copies or simplifications of the La Muette microscope authorized by Chaulnes; then, after 1759, with the conservation of the instruments belonging to the royal collection.

80. Because of the contract of association between Jacques Caffiéri and his son Philippe in 1747, the microscope could only be the result

traces of it in a founder's inventory.⁸³ The technique for producing such a work necessitated, as with all ornamental bronzes, three main operations: the production of the model per se, perhaps by a sculptor; the casting of its parts; and their chasing. If the first and the third operations could be carried out by the same worker, we now know with certainty that the casting work and chasing work were, during the eighteenth century, practiced by different masters in separate workshops,⁸⁴ the casting was done by a *fondeur-fondant*,⁸⁵ and nothing prevented the person commissioning the work from giving the raw cast-brass parts to a chaser of his choice.

In any case, as a result of the direct examination of the microscope in the J. Paul Getty Museum, we can see that it is neither in contradiction with the manner of Jacques and Philippe Caffiéri nor with their intense activity in the years between 1747 and 1755, as is evidenced by the considerable sums of 233,205 *livres* of gross income and net profits of 98,598 *livres* brought by their work during that period.⁸⁶

Of a remarkably well-balanced design that announces the symmetrical rococo, this microscope, a synthesis of art and science, is a particularly brilliant product of a society that could be frivolous without losing its seriousness.

Centre de Recherches Historiques
sur les Maîtres Ebénistes
Paris

APPENDIX 1.

MEMORANDUM BY CLAUDE SIMEON PASSEMAN'T ON THE MICROMETERS OF THE DUC DE CHAULNES (1750)

MICROMETERS APPLIED TO THE MICROSCOPE

If it is satisfying to discover by means of the microscope an infinity of objects that cannot be seen by the

of their joint effort.

81. Cf. C. S. Passemant, *Description et usage des télescopes, microscopes, ouvrages et inventions de Passemant* (Paris, 1763), and J. N. Ronfort, "Vie et oeuvre de Passemant," paper presented to the Scientific Instruments Society and to the Société Internationale de l'Astrolabe, Paris, 1985 (unpublished typescript in the C.R.H.M.E., Paris).

82. Cf. Passemant's letter to Madame de Pompadour and Passemant's petition to Machault d'Arnouville, quoted by the author in "Vie et oeuvre" (note 81). This was an unusual procedure, the Caffiéris generally doing business directly with the administrations of the Bâtiments du Roi, the Garde-Meuble, or the Menus-Plaisirs.

83. It is thus that the models of the king's clock are not shown in the inventory of the Caffiéris' workshop. (A. N., Min., 27, 277, December 1, 1755).

84. J. D. Augarde, "Charles Cressent et Jacques Confesseur," *L'Estampille*, no. 195 (September 1986), pp. 54–58.

85. We would be tempted to credit Claude Javois for the actual



Figure 34. Jacques Caffiéri (French, 1678–1755). Signed wall clock in gilt bronze, detail. Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 72.DB45.



Figure 35. Microscope of the J. Paul Getty Museum: detail of the base.

casting of the mounting. A *juré* of his guild from 1747 to 1749, he was installed at the Cour de Lamoignon in the île de la Cité. He seems to have worked for different makers of scientific instruments and had as clients the Caffiéris, Jean-Pierre Latz, and Claude-Siméon Passemant.

86. Partage de la succession de J. Caffiéri, A. N., Min., 46, 349, April 3, 1756. At a practical level, we will notice in particular certain similarities and notably the use of cartouches stamped with a diamond-shaped mosaic matching the one on a wall-clock by Jacques Caffiéri (J. Paul Getty Museum 72.DB45) (cf. figs. 34 and 35). This technique, although it was principally used by the Caffiéris, is not, however, necessarily unique to them. They also employed a variant where the stamp is no longer a lozenge but a rectangle (Leningrad, Pushkin Museum, signed clock, and Waddesdon Manor, signed clock), a variant also used by Jean-Joseph de Saint-Germain. Without rejecting this traditional attribution, one should not forget the extraordinary number of skilled artisans working in bronze in Paris under Louis XV. If the overall study of this field of art has recently made

naked eye, it is none the less interesting to know the size of these objects in themselves, and to know at the same time how greatly they are magnified; it is this degree of precision that we have reached through the use of micrometers. The duc de Chaulnes, whose enthusiasm for the advancement of the Arts and Sciences is well known, having had a microscope built, for which M. Passemant furnished the lenses and the mirror, sought a way to measure the objects in themselves, and at the same time to know how much they were enlarged by the microscope. He thought of putting a micrometer beneath the microscope; it would also serve to easily situate the smallest object. It was eight inches long, a screw of three turns and one half per line with a needle on a dial divided into one hundred parts, advancing or withdrawing a rather long piece that held pincers to hold the glass or ebony slides on which the objects were placed. These pincers are made mobile by an endless right- or left-handed screw. On the lower plate was a division that indicated the turns of the screw. He requested M. Passemant to construct this piece. M. Passemant had also thought of applying the micrometer to the microscope. His was also composed of a screw and a dial that he attached to the body of the microscope; a point that advanced or retreated in the field of the microscope measured the size of the images of the objects. After having seen myself these various effects, I went to London where I found that M. Cuff, the inventor of this microscope, had also applied a micrometer to the microscope, but in a different way; it was a round plate the opening of which was divided by silver threads at such a distance from each other that an inch in length was divided into 50 parts and that the surface was divided into 2500 parts. . .

From the French original in J. T. Needham,
Nouvelles observations microscopiques (Paris, 1750)

APPENDIX 2.

THE MICROSCOPE OF THE KING OF POLAND (1751)

As we have seen, a long misunderstanding has confused the rare copies of the microscope of Louix XV at the château de La Muette, constructed under the supervision of the duc de Chaulnes, with its adaptation made by Alexis Magny at the end of 1750 at the express order of Stanislas Leczynski, roi de Pologne, duc de Lorraine, at Nancy (fig. 33).

progress, the knowledge of the individual works by its participants remains in an embryonic state. The most recent research shows that during the period of construction of the microscope's mounting, *bronziers* like Jean-Joseph de Saint-Germain, François-Thomas Germain, René-François Morlay, J. C. Duplessis, Edmé-Jean Gallien, Jean-Louis Le Beuf, and Nicolas Vassoult produced works of an astonishing originality and quality that often equal those of the Caffiérés. Neither can we ignore the chasers working for the Caffiérés themselves, such as Jean-Baptiste Osmond, Jean Maravaux,

Magny had been given the mission of modifying this model of the microscope so as to make it easier to use by an infirm person seventy-three years of age, which he did by making the stage inclinable to allow observation from a sitting position.

This microscope was the object of a communication to the Académie Royale des Sciences in June 1751, which was published through the initiative of Magny in January 1752.

We reproduce here the essential passages.

MEMORANDUM

Presented to the Académie des Sciences,
on three-lens and universal microscopes,
perfected in their lenses as well as in their mounting,
by M. MAGNY, Engineer in Clockworks,
and Instruments of Physics and Mathematics.

Since work on microscopes has been going on for more than a century in Holland as well as in England and France, it seems that we should have exhausted that branch of practical dioptrics. We see, however, through irrefutable experience that more is added from day to day. I believe, gentlemen, that I have come very near perfection in the microscope that I have had the honor to present at one of your last meetings, and which is the subject of this memorandum.

In the composition of this piece, I have had as my primary goal to assemble the best that foremost foreign and national authors have contributed in order to render the use of this instrument more practical and easier; it is fitting to honor them and I will reveal all on this subject that has come to my knowledge.

The main pieces of the mounting are the same, except for a few corrections, as those that are described in the microscopic observations of M. Needham and constructed by M. Cuff of London. In addition to the bars, loops, and rings, I have used a rack, manipulated by a pinion equipped with two rosette handles that are used to elevate and lower the body of the instrument. We owe this ingenious application to M. Duhamel.

A micrometer with dial invented by the duc de Chaulnes is on the body of the instrument. This piece is one of the most satisfactory for its precision and answers perfectly to the idea that we hold of its illustrious author.

On the table on which the slides are laid is a second micrometer built on the same principles as the first and

Louis Paffe, or Louis-Barthélémy Hervieu who, although he was yet to produce his own models, worked for other artists as prestigious as E. J. Gallien, F. T. Germain, L. A. Gobert, and J. F. Oeben. Cf. H. Ottomeyer and P. Pröschel, *Vergoldete Bronzen, Die Bronzearbeiten des Spätbarock und Neo-Klassizismus*, vol. 1 (Munich, 1986) and J. D. Augarde, "Jean-Joseph de Saint-Germain (1719–1791)," in *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 521–538; P. Verlet, *Les bronzes dorés français du XVIIIème siècle* (Paris, 1987). Cf. also: Inventory of the workshop of L. B. Hervieu, A. N., Min., 91, 700, December 24, 1756.

by the same author.

This second piece is much more complex; they both require a most exact and particular operation.

If this micrometer construction was not entirely compatible with the taste of connoisseurs, this can only be because of the large space it occupies; we could reduce it by half by putting the endless screw that manipulates the regulator immediately behind the false plate. I would have done this as well as the pro-forma requested when they gave me the work.

Under the body of the microscope are the lensholders to which we attach a small silver mirror in order to create a double reflection of light on the object we observe, and which illuminates it quite well. This piece was invented by M. Liberkuhn who was the first to apply it to Angioscopes.

It only remains, Gentlemen, to describe to you the additions that I believed to be necessary to make on the microscope in order to make it easier to use than it has been until now.

Nothing was more fitted to excite my enthusiasm than the obligation of working for the King.

It was necessary for His Majesty to be able to observe while sitting, and it is that comfort that I provided for him by making the mounting inclinable at such degrees as were needed; this is done by means of a portion of a circle affixed on the side of the instrument and a screw that controls it. In this construction, I have endeavored to preserve all the properties that this instrument otherwise possesses, without altering its solidity or its elegance. Once my project was under way, I recognized through experience that operation was much easier in the inclined position than in the vertical one. In this position, the instrument is perfectly illuminated; the slide holders are handled easily and one only needs one hand to manipulate it.

Another result of this construction is a double advantage for the observer: one is normally quite incommoded by the daylight that strikes from the front and the side; this defect intercepts many visual rays that diminish the effect of the observation in proportion as the eye of the observer is farther from the instrument; in the almost horizontal position, the observer, with his back turned to the daylight, blocks by this simple means the bad effect of the rays that could trouble his vision. Therefore this instrument produces more powerful effects in this position than in the first one.

It is to be noted that when we observe in a standing position, all our muscles are in a contraction felt throughout every part of the body and this strain infallibly produces a fatigue that causes an involuntary movement which moves the eye of the observer from the optical axis. Sometimes it will even affect the optic nerve when we observe over a long period of time. This inconvenience will not occur here, as we are able to observe in a sitting position and therefore in a less strain-

ing situation.

As there are many people who have difficulty in closing one eye to observe, I have seen to this difficulty by installing beside the eyepiece an ebony eye-shade, supported by an arm, which has the property of turning to the side which is judged necessary and which greatly relieves the observer who finds with the help of this small machine the means to use alternately one eye or the other.

Moreover, this piece has the property of conforming to the different eye positions of each person by means of an eccentric device that brings it farther or closer from the eyepiece.

I believe that these additions are my own contribution and that no one before me has yet invented or proposed them.

There are many other points of detail that I will not mention in this memorandum and that are more suited to a Treatise on Microscopes. I will only say that the mounting of a microscope requires great care in order to prevent it from falling as well as time lost on the micrometers and that the choice of a skilled artist is difficult as skill is not always sufficient if it is not guided by intelligence.

Here is, Gentlemen, everything that composes the first part of this memorandum, which should be the second part if I had not followed the natural order of things as they presented themselves during the manufacture.

The second part concerns the lenses which are without doubt the soul of the microscope. My initial intention was not to attempt them. I had decided to employ the best artists in the field but essential reasons having forced me to build them myself, I formed a theory and the needed tools. But what could I have accomplished without principles? Eight days of application would surely not have sufficed to succeed in making adequate lenses without a sure and particular method of work.

I would like, Gentlemen, to expound to you my method which is truly founded on geometry; but the limits of a memorandum forbid me to do so. I hope that you will allow me to substitute the voice of experience and comparison.

Meanwhile, I dare to assert, Gentlemen, that with my method, I can make glasses and lenses of any focal length far more regular in their form than with the ordinary method, and with far more speed in manufacture.

With this method we can resolve the problem encountered in the following proposition that belongs to practical dioptrics: to make a biconvex lens given two fixed foci greatly separated by their differences, all in one polishing stage. If we suppose that there is a focus of six lines and another of twelve lines in the same lens, it would not be difficult to conceive that by passing insensibly from one to the other during the time of production, we will succeed in giving a form to the lens that will be neither spherical nor parabolic and which

will incontestably be geometric.

With the same method, we could form elliptical or hyperbolic lenses but, considering these figures as more curious than useful, I will not discuss them here.

The most beautiful property that I recognized in my method is that of making the artist master of his work by conserving the true form of his molds and consequently that of the lenses on which he works. A brilliant English scientist in a treatise that he published on microscopes stressed two different things.

The first thing he desired was a means to conserve the determinate form of the molds; the second was a method for making glasses and lenses with a specific focal length and to make them with ease and precision. Everything I have just said, Gentlemen, is proof that his goal has been accomplished and that I can equally well do the one and the other.

The form I give my glasses as well as my lenses is spherical; I believe it to be the best of all, a very different viewpoint from the sentiment of those who insist on using elliptical or hyperbolic ones. We know the properties of these figures: they have been very well demonstrated and can be used in catoptrics: but by far, dioptrics cannot benefit from the same advantage even if we carried out the work as precisely as the rule requires.

This would be the time to make a rigorous demonstration but, as I have decided to proceed only by induction in this memorandum, I hope, Gentlemen, that you will exempt me from it. I will only add that nothing is more absurd than the idea of these kinds of lenses, for a very intelligible reason. To understand it, it suffices to look at the opening that is ordinarily made for the passage of light to the lower part of the microscope. This inspection alone will reveal that only the smallest part of the top of the parabola can be uncovered, which would surely not be sufficient to make it function according to its properties.

In addition to my method of making lenses, I have also invented a tool that I will call a "combinatory." This piece was of great help to me for the combination of my lenses. I can say in truth that I have carried out

with this tool more experiments in a week than I could have made in ten years' practice of dioptrics.

However, you must not believe these tools to be very complex machines; my laboratory, which was not intended for this kind of work, furnished me the needed tools with the exception of the molds and of two other pieces that I was obliged to construct; pieces so small that they all occupy one drawer only measuring about ten square inches by two in height.

The reputation of this microscope soon reached the King and His Majesty desired to compare it with his own. According to the orders he gave, the comparison was made in his presence on 10 December last and, in all the experiments, the microscope of M. Magny was found to be superior both in strength and in clarity, qualities, as we know, that are the most essential in microscopes.

This microscope, the first of its kind, with which one may observe in a sitting position and even in his bed, is not only useful to infirm people who can occupy themselves or who want to distract themselves from their afflictions with the amusements it furnishes, but it is also extremely useful to naturalists who need to reflect while observing and to observe with ease, as well as to draftsmen for whom the least stress or constraint prevents them from drawing with the required precision.

The author who makes no mystery of his talents has a duty to satisfy the curious and the connoisseurs by offering them free entry to his home to compare their microscopes with his; he will be honored to receive them and to listen to their kind advice, having as a principle not to be stubborn but to listen with pleasure to everything that may contribute to the perfection of the arts.

He resides at the Abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés, Cour des Religieux.

From the French original in *Journal oeconomique, ou mémoire, notes et avis sur l'agriculture, les arts, le commerce, et tout ce qui peut y avoir rapport, ainsi qu'à la conservation et à l'augmentation des biens des familles* (January 1752).

Portrait of a Marriage: Paul Strand's Photographs of Rebecca

Belinda Rathbone

"She knew he loved her, and she was afraid, she was in a strange element, a new heaven round about her. She wished he were passionate, because in passion she was at home. But this was so still and frail, as space is more frightening than force."

—D. H. Lawrence, *Women in Love*

In the long and distinguished career of Paul Strand there is nothing comparable to the series of portraits he made of his first wife, Rebecca Salsbury. While the series numbers well over one hundred negatives he made between 1920, the year they met, and 1932, the year before their marriage ended, it remains on the whole a hidden and unexplored aspect of Strand's career. The Getty Museum's recent acquisition of eight of these portraits from the Paul Strand Archive is, at this writing, the largest group to be assembled in a public collection. The selection is choice and offers a particularly welcome opportunity to study the range and meaning of the series from beginning to end.

There are reasons why these portraits have been held in relative obscurity. Strand himself, having been very involved with the making of them on and off for the twelve years he spent with Rebecca, eventually rejected them from the final assessment of his life's work.¹ Apparently he wished to avoid the comparison likely to be drawn between these photographs and the portraits Alfred Stieglitz made of Georgia O'Keeffe over approx-

imately the same period. Strand's portraits of Rebecca, more than any other body of work, clearly betray the powerful effect Stieglitz had on his art. Like many close associates of Stieglitz before and after him, in the 1930s Strand sought to free himself from Stieglitz' domineering artistic presence and to diminish the impression of his direct influence. Because the portraits are on the whole emotionally intense, it is also likely that Strand's reaction to them in later years was complicated by his divorce from Rebecca and his subsequent two marriages. Ultimately, Strand chose not to exhibit the images together or even discuss them.²

The few portraits of Rebecca that have been seen in collections and exhibitions in recent years have provoked admiration and curiosity, but their occasional appearance has discouraged a thorough study of the portrait in its entirety. Upon closer examination of the photographs as a group, we can begin to understand Strand's misgivings. As a series the portrait is not altogether successful—more accurately it is a sequence of trials—and as an endeavor it adds a problematic dimension to the overall impression of Strand's career. All the same, it would be to our great loss to dismiss these photographs, as some have done, because they lack the sense of objectivity that distinguishes Strand's best work.³ Their study is vital to our understanding of Strand at a crucial moment in his development. Fur-

In the course of preparing this essay my conversations with Russ Anderson, Richard Benson, Suzan Campbell, Van Deren Coke, Diane Ducharme, Donald Gallup, Sarah Greenough, Maria Hambourg, Harold Jones, Judith Keller, Anne Kennedy, Ben Lifson, Anthony Montoya, Weston Naef, Amy Stark, Theodore Stebbins, and Steve Yates have been very helpful, and I wish to thank them.

The letters from Rebecca Salsbury to Paul Strand are at the Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson. The correspondence between Alfred Stieglitz, Paul Strand, and Rebecca is in the Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. The letters from Paul Strand to Rebecca are lost.

Permission to publish quotations from Paul Strand's letters to Alfred Stieglitz is granted by the Aperture Foundation, Inc., Paul Strand Archive. All letters © Aperture Foundation, Inc., Paul Strand Archive.

Permission to reproduce the following photographs is granted by the Aperture Foundation, Inc., Paul Strand Archive: *Rebecca at*

Dr. Stieglitz' Mamaroneck, New York, October 1920, © 1986; Rebecca, New York, 1921, © 1971; Rebecca, New York, 1921, © 1986; Rebecca's Hands, New York, 1923, © 1971; Rebecca, New York, 1923, © 1986; Rebecca, New York, 1923, © 1981; Rebecca, New York, 1923, © 1986; Rebecca, New York, 1923, © 1989; Rebecca Strand, New York, 1922, © 1976; Rebecca, 1930, © 1986; Rebecca, Taos, 1932, © 1986; Rebecca, 1930, © 1986; Abstraction, Porch Shadows, Twin Lakes, Connecticut, 1916, © 1982.

1. In Strand's large retrospective exhibition in 1971, organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art with Strand's assistance, only two portraits of Rebecca were included.

2. N. Rosenblum, *Paul Strand: The Early Years*, Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1978).

3. Ibid. Rosenblum has written (pp. 147–148) that these portraits are "somewhat forced," "suggest a reticence and desire to please," and are "the least moving portraits of the 1920s, based on his inability to be objective."



Figure 1. Alfred Stieglitz (American, 1864–1946). *Georgia O'Keeffe and Rebecca Strand*, 1922/23. Gelatin silver print, 11.3 x 9 cm (4½ x 3½ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection 1980.70.153.

thermore, it is the very lack of objectivity, so rare in Strand's vision, that makes a few of these portraits of Rebecca extraordinary.

Indeed, a discussion of these photographs cannot go far without noting their similarity to the portraits Stieglitz made of O'Keeffe. Like Stieglitz when he made his studies of O'Keeffe, Strand photographed Rebecca close up and relatively free of props, used an 8 x 10 view camera and a 4 x 5 Graflex,⁴ and contact printed many of his best images in rich and somber platinum and palladium metals. Adding significantly to the similarity of the two series is the striking physical resemblance between Rebecca and O'Keeffe (fig. 1).

4. Strand traded in his 4 x 5 Graflex for a 5 x 7 Graflex in 1931. This fact should help to determine the dates of some of the late portraits. C. Tomkins, *Paul Strand: Sixty Years of Photographs* (Millerton, N.Y., 1976), p. 25.

5. *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait by Alfred Stieglitz*, ex. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1978), n.p.

6. As an aspiring commercial photographer Strand made studio portraits as early as 1911. (See Tomkins [note 4], p. 18.) It is also evident that in his early years he occasionally made portraits of

Like O'Keeffe, Rebecca Salsbury was handsome rather than pretty. She was tall and big-boned, with heavily lidded eyes, a long nose, and a wide, thin-lipped mouth. She was full-breasted and had graceful, long-fingered hands. And in an age that saw the flapper collide with the last of the Edwardians, both women rejected affectations of fashion altogether, favoring masculine, unadorned dress and starkly natural hairstyles. As we shall see, the two women's physical similarity is a fact that is difficult to accept as merely coincidental.

The common idea of the two series—a dialogue over an extended period of time between photographer and subject that would illuminate the subject's many "selves"—was entirely new. The psychological and feminist ideas that became current after the First World War, furthered by the publication of Freud's theories as well as the daring novels of James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence, accounted for a growing awareness of individual identity and sensuality that these portraits address directly. The belief in art at that time, not only as a method of personal exploration but as a powerful force in a rapidly changing society, is almost impossible to imagine today. Stieglitz was the first to articulate these ideas in terms of the photographic serial portrait. During the period of the late 1910s, speaking to his close circle of friends and admirers, he asserted that a portrait must evolve along with the individual in the flux of life;⁵ photography's objectivity and ability to capture the fleeting moment made it the most appropriate medium for the realization of his idea.

Stieglitz' serial portrait of O'Keeffe, which began in 1917, was born of his instinct as much as of his philosophy. The project naturally advanced from the kind of personal portraiture he had practiced since the 1890s; almost invariably, Stieglitz photographed those relations and friends he knew and loved well and with whom he had a dialogue. Strand's instincts as a man and as an artist were entirely different. The most important and ambitious of his early portraits, which he made on the streets of New York in 1915, are anything but personal;⁶ these are pictures of strangers on the Lower East Side—the beggar, the blind woman, the sandwich-board carrier. True to his reticent character,

friends, such as those of Kurt Baasch of 1913, recently acquired by the Getty Museum.

7. Anne Kennedy, who was Strand's assistant toward the end of his life and helped him to sort, date, and sign his life's work, witnessed him selectively destroying photographs of Rebecca.

8. Based upon the chronology I have established for the Strands' marriage, I will be proposing new dates for some of Paul Strand's photographs of Rebecca. In cases where my dates differ from those that are usually accepted, the traditional date will appear first, fol-

Strand took pains to avoid a confrontation with his subject, using a false lens on the side of his *Ensign Reflex* in order to work inconspicuously. While both men in their own ways were seeking to break out of the conventions of studio portraiture, Strand's portraits of Rebecca are a dramatic departure from the direction in which he was then heading. Therefore they must be considered in light of his personal history and character, specifically his marriage and his close association with Alfred Stieglitz and Georgia O'Keeffe.

The friendship that developed between these two couples in the 1920s and the creative influences that flowed in every direction between them suggest a subtext to these works of art that can never be made entirely precise but bears further investigation. In attempting to unravel the process of Strand's portrait of Rebecca, we are faced with the unreliability of his own retrospective dating of the images, as well as the fact that several examples, in both print and negative form, are altogether missing.⁷ The correspondence between Strand, Stieglitz, and Rebecca over these years, however, sheds some light on the portraits, and together with the clues offered by assigned dates, we can begin to piece together a sense of their chronology and technique, as well as the personal histories and spirit of endeavor that lay behind them.⁸

As an aspiring young photographer in the 1910s, Strand frequently visited Stieglitz' 291 gallery, eagerly absorbing the shock of the latest European avant-garde art. By 1915 he had won Stieglitz' praise for his experimental street views of New York, and the two men formed at that point what would become a mentor-disciple relationship of intense importance to both. Strand's success at integrating the sense of volume and abstraction of the new painting with the cinematic flow of photography was immediately inspiring to Stieglitz, who described this work as "brutally direct. Devoid of all flim-flam; devoid of trickery and of any 'ism.'"⁹ Stieglitz' own photographic activity, which had been in a difficult period of transition, was reignited by Strand's example in the 1910s.

Strand was also very much a presence at the beginning of Stieglitz' relationship with O'Keeffe, and even helped to shepherd it through its early stages as the

lovers' intermediary. Before O'Keeffe's crucial move to New York City in 1918, Stieglitz sent Strand to join her in San Antonio, Texas, in May of that year, where O'Keeffe was convalescing from a serious bout of influenza. Gently prodding her northward, Strand kept Stieglitz in touch with her physical recovery and shifting moods. "It is very clear that you mean more to her than anyone else" he wrote,¹⁰ though it is also clear from their correspondence that Strand himself was in love with O'Keeffe, and accepting the role of go-between was an admission of defeat.¹¹ In June, O'Keeffe arrived in New York. Stieglitz, having arranged for her to be put up at his niece's studio, almost immediately left his wife of fifteen years and moved in with her. That summer, O'Keeffe visited Stieglitz at his family's estate at Lake George, where Strand was also an occasional guest. In September 1918, Strand was inducted into one year of army service.

While Stieglitz embraced his new life with O'Keeffe during the following year, obsessively photographing his lover as he encouraged her own art to flourish, Strand was making the most of the uncreative environment at Fort Snelling, Minnesota, where he was assigned to X-ray photography. By the time Strand returned home in August 1919, the structure of his personal life was considerably altered. His mother had died, leaving him with his father and maiden aunt in the family house at 314 West 83d Street. Stieglitz and O'Keeffe, by now firmly established as a couple, were staying at Lake George late into the fall; Strand's mentor had not deserted him, but he now offered Strand a smaller share of his time and attention. In his loneliness, Strand began a group of still lifes, "ransacked the kitchen for bowls, eggs, platters, and god knows what—a real adventure,"¹² he wrote to Stieglitz in October of that year. As early as 1915, Strand had employed kitchen objects in his attempts at photographic abstraction. Thus, by 1919 his adventure in the kitchen was an old idea. It would not be long, however, before Strand found a more challenging subject, and one that would provide the new link he needed, both personally and artistically, to Stieglitz.

It was probably sometime in the spring of 1920¹³ that Paul Strand met Rebecca Salsbury.¹⁴ It is possible that

lowed in parentheses by the date I am proposing and a question mark.

9. Tomkins (note 4), p. 20.

10. Strand to Stieglitz, San Antonio, Texas, May 18, 1918.

11. "If I had some money I might be able to help her. . . . But I haven't—so it's all very clear that I'm not the one. Besides it's very clear that you mean more to her than anyone else.—so it seems that you and she ought to have the chance of finding out what can be done—one for the other—," Strand to Stieglitz, San Antonio, Texas, May 18, 1918.

12. Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Oct. 22, 1919.

13. Strand must have met Rebecca sometime after he expressed his loneliness to Stieglitz in the late fall of 1919 and sometime before May 1920, when Rebecca first wrote to him.

14. Rebecca was born in London in 1891 with a twin sister, Rachel. She had two older brothers, Nate, Jr., and Milton.



Figure 2. Paul Strand (American, 1890–1976). *Rebecca at Dr. Stieglitz', Mamaroneck, New York*, October 1920. Platinum print, 25.1 x 20 cm (9⁷/₈ x 7⁷/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.1.

Strand and Rebecca met through their mutual connection with the Ethical Culture School, which both had

attended, Strand graduating in 1909 and Rebecca in 1911.¹⁵ Rebecca, known as “Beck,” was the daughter of

15. Rebecca Salsbury attended the Ethical Culture School’s Special Arts High School from November 1911 to February 1912, and the Teacher’s Program from September 1913 to May 1915.

16. Rebecca’s physical health and emotional state are often mentioned obliquely in the correspondence between Stieglitz and Strand. Stieglitz’ invitations to Lake George are especially telling, for example: “The rest will be beneficial for [Rebecca]. There is just quiet—and more quiet—and yet more.—no excitements—and that’s what she needs.” Stieglitz to Strand, Sept. 2, 1922.

17. It has been published in several places that Strand and Sheeler

made *Manahatta* in 1921. However, according to evidence collected by Theodore Stebbins and Norman Keyes, the film was released in 1921 and made in the spring and summer of 1920. (See T. Stebbins, Jr., and N. Keyes, Jr., *Charles Sheeler: The Photographs*, ex. cat. [Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1987], p. 18.)

18. Salsbury to Strand, Square Butte, Montana, June 8, 1920.

19. Salsbury to Strand, July 5, 1920.

20. Salsbury to Strand, Square Butte, Montana, June 3, 1920.

21. In 1947, Rebecca wrote, “I first knew Alfred Stieglitz in 1921—taken to him by Paul Strand straight from the gold and brocade

Nate Salsbury, Buffalo Bill's business partner and stage manager. As a person Rebecca struck some as tough and snappy, perhaps a manner she adopted at a young age around the roughriders and sharpshooters of the Wild West Show. At the same time, she was of delicate health and given to frequent nervous depressions.¹⁶ The impression that emerges from her correspondence is one of an emotionally complicated woman, as well as a lively, humorous, and devoted friend. In 1920 Rebecca was about twenty-nine years old, unemployed, and casting about for a creative outlet. As she was writing her first letters to him in May 1920 from various posts on a tour of the West, Strand resided at West 83d Street, at work that summer on the experimental film *Manhatta* with the artist Charles Sheeler.¹⁷ Rebecca brooded over her want of a fulfilling career, writing to Strand, "I am singing crazily along perhaps missing the important things. . . . I wonder if I have anything to say."¹⁸ By then it was also clear that Rebecca was in love with Strand, as she expressed her excitement in this way, "a faint singing warmth and the chill of something so true that I am alternately frightened and at rest."¹⁹

As much as Strand's portraits of Rebecca are revealing of her character, her own insight and verbal candor provide a window on the inner life of Paul Strand in 1920. She was notably quick to feel his idolization of Stieglitz. "Aren't you absorbing too much of Stieglitz?"²⁰ she wrote to him on June 8th. "Don't envy him. No man's life parallels another exactly, and you have enough personality." Her objectivity on this issue may be due to the fact that Rebecca was not to become acquainted with Stieglitz until her relationship with Strand was well under way.²¹ In a letter to Strand of September 22, 1920, Stieglitz refers to Rebecca obliquely as "the young woman,"²² even though their romance must have been alive by then for at least six months. Perhaps Strand's timing was fortuitous, courting Rebecca while Stieglitz and O'Keeffe were established at Lake George from April to November. By the time Stieglitz discovered Rebecca, her heart belonged to Strand, and he fully endorsed the match. "You are certainly a thoroughly live wire," he wrote to Rebecca sometime later. "Of course I knew that when Paul clos-

eted you with me in that Anderson Gallery cell—Well, he certainly is a very lucky man, even if you occasionally have to bat each other into shape—so as to bring about a more perfect fit."²³

Strand began to photograph Rebecca the year they met, and she was his enthusiastic collaborator, easily grasping the notion of the spiritual and psychological potential of the intimate serial portrait. "Some day," she wrote to Strand on September 23, 1920, "will you give me one of each of the prints you made of me. . . ? I truly feel that they will be a source of health, strength, and beauty other times."²⁴ Based on her self-expression in letters, and knowing her to be a passionate reader of D. H. Lawrence, we can imagine Rebecca's nearly mystical belief in the portraits. Like Strand, but in her own way, she regarded photography as a purveyor of truth, and her own portraits as an act of communion with forces greater than herself. "Perhaps I will learn some new secrets from them," Rebecca wrote to Strand in May 1920.²⁵ For both of them, the portraits seem to have been an important ritual in their courtship, an expression as well as a test of their intimacy.

The Getty collection's earliest example from the series, dated October 1920,²⁶ resulted from one of their frequent photographic outings in this first year of their relationship (fig. 2). On November 16th of that year, Strand wrote to Stieglitz, "I have been photographing outdoors almost every Sunday—we went the other day. . . . I have two things which seem pretty complete. . . . it has given us a fine companionship in the open air and a chance to work together—I want to carry on somehow."²⁷ Strand's modest and dispassionate report is unequal to the apparent emotional gravity of this early portrait. Rebecca, with her bare neck and remote gaze, darkly framed by the tree behind her, appears to be cultivating a union of the sensual and spiritual that would have befitted the heroine she hoped to be.

In both style and mood this portrait is also unquestionably influenced by the example of O'Keeffe as she was then photographed by Stieglitz. The less successful portraits Strand made of Rebecca around this time (many of which only exist as negatives) reveal all too

parlour in my home to a tiny storage room in the old Anderson Galleries." *Stieglitz Memorial Portfolio* published in *The Collection of William and Rebecca James* (Albuquerque, 1966), n.p.

22. "I can imagine how full your two days at Long Branch must have been. I hope the young woman is well over her illness—" Stieglitz to Strand, Lake George, Sept. 22, 1920. (The Salsburys had a summer house at Long Branch.)

23. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, July 13, 1922 (?).

24. Salsbury to Strand, Brooklyn, N.Y. (to Nova Scotia), Sept. 23, 1920.

25. Salsbury to Strand, May 8, 1920.

26. According to a note on the back, this photograph was made at Stieglitz' brother Leopold's house in Mamaroneck, N.Y., in October 1920. A close variation of this portrait is dated November 1920. In this letter Strand also said, "Most often we have been to Fort Washington Park 180th St and the river. . . ." Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Nov. 16, 1920.

27. *Ibid.*

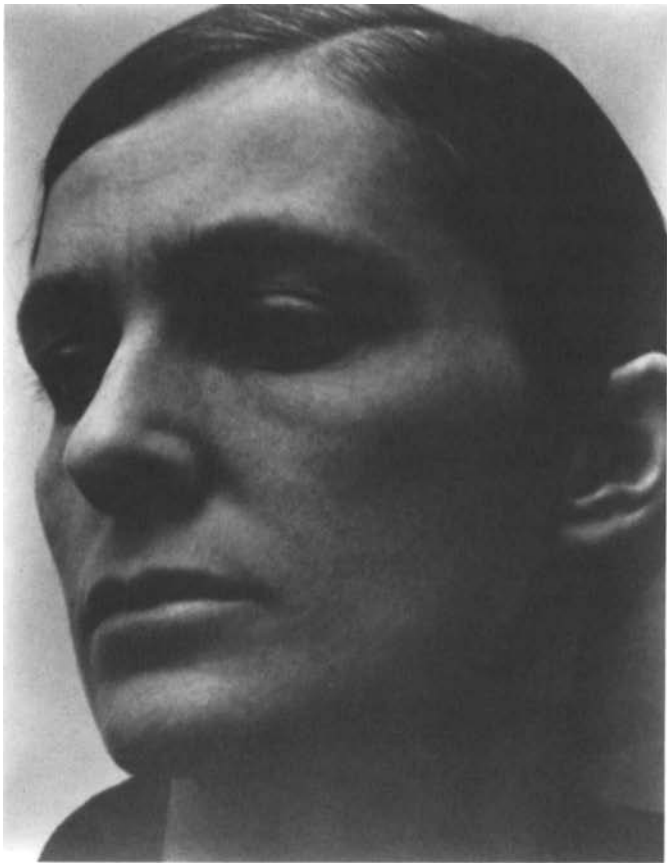


Figure 3. Paul Strand. *Rebecca*, 1921. Gelatin silver print, 24.4 x 19.2 cm (9⁹/₁₆ x 7⁷/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.53.



Figure 4. Alfred Stieglitz. *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, 1922. Palladium print, 24.1 x 20 cm (9¹/₂ x 7⁷/₈ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection 1980.70.182.

clearly an effort, presumably two-sided, to affect the kind of dancelike gestures O'Keeffe made with her hands and arms in several of Stieglitz' portraits of her. But unlike O'Keeffe's, Rebecca's gestures in these portraits seem acted and frozen. In the course of the following year the project was a source of tension and disagreement at times, and ultimately must be appreciated as an expression of the differences between Rebecca and Strand as much as of their growing attachment. While Rebecca considered her own creative endeavors secondary to Strand's art, and her role as his chosen muse and mate foremost, the making of these pictures often brought out her strength of character and emotional complexity. "You seemed to want to identify me with a tree and I wasn't feeling that," she wrote to Strand in September of 1921, "the last portrait you made . . . I felt just the way I stood—and any other

position would have been impossible for me—but it was equally impossible for you."²⁸ It is clear that Rebecca's own sense of self and critical response to the portraits presented Strand with a problem of control that went far beyond his "adventure" in the kitchen with bowls, eggs, and platters.

Strand's uncertain path of progress was not only due to a clash of wills. Both Stieglitz and Strand, now working in tandem on their projects, confronted the technical problems of contrast and of movement due to lengthy exposures on slow-speed portrait films (usually two to four minutes), during which the subject had to remain rigorously still.²⁹ The challenge of making a portrait that appeared natural and momentary was augmented by both photographers' dedication to the palpable detail offered only by large-format photography. These problems were naturally compounded when the

28. Salsbury to Strand, Twin Lakes, Conn., Sept. 1921.

29. Of her experience as Stieglitz' subject, O'Keeffe wrote the following many years later: "For those slower glass negatives I would

have to be still for three or four minutes. That is hard—you blink when you shouldn't—your mouth twitches—your ear itches and some other spot itches. Your arms and hands get tired and you can't stay



Figure 5. Paul Strand. *Rebecca in Front of One of Her Paintings*, 1921. Platinum print, 24.7 x 19.5 cm (9³/₄ x 7¹/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.56.



Figure 6. Alfred Stieglitz. *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait*, 1918. Palladium print, 25.2 x 20.1 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ x 7¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 87.XM.94.2.

project moved indoors. In one example in the Getty collection, dated 1921, we can see that Rebecca's head rests for support against a wall (fig. 3). In this stark, three-quarter view of her broadly sculpted face, she appears primitive and powerful, like the monumental female heads of Picasso. In similar examples, Strand's lighting of her masklike face emphasizes its deep contours, seeming to separate it from her body and from the background. In another attempt, Strand experimented with Rebecca's upturned profile, which closely relates to some of Stieglitz' portraits of O'Keeffe, in which the bone structure of her head and neck suggest the power and impatience of a racehorse (fig. 4).

In another of the Getty collection's early portraits dated 1921, Rebecca poses in front of one of her own paintings (fig. 5). In a letter to Strand in October of that year, Stieglitz wrote, "Glad to hear [Beck is] paint-

ing . . . and that you are with her weekends."³⁰ That fall Rebecca was vacationing at Twin Lakes, Connecticut, where Strand had spent time before his army service. Strand had encouraged her to paint, an activity that she pursued sporadically over the next few years. The evidence of her work in this photograph, which swirls around her head as if an expression of the storm within it, reveals that she was influenced by the abstract painting of O'Keeffe. Likewise, Strand's placement of Rebecca before her own work so as to suggest her creative connection with it is similar to the photographs Stieglitz made of O'Keeffe (fig. 6). But whatever Strand's intention may have been, Rebecca's skyward glance is troubled and awkward. Perhaps unwittingly, this portrait reveals Rebecca's uncertainty as both artist and model.

In August 1921, Strand had written in vague terms to

still. I was often spoiling a photograph because I couldn't help moving—and a great deal of fuss was made about it." *Georgia O'Keeffe: A Portrait* (note 5), n.p.

30. Stieglitz to Strand, Lake George, Oct. 5, 1921.



Figure 7. Paul Strand. *Rebecca's Hands, New York, 1923* (1922?). Palladium print, 25.3 x 20.2 cm (9¹⁵/₁₆ x 7¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Sophie M. Friedman Fund 1977.780.

Stieglitz of his problems with Rebecca and of a period of struggle between them which was “critical and dangerous,” but which eventually led to some kind of resolution. “Something was made clearer and freer,”³¹ he said. In September, Stieglitz replied, “I dare not express the hope that you might (be) given the chance to marry.”³² Rebecca Salsbury and Paul Strand were married in January 1922. To save money they moved into an upstairs suite of Strand’s father’s house on West 83d Street, which they painted a stark white and furnished sparsely, leaving plenty of space for the contemplation of recently printed photographs, as well as their growing art collection.³³

Stieglitz and O’Keeffe were not to be legally married

31. Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Aug. 3, 1921.

32. Stieglitz to Strand, Lake George, Sept. 2, 1921.

33. See Tomkins (note 4), p. 23. The Strands owned works by John Marin, Arthur Dove, and other members of the Stieglitz circle, as well as work by European artists.

34. “Yes, the hands were developed a few days ago—And proofed—You were gloriously still, Really.—not a quiver . . .” Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, July 13, 1922 (?).

until 1924, the year that Stieglitz was finally granted a divorce from his first wife. But with the Strands’ marriage in 1922 the two couples became more than ever a tightly integrated foursome, with admiration, competitiveness, in-jokes, and alliances passing in every possible direction between them. Not only were the two photographers devoted friends and collaborators; O’Keeffe and Rebecca shared many interests, including their love of the West, and Strand remained one of O’Keeffe’s closest friends and confidantes. Stieglitz and Rebecca meanwhile, both more gregarious than their partners, were quick to form a personal rapport.

While Stieglitz continued to pursue his portrait of Georgia, he never resisted the opportunity to test his powers on a new sitter, particularly if she were female, and Rebecca was no exception. Inevitably, this heightened the sense of competition between Stieglitz and Strand and intensified their discussion of technical problems, especially that of movement during long exposures. Rebecca was delighted with the success of her first portrait by Stieglitz, an image of her hands holding a shiny black ball.³⁴ “Good old Stieglitz,” Rebecca wrote to him in July 1922, “to get me moveless the first shot out of your Eastman box. I have gurgled and crowed over poor Paul until I am sure he wishes neither of us had ever been born. . . . Better shoot along a proof to show him how superior we are as a working team.”³⁵ The conspiratorial tone of their exchange and its sexual innuendo went still further when Stieglitz suggested to Strand that his portraits of Rebecca would benefit from the help of the “Iron Virgin,” a head-clamp steadying device used by portrait photographers since the nineteenth century. Stieglitz sent one down to Strand from Lake George that month, to Rebecca’s dismay (“The Iron Virgin has come—it seems to gorge holes under my ears”³⁶) and Stieglitz’ own amusement (“Wait until Paul puts you into the Iron Virgin and says, ‘Now won’t you be good . . . and don’t look so darned hurt—smile—be natural.’”³⁷).

Stieglitz also encouraged the Strands’ attempts to record the various moods of their marriage, in keeping with the idea of the portrait as a psychological mirror of its subject. In a letter to Stieglitz of August 18, Rebecca alludes to a portrait that Strand made after a fight between them, to which Stieglitz promptly responded on

35. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, July 14, 1922.

36. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, July 24, 1922.

37. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, July 15, 1922.

38. “Addition” is a term that Stieglitz and Strand used frequently when referring to photographs that added to a series.

39. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, Aug. 23, 1922.

40. “(Paul) has made some new photographs, stills, that are fine. Some of the Akeley camera, some of my hands with the Brancusi

August 23. "So you and Paul had a real tussle and he has made a photograph after it which you think is an *addition*."³⁸ Bully. I don't doubt he is growing. And naturally I am curious to see what he has done."³⁹

Perhaps seeking a respite from his difficulties with Rebecca's portrait, that August Strand began to make close-up photographs of his recently acquired Akeley motion-picture camera. Returning to the more reliable practice of still life, which afforded exposures as long as thirty minutes, he meticulously rendered the machine as an abstraction of integrated polished forms. At the same time, Strand made several photographs of Rebecca's hands, including some with a Brancusi sculpture the Strands owned, the results of which Rebecca told Stieglitz were "very expressive."⁴⁰ Stieglitz believed that hands were as expressive of character as the face. As in his photograph of Rebecca with the black ball, he often posed his subject's hands with objects of personal or local significance in a way that suggests an unspecified allegorical reading. Strand's use of symbol, if intended, was more subtle. A photograph he made of the palm of Rebecca's hand (fig. 7) could be interpreted as a human antidote to the steely dexterity of the Akeley.⁴¹

Stieglitz' proprietary role in the Strands' marriage was furthered in September of that year when Rebecca, taking leave of her secretarial work in a neurologist's office, went to Lake George for a month's vacation. While she wrote to Paul almost every day from Lake George, it is clear that she was in her element living with Stieglitz, O'Keeffe, and various members of the Stieglitz clan, swimming, walking, collecting wild berries, and painting. That summer Stieglitz made several portraits of her using his 8 x 10 camera, some in which she appears introspective and others in which she plays the clown. Stieglitz also began to take his brand new 4 x 5 Graflex down to the lake to photograph whatever female relation or guest was interested in a swim, whether suited or, as they put it, "in the altogether." Rebecca was persuaded to shed her suit soon after her arrival. On September 14th she wrote to Paul, "G., S., and I went to the Lake and as it was very balmy and warm we went in with nothing on."⁴² By the end of September, Stieglitz had photographed Rebecca nude in the lake many times. He would eventually consider at least two of these photographs among the finest of

head that are very expressive and ahead of the others he has done and some of New York . . ." Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Aug. 18, 1922. These photographs are lost. The Brancusi sculpture she refers to is almost certainly *Mlle Pogony*, which Strand used in a still life dated 1922.

41. Strand's practice of mounting some of his photographs of this period back-to-back suggests that he was attentive to the symbolic and formal relationships between two otherwise unrelated images.



Figure 8. Alfred Stieglitz. *Rebecca Salsbury Strand*, 1922/23. Gelatin silver print, 8.9 x 11.8 cm (3½ x 4⅞ in.). Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection 1949.3.557.

his entire career. These are truncated horizontal nudes in which the movement of the water, the warmth of the sun, and the softness of Rebecca's skin are exquisitely united (fig. 8). "Beckalina," he wrote to her in 1924, "I have just been going through some of the little prints made of you in the water summer before last. Some are really very beautiful. Even more so than I had remembered—I am glad that they exist."⁴³

Strand briefly visited in the midst of Rebecca's stay at Lake George in 1922. At least one 4 x 5 image of Rebecca attributed to Strand at Lake George is known. Her full figure is poised at the edge of the water looking away, clothed in a woolly bathing costume.

Somewhat earlier that summer, Strand had spoken to Stieglitz of his struggle to "break through" to a new phase in his photography. "I feel this period is transitional,"⁴⁴ he wrote to Stieglitz. In fact, relative to his photographic activity before entering the army, Strand photographed very little during this period, as he was mainly occupied with commercial film work, shooting newsreels and background shots for feature films, and filming sports events.⁴⁵ His sessions with Rebecca comprise the better part of his photographic activity at this time. Always attentive to technical possibilities in his

42. Rebecca Strand to Paul Strand, Lake George, Sept. 14, 1922.

43. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George. (This letter is undated but is filed as October–November 1924.)

44. Paul Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, July 4, 1922.

45. Strand filmed sports events for Pathé News and Fox Films, made special production shots for MGM and other companies, and worked as an Akeley motion-picture camera specialist.

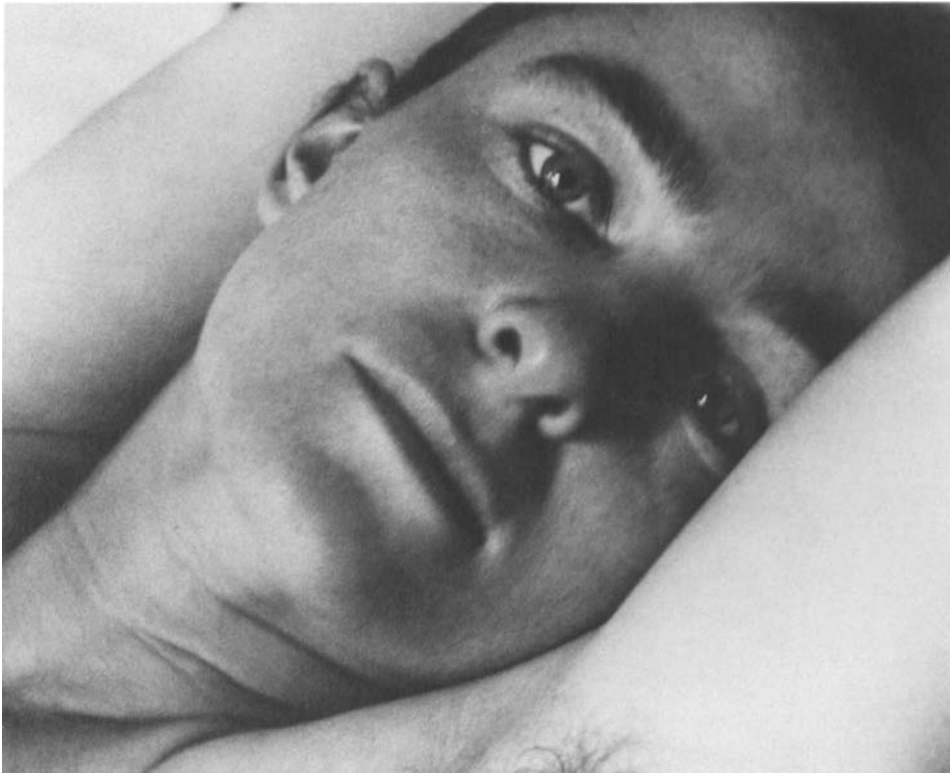


Figure 9. Paul Strand. *Rebecca*, 1923 (1922?). Platinum print, 19.3 x 24 cm (7⁵/₈ x 9¹/₂ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.55.



Figure 10. Paul Strand. *Rebecca, New York*, 1923 (1922?). Platinum print, 24.6 x 19.4 cm (9¹¹/₁₆ x 7⁵/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.54.

quest for self-expression, Strand was fascinated by the abstract quality of motion. Just as he had grasped a sense of movement in his street portraits of 1915, he created a sense of solidity and mass in film, which is evident in his work with Sheeler in *Manhatta*.⁴⁶ This duality of expressive concern, a fusion of his knowledge of two mediums, eventually led to the breaking of new ground in Strand's portraits of Rebecca.

Strand's frustration with the evidence of movement in his long exposures, and Rebecca's equal discomfort with the "Iron Virgin" that was supposed to solve the problem, led in November of 1922 to a new solution. "Paul made some portraits yesterday when I was in bed and resting solidly against pillows,"⁴⁷ Rebecca wrote to Stieglitz on November 6th.⁴⁸ Two portraits in the Getty collection were made in this manner (figs. 9 and 10). In both her shoulders are bare, suggesting total nudity, and her head indicates a reclining position. The close

46. Charles Sheeler made an experimental film of his wife, Katherine Shaffer, around 1919, from which thirteen stills have been preserved. The film must have been influenced by Stieglitz' photographs of O'Keeffe, which Sheeler saw in May 1919 and greatly admired. It is also likely that Strand saw Sheeler's film and was in turn influenced by it. See Stebbins and Keyes (note 17).

47. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Nov. 6, 1922.

48. This was not the first time that Strand made photographs of Rebecca's head in repose. "When in heaven's name did you take me



Figure 11. Paul Strand. *Rebecca Strand, New York City, 1922*. Platinum print, 19.5 x 24.5 cm (7⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₈ in.). Minneapolis, Institute of Arts 82.881.

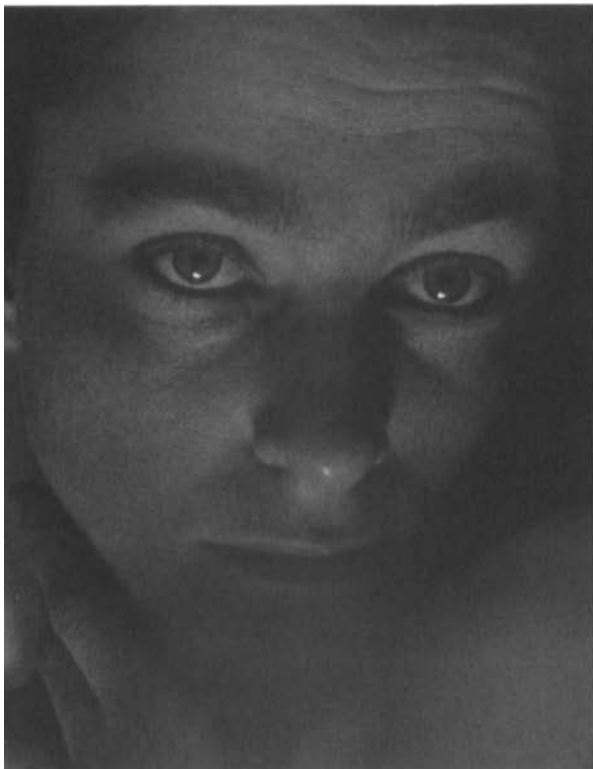


Figure 12. Paul Strand. *Rebecca*, circa 1922. Platinum print, 24.4 x 19.2 cm (9⁵/₈ x 7⁵/₈ in.). Tucson, Center for Creative Photography 76.011.018.

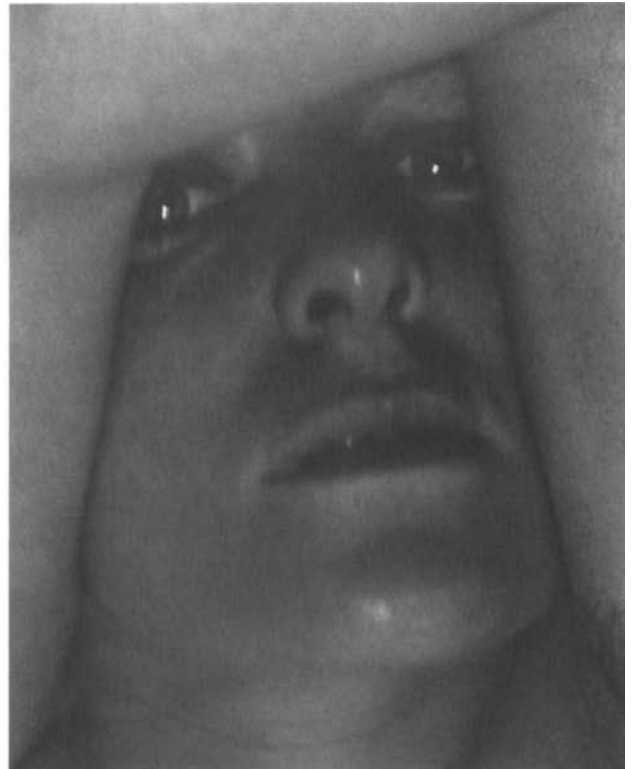


Figure 13. Paul Strand. *Rebecca*, circa 1922. Platinum print, 24.2 x 19.2 cm (9¹/₂ x 7⁵/₈ in.). Tucson, Center for Creative Photography 76.011.015.

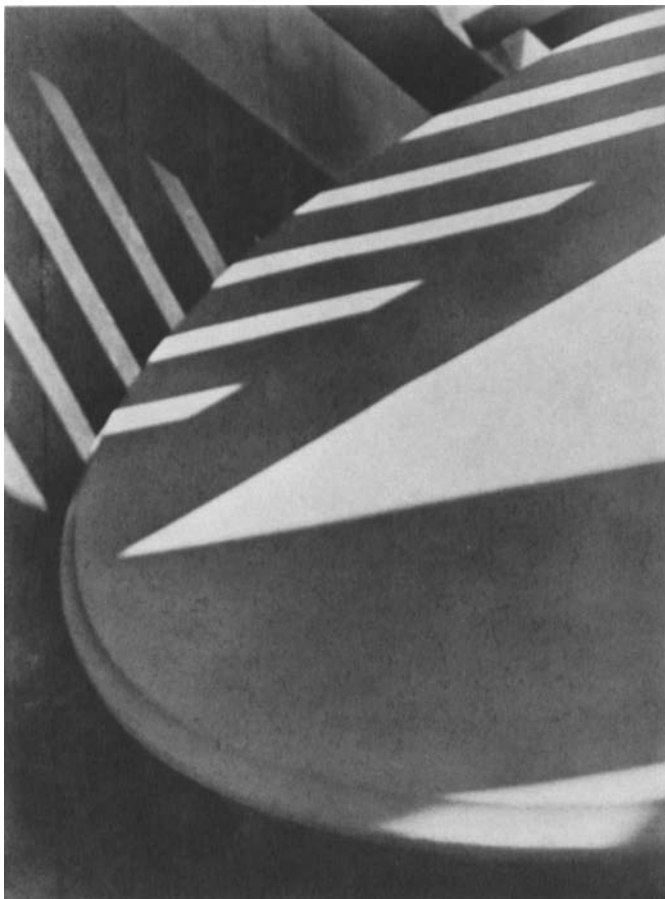


Figure 14. Paul Strand. *Abstraction, Porch Shadows, Twin Lakes, Connecticut*, 1916. Gelatin silver and platinum print, 33 x 244 cm (13 x 9⁵/₈ in.). New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Ford Motor Company Collection, Gift of Ford Motor Company and John C. Waddell, 1987.1100.10.

cropping of her face eliminates depth and contributes to the abstraction of the image. But while these photographs are aggressively formal, they are also frankly intimate. In one in which Rebecca gazes openly at the photographer, all of the struggles of their three years together seem to have balanced, at least for the moment, in an expression that hovers equally between vulnerability and confidence. Rebecca's feeling for Strand as she expressed it in 1920, "the chill of something so true that I am alternately frightened and at rest," finally seems to have released itself to his camera.

These two photographs are very much like a handful of others Strand made of Rebecca in which her head is tightly cropped and her eyes are either closed or beseeching (figs. 11–13). Whether or not they were all

made on the same day or soon after, as a group they suggest a continuous movement and a sensual openness that are not to be found in the majority of the portraits. In all of them there is a slight blurring, adding to the sensation of turning and a loss of equilibrium that is highly erotic. Because the photographer's 8 x 10 camera moved around her from various angles, the photographs have no certain ground and can be turned in more ways than one and still read correctly. In this way they relate to some of Stieglitz' portraits of O'Keeffe's hands, which he asserted could be hung either horizontally or vertically and still be "up." They are also reminiscent of Strand's earliest attempts at abstraction, particularly *Porch Shadows* of 1916 (fig. 14). In this photograph a round table is turned on its side to catch the shadow of the porch railing, and to further assert its formalism Strand turned the image itself on its side. His application of this dislocating device to portraiture, however, was more advanced. Compared with his early, abstract exercises, these portraits of Rebecca seem effortlessly arranged; most importantly, they succeed as a total coalescence of his art with his intimate life.

It would seem that with those photographs Strand arrived at his "breakthrough." No doubt the feelings between the photographer and his subject at the moment these pictures were made are largely accountable for their power. But it is also likely that they resulted from something each of them had recently learned from Stieglitz: Rebecca's greater confidence as a model, and the pressure on Strand to match the level of Stieglitz' intimacy with Rebecca and express himself more openly.

By the time the Strands were corresponding with Stieglitz at Lake George again in the summer of 1923, there is no mention of further portraits being made. There is talk of shared books, Rebecca's boredom with her job, and Strand's struggle to reconcile his commercial work with his creative purpose. Increasingly, Rebecca confided to Stieglitz the difficulties of her marriage, and his sympathy and support were constant. In August, with Strand at Lake George by himself, Stieglitz reported to Rebecca, "Paul misses you but he's really looking very well . . . [Georgia] told him that she appreciates you more and more daily, seeing what you have made of him. He wonders what she's talking about and looks most quizzingly and does not know whether he should be pleased or not. Well, both G. and I agree he's an unusually fine fellow."⁴⁹

Rebecca visited Lake George without Strand during the summer of 1924 and suffered through an uncom-

when I was asleep," Salsbury to Strand, Twin Lakes, Conn., September 1921. This letter could refer to a photograph in the collection of

the Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson.
49. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, Aug. 18, 1923.

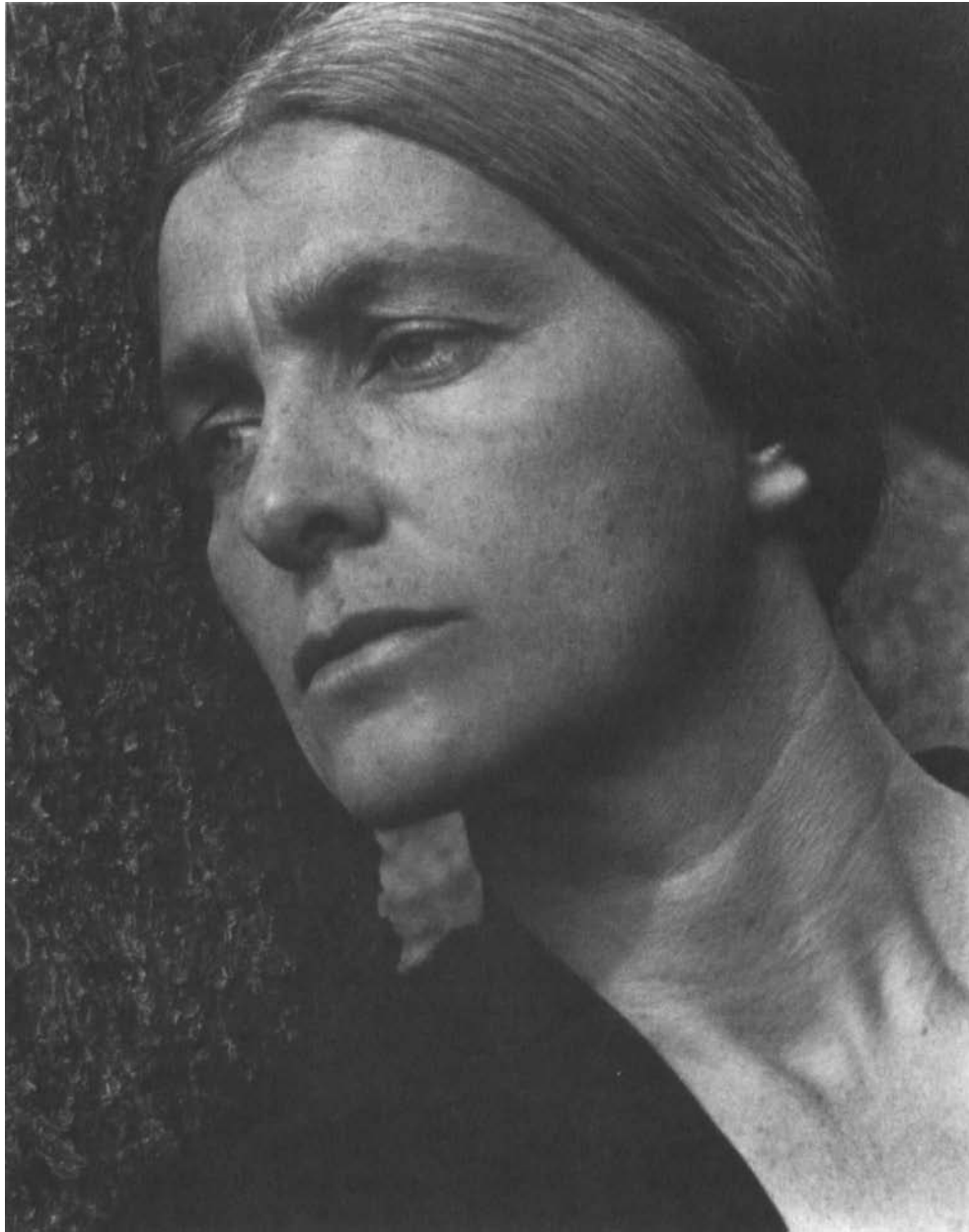


Figure 15. Paul Strand. *Rebecca*, 1930 (1926?). Platinum print, 24.8 x 19.35 cm (9³/₄ x 7⁵/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.6.

fortable period of time there. Now that Stieglitz' divorce was final, the question of marriage brought about a turbulent phase in his relationship with O'Keeffe. (They were married that December.) In 1925 the Strands began to seek alternatives to the Stieglitz camp and spent their summer vacation in Georgetown, Maine, in the company of their friends Gaston and Isabel Lachaise. In Maine, Strand became engrossed in making close-ups of nature. A 4 x 5 snapshot of Re-

becca, outfitted western style and seated below the plump and sturdy Madame Lachaise, is perhaps the only photograph he made of her that year.

Aside from her problems with Strand, Rebecca had other concerns afflicting her in the mid-1920s. Her brother Milton was terminally ill, and to make matters worse, he held a long-standing grudge against Strand.⁵⁰ In 1926 Rebecca was deeply depressed and physically ailing. A sensitive model, Rebecca was probably not

50. "(My brother) says that while he still has the same unalterable affection for me he cannot forget his experience with Paul and that

they can never be friends." Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, Nov. 11, 1924.

willing to be photographed during this period. New events affecting the Strands' marriage may have required a more cautious approach to portraiture.

That summer of 1926, the Strands made a trip West, Strand in search of new subject matter, and Rebecca no doubt hoping to find consolation in her western roots. Their first stop was Estes Park, Colorado. "Beck is not fit yet," wrote Strand to Stieglitz from Estes Park, "but some of the dragged and exhausted feeling is going."⁵¹ Strand made a few pictures of Rebecca there, one of which is likely to be a photograph in the Getty collection (fig. 15).⁵² "Paul made the tree prints when I was so ill in Estes Park," Rebecca wrote to Stieglitz the following spring. "I was frantic and he was trying to bring me to the point where I could decide for myself what to do. . . . He was really very wonderful—very true to himself and to me and that I feel is in these things."⁵³ Rebecca's long brown hair was already rapidly turning gray, and the line between her eyebrows was deepening. No longer that of the romantically engaged young woman, Rebecca's averted face in this portrait suggests a growing sense of loneliness within her marriage. In Colorado, Strand also made photographs of trees blasted by lightning. His greater physical distance from his subject in these photographs represents a departure from the intricately woven close-ups of nature he began in Maine the summer before; it also anticipates the stark realism of his later work.

From Colorado the Strands traveled on to New Mexico. There, Mabel Dodge Luhan, the former doyenne of Greenwich Village radicals who now presided over the Taos art scene, immediately welcomed them and offered to put them up in one of her adobe cottages. While Mabel proved to be a domineering and meddlesome hostess, the Strands fell in love with New Mexico, and by the time they arrived home in New York in September the trip West was considered a great success.

Rebecca's brother died in August 1927. His death was a major blow to her, in spite of their differences and his disapproval of Strand. For reasons still obscure, Rebecca and Paul reached a decision that summer not to have a child. "So you have finally come to a definite decision about a child. I know the inner struggle you have had,"⁵⁴ Stieglitz wrote to Rebecca. Her brother's death and the realization that she would never have a family must have galvanized her into a reassessment of the purpose of her own life that year. Her hopes of reaching a more perfect sense of communion with

Strand were by this time modified, and her need to define herself apart from him more urgent. In July 1928, in Maine again with Strand, she wrote to Stieglitz of her efforts to teach herself to draw in pastel. "Life is horribly short—and if there is to be no 'home,' no child, I want something that is truly mine."⁵⁵

In 1928, Stieglitz suffered his first heart attack. O'Keeffe had been feeling increasingly hemmed in by his family scene at Lake George and now, with his failing health, she was even more restless for privacy and new landscapes to paint from. She had occasionally taken off for Maine during this period, finding some relief in its coastal vistas, but the Strands' enthusiasm for the Southwest made her long for the Texas landscape she had left behind ten years before. At the urging of Mabel Luhan and Dorothy Brett, an English painter, in April of 1929 O'Keeffe and Rebecca boarded the train for Santa Fe, leaving their husbands behind them for what would be a four-month stay.

Predictably, the two women were welcomed to "Mabeltown," where they were put up in the pink adobe guest cottage (where D. H. Lawrence had stayed in 1924), and each was given a studio to work in. "It could not be more perfect," Rebecca wrote to Stieglitz from Taos, as his faithful correspondent. "I wish every day you could see your Georgia! Red cheeks, round face and ready for anything."⁵⁶ She also confided to Strand other news of O'Keeffe. "Yesterday Tony (Luhan) and I tackled the problem of teaching Georgia to . . . drive the Ford. . . . By *no means* tell Stieglitz."⁵⁷ O'Keeffe's delight in her retrieved freedom that year and her discovery of the New Mexican landscape marked the beginning of what would become an increasingly part-time marriage to Stieglitz. Before long, Stieglitz found out not only that she had learned to drive but that she had acquired her own Model T Ford. The car became a symbol of their estrangement, yet—faithful to his pursuit of her photographic portrait—Stieglitz nonetheless made several photographs of O'Keeffe gazing defiantly out of the Ford's window, or fondling its metal parts.

Unlike Stieglitz, who felt increasingly homebound as he moved into his sixties, Strand shared the two women's love of New Mexico. For the next three years, the Strands spent their summers in Taos. Prompted into renewed photographic activity, Strand made many landscapes as well as portraits, work that helped to formulate a theme that would dominate the rest of his

51. Strand to Stieglitz, Estes Park, Colo., Aug. 13, 1926.

52. The bark in this photograph appears to be that of a cone-bearing tree—trees that predominate in the Rocky Mountains and do

not exist, except for the piñon, in New Mexico.

53. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, May 25, 1927.

54. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, Lake George, Sept. 19, 1927.



Figure 16. Paul Strand. *Rebecca, Taos*, 1932. Platinum print, 24.8 x 19.35 cm (9³/₄ x 7¹¹/₁₆ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.62.



Figure 17. Paul Strand. *Rebecca, New Mexico*, 1930. Gelatin silver print, 11.9 x 9.25 cm (4¹¹/₁₆ x 3⁵/₈ in.). Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 86.XM.683.5.

career: the land and its people. These photographs represent a stylistic departure from Strand's earlier work; by comparison, his New York pictures are frontal, airless, and tightly organized. The lessons of formal unity were now at the service of a sense of place.

In New Mexico, Strand took up his photographs of Rebecca once again, perhaps knowing they would be among his last. These late portraits, of which the Getty owns two striking examples, have an emotional distance totally unlike those of the first three years of their relationship. This seemingly abrupt change of tone is partly attributable to Strand's gradually shifting photographic style. Had we not known of the earlier stage of Rebecca's portraits, many of the later examples would not stand out individually from various portraits of local friends and acquaintances Strand made in New Mexico at the same time. Using devices common to all of these photographs, Strand placed Rebecca several feet away from

the camera in relation to a doorway or tree or against a cloudy sky, a solitary figure framed by her physical environment. These poses were dictated, in part, by aesthetic considerations, but their air of detachment and objectivity must also be appreciated in light of the continuing motive of the serial portrait, in which the relationship of artist to model is understood to be in a constant state of change. One of the Getty portraits (fig. 16), in which Rebecca's maturing profile and pained countenance are unsparingly delineated in a brightly sunlit doorway, can hardly be considered apart from the reality of a then-failing marriage. Finally, the total absence of confrontation between photographer and subject in a photograph of Rebecca's darkly cloaked back facing a cloudy sky (fig. 17) coincides significantly with the waning of their intimacy.

Even in the midst of this growing separation, then, Rebecca remained the faithful servant of Strand's art. In

55. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, Georgetown, Me., July 30, 1928.

56. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, Taos, N.M., May 14, 1929.

57. Rebecca Strand to Paul Strand, Taos, N.M., May 1929.

May 1928, she had assessed her life with Strand in this way to Stieglitz: “The affirmation of what I believed (Paul) to be the first time I saw his photographs—what I still believe him to be—that has been my greatest happiness—that—and sharing you and Georgia—as friends.”⁵⁸

Stieglitz’ portrait of O’Keeffe numbered almost three times as many exposures as Strand’s of Rebecca and was carried out over a slightly longer period at both ends. But this is not the only reason for its greater success. The respective personalities and aspirations of the photographers and their models surely have more to do with the case. O’Keeffe was a more self-assured and independent woman than Rebecca, and her desire for equal power and admiration in her relationship with Stieglitz accounts for her brilliantly controlled performances before his camera. O’Keeffe could be a dancer, a clown, a wild animal, a witch, a psychic, or a siren; the variety of her personae contributes to the continuity and purpose of the serial portrait as a whole. If unable to compete with O’Keeffe’s repertoire, Rebecca, in her own way, was able to show more of her “selves.” We sense that she was unable to overcome her emotions before the camera, and this failure gives her portraits their singular intensity.

At the same time, we must admit that the portrait is to a large extent a mirror of its maker. As O’Keeffe said of Stieglitz many years later, “He was always photographing himself.”⁵⁹ Stieglitz’ portrait of O’Keeffe represents a reigniting of his passions in the relative security of middle age, and his confidence was matched by his model. Strand was still engaging in the youthful struggle to define the meaning of his life and his art. As much as he adopted Stieglitz’ notion that photography

should be an emotional response to experience, he never romanticized his portrayal of Rebecca. As Stieglitz had said of his early street portraits, Strand’s art was “brutally direct.” A full generation younger than his mentor, Strand was essentially a realist.

With the start of the new decade, Strand’s interests began to shift away from the kind of pure self-expression that Stieglitz espoused; as Stieglitz pursued his obsession with photographing clouds, which began in the 1920s, “to show that my photographs are not due to subject matter,”⁶⁰ Strand was working toward a more narrative imagery of broader social context. His marriage to Rebecca had been influenced by his friendship with Stieglitz; neither the marriage nor the friendship would survive Strand’s change of direction in the early 1930s. Strand’s subsequent portraits describe, without exception, stalwart characters; if elderly they seem to have weathered life with fortitude, if youthful, they look forward with unerring determination. Never again would Strand use his art to explore the facets of an intimate relationship.

Stieglitz and Rebecca, in assessing the rearrangements of their lives, were reluctant to admit the end of an era for all of them. “Isn’t there something we can do to go back to the warmth and understanding of the ‘old days?’”⁶¹ Rebecca wrote to Stieglitz in 1933, the year her marriage ended, to which Stieglitz replied, “I feel someday everything will clear up naturally—I am conscious of your more than kindness to me at a very critical time in my life and I don’t forget the many years of Paul’s loyalty, not only to me personally but to something beyond all of us—to the Idea—and the Idea is as alive as ever. That I know. Ever your old A.S.”⁶²

New York

58. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, New York City, May 13, 1928.

59. *Georgia O’Keeffe: A Portrait* (note 5), n.p.

60. A. Stieglitz, “How I Came to Photograph Clouds,” *The Amateur Photographer and Photography* 56, no. 1819 (1923), p. 255.

61. Rebecca Strand to Stieglitz, Taos, N.M. (?), Dec. 19, 1933.

62. Stieglitz to Rebecca Strand, New York City, Dec. 22, 1933.

Rebecca lived most of the rest of her life in New Mexico. She married William James, a banker and a rancher, in 1937, but she and Strand remained on friendly terms. She continued to paint, developing her own curious technique of oil on glass. In 1968, after a long struggle with rheumatoid arthritis, she committed suicide.

Acquisitions/1988

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Introduction: The Collections and the Year's Activities

In my report on the Museum in 1987, I described several worrying portents: the stock market crash of October, a mild earthquake, and a few dizzying auction prices for Post-Impressionist paintings. In 1988, some of our fears were allayed, others sharpened. The market recovered strongly, to most people's surprise. The ground was steady under our feet as we developed better protection for the collection and for visitors. But art prices shot up even higher, especially for the rare and important objects the Museum needs most, and our buying power continued to decline. Short supply and hot competition from private collectors account for fewer purchases for most departments in 1988, particularly paintings. But many exciting additions were made, and the Museum remained steady on its course of improving services and facilities for the public.

THE COLLECTIONS

By 1988, the sixth full year since the income from Mr. Getty's immense bequest began to flow to the Trust, the Museum's collections had already reached a breadth, diversity, and overall excellence that stood in dramatic contrast to their state in 1982. But all the collections needed still further building, some more urgently than others. In 1988 this process continued, despite a squeeze caused by the scarcity of great objects and a steep rise in prices across the board. Every department, nevertheless, made purchases that were important for its development, and a few acquired works of fundamental importance for the Museum.

ANTIQUITIES had a year like few others, the year of the Aphrodite. Much of 1988 was taken up by the preparations for the purchase of this astonishing statue, its initial exhibition, and the aftermath. The most important discovery in the field of Greek art since the Getty Museum's kouros in 1983, it is an over-life-size cult figure of the fifth century B.C., obviously made for a temple in the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, and the only complete example of this most important type of sculptural figure to survive from antiquity. The Phidian ideals of gravity, sensuousness, and mysterious animation are fully realized in this goddess.

When the statue turned up in the hands of a dealer, it presented an opportunity we had hardly dreamt of, but one that had to be approached prudently. Besides taking all the usual precautions to verify the authenticity of the piece, we were obliged by the Museum's acquisitions policy to send photographs and information to the governments of the countries from which it might have come

and ask whether they had any knowledge of it. The Italian response was negative. After we had made the purchase, however, a journalist published a rumor (still unsubstantiated and highly unlikely) that it had been found at Morgantina, a site in central Sicily, and illegally removed. This led to a furor in the press until the local investigating magistrate conceded that there was no evidence for the claim. The controversy at least gave us the chance to make our acquisitions policy better known. The policy, in addition to requiring us to make direct inquiries to governments, obliges us to exhibit and announce purchases promptly; notify foreign governments after an acquisition is made; and return objects for which valid claims are made even after statutes of limitations have run.

Another important purchase attracted no public notice at all, but is vital for the Museum: one of the finest groups of Cycladic sculptures and vessels remaining in private hands. Until this purchase, the Museum had represented the art of the prehistoric Aegean by only one excellent piece. The eight Cycladic sculptures acquired from the Steiner collection are among the most beautiful and best preserved anywhere, and include several of the most characteristic type, the reclining female idol of the folded-arm variety. Visitors to the gallery of Archaic Greek art now get a vivid idea of the production of this little-understood culture of the Greek islands that flourished two millennia before our kouros was made.

Among a group of Greek vases acquired in 1988 is a spectacular calyx-crater, the biggest known, decorated by a master painter of large-scale narrative scenes, the Aegisthus Painter. It represents the climax of the tale, later made famous by Aeschylus, of Orestes's revenge upon the usurper Aegisthus for the murder of his father, Agamemnon.

The first catalogues of the collection of antiquities appeared in 1988. Guntram Koch's *Roman Funerary Sculpture*, long in preparation, was followed by Andrew Clark's fascicule in the international *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum* series, on the Attic black-figure vases from the Bareiss collection, which is now part of the Getty Museum's holdings. At least a dozen volumes devoted to parts of the antiquities collection are to appear in the coming years, three of them now in press, and the rest in preparation or projected.

In April the departments of Antiquities and Antiquities Conservation sponsored an international symposium on the study and authentication of antique

marble sculpture. Some 200 art historians, archaeologists, conservators, conservation scientists, and geologists were on hand to present papers and discuss practical aspects of marble in the Greek and Roman world: origin, trade, techniques of working, weathering, faking and alteration, and how conservation science illuminates these issues. The proceedings are to be published in early 1990.

THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS made two major purchases in 1988, both of the late Gothic period. One was the most important German manuscript left in private hands, a copy of the *Weltchronik* by Rudolf von Ems made shortly after 1400, with nearly 400 miniatures by a gifted painter of Regensburg. Long admired by specialists but little seen, this chronicle of human history has a rich compendium of uncommon biblical scenes conceived with ingenuity and painted with colorful pungency.

The other purchase, also lavishly illuminated, is a large Bolognese missal that once belonged to the Anti-Pope John XXIII (reigned 1410–1415). Great Italian manuscripts seldom appear in the market; since the Museum's collection is perhaps weakest in this area, the purchase was a stroke of special good fortune.

In 1988 we sold a small group of unilluminated examples that had originally come to the Getty with the purchase of the Ludwig collection in 1983. As the Museum's policy is to exhibit only manuscripts that are distinguished by their illustrations and not to collect material of primarily textual interest, it seemed wise to convert their value into works that allow us to represent the history of manuscript illumination more fully.

PAINTINGS acquisitions fell off in numbers but not in importance. The effect of inflation can be measured by the rate of our purchases: twenty-one in 1986 (that year I already noted that prices were up, supply down); twelve in 1987; five in 1988. Each of the five, however, was among the most desirable of its kind. A delightful rediscovery is a painting by Douanier Rousseau that had disappeared from view for some sixty years, *A Centennial of Independence* of 1892. It is one of Rousseau's ambitious political statements, a joyous vision of the founding of the First Republic celebrated in his own time by dancing and music in a grove festooned with flags. The sophisticated naiveté of such pictures made the self-taught Rousseau the darling of the Parisian avant-garde. The painting joins Ensor's masterpiece, *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*, Munch's *Starry Night*, and a few others, in a small but powerful cluster of Post-Impressionist paintings.

Three superb portraits joined the collection: the wonderfully preserved likeness of a member of the court of

Charles V, painted by Gossaert around 1530; an opulent official portrait of the young archbishop of Cambrai by Rigaud of 1723; and Renoir's sensitive picture of the composer Albert Cahen d'Anvers, done when the artist was painting a well-to-do circle of friends at a country house in Normandy in 1881.

The Museum's gallery of Dutch cabinet pictures gained a well-known and brilliant painting, *The Piebald Horse* by Paulus Potter, the greatest *animalier* of his time. By happy chance the painting is one that J. Paul Getty had wanted badly in 1951, when he bid for it unsuccessfully at an auction in Paris.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DRAWINGS acquired thirty works in 1988. Most remarkable is a group of previously unknown fifteenth-century examples, including a sheet that is certainly a sculptor's drawing and almost certainly by Desiderio da Settignano. There is also a sensitive study by Carpaccio for a painting of 1493 in the Saint Ursula cycle. New drawings of the High Renaissance include a fine Peruginisque figure study that can plausibly be attributed to the young Raphael, and a large design by Peruzzi of the 1520s for a splendidly decorated altar.

Drawings of the mid-to-late sixteenth century, both Italian and Northern, have become one of the Getty Museum's particular strong points. Drawings by Giulio Romano, Bronzino, Primaticcio, and an especially important large sheet by Perino del Vaga made our Italian group even stronger; brilliant pen drawings by Bloemaert and de Gheyn of around 1600 did the same for the Dutch; and sheets by Vinckboons and the little-known Isaac Major enriched our fine group of Flemish landscapes. Drawings by two great Netherlandish masters of the seventeenth century were acquired: a spectacular anatomical study by Rubens, recently rediscovered, which makes our sixth by the master, and a rare construction drawing of a church interior by Saenredam, whose works have almost all been retired to other museums. It is a miracle of patient observation and lucid draughtsmanship.

One of the most beautiful drawings from all of Watteau's ample output came to the Museum in 1988, a study of a flutist and an onlooker, in which the three colored chalks persuasively evoke flesh and drapery, and the portrayal of the musician is especially soulful. We have four Watteaus, but we had no Piranesi drawing until his imposing view of a fanciful seaport appeared. Since the majestic print Piranesi made from it is well known, the rediscovery of the preparatory drawing was especially important.

Two nineteenth-century drawings came to the collection in 1988. A sheet of spontaneous pencil studies of

horses and riders by Gericault became our third drawing by the artist. And we acquired one of the most powerful and immaculately preserved of all Turner's watercolors, *Longships Lighthouse, Land's End*, a seascape praised by Ruskin for the way it conveys the energy of nature. It does so by showing the waves as surging and bursting on the desolate coast, timeless and irresistible.

The first of a series of catalogues of the Getty's drawings collection appeared in 1988. Covering the first 149 drawings acquired, it was written by George Goldner with the assistance of Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams. A second volume is in preparation.

THE DEPARTMENT OF DECORATIVE ARTS added several splendid pieces of furniture to complement existing groups or to strengthen less well-represented categories. To a very distinguished group of Boulle pieces we were able to add a long-case clock of characteristically flat and slender form attributed to A.-C. Boulle himself, a fine early example. To a still-underdeveloped group of Neoclassical pieces we added a fine bronze console table, silvered and gilded yet remarkably chaste in decoration. And to a small but excellent collection of German Rococo furniture we added a large Bavarian console table with robust and exuberant carved decoration.

Our collection of porcelain continues to become more diverse and excellent. We try to acquire not only Sèvres but also a few of the best examples from other important French manufactories, so the rare late-seventeenth-century Nevers lidded jug was welcome, as was the ewer and basin with silver mounts made at Saint-Cloud around 1720. Today the best of Sèvres is scarce and expensive, but we were able to acquire a pair of pink-ground vases (Vases Bolvry) with fine paintings of landscapes and birds.

Since the eventual installation of the galleries in the new museum in Brentwood is always in our minds as we consider acquisitions in decorative arts, we try to acquire objects that would have been required in French rooms, such as the beautiful Neoclassical fire screen. Many such pieces, once ubiquitous, were discarded in the nineteenth century with the advent of central heating. Chandeliers appropriate to the style of each room are being bought whenever excellent examples can be found. We have also been acquiring decorative objects, such as the painted bronze and silver *magot* figures that originally belonged to Madame de Pompadour, and the allegorical figures in bronze that belonged to a suite of Neoclassical pieces designed by Boizot.

THE DEPARTMENT OF SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART acquired the greatest French bronzes ever to come to America, a pair of large abduction groups by the court

sculptors Girardon and Marsy. These are based on models made for marbles that still stand in the gardens at Versailles. Superbly cast and patinated, mounted on elaborate contemporary bases by Boulle, they are among the three or four most important purchases made by the Museum since we began to collect sculpture in 1984.

Other new sculptures include a powerful and elegant large bronze of a nude man, almost certainly by Tiziano Aspetti, Tintoretto's contemporary and sculptural counterpart in Venice. Among later works is an exquisite portrait in terra-cotta of Madame Récamier, the famous subject of the painter David, made just after 1800. There is also a remarkable likeness of an unknown man by the little-known Francis Harwood, an English sculptor working in Florence. Carved in lustrous black stone that mimics this black man's skin, the portrait makes an unforgettable impression by its resolute dignity.

The varied tastes of the Italian Renaissance are mirrored in other purchases, especially a pair of splendid carved marriage chests (*cassoni*) made in Foligno, about which we know a great deal from a paper label that was preserved by lucky accident. A set of twelve Limoges enamel plaques representing scenes from the Passion by Jean II Pénicaut, adapting prints by Schongauer and Dürer, are of a very high standard of execution and reveal an aristocratic taste for precious objects of devotion. A sixteenth-century basin with unnervingly realistic fish, lizards, and water plants by Bernard Palissy represents the *style rustique* at its finest.

Our small gallery of Dutch paintings is now graced by a robust Antwerp cabinet of around 1630 replete with allegorical figures carved with exceptional skill. Of the same period is a Dutch brass chandelier of a form familiar from countless pictures of domestic interiors by Dutch genre painters.

A small collection of ceramics got a distinguished addition when we bought a pair of large vases signed and dated in 1769 by Geminiano Cozzi, pieces he seems to have intended as showpieces for the factory in Venice where he produced ambitious ware in rivalry with Meissen.

The department published the first of its collection catalogues, a volume devoted to *Italian Maiolica* written by Catherine Hess.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PHOTOGRAPHS, since its formation after the original block purchases of 1984, has concentrated more and more on acquiring groups of examples by individual photographers of the greatest importance. Another aim has been to acquire great single pictures when they become available.

In 1988 the opportunity arose to add a group of su-

perb pictures by the Scottish pioneers Hill and Adamson, which were originally presented by Hill to the Royal Scottish Academy. While a few were made from negatives from which we already had examples, the differences between the printings is so striking and instructive—analogue to early and late states of an etching—that the duplication was welcome.

We added groups of pictures of early California by Watkins and Muybridge, enriching an already strong collection of images of the American West by the leading pioneer photographers of California's Golden Age.

The department has been making a particular effort to buy the work of the most important American photographers of the earlier twentieth century, and has had great success, notably with Strand, Weston, and Stieglitz. In 1988 we were offered a group of five photographs by Imogen Cunningham that represent her impressive early work especially well. We also had the chance to buy twenty-seven of the best pictures by Harry Callahan, mostly of the 1940s. Most significant of all was the opportunity to buy a group of superb pictures by Charles Sheeler, who saw his photographs as having a significance equal to that of his paintings. The rarest were made in 1917–1919, when Sheeler succeeded in making photographs that combine a feeling for nineteenth-century America with the formal adventurousness of early modernism.

THE YEAR'S ACTIVITIES

Again in 1988 the serenity of the gardens and the quiet of the galleries concealed ceaseless activity in practically every area. The most visible results for visitors were many changes in the galleries, in both permanent installations and temporary exhibitions.

A two-year project to renovate all the antiquities galleries ended with the reinstallation of our splendid collection of Hellenistic silver in the Hall of Colored Marbles, together with a group of Greek portraits of philosophers. In the Etruscan vestibule, a renovated installation includes several new acquisitions and a group of carved gems. And the gallery of Roman portraits was thoroughly rearranged so as to clarify relationships and make the more important works prominent.

Upstairs, a gallery was created to show our fine small group of French eighteenth-century silver, a few other pieces of recently acquired European silver, and several spectacular examples of the work of Renaissance goldsmiths. In a former office adjacent to the paintings galleries we reinstalled a group of our best bronzes, including pieces by Cellini, Aspetti, Vittoria, and other sixteenth-century masters of sculpture, all acquired within the past four years.

On both floors, visitors can now get oriented in newly renovated areas. An automated fourteen-minute slide talk is presented continuously in a room next to the ground-floor entrance. It gives a brief history of the Museum building and its Roman model and an introduction to the collections. Upstairs, a "browsing room" adjacent to the galleries gives visitors a chance to consult Getty Museum catalogues and basic reference works and get the help of an attendant familiar with the collections. In 1989 the room will also have an interactive videodisc on manuscript illumination, the second such program we have developed for visitors.

Constantly changing temporary installations ensure that no two trips to the Museum will be alike, and thus provide an incentive for our Los Angeles audience to make repeat visits. Four exhibitions of illuminated manuscripts were held in 1988, each with a checklist, extensive interpretive labels, and color transparencies that allow visitors to see pages not shown. Exhibitions from the collection were *Early Medieval and Romanesque Manuscripts*, *Illuminated Italian Manuscripts*, and *Flemish Illumination of the Late Middle Ages*, the latter organized by Thomas Kren with the aid of Max Martens and representing the debut of *The Visions of Tondal*, with miniatures by Simon Marmion, the finest Flemish manuscript left in private hands until we bought it in 1987. *The Leiden Aratea: Ancient Constellations in a Medieval Manuscript* was a loan exhibition of this important Carolingian manuscript from the University Library in Leiden, the earliest and best-illustrated surviving copy of a text by the ancient Roman astronomer and meteorologist Aratus (about 315–240 B.C.). The manuscript's illuminations kept alive the tradition of Roman wall-painting into the tenth century. A small book, *The Leiden Aratea* by Emilie Savage-Smith and Rane Katzstein, was produced to accompany the show.

There were five exhibitions of drawings, each culled from a sector of our increasingly diverse collection: *Eighteenth-Century Drawings*; *Northern Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Drawings*; *Italian Drawings*; *French Drawings*; and *Dutch and Flemish Drawings*. Each show marked the debut of several new acquisitions.

Exhibitions of photographs continued to draw an audience of regulars and to surprise and delight the unsuspecting visitor. *Eternal Cities: Photographs of Athens and Rome* explored the role of nineteenth-century photographers in documenting these ancient cities, often creating independent works of art in the process. Andrew Szegedy-Maszak was the guest curator. *Gustave Le Gray* was another concise exposition of one photographer's work (following earlier shows devoted to Cameron and Weston), in this case the well-known pi-

oneer of landscape, whose commissioned pictures of other subjects were also shown. It was organized by Gordon Baldwin. *After the Manner of Women: Photographs by Käsebier, Cunningham, and Ulmann*, organized by Judith Keller, was devoted to images of women by three women photographers whose works display an affinity both in subjects and in poetic treatment. Each of the exhibitions of photographs was accompanied by a free illustrated brochure.

This was another year of progress in developing more and better services for the Museum's public. The restaffing and strengthening of the Department of Education and Academic Affairs, begun in 1987, went further in 1988 and began to show impressive results. I have already mentioned a new orientation theater and browsing room that were opened in 1988; more such projects are being planned for 1989. The education staff devoted a month to staff training at the beginning of the year, giving members of the department and curators a chance to sharpen their skills.

Public lectures in the evenings, a staple of the Museum's educational program for many years, began in 1988 to be organized into series around themes, in an attempt to provide a more useful cumulative experience for the audience and to give incentives for regular attendance. Themes included *The Later Nineteenth Century*, *Paintings Conservation: Cases and Issues in Recent Work at the Getty Museum*, and *The Age of Science and Reason*. Many other individual lectures were also given, as well as afternoon seminars on more specialized subjects. Members of the Getty Museum staff have given more public lectures than formerly, although most speakers continue to be guests.

The staff—curators and conservators as well as members of the education department—taught nine short courses for adults in 1988. These were popular, in fact greatly oversubscribed. In courses of from three to nine sessions, the subjects ranged from *The Human and Divine in Ancient Greece* to *An Introduction to the Conservation Departments* to *Italian Renaissance Maiolica*.

The Museum's curators and educators have been investing a great deal of time, creativity, and money in measures intended to give the visitor a richer experience. Are these efforts succeeding? We can only know by understanding visitors' behavior and responses. In 1988 we undertook a series of studies to help determine, among other things, who our visitors are and what they think about the Museum; how well visitors find their way around; how the lecture program is working; and how effectively our monthly calendar of events does its job. Other studies were in the planning stages.

An outdoor concert series was again a hugely popular

summer event at the Museum. On a stage built into the Inner Peristyle, under a canopy in the form of a Roman *velum*, musicians played to an audience of about 400, seated in the garden and on the periphery. The acoustics are remarkably good and the setting is a delight. This year five concerts on the theme of *Music in the Age of Science and Reason* were devoted to sometimes unfamiliar aspects of the Baroque and were complemented by a Thursday-evening lecture series that examined eighteenth-century cultural values in relation to the music of the era. The Getty Museum also played host to performances by the Los Angeles Philharmonic Institute on four Friday afternoons during the summer.

Two long-standing programs deserve mention here. For the tenth year the Museum invited a group of Guest Scholars to the Getty for periods ranging from two to seven months. They are provided with a study at the Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, an apartment, the use of a car, access to the Museum staff and the collections, and the chance to work undisturbed on some project of their own choosing. Unlike the scholars invited to the Center, the Museum's scholars tend to undertake books, articles, or catalogues that deal with works of art in the original, problems of authenticity and provenance, monographic studies, and the like, and in many cases they are museum professionals. In 1988 the Museum's Guest Scholars were Herbert Hoffmann, formerly of the University of Hamburg; C. Martin Robertson of Oxford University; Ann Sutherland Harris of the University of Pittsburgh; David Scrase of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England; Lilian Armstrong of Wellesley College; Joachim Plotzek of the Schnütgen Museum in Cologne; Michael Conforti of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts; Jaap Bolten of the University of Leiden; Simon Jervis of the Victoria and Albert Museum; Gérard Labrot of the University of Grenoble; Michael Pantazzi of the National Gallery of Canada; and Thea Vignau-Wilberg of the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen.

Conservators are also invited for periods and work in the labs and studios of the Getty Museum. These Visiting Conservators normally spend one to two weeks here, often to demonstrate some technique or to help our staff explore a problem. In 1988 our Visiting Conservators included Alain Goldrach of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Hermann Born of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin; Anthony Cains of Trinity College, Dublin; Ian and Angela Moor of London; and Marjorie Shelley of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The presence of these visitors enriches the lives of the Museum staff. So does the annual arrival of a dozen-odd interns, graduate students who have survived a

rigorous selection process and are placed in various Museum departments to work as members of the staff, and in the process to absorb a great deal about museums and museum work.

The MUSEUM'S DEPARTMENT OF PUBLICATIONS is, in effect, a small publishing house, performing editorial, design, production, and marketing functions. It produces all of the Museum's many books, catalogues, exhibition labels, and printed material, and in addition it serves as the publications office for all the other organizations of the J. Paul Getty Trust—no small task. I have already mentioned various catalogues of antiquities, drawings, and manuscripts published in 1988 under the curatorial departments; there were other Museum books besides, all of a more popular character. The *Guide to the Villa and Its Gardens* is a companion to the popular *Handbook of the Collections*. It gives a well-illustrated brief history of the building, its antecedents and sources, and examines the Villa and gardens in detail. The second, greatly revised edition of *Masterpieces of Painting in the J. Paul Getty Museum* by Burton Fredericksen also appeared in 1988; a measure of the progress of the collection is the fact that of fifty-one paintings in this edition, only thirteen were here in 1981 for the first edition. *Edvard Munch: Starry Night* by Louise Lippincott is the first of a new series of popular books—brief, well-illustrated essays that consider important works in the Getty Museum's collection from various different points of view. *Looking at Prints, Drawings and Watercolours: A Guide to Technical Terms*, co-published with the British Museum, is a handbook for the layman with illustrations from the collections of both museums.

The Museum's conservators made a great but unobtrusive contribution to the Museum's work in 1988. Antiquities Conservation was occupied with a great variety of treatments, but none could compete in importance with the examination and installation of the Aphrodite, which was first exhibited in the late summer and autumn in the condition in which it was bought. Studies and plans were made for the treatment of the piece in 1989, involving the rejoining of an arm and the design of a seismic isolating base. Decorative Arts and Sculpture Conservation saw the departure of Barbara Roberts, a talented and energetic conservator, who had been responsible for the creation and growth of the department, and the appointment of Brian Considine, her associate conservator, as head of the department. Paintings Conservation accomplished many projects, especially the cleaning and installation of Mantegna's *Adoration of the Magi*, the final work on the large Vivarini altarpiece, and the lining and cleaning of Ensor's

immense *Christ's Entry into Brussels in 1889*.

During the year, many new measures were taken to improve the buildings and make certain that the staff, visitors, and works of art would survive an earthquake in safety.

The Museum held the first of a series of annual full-scale emergency drills in 1988. Part of an attempt to plan thoroughly for an earthquake or other disaster, the drill involved every member of the staff in as realistic a simulation of a big quake as possible, complete with mock casualties and damage to buildings and works of art. Since the Museum is bound to be a place of refuge for the community in a widespread emergency, it is all the more important that we be well prepared with supplies and means of communication. The drill, guided by the Security department, was appropriately confused yet remarkably successful, and we learned a great deal.

Among the several construction projects was the conversion of a cottage on the grounds to serve as offices for the Department of Public Information, which was squeezed out of the Ranch House by renovations. These renovations were necessary primarily to house some twenty full- and part-time people in Education and Academic Affairs, as well as to equip a new slide library and provide space for other functions. The resulting office space, designed by Ronald McCoy, is a great success—efficient, snug, and pleasant. During the year an amazing number of smaller renovation projects were accomplished, often using our own staff (especially the versatile and tireless Preparations department), that made improvements to workspaces in the photographic studio, storerooms, security, antiquities conservation lab, and elsewhere.

Progress on the designs for a new Getty Museum in Brentwood, now scheduled to open in 1996, continued steadily during 1988. The Museum will be part of a complex housing all of the Getty Trust's Los Angeles organizations; after it opens, the present Villa in Malibu will be renovated to become a museum of Greek and Roman art.

In 1988 Richard Meier's schematic designs were modified somewhat as a consequence of an overall reduction in the square footage of the entire project. Gallery layouts were developed, changed, refined, and largely finished by the year's end. Two consultants were engaged for vitally important aspects of the project. The decorative arts galleries, which will house a large collection that poses complex problems of organization and design, have been entrusted to the architectural firm of Thierry Despont in New York, which has extensive experience with installations and re-creations of French period rooms. Despont's work on schematic designs for

the galleries occupied much of the year. The lighting of all the galleries is critical, perhaps more than any other element of Meier's designs. He has engaged the firm of Claude Engle of Washington, D.C., to collaborate on a scheme for the paintings and sculpture galleries that uses natural daylight; the first explorations of possible forms for skylights were underway in the latter part of the year. Meanwhile we were hard at work on the intricate task of fitting the supporting services for the Museum into the most efficient relationships and being certain that each function would be well housed.

After a year in which so much was accomplished, I am grateful more than ever for the dedication of a remarkable 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. KANDILA

Early Cycladic I, circa 3000–2800 B.C.
Marble, H: 25 cm (9⁷/₈ in.); Diam
(mouth): 13 cm (5¹/₈ in.);
Diam (body): 30 cm (11³/₄ in.)
88.AA.84

One of the most familiar of the Early Cycladic vessel shapes, the kandila takes its name from the modern suspended church lamps that it resembles. The vessel was probably used as a container for wine or oil and was suspended on cords passed through the pierced lugs on the sides. The four small feet that support this vessel are unique for the shape—kandilas are usually supported on tall cylindrical stands. The vessel is intact, with some small chips missing from the mouth and slight damage to two of the feet.

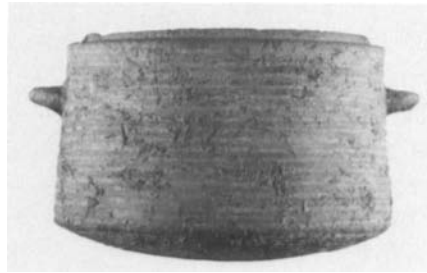
PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 270, in passing.

2. CYLINDRICAL PYXIS

Early Cycladic I/II, circa 2800–
2200 B.C.
Marble, H: 6.5 cm (2¹/₂ in.); Diam
(mouth): 9.2 cm (3⁵/₈ in.); Diam (base):
9.8 cm (3¹³/₁₆ in.)
88.AA.83

Unique among Cycladic vessels, this intact pyxis is distinguished by its slightly inward-tapering profile and its incised



2

decoration, most notably the spiral pattern on the base. The only other surviving example of a pyxis of similar shape is a fragment found on the island of Euboea in Greece. The two small pierced lugs on the sides of the vessel were likely threaded with cords used to fasten the now-missing cover. Traces of red pigment are preserved on the interior and provide some evidence for its original purpose.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Safani, *The Art of the Cyclades*, ex. cat. (Safani Galleries, New York, 1983), n.p., no. 27; P. Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985), p. 13, pl. 1d; idem, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pl. V:C; idem, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 310, no. 131.



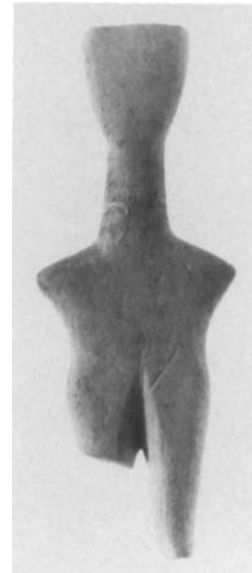
3

3. FEMALE IDOL OF THE KILIA TYPE

Anatolian, circa 2700–2400 B.C.
Marble, H: 14.2 cm (5⁵/₈ in.)
88.AA.122

The idol represents a standing female figure with her arms bent at the elbow and raised to the sides. Incision is used to outline the tops of the thighs and groin on the front of the idol and a horizontal line accents the hips across the back. The disk-like ears and straight nose are rendered in relief. Other details were added to the figure in paint, which is now lost, but its presence can be detected in the form of relief “ghosts” on the stone, especially around the right eye. The statuette is believed to represent a fertility goddess or earth mother, and the type is known more commonly as a “stargazer.” The Kilia variety takes its name from a village on the Gallipoli peninsula where one of the first recognized examples of this type of idol was found. The right foot has been broken off and reattached.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.



4

4. FEMALE FIGURE OF THE LOUROS TYPE

Early Cycladic I/II, circa 2800–2700 B.C.
Marble, H: 10 cm (3⁷/₈ in.)
88.AA.77

This small abstract figure is characteristic of its type with a flattened, highly schematic head and upper torso combined with the more carefully defined genitals and legs. The Louros type, of which approximately forty examples are known, is a transitional one between the earlier Plastiras and later Early Cycladic II types of figures. The name is derived from the

location of an important grave on the Greek island of Naxos in which figures of this type were found. The figure has been broken and repaired at the neck, and the right leg below the knee is missing.

PROVENANCE: Farland collection; Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, "Cycladic Objects in the Fogg and the Farland Collections," *American Journal of Archaeology* 70 (1966), p. 106, no. 1, figs. 1, 2; idem, *Individual Hand and Traditional Canon in Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1972), pl. 21c; J. Thimme, P. Getz-Preziosi, and B. Otto, *Art and Culture of the Cyclades* (Chicago, 1977), p. 237, fig. 83, p. 443, no. 83; P. Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985), p. 33, fig. 14; idem, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 139, no. 11.



5

5. FEMALE IDOL OF THE KAPSALA TYPE

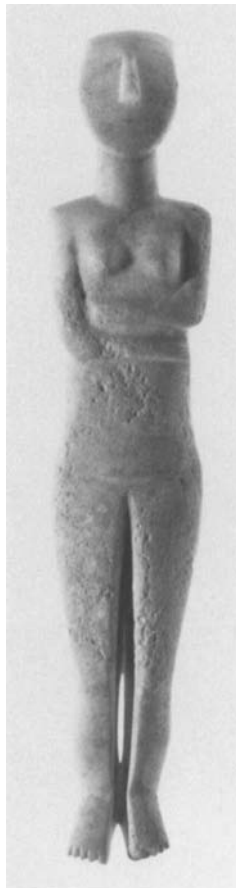
Early Cycladic II, circa 2700–2600 B.C.
Marble, H: 49 cm (19³/₈ in.)
88.AA.78

The idol belongs to the earliest of the reclining, folded-arm types. It is unusually

large and refined with long, elegant proportions. It is closely related in style to a large idol with painted facial features which is thought to be by the Kontoleon Master, and may thus also be associated with this sculptor. The name of the type is derived from a cemetery at the site of Kapsala on the Greek island of Amorgos. The idol has been broken and repaired at the neck, the abdomen, and the knees. The feet and part of the left calf just above the ankle are missing.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Thimme, P. Getz-Preziosi, and B. Otto, *The Art and Culture of the Cyclades* (Chicago, 1977), p. 265, fig. 157, p. 466, no. 157 (as Early Spedos); A. Safani, *The Art of the Cyclades*, ex. cat. (Safani Galleries, New York, 1983), n.p., no. 3; P. Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 154, no. 22.



6

6. FEMALE IDOL OF THE EARLY SPEDOS VARIETY

Early Cycladic II, circa 2600–2500 B.C.
Marble, with traces of pigment pre-

served, H: 49.5 cm (19⁷/₁₆ in.)
88.AA.79

A unique example from the most numerous of all surviving types of Cycladic idols, this figure shows the typical lyre-shaped head and curving contours characteristic of Early Spedos types, but combines them with an unusually elongated lower torso. The single horizontal groove across the abdomen well above the usual incision that marks the tops of the thighs and groin is also unique. Rare traces of red pigment are preserved on the face in two rows of dots across the forehead and a similar series of dots across each cheek. An unusual row of dots beneath the nose may represent the mouth, and another infrequently painted detail, the ears, is also represented here. The name of this variety is derived from an important cemetery on the Greek island of Naxos. The figure is intact except for some minor damage to the end of the left foot.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Safani, *The Art of the Cyclades*, ex. cat. (Safani Galleries, New York, 1983), n.p., no. 2; P. Getz-Preziosi, *Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985), p. 21, pls. VIc–d, p. 82, fig. 77; idem, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pls. VI:B, VII:C; idem, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 169, no. 33.

7. FEMALE IDOL OF THE LATE SPEDOS VARIETY

Early Cycladic, circa 2500–2400 B.C.
Namepiece of the Steiner Master
Marble, H: 59.9 cm (23⁵/₈ in.)
88.AA.80

This unusually large and fine example of the Late Spedos variety of reclining idol is the namepiece and masterwork of the Steiner Master, to whom seven complete and fragmentary idols have thus far been attributed. Elements characteristic of his work are the U-shaped head with broad cheeks and slender nose and the straight axis of the body. This idol is remarkably slender and elongated, and the incision work on the body is subtle and unobtrusive. The figure is complete, though broken at the knees and repaired. The end of the right foot is slightly damaged.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. C. Ebertshäuser and M. Walz, *Antiken I: Vasen-Bronzen-Terrakotten des*



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klassischen Altertums (Munich, 1981), fig. 1; A. Safani, *The Art of the Cyclades*, ex. cat. (Safari Galleries, New York, 1983), n.p., no. 4; P. Getz-Preziosi, "Five Sculptors," in J. L. Fitton, ed., *Cycladica: Studies in Memory of N. P. Goulandris* (London, 1984), figs. 1:4, 8–10 (d); idem, *Early Cycladic Sculpture* (Malibu, 1985), p. 81, fig. 76; idem, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium* (Ann Arbor, 1987), pp. 92–95 (for the Steiner Master), pls. 28:6, 29:6, 30:6; idem, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), p. 203, no. 54.

8. FRAGMENTARY FEMALE IDOL OF THE LATE SPEDOS VARIETY
Early Cycladic II, circa 2500–2400 B.C.
Attributed to the Goulandris Master
Marble, H: 26.8 cm (10½ in.)
88.AA.81

One of over a hundred complete and fragmentary idols attributed to the Goulandris Master, this work exhibits many of his characteristics, such as markedly sloping shoulders, widely spaced breasts, narrow arms, and gently curving thighs and calves. An early work, the idol is somewhat thicker in its proportions than



8

later examples of this master's style. The head, most of the neck, and the feet are missing, and there is a slight chip on the right shoulder of the piece.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Getz-Preziosi, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium* (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 161, no. 38; idem, *Early Cycladic Sculpture in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), pp. 240–241, no. 77.



9

9. HEAD FROM AN IDOL OF THE LATE SPEDOS VARIETY
Early Cycladic II, circa 2500–2400 B.C.
Attributed to the Goulandris Master
Marble, H: 14.5 cm (5⅝ in.)
88.AA.82

A work of the Goulandris Master's mature period, this U-shaped head, with its long, rounded nose and small chin, is characteristic of the sculptor's developed style. Traces of the blue pigment used to define the eyes and hair are preserved on the surface, as are the red dots on the cheeks and nose. The head is known to join to the torso of a larger reclining figure that is in the collection of the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts (inv. 85.1511); there are plans to join the two fragments.

PROVENANCE: Steiner collection, New York.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Safani, *The Art of the Cyclades*, ex. cat. (Safari Galleries, New York, 1983), n.p., no. 11; P. Getz-Preziosi, *Sculptors of the Cyclades: Individual and Tradition in the Third Millennium* (Ann Arbor, 1987), p. 160, no. 33; idem, *Early Cycladic Art in North American Collections*, ex. cat. (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond, 1987), pp. 250–251, no. 83.

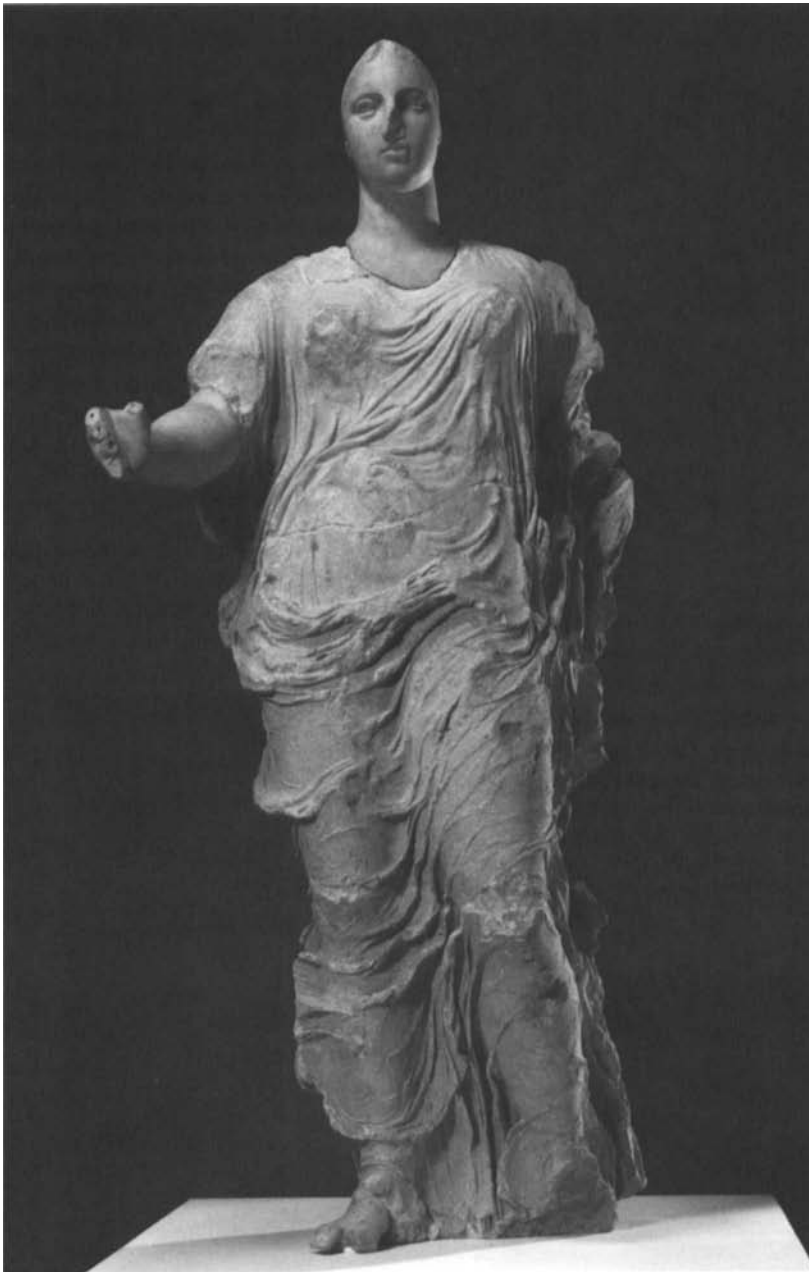


10

10. FEMALE IDOL OF THE LATE SPEDOS VARIETY
Early Cycladic II, circa 2600–2400 B.C.
Marble, H: 30 cm (11⅞ in.)
88.AA.48

A typical example of the most numerous group of Cycladic idols, the figure represents a reclining female with her arms crossed over her torso. The surface of the upper torso and head is weathered. The head and left leg have been reattached to the body, and the right foot is lost.

PROVENANCE: European art market; acquired by exchange.



11

11. CULT STATUE OF A GODDESS (APHRODITE?)
Greek (southern Italy), circa 425–400 B.C.
Limestone and marble, with extensive traces of pigment preserved on the limestone, H: 2.37 m (7 ft. 6½ in.)
88.AA.76

Assembled from numerous fragments, this monumental draped female figure of the late Classical period is sculpted completely in the round in a combination of poros limestone and Parian marble. The over-life-size proportions indicate that the subject is an Olympian deity. On the

basis of the sensuous rendering of the full figure beneath the clinging drapery and its similarity to several well-known representations of Aphrodite, the statue has been tentatively identified as the goddess of love. Although the hair and veil that once covered the head, the left arm, and the right foot have been lost, the preserved right arm and traces of attachments have assisted in the tentative reconstruction of the statue's original appearance.

The figure is closest in style to contemporary sculpture found in Greece. However, the composite nature of this image that uses fine marble for the

exposed flesh and coarser limestone for the draped, painted body suggests that the sculpture was made instead in the Greek colonies of southern Italy where no local sources for good quality sculptural marble existed. The only known cult image of this period preserved from head to foot and the only known acrolithic figure of this period that retains its body and extremities, this statue is a unique document in the history of Classical sculpture.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



12

12. FRAGMENTARY STATUE OF A HUNTING HOUND
Roman, late first–early second century A.D.
Marble, L: 90.2 cm (35½ in.)
88.AA.51

This fragmentary piece depicts a standing or running hound and is probably from a larger hunt composition used in the Roman Imperial period as decorative sculpture for a garden. It has been associated with two other fragmentary hounds in private collections as well as a statue of a bear currently in the Museum's collection (72.AA.125). The fleecy coat of the dog is crisply defined, attesting to the quality of the sculptor responsible for its complex carving. The muzzle and much of the face as well as the legs and tail of the hound are lost.

PROVENANCE: London art market; New York art market; sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 24, 1987, lot 155; New York art market; acquired by exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, November 24, 1987, lot 155.

13. FUNERARY STELE
Roman, from Palmyra, second–third century A.D.
Limestone, H: 52 cm (20½ in.)
88.AA.50

Depicted on this commemorative



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marker is the bust of a bearded man, the deceased, wearing tunic and himation. The stele would originally have stood in a family tomb used for multiple burials. An identifying inscription in Aramaic fills the field of the relief to the right of the head.

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York, November 24, 1986, lot 40; New York art market; acquired by exchange.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Sale cat., Sotheby's, New York, November 24, 1986, lot 40.

14. 158 FRAGMENTS OF VESSELS AND SCULPTURE

Greek, fourth century B.C. and later
Marble, various dimensions
88.AA.138–.145

Ninety of the fragments belong to marble ritual vessels and include rim, handle, and wall fragments (some of which retain their original polychromy) as well as candlestick fragments, and three feline paws that may have belonged to a piece of furniture. Sixty-seven of the fragments belong to an archaistic statue of Apollo within the collection (85.AA.108). One fragmentary hand belongs to the sculptural group of Alexander and others (73.AA.27–.31, 76.AA.35, 77.AA.2, 78.AA.301, 78.AA.309, 76.AA.28).

PROVENANCE: By donation.



15

BRONZE SCULPTURE

15. STATUETTE OF A SATYR

Greek, circa 480–460 B.C.
Bronze, H: 10 cm (3⁷/₈ in.); D: 5.6 cm
(2¹/₈ in.); W: 4.3 cm (1⁵/₈ in.)
88.AB.72

This solid-cast kneeling figure drinks from a large *keras*, or drinking horn, that was made separately and attached with a pin that runs from the satyr's right hand through the interior of the horn, terminating as his tongue. The satyr's muscular torso appears human, but his equine hoofs and the features of his bearded face are characteristically bestial, with pointed ears, bushy eyebrows, and pug nose. A further identifying feature, the tail, has been lost, but its point of attachment remains in the center of his back. The treatment of the head, with its incised hair and the solid mass of the beard, recalls earlier pieces from the late Archaic period, but the strong torso compares most closely with Severe style and later life-size bronze sculptures. The function of the statuette remains unknown, but a

hole in the bottom of the right knee suggests that the figure was perhaps attached to a vessel. There are minimal losses to the statuette, including the fingertips of the left hand, the tip of the *keras*, the tip of the right ear, the tail, the right hoof, and the lower edge of the testicles.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

VASES

16. SIXTY-EIGHT FRAGMENTS OF ATTIC BLACK- AND RED-FIGURE VESSELS

Circa 530–470 B.C.

Attributed to the Berlin Painter, Onesimos, the Foundry Painter, the Altamura Painter, Douris, and the Antiphon Painter, among others

Terracotta, various dimensions
88.AE.27–.37, 88.AE.119–120 (presented by Dietrich von Bothmer),
88.AE.146–.150

The group includes eight fragments of

red-figure calyx kraters attributed to the Berlin Painter (seven joining 77.AE.5); three red-figure fragments of a lidded jar by Onesimos (joining 81.AE.214); six fragments of a red-figure mask kantharos by the Foundry Painter (joining 85.AE.263); a fragment of a red-figure phiale signed by Douris (joining 81.AE.213); a fragment of a red-figure cup by Douris (joining 83.AE.35); a fragment of a red-figure calyx krater by the Altamura Painter (joining 81.AE.219); two red-figure cup fragments by the Antiphon Painter; four red-figure statuette vase fragments (joining 81.AE.216); a red-figure pelike fragment (joining 85.AE.423.23) and forty-one unattributed black- and red-figure vase fragments.

PROVENANCE: European art market and by donation.

VASES:
CORINTHIAN



17

17. ROUND-BODIED HEAD PYXIS
Middle Corinthian, circa 570 B.C.
Perhaps by the Chimaera Painter
[Amyx]
Terracotta, H: 21.8 cm (8⁵/₁₆ in.);
Diam (body): 22.2 cm (8³/₄ in.);
Diam (rim): 15.1 cm (6 in.)
88.AE.105

This vessel is painted from rim to foot with a series of decorative friezes. Substantial amounts of added red enliven the figural and floral decoration. The large frieze around the belly of the vase consists of animals surrounded by space-filling rosettes. The creatures are both real and fantastic, including lions, a graz-



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ing goat, a bull, and a bearded siren. On the shoulder is a double lotus-palmette chain and about the neck and foot are solid bands of red. The exterior of the rim has been enlivened with a repeating zigzag pattern. A decoration of rings and concentric circles is painted inside the mouth and under the foot. The handles have been modeled as busts of dark-haired female figures, each wearing a painted red garment and a beaded necklace. In antiquity, pyxides generally functioned as containers for precious perfumed oils or cosmetics. The vessel has been reconstructed from fragments.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

VASES:
LACONIAN

18. TWO BLACK-FIGURE KYLIX
FRAGMENTS

Circa 575–570 B.C.

Attributed to the Boread Painter
Terracotta, 1) L: 2.83 cm (1¹/₈ in.);
2) L: 4.66 cm (1³/₁₆ in.)
88.AE.151.1–.2

One a rim and the other a foot fragment, these pieces belong to a fragmentary kylix by the Boread Painter within the collection (85.AE.121).

PROVENANCE: By donation.

VASES:
ATTIC BLACK-FIGURE

19. PANEL AMPHORA TYPE B
Circa 530–520 B.C.
Attributed to the Medea Group
Terracotta, H: 34 cm (13³/₈ in.); Diam
(body): 22 cm (8⁵/₈ in.); Diam (foot):
13 cm (5¹/₈ in.)
88.AE.24

The panel on the front of the amphora depicts a battle between Herakles and a centaur. The most plausible interpretation for the scene identifies the combatants as Herakles and Nessos, the centaur who abducted Herakles' wife, Deianeira. The woman and older man watching the battle may be identified as Deianeira and her father, Oineus. On the other side, four athletes engage in different athletic activities. At the left a running youth prepares to hurl a javelin. Behind him a youth holds a discus, while another kneeling figure examines a javelin from among a group on the ground before him. To the right a youth holds a pair of jumping weights. An incised graffito of three convergent triangles, Johnston's type 40A, appears on the underside of the foot. The vessel has been reconstructed.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Los Angeles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (forthcoming).

VASES: ATTIC RED-FIGURE

20. CALYX KRATER

Circa 470 B.C.

Attributed to the Aegisthus Painter
[Cahn]

Terracotta, H: 58.2 cm (22¹⁵/₁₆ in.);

Diam (rim): 61.6 cm (24¹/₂ in.)

88.AE.66

This monumental vessel, used for mixing water and wine, is the largest calyx krater known. Besides its size, it is also important for its decoration, for the subject, the death of Aegisthus, may reflect a now-lost tragedy. On the front, Orestes thrusts his sword into the body of the seated Aegisthus. He looks back over his shoulder at his mother, Klytemnaestra, who rushes toward the scene of the murder with an upheld ax. She is restrained by Talthybios, the herald of the deceased King Agamemnon. Directly behind Orestes is the figure of a nurse holding a baby; the child may be Orestes' son Penthilus. At the right, a young woman runs toward Orestes and Aegisthus; she may be Erigone, the daughter of Klytemnaestra and Aegisthus. On the back of the vessel are two fleeing women and three men with staffs. The women have been identified as Elektra



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and Chrysothemis, the sisters of Orestes. The identity of the men holding staffs is unknown, but they have tentatively been identified as members of a dramatic chorus. If this identification is correct, the scene reflects a contemporary tragedy, one that pre-dates the well-known *Oresteia* trilogy of Aeschylus that was produced in Athens in 458 B.C. The krater was broken and has been restored from fragments; the foot is restored.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Simon, "Early Classical Vase-Painting," in C. Boulter, ed., *Greek Art: Archaic into Classical* (Leiden, 1985), pp. 66–82, pls. 67–68; A. J. N. Prag, *The Oresteia: Iconographic and Narrative Tradition* (Warminster, 1985), pp. 106–107, pls. 46 a–d; S. Matheson, "A Red-figure Krater by the Aegisthus Painter," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin*, Spring 1987, pp. 2–7, fig. 4; J. Paul Getty Museum, *Calendar*, October 1988.

VARIA



21

21. FRAGMENTARY STATUETTE OF HERAKLES

Roman, second century A.D.

Ivory, H: 6.5 cm (2¹/₂ in.)

88.A1.47

A diminutive example of the Herakles



22

Farnese, also known as the “Weary Herakles,” this ivory statuette reproduces a monumental bronze sculpture of the hero attributed to the fourth century B.C. Greek sculptor Lysippos. Tired from his labors, Herakles leans on his club with his head bent forward. In his right hand he holds the apples taken from the garden of the Hesperides. The left arm and club, left foot, and lower right leg are missing from the statuette.

PROVENANCE: European art market; acquired by exchange.

22. ALABASTRON

East Greek, second century B.C.

Faience, H: 23 cm (9¹/₁₆ in.)

88.AI.135

The combination of its shape and decora-

tion makes this elegant alabastron unique among vessels of its kind. While other contemporary faience alabastra are decorated with figural and ornamental friezes, this vessel has only decorative bands of pattern among which are a meander, wave, and bead and reel. The decorative patterns of the mouth and foot are mold-made in relief; on the whole, the alabastron resembles most closely vessels made of precious metal. The lustre of the faience surface suggests that the vessel might also reflect painted ivory. The mouth takes the shape of a brown rosette that descends into the throat of the vase, and the base is composed of a similar brown rosette surrounded by alternating petals of brown and white that ascend the body of the vessel. The vessel is constructed of three parts; the mouth and

foot were made separately and are attached with an adhesive to the body of the alabastron. Approximately one-third of the mouth has been restored.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GOLD



23 (detail of Bellerophon)



23 (profile)

23. BOX BEZEL RING

Greek (southern Italy), second half of the fourth century B.C.

Attributed to the Santa Eufemia Master [D. Williams]

Gold, bezel: 2.6 x 2.3 cm

(1¹/₁₆ x 15¹⁵/₁₆ in.)

88.AM.104

The ring is composed of an oval box bezel constructed of sheet gold elaborately

decorated with gold wire and embossed decoration that is supported by a band of woven gold chain. The top of the bezel is ornamented with a separately made *repoussé* sheet that depicts Bellerophon mounted on the winged horse, Pegasus, thrusting his spear toward the Chimaera below him. The gold wire decoration on the ring has been associated with a goldsmith known as the Santa Eufemia Master, named after a hoard of gold jewelry discovered in Santa Eufemia, Italy. One of the elements characteristic of his style is the use of a corkscrew coil of gold wire that lies flat on the surface of the object. This corkscrew coil is used in the wire depiction of two opposing palmettes flanked by tendrils and trumpet-shaped blossoms that decorates the underside of the bezel.

PROVENANCE: European art market.

GEMS



24

24. GLASS GEM WITH GOLD FOIL INLAY

Greek, fourth century B.C.

Glass gem with gold foil inlay and ceramic center, circumference:

6.6 cm (2½ in.)

88.AN.106

The gem is composed of two oval pieces of beveled, colorless glass with convex exterior surfaces and flat inner surfaces, adhered to a central disk of a reddish-colored ceramic material. The inner surfaces of the glass pieces have been engraved with the figural designs of a hippocamp and a Nike in a quadriga which are inlaid with gold foil. The central ceramic disk provides a backdrop for the display of the gold foil decoration. The gem was probably set within a precious metal

frame and worn as a reversible bezel in a finger ring or as a necklace pendant.

PROVENANCE: European art market.



25

25. FINGER RING WITH INSET BUST OF ATHENA

Roman, second century A.D.

Gold ring with emerald stone, ring diam: 3.1 cm (1¼ in.)

88.AN.13

Set within a gold band is an emerald carved in high relief as a bust of Athena, identifiable by her crested helmet and aegis. Finger rings such as this were popular in the Roman period and green stones were particularly prized by the Romans.

PROVENANCE: New York art market.

MANUSCRIPTS



26

26. *SAINT BERNARD'S VISION OF THE VIRGIN AND CHILD: THE VIRGO LACTANS*

Cutting, probably from a book of hours

Attributed to Simon Marmion (active 1450–1489)

Ghent or Bruges, 1480s

Vellum, 11.6 x 6.3 cm (4⁹/₁₆ x 2¹/₂ in.).

One miniature.

Ms. 32; 88.MS.14

PROVENANCE: Jacques, comte de la Béroudière (sale, Escribe and Paul Chevallier, Paris, May 18–30, 1885, no. 547); Edouard Aynard (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1–4, 1913, lot 154); Martine, comtesse de Béhague; Marquis Hubert de Ganay (died 1974); by descent to the Ganay family (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, December 5, 1987, lot 151); [Bruce Ferrini, Akron, Ohio].

27. *RUDOLF VON EMS, WELTCHRONIK, AND BROTHER PHILIPP, MARIENLEBEN*

Regensburg, circa 1400–1410 and probably 1487

Vellum, 309 + i (paper) leaves.

Collation: 1¹⁰ (+1, fol. 1; +2, fol. 2), 2¹⁰ (–4, –5, –6, before fol. 16), 3¹⁰–7¹⁰, 8¹⁰ (–8, before fol. 77), 9¹⁰, 10¹⁰ (+6, fol. 94: full page miniature tipped in, verso is blank), 11¹⁰–13¹⁰, 14⁸ (+1, fol. 130; +10, fol. 130),

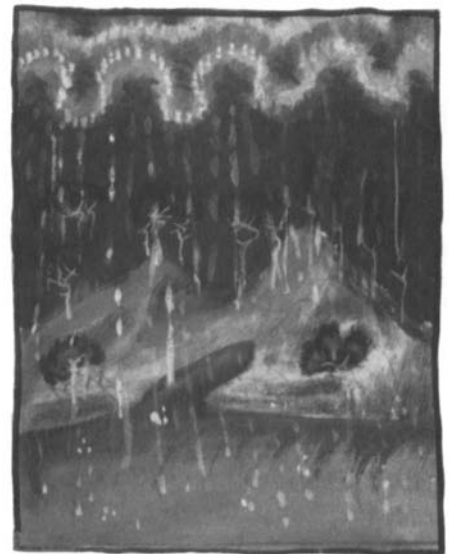


27 (fol. 89v)

15¹⁰–21¹⁰, 22¹⁰ (–6, before fol. 215), 23¹⁰–28¹⁰, 29⁸–31⁸, 32⁶ (+4, fol. 306: verso is blank); 33.5 x 23.5 cm (13¹/₈ x 9¹/₄ in.). Text area 20–21.9 x 16.2 cm (7⁷/₈–8⁵/₈ x 6³/₈ in.), two columns, forty-one lines. German text in Gothic textura script. Three full-page miniatures, twenty-six half-page miniatures, and 345 one- and two-column miniatures. Brown leather, blind-tooled over wood boards with brass bosses; German, late fifteenth century.

Ms. 33; 88.MP70

CONTENTS: Dedication miniature: *The Virgin and Child Adored by Two Angels and Duke Albrecht IV the Wise and His Wife, Archduchess Kunigunde of Austria* (fol. 2v). Rudolf von Ems, *Weltchronik*, with portions of the *Christherre Chronicle*, and Jans Enikel, *Weltchronik* (incipit: Richter got herre uber alle chraft/voit



27 (fol. 5)



27 (fol. 98v)

Bethel (fol. 40v); *Jacob Chooses Rachel as His Wife* (fol. 41); *Jacob Receives Leah as His Wife* (fol. 41v); *The Parting of Jacob and Laban* (fol. 43); *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel* (fol. 44); *Jacob's Reconciliation with Esau* (fol. 44v); *Joseph Sold into Slavery* (fol. 47); *Jacob Mourning over Joseph* (fol. 47); *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (fol. 47v); *Potiphar's Wife Accuses Joseph* (fol. 47v); *Joseph in Prison with the Butler and the Baker* (fol. 48); *Pharaoh's Dream* (fol. 49); *Joseph Interprets Pharaoh's Dream* (fol. 49); *Joseph as Chief Administrator* (fol. 50); *Joseph's Brothers Kneel before Him* (fol. 50v); *Simeon Taken Prisoner While Joseph's Other Brothers Return to Canaan* (fol. 51); *The Discovery of the Gold Hidden in the Corn Bags* (fol. 51v); *Joseph Dines with His Brothers* (fol. 52); *The Silver Cup Hidden in Benjamin's Bag* (fol. 52v); *The Silver Cup Discovered* (fol. 53); *Joseph Reveals His Identity to His Brothers* (fol. 53); *Jacob's Sacrifice* (fol. 53v); *Jacob's Journey to Egypt* (fol. 54); *Jacob and Joseph before Pharaoh* (fol. 54v); *Serapis' Idolatry* (fol. 55v); *Jacob Blesses Joseph's Sons* (fol. 56v); *Jacob's Death* (fol. 60); *The Slavery of the Israelites* (fol. 62v); *The Idolatry of Apis* (fol. 63v); *Moses Put in the River* (fol. 64); *The Finding of Moses* (fol. 64v); *A Handmaid of Pharaoh's Daughter Nurses Moses* (fol. 64v); *Moses and Pharaoh's Crown*; *Moses Eats the Burning Coals* (fol. 65v); *Moses as Adviser* (fol. 66); *The Judgment of the Other Advisers* (fol. 66); *Moses Defeats the Moors* (fol. 66v); *Moses Marries Tabris, the King's Daughter* (fol. 67v); *Moses Kills an Egyptian* (fol. 67v); *Moses Separates Two Fighting Israelites* (fol. 68); *Moses Drives Away the Shepherds at the Well in Midian* (fol. 68v); *Moses and the Burning Bush* (fol. 69v); *Moses before Aaron* (fol. 71); *Moses and the Elders before Pharaoh* (fol. 71v); *God Speaks to Moses* (fol. 72); *Aaron and the Miracle of the Staff* (fol. 73); *Moses Changes the Water of the Nile into Blood* (fol. 73v); *The Plague of Frogs* (fol. 74); *The Plague of Maggots* (fol. 74); *The Cattle Plague* (fol. 75); *The Hail Storm* (fol. 75); *The Plague of Grasshoppers* (fol. 75v); *Moses Praying to God* (fol. 76); *The Plague of Darkness* (fol. 76); *The Crossing of the Red Sea*; *The Egyptians Engulfed* (fol. 77v); *The Catching of Quails* (fol. 80v); *The Gathering of Manna* (fol. 81v); *Moses Drawing Water from the Rock* (fol. 82); *The Battle of the Amalekites*; *Moses Raises His Arms in Prayer* (fol. 84); *Moses and the Seventy Elders before God* (fol. 85v); *God in the Rain Cloud* (fol. 86); *The Construction of*

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*Isaiah before the Sick King Hezekiah* (fol. 223); *Seneca Murdered in His Bath tub* (fol. 225); *Nero Cuts Open His Mother's Belly* (fol. 225); *Nero Commands His Advisers to Prepare a Potion That Would Make Him Pregnant* (fol. 225v); *Nero Gives Birth to a Toad* (fol. 226); *Nero's Son, the Toad, Escapes in the Tiber* (fol. 226v); *Nero Orders His Son, the Toad, Be Killed* (fol. 227v); *Elijah's Ascension in the Chariot of Fire* (fol. 229); *The Punishment of the Children Who Mocked Elisha in Bethel* (fol. 229v); *The Widow before Elisha* (fol. 229v); *The Woman from Shunem on a Donkey* (fol. 230); *Elisha Resurrects the Woman's*

Child (fol. 230v). Brother Philipp, *Marienleben* (incipit: [M]aria muter chuniginn aller der welt; explicit: Du solt in dem himel mein: Frau un[d] chuniginn sein) (fols. 231–309v): *Joachim and Anna in the Temple* (fol. 232); *An Angel before Joachim* (fol. 232v); *The Annunciation to Anna* (fol. 232v); *The Meeting at the Golden Gate* (fol. 233); *The Nativity of the Virgin* (fol. 233v); *The Presentation of the Virgin* (fol. 234); *The Marriage of the Virgin* (fol. 237); *The Annunciation* (fol. 241v); *The Visitation* (fol. 242); *The Virgin Mary, Accompanied by Seven Virgins, Announces Her Pregnancy to Joseph* (fol. 242v); *An Angel Confirms Mary's Faithfulness to Joseph* (fol. 243); *Joseph and Mary on Their Way to Bethlehem* (fol. 243v); *The Nativity of Christ* (fol. 245); *The Virgin as Queen of Heaven* (fol. 245v); *The Emperor August Is Told of Jesus' Birth* (fol. 245v); *The Pacis Temple in Rome Is Destroyed by the Winds* (fol. 245v); *The Circumcision* (fol. 246v); *The Adoration of the Magi* (fol. 247); *The Presentation in the Temple* (fol. 247v); *The Massacre of the Innocents* (fol. 248); *The Flight into Egypt* (fol. 248); *The Trees Bow for Jesus* (fol. 248v); *The Animals Recognize Jesus* (fol. 249); *Jesus Heals the Wounds of the Robbed Merchants* (fol. 250); *Jesus Expels the Devil from a Tree* (fol. 251); *The Duke Aphrodisius before the Holy Family* (fol. 252v); *The Virgin Makes Clothes for Jesus* (fol. 253v); *Jesus Talks to Other Children* (fol. 254); *Jesus at School* (fol. 256); *Jesus Makes Birds from Clay* (fol. 256v); *The Virgin, Elizabeth, Jesus, and John the Baptist* (fol. 257); *Jesus Resurrects a Dead Child* (fol. 258); *Jesus before Mary and Joseph* (fol. 258v); *Jesus and a Child with a Broken Jug* (fol. 258v); *Jesus at a Pond* (fol. 259v); *The Lions Recognize Jesus* (fol. 260); *Jesus amongst the Doctors* (fol. 261); *Jesus before Saint John the Baptist* (fol. 262); *The Baptism of Christ* (fol. 264v); *The Marriage at Cana* (fol. 264v); *Jesus Resurrects a Dead Man* (fol. 265v); *The Raising of Jairus' Daughter* (fol. 266v); *The Healing of a Woman with an Issue of Blood* (fol. 267); *The Feeding of the Five Thousand* (fol. 267v); *The Resurrection of Lazarus* (fol. 268); *The Temptation of Christ* (fol. 270); *The Cleansing of the Temple* (fol. 271); *Jesus before the Chief Priests* (fol. 271v); *The Healing of the Paralytic at the Pool of Bethesda* (fol. 272); *The Transfiguration of Christ* (fol. 272v); *Jesus before the Syro-Phoenician Woman* (fol. 272v); *Zebedee's Wife with Her Sons before Jesus* (fol. 273v);

Dives and Lazarus (fol. 273v); *The Parable of the Vine* (fol. 274); *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (fol. 275); *Jesus and His Apostles* (fol. 276); *Jesus and His Apostles before the People* (fol. 276v); *Jesus and the Woman of Samaria* (fol. 277); *Jesus and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (fol. 278); *The Healing of the Blind* (fol. 279v); *The Healed Man before the Israelites* (fol. 279v); *Jesus Resurrects a Dead Man* (fol. 280); *Jesus Hides from the Israelites* (fol. 282); *Jesus Prays in the Desert* (fol. 283v); *Mary Magdalene Anoints Jesus' Feet* (fol. 284); *The Entry into Jerusalem* (fol. 285); *Jesus' Warning of the False Prophets* (fol. 285v); *The Consultation of the Pharisees* (fol. 286); *The Last Supper* (fol. 286v); *The Washing of the Disciples' Feet* (fol. 286v); *Jesus Encourages the Apostles* (fol. 287); *The Agony in the Garden* (fol. 287v); *The Betrayal of Christ* (fol. 288); *Christ before Caiaphas* (fol. 288v); *The Flagellation of Christ* (fol. 290); *The Crowning with Thorns* (fol. 290); *Christ before Pilate* (fol. 290v); *The Road to Calvary* (fol. 291v); *The Crucifixion and the Lance-Bearer* (fol. 292v); *The Descent from the Cross* (fol. 296v); *The Entombment* (fol. 297); *The Descent into Limbo* (fol. 297v); *The Resurrection* (fol. 298); *The Appearance of Christ to His Mother* (fol. 298); *The Holy Woman at the Sepulcher* (fol. 298v); *Noli Me Tangere* (fol. 298v); *The Appearance of Christ to the Apostles* (fol. 299); *The Ascension of Christ* (fol. 299v); *The Descent of the Holy Ghost* (fol. 300); *The Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin* (fol. 304); *The Death of the Virgin* (fol. 306); *The Punishment of the Mockers at the Virgin's Bier* (fol. 306).

This description of the miniatures is based on the research of Jörn Günther, who is completing a Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Hamburg on the illustration cycles of Middle High German world-chronicles.

PROVENANCE: Duke Albrecht IV of Bavaria (1447–1508) and his wife, Archduchess Kunigunde of Austria (1465–1520), possibly to the Franciscan convent of the Pütrich Schwestern, Munich; Princely Oettingen-Wallerstein Library (sale, Karl and Faber, Munich, November 6–7, 1933, lot 4); Dr. Hinrich R. G. Vester, Altona (died 1941); bequeathed to his wife, Anna-Helene Vester (died 1972); to Rolf Günther, Hamburg; [Günther Glück, Neuss].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. F. Massmann, "Das hohe Lied Salomonis (...) Herausgegeben von J. G. Bartholomä, Nürnberg, Leipzig (...) 1827 (Fortsetzung)," *Heidelberger Jahrbücher der*

Literatur, 1828, no. 13, p. 199, n. 33; A. F. C. Vilmar, *Die zwei Rezensionen und die Handschriftenfamilien der Weltchronik Rudolf von Ems, mit Auszügen aus den noch ungedruckten Theilen beider Bearbeitung* (Marburg, 1839), p. 38, no. 3; H. F. Massmann, ed., *Der Keiser und der Kunige buoch oder der sogenannte Kaiserchronik, Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts von 18,578 Reimzeilen*, Bibliothek der Gesamten Deutschen National Literatur 4 (Quedlinburg and Leipzig, 1849–1854), part 3, p. 171, no. 10; K. Bartsch, "Kleine Mittheilungen 6: Deutsche Handschriften in Mayhingen," *Germania* 8 (1863), p. 49, no. 8; H. Graf von Walderdorff, "Regensburger Bruchstücke der Weltchronik des Rudolf von Hohenems und des Marienlebens von Brüder Philipp," *Verhandlungen des Histor. Vereins von Oberpfalz und Regensburg* 30 (1874), p. 177; P. Strauch, *Jansen Enikels Werke: Weltchronik-Fürstenbuch*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum, Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 3 (Hannover, 1891–1900), p. 39; nos. 37, 38; Rudolf von Ems, *Weltchronik: Aus der Wernigeroder Handschrift*, G. Ehrismann, ed., Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 20 (Berlin, 1915, repr. 1967), p. VIII, no. 32; H. Jerchel, "Die Bayerische Buchmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, N. F. 10 (1933), pp. 106–109; A. Stange, *Deutsche Malerie der Gotik 2: Die Zeit von 1350 bis 1400* (Berlin, 1936, repr. Liechtenstein, 1969), p. 176; D. J. A. Ross, *Illustrated Medieval Alexander-Books in Germany and the Netherlands: A Study in Comparative Iconography* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), p. 88, fig. 99.



28 (detail of fol. 2)

28. MISSAL OF THE ANTI-POPE

JOHN XXIII

Bologna, between 1389 and 1404
Vellum, 277 leaves. Collation: 1⁶,
2¹⁰–13¹⁰, 14⁴ (–4, after fol. 129),
15¹⁰–19¹⁰, 20², 21¹⁰–29¹⁰, 30⁶; hori-
zontal catchwords and alphabetical
leaf signatures throughout; 33 x 24
cm (13 x 9 7/16 in.). Text area 19.5 x 14



28 (detail of fol. 20v)

cm (8¹/₄ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in.), two columns, thirty-five lines. Latin text in Gothic liturgical script (*littera bononiensis*). Three half-page miniatures, eight quarter-page miniatures, three historiated borders, eighty-nine historiated initials, twelve calendar page decorations. Brown calfskin, blind-tooled over wood boards; probably Roman, fifteenth-century.

Ms. 34; 88.MG.71

CONTENTS: Calendar (fols. 1–6v): *A Peasant Warming His Feet by the Fire*; *The Sun and a Vase Pouring Out Golden Rays* (fol. 1); *A Peasant Fishing*; *The Sun and Pisces* (fol. 1v); *A Peasant Blowing Two Horns*; *The Sun and Aries* (fol. 2); *A Nobleman Holding Two Bunches of Flowers*; *The Sun and Taurus* (fol. 2v); *A Nobleman Riding a Horse and Carrying a Hawk*; *The Sun and Gemini* (fol. 3); *A Peasant Cutting Wheat with a Sickle*; *The Sun and Cancer* (fol. 3v); *A Peasant Threshing Wheat*; *The Sun and Leo* (fol. 4); *A Peasant Making a Barrel*; *The Sun and Virgo* (fol. 4v); *A Peasant Gathering Grapes*; *The Sun and Libra* (fol. 5); *A Peasant Sowing Winter Wheat*; *The Sun and Scorpio* (fol. 5v); *A Peasant Knocking Acorns from a Tree*; *The Sun and Sagittarius* (fol. 6); *A Peasant Slaughtering a Pig*; *The Sun and Capricorn* (fol. 6v); Proper of Time, use of Rome, from the first Sunday in Advent to Easter Eve (fols. 7–115v): *Christ in Glory Adored by All Saints and with the Virgin Mary Commending a Kneeling Cardinal* (hat overpainted with a papal tiara); historiated initial *A* with *David Lifting His Soul to God* (fol. 7); historiated initial



28 (fol. 172)

C with *The Cross and the Instruments of the Passion* (fol. 8); historiated initial *R* with *Saint Peter* (fol. 12v); historiated initial *D* with *The Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fol. 13v); historiated initial *L* with *Saint Anastasia* (fol. 14v); *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child in the Manger as Saint Joseph Lights a Lamp*; historiated initial *P* with *Two Shepherds* (fol. 15); historiated initial *C* with *The Virgin and Child* (fol. 15v); historiated initial *E* with *Saint Stephen* (fol. 16); historiated initial *I* with *Saint John* (fol. 17); historiated initial *E* with *Two Martyrs* (fol. 17v); historiated initial *G* with *Saint Thomas Becket* (fol. 18); historiated initial *D* with *Christ Blessing* (fol. 19); historiated initial *P* with *A Pope Blessing* (fol. 20); *The Adoration of the Magi*; historiated initial *E* with *Two Royal Swordbearers* (fol. 20v); historiated initial *I*

with *Saint John the Baptist* (fol. 21v); historiated initial *C* with *Saint Laurence* (fol. 25v); historiated initial *E* with *Saint Paul* (fol. 26); historiated initial *E* with *Saint Peter* (fol. 27); historiated initial *M* with *Saint Sabina* (fol. 29); historiated initial *I* with *Saint John the Evangelist in a Vat of Boiling Oil* (fol. 32v); historiated initial *R* with *The Virgin in Prayer* (fol. 40); historiated initial *O* with *Saint Laurence* (fol. 47); historiated initial *L* with *The Virgin in Prayer* (fol. 55); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Peter* (fol. 63); historiated initial *D* with *Two Children Carrying Palm Branches* (fol. 74); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Matthew Writing* (fol. 75); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Mark Writing* (fol. 80); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Luke* (fol. 84v); historiated initial *N* with *The Last Supper* (fol. 87v); historiated initial *I* with

Saint John the Evangelist Writing (fol. 91v); historiated initial *I* with *A Prophet Holding a Scroll* (fol. 104); the order for mass said in private: Incipit ordo age[n]dorum et dice[n]dorum a sacerdote in missa privata et feriali. iuxta consuetudine[m] romane ecclesie (fols. 115v–120); proper prefaces: Sequens prephatio cum suo cantu dicitur cotidie a vigilia nativitatis domini usque ad epyphaniam. et in purificatio[n]e virgi[n]is marie mat[ri]s ih[es]u (fols. 120–129); blank (fol. 129v); canon of the mass (fols. 130–135v): *The Elevation of the Host*; historiated initial *I* with *A Putto between the Sun and Moon* (fol. 130); Proper of Time, use of Rome, from Easter mass to the twenty-fourth Sunday after Pentecost (fols. 135v–171a): *The Resurrection of Christ*; historiated initial *R* with *A Sleeping Soldier* (fol. 135v); *The Ascension of Christ*; historiated initial *V* with *Two Apostles* (fol. 146v); historiated initial *S* with *Pentecost* (fol. 149v); Proper of Saints from the Eve of Saint Andrew to Saint Catherine (fols. 172–216): *The Calling of Saint Andrew*; historiated initial *D* with *Saint Andrew Carrying a Cross and a Book and Saint Peter Carrying the Keys and a Book* (fol. 172a); historiated initials *M* with *Saint Peter* and *M* with *Saint Andrew* (fol. 173a); historiated initial *D* with *Saint Lucy* (fol. 173av); historiated initials *E* with *Saint Lucy*, *M* with *Saint Thomas*, and *D* with *Saint Thomas Preaching* (fol. 174a); historiated initials *O* with *Saint Felix* and *S* with *Saint Marcellus* (fol. 174av); historiated initial *L* with *Saint Prisca* (fol. 175a); historiated initials *I* with *Saints Fabian and Sebastian* and *M* with *Saint Agnes* (fol. 175av); historiated initial *S* with *Saint Paul* (fol. 176a); historiated initial *V* with *Saint Agnes* (fol. 177v); historiated initial *G* with *Saint Agatha* (fol. 179v); historiated initials *I* with *Saint Valentinus* and *S* with *Saint Peter* (fol. 180); historiated initials *S* with *Pope Gregory* and *O* with *Saint Benedict* (fol. 181v); *The Annunciation* (fol. 182); historiated initial *V* with *The Virgin in Prayer* (fol. 182); historiated initials *P* with *Saint George* and *P* with *Saint Mark* (fol. 183); historiated initial *E* with *Saints Phillip and James* (fol. 184); historiated initial *N* with *The Cross* (fol. 184v); historiated initial *S* with *Pope Urban* (fol. 186); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Anthony of Padua* (fol. 187v); historiated initial *D* with *The Nativity of John the Baptist* (fol. 189v); historiated initial *M* with *Saints John and Paul* (fol. 190v); his-

toriated initial *N* with *Saints Peter and Paul* (fol. 192); historiated initial *M* with *Saint Mary Magdalene* (fol. 195v); historiated initial *E* with *Saint James the Greater* (fol. 196v); historiated initial *S* with *Saint Stephen* (fol. 198); historiated initial *C* with *Saint Laurence* (fol. 200); *The Assumption of the Virgin*; historiated initial *G* with *Saint Thomas Receiving the Virgin's Girdle* (fol. 201v); historiated initial *M* with *Saint Bartholomew* (fol. 203); historiated initial *I* with *Saint Augustine* (fol. 203v); historiated initial *I* with *The Beheading of John the Baptist* (fol. 204); *The Birth of the Virgin*; historiated initial *S* with *The Youthful Virgin Reading* (fol. 205); historiated initial *N* with *A Priest Saying Mass* (fol. 206v); historiated initial *E* with *Saint Matthew Writing* (fol. 208); historiated initial *O* with *The Symbol of Saint Matthew Holding Up His Gospel* (fol. 208v); historiated initial *G* with *Saint Francis* (fol. 210v); historiated initial *M* with *Saint Luke Writing* (fol. 212); historiated initial *M* with *Saints Simon and Jude* (fol. 212v); historiated initial *G* with *All Saints, Led by Saint Peter* (fol. 213v); historiated initial *S* with *Saint Martin* (fol. 215); historiated initial *L* with *Saint Cecilia* (fol. 215v); historiated initial *D* with *Saint Catherine* (fol. 216v); Common of Saints (fols. 217–238v): *All Saints*; historiated initial *E* with *Saint Andrew* (fol. 217); masses for the dedication of a church and of altars, in honor of the Trinity, of the Holy Spirit, of the Holy Cross, of the Virgin, of Peter and Paul (fols. 238v–244): historiated initial *S* with *The Dove of the Holy Spirit* (fol. 240v); historiated initial *N* with *The Cross* (fol. 241v); votive masses (fols. 244v–254); Masses for the Dead (fols. 254–258); historiated initial *R* with *A Skeleton*; Corpus Christi (fol. 259–259v): historiated initial *C* with *A Priest Celebrating Mass* (fol. 259); Mass of Saint Christopher (fols. 259v–260); Sequentia Cor[por]is X[rist]i (fols. 260–261); blank (fol. 261v); masses for the Visitation, Saint Bridget, the Virgin, and prayers in honor of the Virgin (all added in the fifteenth century) (fols. 262–267): historiated initial *G* with *The Visitation* (fol. 262).

PROVENANCE: Probably Cosmato Gentili Cardinal di Meliorati, bishop of Bologna (raised to the cardinalate in 1389 and elected Pope Innocent VII in 1404; died 1406); Anti-Pope John XXIII (elected 1410; deposed 1415); Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome, fifteenth century

(ex libris, fols. 5 and 136); Cardinal Salviati (Giovanni Salviati [?], died 1553); Marchese Tocca, Naples; Storrs Library (sale, no. 908); William Waldorf Astor, the first Viscount Astor (his Ms. A 5); by descent to the fourth Viscount Astor (sale, Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1988, lot 54).

COMMENTARY: Arms, or a bend cotized azure, with a cardinal's hat, appear in the lower margin of folios 7 and 139. They were identified as the Meliorati arms by C. de Hamel in a 1988 Sotheby's sales catalogue. Although the Meliorati arms display a blazing star whose presence cannot be verified here because of overpainting (with the arms of the Anti-Pope John XXIII), the identification with the Meliorati family is probably correct. Two members of that northeastern Italian family were raised to the cardinalate in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the period to which the missal can be assigned on stylistic grounds. De Hamel stated that the manuscript was made for Giovanni Meliorati, archbishop of Ravenna, who was created cardinal in 1405. It is more likely, however, that the missal was made for Cosmato Gentili di Meliorati, bishop of Bologna, who was elevated in 1389. A prayer on folio 94v that mentions "papa nostro B.," undoubtedly Cosmato's patron, Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404), lends support to this new identification.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. Huter, "Cristoforo Cortese in the Bodleian Library," *Apollo* 111 (1980), p. 13; R. G. Calkins, "An Italian in Paris: The Master of the Brussels Initials and His Participation in the French Book Industry," *Gesta* 20 (1981), p. 230, n. 2; P. de Winter, "Bolognese Miniatures at the Cleveland Museum," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70, no. 8 (1983), p. 351, n. 38; A. C. de la Mare, "Further Italian Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library," *La Miniatura Italiana tra Gotico e Rinascimento*, Atti del II Congresso di Storia della Miniatura, 1982, Storia della Miniatura: Studi e documenti 6 (Florence, 1985), vol. I, pp. 128, 145, figs. 11–13; C. de Hamel, in sales cat., Sotheby's, London, June 21, 1988, pp. 30–32.

29. SCENES FROM THE LIFE OF SENNACHERIB, KING OF THE ASSYRIANS AND THE VISION OF ZECHARIAH

Two miniatures from a manuscript of the major and minor prophets Sicily, late thirteenth century Vellum, 7.4 x 16.5 cm (2¹⁵/₁₆ x 6¹/₂ in.) and 7.2 x 17.4 cm (2⁷/₈ x 6¹⁵/₁₆ in. [lower edge]).

Ms. 35; 88.MS.125

The scenes from the life of Sennacherib (*The Angel Slaying the Assyrians*; *Sennacherib, the King of the*



29 (leaf 1)



29 (leaf 2)

Assyrians, Flees to Nineveh; and *The Assassination of Sennacherib by His Sons*) illustrate the events narrated in II Kings 19:35–37 and Isaiah 37:36–38; Zechariah's vision is described in Zechariah 1:8–10. Two related cuttings are in Florence, the Uffizi (Print Room, inv. 12524) and Stockholm, the Nationalmuseum (inv. B1713).

PROVENANCE: Peter Birmann, Paris; Daniel Burckhardt-Wildt (1759–1819), Basel, in 1796;

by descent to the Burckhardt-Wildt family, Basel, including Dr. Tobias Christ, Basel, by 1965 (sale, Sotheby's, London, April 25, 1983, lot 73); [H. P. Kraus, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: H. Buchthal, "Some Sicilian Miniatures of the Thirteenth Century," *Miscellanea Pro Arte: Hermann Schnitzler zur Vollendung des 60. Lebensjahres* (Düsseldorf, 1965), pp. 187–190; A. D. Lattanzi, *Lineamenti di Storia della Miniatura in Sicilia*, Storia della Miniatura. Studi e documenti 2 (Florence, 1968), p. 76.

PAINTINGS

30. JAN GOSSAERT (called MABUSE)
 Flemish, circa 1478–1532
Francisco de los Cobos y Molina(?), circa
 1530–1532
 Oil on oak panel, 43.8 x 33.7 cm (17¼
 x 13¼ in.). Hat badge inscribed:
 AGV/STA...(?) (one character
 perhaps obscured) /D(?)IVA/VCV.
 88.PB.43

This hitherto unpublished, late work by Mabuse probably represents Francisco de los Cobos y Molina (1477–1547), a major Spanish patron of art and architecture who was the powerful secretary and chief financial adviser to Emperor Charles V. The identification, which is not conclusive, is based on comparison with a portrait medal of Cobos executed in the Low Countries in 1531 by Christoph Weiditz (see G. Habich, *Die deutscher Schaumünzen des XVI Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1 [Munich, 1934], p. 64, no. 396, pl. LI, 3). In both images, the sitter wears the cross insignia of the Spanish Military Order of Santiago (Saint James Major) and a distinctive gem-encrusted scallop-shell pendant, the traditional badge of Saint James. Cobos accompanied the emperor to Flanders in 1530 and remained in the North until 1532, the period when he would have commissioned the painting as well as the medal.

Infrared reflectography and X-radiography have revealed that Mabuse made minor adjustments in the positions of the gloves and the pendant, and originally painted the frame of a window or niche on the left behind the sitter.

PROVENANCE: Professor Odilon Lannelongue (died 1911); Musée Lannelongue, Castéra-Verduzan (Gers), from 1911 (closed in 1938); returned to the heirs of Lannelongue by judicial decree on January 22, 1986 (sale, Alain Briscadieu, Commissaire-Priseur, Auch-en-Gascogne, December 7, 1986, lot 108); [Edward Speelman Ltd., London].



30



31

31. PAULUS POTTER
 Dutch, 1625–1654
The Piebald Horse, circa 1650–1654
 Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 45 cm (19½ x
 17¾ in.). Signed: *Paulus Potter f.* in the
 lower left.
 88.PA.87

The painting likely dates from the final years of Potter's life when he was particularly interested in depicting horses. Five etchings of horses date from 1652, while paintings such as the Louvre *Piebald Horse*, the *Dappled Gray Horse* (Hamburger Kunsthalle), and the *Equestrian Portrait of Dirck Tulp* (Six collection, Amsterdam), were all painted in 1653.

PROVENANCE: Chevalier Lambert, Paris (sale, Paris, March 27, 1787, lot 117); P. de Smeth van Alphen, Amsterdam (sale, Philippe van der Schley, Amsterdam, August 1, 1810, lot 78); [Texier, Gerbet & Co.]; perhaps Jean-Baptiste-Pierre LeBrun, Paris (sale, J.-B.-P. LeBrun, Paris, April 15, 1811, according to Smith and Hofstede de Groot, although not in sale catalogue); Comte Pourtalès, Paris (sale, Phillips, London, May 19, 1826, lot 102); William Norton, London; Lord Hastings, London; [Sedelmeyer, Paris, in 1896]; Adolphe Schloss, Paris, by 1896; seized by the Nazis and sent to Germany during World War II (sale, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, December 5, 1951, lot 44. According to his unpublished diary, J. Paul Getty was the underbidder on the painting at this sale); Georges Renand, Paris (sale, Drouot

Montaigne, Paris, May 31, 1988, lot 32).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Smith, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish and French Painters*, vol. 5 (London, 1834), no. 41; T. van Westrheene, *Paulus Potter: Sa vie et ses oeuvres* (The Hague, 1867), "Deuxième partie," p. 177, no. 11; C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century, Based on the Work of John Smith*, vol. 4 (London, 1911), no. 141.

32. HYACINTHE RIGAUD

French, 1659–1743

Charles de Saint-Albin, Archbishop of Cambrai, 1723

Oil on canvas, 146 x 113 cm

(57½ x 44½ in.)

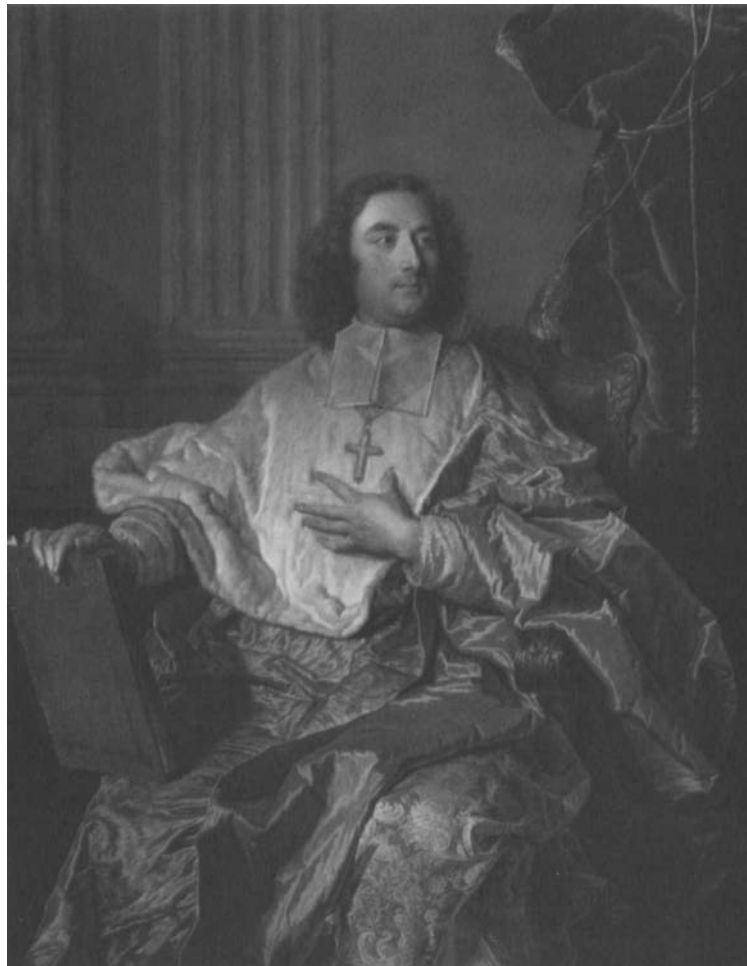
88.PA.136

The illegitimate son of Philippe II, duc d'Orléans, regent of France, and Mlle Florence Pellerin, a dancer at the Opéra, Charles de Saint-Albin (1698–1764) was elevated to the lucrative archbishopric of Cambrai in the year he sat to Rigaud. Other versions of the portrait are in the Musée de Cambrai, the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Tournai, and the Château d'Aulteribe, Puy-de-Dôme. Versions were sold at Christie's, London, March 24, 1972, lot 95; and Sotheby's, London, July 13, 1977, lot 254.

Only one Saint-Albin portrait is recorded in the artist's "Livre de raison," in 1723, for which Rigaud received payment of 3,000 *livres*, his maximum price during these years (see J. Roman, 1919). The superior quality of this painting establishes it as the prime version. It likely hung in Saint-Albin's Paris residence, the Hôtel de Pomponne on the Place des Victoires (demolished).

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by Charles de Saint-Albin in 1723; private collection, Belgium, from the nineteenth century until 1988; [Artemis, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Roman, *Le livre de raison du peintre Hyacinthe Rigaud* (Paris, 1919), p. 196.



32



33

33. PIERRE-AUGUSTE RENOIR

French, 1841–1919

Albert Cahen d'Anvers, 1881

Oil on canvas, 79.8 x 63.7 cm

(31⁷/₁₆ x 25¹/₈ in.). Signed: *Renoir*

Wargemont 9.S^{bre}.81 in the lower right.

88.PA.133

Albert Cahen d'Anvers (1846–1903), composer and pupil of César Franck, sat to Renoir at Wargemont, the Normandy home of Renoir's patron Paul Bérard. Cahen d'Anvers' older brother Louis had also commissioned portraits from Renoir in 1880 (*Mlle Irène Cahen d'Anvers*, Bührle collection, Zürich) and 1881 (*Mlles Alice and Elisabeth Cahen d'Anvers*, Museu de Arte de São Paulo). Renoir later wrote to his friend Charles Deudon that payment from the family was both too little and too late. ▾

PROVENANCE: Probably commissioned by Albert Cahen d'Anvers, Paris, in 1881; by descent in the Cahen d'Anvers family; Dr. Joseph Steegman, Zürich, by 1971; [Galerie Beyeler, Basel]; private collection, Geneva, from 1984;



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[Galerie Beyeler, Basel].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Daulte, *Auguste Renoir: Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint, I. Figures 1860–1890* (Lausanne, 1971), n.p., no. 362; Seibu Galleries, Tokyo; Cultural Center, Fukuoka; Prefecture of Hyogo Museum of Modern Art, Kobe, *Rétrospective Pierre-Auguste Renoir*, ex. cat. (Tokyo, 1971), n.p., no. 14; E. Fezzi, *L'opera completa di Renoir nel periodo impressionista 1869–1883* (Milan, 1972), pp. 109–110, no. 478; B. E. White, *Renoir: His Life, Art, and Letters* (New York, 1984), pp. 108, 117.

34. HENRI ROUSSEAU (Le douanier)
French, 1844–1910
A Centennial of Independence (Un Centenaire de l'Indépendance), 1892
Oil on canvas, 112 x 157 cm (44 x 61⁷/₈ in.). Signed: *Henri Rousseau 1892* in the lower left.
88.PA.58

The dancing figures are taken from a print by Meyer after F. Méaulle entitled *Les Fêtes à Andorre, la Farandole* published in the *Petit Journal* on April 11, 1891.

However, Rousseau has transformed a country dance into a celebration of the centennial of the founding of the First Republic in 1792. X-radiographs indicate that he made substantial changes in the allegorical female figures representing the First and Third republics (to the right and left of the liberty tree, respectively) and eliminated three small-scale figures in eighteenth-century dress from the lower left. In 1893 Rousseau painted a smaller horizontal version of the scene (American private collection) as his submission for the competition to decorate the Mairie de Bagnolet.

PROVENANCE: Wilhelm Uhde, Düsseldorf, in 1910; Folkwang Museum, Hagen; [Alfred Fleckheim, Düsseldorf, in 1912]; Suermondt collection, Drove, Germany, in 1922; by descent to Vömel-Suermondt, Düsseldorf, in 1927; private collection, Germany.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Uhde, *Henri Rousseau* (Düsseldorf, 1914), p. 59; H. Certigny, "Le Douanier Rousseau et la source du *Centenaire de l'Indépendance*," *L'Oeil* 309 (April 1981), pp. 62–67, 83; Y. le Pinchon, *The World of*

Henri Rousseau (New York, 1982), pp. 187, 189, 194–195, 213, 256, 284; H. Certigny, *Le Douanier Rousseau en son Temps* (Tokyo, 1984), pp. 128–130; R. Huyghe et al., *Un siècle d'art moderne: L'histoire du Salon des Indépendants* (Paris, 1984), p. 240; M. W. Brown, *The Story of the Armory Show* (2d ed., New York, 1988), pp. 75, 312.

DRAWINGS

BRITISH

35. JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM TURNER

British, 1775–1851

Longships Lighthouse, Land's End, circa
1834–1835

Watercolor, 29 x 44 cm (11¼ x 17¼ in.)
88.GC.55

J. Ruskin discussed *Longships Lighthouse, Land's End* in *Modern Painters* (1843, pp. 240–241), where he admired the turbulent energy of Turner's powerful depiction of the forces of nature. Indeed, the turbulent melding of vaporous forms in this watercolor mark it as a forerunner to the sublime drama of paintings such as *The Fighting "Temeraire,"* 1838 (Tate Gallery, London) and *The Slave Ship*, 1840 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Turner had visited Land's End, the westernmost point in Great Britain, in 1811 while collecting material to be engraved for the Southern Coast series. This scene was executed rather later from memory, and thus is less topographical than the watercolors done for the Southern Coast series. *Longships Lighthouse, Land's End* is one of ninety-six watercolors made by Turner in connection with the engraved series called Picturesque Views in England and Wales, commissioned and published by Charles Heath; the engraving from the series is by W. R. Smith.

PROVENANCE: Messrs. Agnew, London; Frederick Craven of Bakewell, Derbyshire (sale, Christie's, London, May 18, 1895, lot 38); John Edward Taylor, London (sale, Christie's, London, July 5, 1912, lot 42); C. Morland Agnew; C. Gerald Agnew, Henley-on-Thames; Vice Admiral Sir William Agnew and then to his widow, Lady Agnew; Charles C. Cunningham, Jr., Massachusetts; [Artemis Fine Arts, Ltd., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, vol. 1 (London, 1843), pp. 137, 240–241, 348, 374–395; F. Wedmore, *Turner and Ruskin: An Exposition of the Work of Turner from the Writings of Ruskin*, vol. 2 (London, 1900), repr. opposite p. 200; M. Hardie, *Water-colour Painting in Britain* (London, 1967), vol. 2, pp. 28, 36; M. Butlin, A. Wilton, and J. Gage, *Turner: 1775–1851*, ex. cat. (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1974–1975), no. 431; E. Shanes, *Turner's Picturesque Views in England and Wales* (London, 1979), pp. 45, 155, 157, pl. 73;



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A. Wilton, *J. M. W. Turner: His Art and Life* (Secaucus, N.J., 1979), pp. 179, 401, no. 864.

CENTRAL EUROPE

36. CHRISTOPH BOCKSDORFER Swiss, fl. 1513–1553

*Mucius Scaevola Thrusting His Right
Hand into the Flames before Lars
Porsenna*, circa 1530–1535

Pen and black ink, gray and two
shades of yellow wash, and red chalk;
43.6 x 32.7 cm (17¾ x 12⅞ in.).

Inscribed: *cemerliny*, *porsenna*, and
mutius scevolon in brown ink next
to the figures in the drawing and
xxiii.C in brown ink on the shield
below. Collection mark of J. C.

Robinson in the bottom right
corner of the mount.

88.GG.6

Bocksdorfer was an important painter, draughtsman, and printmaker active in the region of Constance, where he was among the earliest artists to embrace the artistic ideals of the Renaissance. These he understood largely in terms of antique subject matter and the ebullient use of classicizing ornament, as seen in this drawing of Mucius Scaevola's demonstra-



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tion of his courage by placing his hand in a fire, a story that has its source in Livy's *De Urbe Condita*. The drawing appeared in a Sotheby's sale in 1986 with the attribution to Bocksdorfer made by T. Falk, who pointed out that it is part of a series of stained-glass designs showing the deeds of ancient Roman heroes. Others in the series include *The Story of Marcus Manlius* (Kupferstichkabinett, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel; W. Hugelshofer,

Die Meisterzeichnung, vol. 1, *Schweizer Handzeichnungen des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Freiburg and London, 1928], no. 52, p. 38, pl. 1/52) and *The Death of Virginia* (formerly in the collection of F. Drey, London). A print dated 1531 showing Saul before David by the Monogrammist CB, who is certainly Bocksdorfer (R. Koch, ed., *The Illustrated Bartsch: Early German Masters: Albrecht Altdorfer, Monogrammists*, vol. 14 [New York, 1980], no. 1 [534]), shows an airy landscape and other formal features similar to the present drawing, which argues that the latter was also done around the same time.

PROVENANCE: J. C. Robinson, London; sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, lot 15; [Richard Day, London].



37 (recto)



37 (verso)

37. KAREL SKRETA
 Bohemian, 1610–1674
Figure Studies (recto); *Figure Studies* (verso), circa 1660–1665
 Red chalk (recto); red chalk and pen and brown ink (verso); 32.5 x 39.4 cm (12¹³/₁₆ x 15¹/₂ in.).
 88.GB.52

This drawing appears to be a bifolium

from a sketchbook. The articulation of the figures in loose, broken chalk lines and the outlining of the chalk sketches on the verso in pen and brown ink call to mind similar sheets by Škréta such as *Saint Felix of Cantalicio, the Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine, and Other Studies* (Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin; J. Neumann, *Karel Škréta, 1610–1674*, ex. cat. [Národní Galerie, Prague, 1974], no. 160). The large figure groups on both recto and verso are too generalized to identify with certainty. The head of the Virgin at the upper center of the recto is reminiscent of the Madonna in Škréta's painting *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine* in the Národní Galerie, Prague, as is the placement of the Christ child on a ledge, seen in the figure group in the upper right of the recto. The drawing thus probably dates to around the time of the painting, which Neumann places a little after 1660 (J. Neumann, *Karel Škréta, 1610–1674*, ex. cat. [Národní Galerie, Prague, 1974], no. 27, pp. 113–115, pl. 46).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, lot 77; [John Morton Morris, London].

DUTCH



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38. ABRAHAM BLOEMAERT
 Dutch, 1564–1651
Mars and Venus, circa 1590–1595

Pen and brown ink and brown wash heightened with white gouache over traces of black chalk on buff paper, 41.2 x 30.2 cm (16³/₁₆ x 11⁷/₈ in.).

Inscribed: *B: Spranger/fec. Ao. 1600.* in brown ink in the lower right corner. Collection mark of G. Seligman in the lower left corner.
 88.GG.40

Formerly attributed to Bartolomeus Spranger, this drawing was recognized by K. Oberhuber as an early work by Bloemaert (Richardson, 1979), an attribution which has been affirmed by J. Bolten. Although Bloemaert was still strongly under the sway of Spranger when he made this drawing (the composition was inspired by Goltzius' engraving *Mars and Venus* after Spranger of 1588; W. L. Strauss, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Netherlandish Artists: Hendrick Goltzius*, vol. 3 [New York, 1982], no. 276 [84]), his characteristic flair for lush decorative effects and grandiose gestures, seen in the sweeping curve of Venus' form, is already in evidence. Other stylistically connected drawings by Bloemaert include *Venus and Amor* (National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh; Andrews, 1985) and *Acis and Galatea* (Ian Woodner Family collection, New York; G. R. Goldner, ex. cat., *Master Drawings from the Woodner Collection* [J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, 1983], no. 48). Impressive in scale and exhibiting a rich combination of line, wash, and white heightening, this drawing has not been connected with a further project and might have been made as a presentation sheet.

PROVENANCE: Francis Howard, London; Germain Seligman, New York (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 16, 1986, lot 86); [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: John Richardson, ed., *The Collection of Germain Seligman* (New York, 1979), no. 74; Keith Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1985), p. 7, under no. RSA 408.

39. JACQUES DE GHEYN II
 Dutch, 1565–1629
Busts of a Boy in a Turban, a Winged Angel, and Three Old Men, 1600(?)
 Pen and brown ink on light brown fibrous paper; triangular portion at the lower right cut out and replaced, 11.8 x 20.7 cm (4¹¹/₁₆ x 8¹/₈ in.).
 Signed(?) and dated (recto): *Jaques de*



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Geijn 1600 in brown ink in the lower right corner. Unidentified collection marks in the lower right corner of the recto and on the verso. Inscribed (verso): 378 in black ink and *fo* in black chalk.

88.GA.134

This series of heads showing a range of ages and physiognomies is one of a group of inventive sheets of studies that de Gheyn made in 1600 and shortly thereafter (W. W. Robinson, 1986). The angel and the exotic turbaned men at the right, all clearly imaginary, exemplify types found in the work of earlier Netherlandish masters such as Goltzius and Lucas van Leyden. The turbaned boy at the left differs from these figures in his direct and sympathetic gaze, portrait-like features, and in the sensual and detailed rendering of the play of light over the form. It has been suggested that his features are those of the artist's son, Jacques III (I. Q. van Regteren Altena, 1983). The extraordinarily diverse pen work includes linear forms found in engraving—such as swelling and tapering line and stippling—translated to the medium of drawing.

PROVENANCE: Museum, Gotha (sale, Leipzig, November 25, 1935, lot 456); Göpel collection, Germany; private collection, Germany; [Thomas Le Claire, Hamburg].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: I. Q. van Regteren Altena, *Jacques de Gheyn: Three Generations* (The Hague, Boston, and London, 1983), vols. 2, no. 495, and 3, pl. 166; J. O. Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, ex. cat. (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 150, n. 9, under no. 52.



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40. PIETER JANSZ. SAENREDAM
Dutch, 1597–1665

The Choir and North Ambulatory of the Church of Saint Bavo, Haarlem, November 1634

Pen and brown and gray ink, gray, brown, blue, and yellow washes with red and black chalk underdrawing; incised throughout; blackened with graphite for transfer to panel (verso), 37.7 x 39.3 cm (14¹³/₁₆ x 15⁷/₁₆ in.).

Inscribed: *Dit aldus geteijckent in November/int Jaer 1634. is een gesicht inde groote kerck binnen Haerlem./ende is even dus groot geschildert.* (This, so drawn in November/in the year 1634. is a view inside the Great Church of Haarlem./ and has been made into a painting of the same size.) by the artist in brown ink on the righthand pillar, and *Dit volleijndt, ofte = /ghedaen met schilderen/Den 15. october 1635.* (This was completed, or/ made into a painting/The 15th of October 1635.) below this by the artist in brown ink at a later date.

88.GC.131

Of the many churches drawn and painted by Saenredam, that of Saint Bavo in Haarlem figures most prominently in his oeuvre. This view is taken from the south ambulatory looking across the choir into the Brewer's Chapel. It is a "construction drawing," a term coined by Swillens to refer to a type of drawing that Saenredam characteristically made in preparation for a painting, in which he worked out architectural perspective, formal relationships, and even color in elaborate detail. The famous clarity and serenity of Saenredam's church interiors are fully in evidence in this tripartite, nearly square composition, exhibiting a finely tuned balance of horizontal and vertical elements. The vanishing point is visible beyond the three figures in the distance, at precisely half of the width of the image. Saenredam made a preparatory study for this construction drawing (Gemeentearchief, Haarlem; de Smedt, 1961, no. 36) and traced it directly onto the ground of the resultant painting, which according to the inscription on the Museum's drawing was completed on October 15, 1635 (Museum Narodowe,

Warsaw; de Smedt, 1961, no. 35). The painting evidences some further adjustments to the composition such as the reduction of the framing piers to strips, different placement of the figures, and a smaller view into the overhead vaulting, indicating that the painting might have been cut down at the top.

PROVENANCE: Jonkheer J. P. Six (sale, Amsterdam, Muller and Co., October 16–18, 1928, lot 448); Jonkheer W. Six van Wimmenum, Laren (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 14, 1988, lot 69).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. T. A. Swillens, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam Schilder van Haarlem, 1597–1665* (Amsterdam, 1935, 2d ed. Soest, 1970), p. 91, no. 73, pl. 77; idem, "Pieter Saenredam als Teekenaar," *Elsevier's Geillustreerd Maandschrift* 90, no. 45 (1935), p. 380, pl. 79, fig. 3; H. J. de Smedt, *Catalogue Raisonné van de Werken van Pieter Jansz. Saenredam Uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van de Tentoonstelling Pieter Jansz. Saenredam* (Utrecht, 1961), no. 37, pp. 80–81, under nos. 35 and 36, pl. 40; R. Ruurs, *Saenredam: The Art of Perspective* (Amsterdam, Philadelphia, and Groningen, 1987), no. 7, p. 136, p. 123.



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41. JAN DE BISSCHOP
Dutch, 1628–1671
The Children of Niobe Being Slain by Apollo and Diana, circa 1660–1670
Brown wash over black chalk,
23.9 x 40.8 cm (9⁷/₁₆ x 16¹/₁₆ in.).
Inscribed (verso): *E marmoro antiquo*
by the artist in brown ink; *d'histoire*
van Niobe/na antiq n/169 in black
chalk, 26 in red chalk; *Jan de*
Bisschop/1646–1686 in graphite.
88.GA.54

De Bisschop was an amateur draughtsman who made a specialty of copying works of art from antiquity and the masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the drawing bears an inscription by the artist indicating that it is copied from an antique marble, no such source has been discovered. The most likely antique model would be a Niobid

sarcophagus relief; however, the flowing forms and extensive architectural backdrop in the drawing are atypical of such reliefs, and suggest a substantially later source. The Terwesten sale catalogue states that the drawing is after Algardi, but in this case as well no corresponding relief has been found.

PROVENANCE: G. Uilenbroek (sale, Amsterdam, October 23, 1741, portfolio G, no. 43); A. Terwesten (sale, The Hague, September 20, 1757, portfolio B, no. 13); D. Muilman (sale, Amsterdam, March 29, 1773, lot 167); D. de Jongh (sale, Rotterdam, March 26, 1810, portfolio T, no. 2); A. Beheydt (sale, Rotterdam, April 26, 1911, lot 398); private collection, Cambridge, Mass. (sale, Christie's, New York, January 14, 1986, lot 169); [John Morton Morris and Co., London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. G. van Gelder and I. Jost, *Jan de Bisschop and His Icones and Paradigmata* (Doornspijk, 1985), pp. 96–97, nn. 24–25.

FLEMISH



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42. ISAAC MAJOR
Flemish, 1588–1642
River Landscape with Houses on a Rocky Island, circa 1620–1630
Watercolor, squared in black chalk,
23.5 x 35.8 cm (9¹/₄ x 14¹/₈ in.).
Collection marks of John Thane at the bottom center and of Augustus Frederick, first duke of Sussex, or Sir John Barham in the lower right corner.
88.GA.25

Since there are no known paintings by Major, the squaring in this drawing probably indicates that it was intended for transfer to a print, which, however, either does not survive or was never made. This and a number of other landscapes, likewise drawn with the brush and in bright blue wash, have been attributed to Major by J. Spicer (sale catalogue, Sotheby's,

Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lots 15–16; J. Spicer-Durham, *The Drawings of Roelandt Savery*, unpublished Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979, vol. 1, p. 1, p. 289, n. 42b). While Major's stylistic debt to Roelandt Savery is apparent in many of the drawings in this group, the present example shows him more strongly influenced by Pieter Stevens, who, like Savery, was a landscape painter at the court of Emperor Rudolf II at Prague. The painterly, coloristic technique, decorative treatment of the trees, and emphasis on rustic huts are reminiscent of drawings by Stevens such as *Mountain Scene with a Mill of 1597* (Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna, inv. 8333; O. Benesch, *Beschreibender Katalog Der Handzeichnungen In Der Graphischen Sammlung Albertina*, vol. 2, *Die Zeichnungen Der Niederländischen Schulen Des XV. Und XVI. Jahrhunderts* [Vienna, 1928], no. 356).

PROVENANCE: John Thane, London; Augustus Frederick, first duke of Sussex, or Sir John Barham; private collection (sale, Sotheby's, Amsterdam, November 18, 1985, lot 16); [Richard Day, London].



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43. DAVID VINCKBOONS
Flemish, 1576–1632
Peasant Kermis, 1632
Pen and brown ink and brown and gray wash, 21.3 x 33.9 cm (8³/₈ x 13⁵/₁₆ in.). Signed and dated (recto): *DVB 1604* in brown ink in the lower right corner. Inscribed: *Vinck-Boons* in black ink. Collection mark *B* in both the lower right corner on the recto mount and stamped twice on the verso. Inscribed (verso): *99* in brown ink; *9* in black chalk; and *16¹/₄ 12* in graphite.
88.GA.129

Vinckboons' talent for using complex figural groupings to articulate the spatial structure of a landscape setting is espe-

cially apparent in this drawing. It is one of many depictions of peasant festivals by the artist, including three other dated drawings (Statens Museum for Kunst, Den Kongelige Kobberstiksamlng, Copenhagen, inv. SK 18.7, dated 1602; Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, inv. III, 164, dated 1604; P. and N. de Boer collection, Amsterdam, dated 1605; Wegner and Pée, 1980, nos. 16, 18, 27). Abandoning the large, somewhat static masses of figures seen in the Copenhagen drawing of two years earlier, Vinckboons here places a receding S-curve of dancers at the center of the composition, which lends the space both unity and dynamism. The comings and goings in the foreground, including the arrival of celebrants in a wagon and a ship and a drunken man being led away, enhance the energetic quality of the scene. A copy of this drawing is in the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (E. Flechsig, *Zeichnungen alter Meister im Landesmuseum in Braunschweig* [Frankfurt, 1923], no. 68).

PROVENANCE: Private collection (sale, Sotheby's, London, November 22, 1974, lot 28); J. T. Cremer collection, New York; [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Wegner and H. Pée, "Die Zeichnungen des David Vinckboons," *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 31, ser. 3 (1980), no. 19, fig. 19, p. 66, pp. 39, 41, 63–64, under no. 16, 72, under no. 27; J. O. Hand et al., *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 300, under no. 118, no. 4.

44. PETER PAUL RUBENS
Flemish, 1577–1640
Anatomical Studies, circa 1600–1605
Pen and brown ink, 28 x 18.7 cm
(11 x 7³/₈ in.). Inscribed (verso):
45 and 1/2 in graphite.
88.GA.86

The most important addition to Rubens' corpus of drawings in recent years is eleven anatomical studies, which were acquired in the eighteenth century by Sir Roger Newdegate and remained with his heirs until recently. M. Jaffé is responsible for their attribution to Rubens; he proposed that the artist made them for publication in a projected book on anatomy which he was unable to complete during his lifetime (Jaffé, 1987). Jaffé's comments on Michelangelo's influence upon the



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Newdegate drawings are especially pertinent to the present example, which is notable for the powerful movement of the figures and the intricate hatching articulating the musculature. The highly Italianate style of this newly discovered drawing indicates that Rubens probably made it during his Italian sojourn. This and a number of other drawings from the Newdegate group were engraved by Paulus Pontius after Rubens' death, as part of an album that is thought to reflect

Rubens' planned anatomy book.

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat, Paris(?); Sir Roger Newdegate; by descent (sale, Christie's, London, July 6, 1987, lot 61); [Richard Day, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: M. Jaffé, "Rubens' Anatomy Book," sale cat. (Christie's, London, July 6–7, 1987), pp. 58–61.

FRENCH

45. SEBASTIEN BOURDON
French, 1616–1671
The Israelites Dancing around the Golden Calf, circa 1657–1658
Pen and brown ink with brown and white oil paint, 47.6 x 65 cm
(18³/₄ x 25⁹/₁₆ in.). Inscribed (verso):
S. Bourdon in black chalk on the mount.
88.GG.39

This highly finished study was certainly preparatory to a painting, although no paintings of this subject by Bourdon are known. The sheet may be related to a series of six paintings of the life of Moses, now untraceable, which was the basis for a suite of tapestries (C. Ponsonailhe, *Sébastien Bourdon: Sa vie et son oeuvre* [Paris, 1883], pp. 170, 172, 284). The sheet's painterly style, richness of detail,



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and classical tenor reflect Bourdon's dual admiration for Italian art and for the work of Nicholas Poussin. More specifically, Bourdon most likely knew Poussin's *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*, now in the National Gallery, London (A. Blunt, *Nicholas Poussin*, vol. 2 [London and New York, 1958], fig. 79), where a similar group of dancers surround the idol. An alternate compositional study by Bourdon for the same scene is in the Musée Atger, Montpellier (C. Saunier, "Une collection de dessins de maîtres provinciaux: Le musée Xavier Atger à Montpellier," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* [1922], pp. 38–39).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Lugano; Boston art market.



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(Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp). There are further preparatory drawings in the Louvre and in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (J. Guiffrey and P. Marcel, *Inventaire général des dessins du Louvre et du Musée de Versailles, Ecole Française*, vol. 4 [Paris, 1909], nos. 3062, 3064, 3065, 3067, 3068; Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Album Scholz, no. 6).

PROVENANCE: A. Beurdeley, Paris (sale, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 10, 1920, lot 289); private collection, France (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 27, 1987, lot 96); [John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: A. Schnapper, "The Moses of Antoine Coypel," *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum* 37, no. 2 (1979–1980), pp. 61–62, fig. 2.

47. ANTOINE WATTEAU
 French, 1684–1721
Two Studies of a Flutist and One of the Head of a Boy, circa 1716–1719
 Red, black, and white chalk on light brown paper, 21.4 x 33.6 cm (8⁷/₁₆ x 13³/₁₆ in.)
 88.GB.3

Watteau here captures the fleeting expressions and subtle finger positions of a flutist in performance. The effect of time passing is further evoked through a looseness and assurance in the handling of the three chalks that is exceptional even by Watteau's standard. Watteau used the right-hand study of the flutist in a painting, *Perfect Accord* (earl of Iveagh, Lon-

don), generally dated circa 1719–1720. The flutist in profile was etched by François Boucher and the young boy by Laurent Cars (*Figures de différents caractères* [Paris, 1726], nos. 88, 232).

PROVENANCE: Andrew James, London; by descent to his daughter, Miss James (sale, Christie's, London, June 23, 1891, lot 335); Camille Groult, Paris; by descent to Pierre Bordeaux-Groult, Paris; private collection, Paris; [Wildenstein and Company, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. de Goncourt, *Catalogue raisonné de l'oeuvre peint dessiné e gravé d'Antoine Watteau* (Paris, 1875), pp. 258–259, under no. 448, p. 288, under no. 609; J. Mathey, "Documents inédits: Aspects divers de Watteau dessinateur dans la collection Groult," *L'Amour de l'Art* 10 (December 1938), pp. 375–376, fig. 9; K. T. Parker and J. Mathey, *Antoine Watteau: catalogue complet de son oeuvre dessiné*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1957), p. 359, no. 837; pp. 331, 332, under no. 693; p. 334, under no. 838; A. P. Mirimonde, "Les sujets musicaux chez Antoine Watteau," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 58 (November 1961), p. 286, n. 9; P. Rosenberg and M. Morgan Grasselli, *Watteau, 1684–1721* (Washington, D.C., 1984), no. 82, p. 156 and p. 543; F. Gétéreau, "Watteau et la musique: réalité et interprétations," in F. Moreau and M. Morgan Grasselli, *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): The Painter, His Age, and His Legend* (Paris and Geneva, 1987), pp. 238–239, fig. 12.



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46. ANTOINE COYPEL
 French, 1661–1722
The Crucifixion, 1692
 Red and black chalk with white gouache heightening, 40.5 x 58.1 cm (15¹⁵/₁₆ x 22⁷/₈ in.). Collection mark of Alfred Beurdeley in the lower right corner.
 88.GB.41

Coypel made this monumental drawing as a full compositional study for his acclaimed painting of the Crucifixion commissioned by the duc de Richelieu in 1692 (A. Schnapper, 1979–1980. The painting recently reappeared in a sale at Sotheby's, Monaco). The attribution of the drawing to Rubens in the Beurdeley sale is at least true in spirit to the work, which is a prime example of Coypel's celebrated "Rubenism." This is apparent in the energetic, painterly handling of the red and black chalk and white heightening, the masterful distribution of the colors, and the depiction of Longinus thrusting his spear into Christ's side, which calls to mind Rubens' painting *Le Coup de Lance*



48

48. JACQUES ANDRE PORTAIL

French, 1695–1759

*A Music Party, circa 1750*Red and black chalk, 32 x 25.3 cm
(12³/₄ x 10 in.). Inscribed (verso):*Collection C. Jusky peintre* in brown ink.

88.GB.60

Best known as a draughtsman, Portail's graphic style and choice of subjects were decisively influenced by Watteau. Portail frequently depicted amateur musicians, both individually and in ensembles. *A Music Party* is an excellent example of his figural compositions, where he shows a predilection for full-chinned women, often seen in profile. The two women reappear in a considerably less fine drawing by Portail, entitled *A Concert in a Park*, recently sold at auction (Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 9, 1988, lot 42), while a similar flutist appears in *A Concert Party*, formerly in the Straus collection (sale, Parke-Bernet, New York, October 21, 1970, lot 22). A copy or version of the present drawing, the current whereabouts of which are unknown, was sold in the nineteenth century (Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 3, 1886, lot 117).

PROVENANCE: C. Jusky; private collection, England (sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1986, lot 152); [Richard Day, London].



49

49. PIERRE-ADRIEN PARIS

French, 1745–1819

*Vases, Furniture, and Objects Discovered at Herculaneum, 1783*Pen and black ink and watercolor,
22.9 x 37 cm (9 x 14⁹/₁₆ in.).Signed (recto): *Paris Delin* by the artist in brown ink in the lower left corner. Inscribed: *Meubles Antiques trouves dans la Ville d'herculanum* by the artist in pen and brown ink at the upper center. Inscribed (verso): *Vól. 244 and Paris del.* in graphite.

88.GA.26

Pâris was an architect, antiquarian, and director of the French Academy in Rome from 1806 until 1817. During a trip to Naples in 1783 he drew these furnishings and decorative objects that had been recently discovered at Herculaneum. The sheet served as the model for an aquatint illustration by L. L. Choffard in the abbé

de Saint-Non's *Voyage pittoresque; ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* of 1783, which also contained plates after Fragonard, Cochin, Lépicié, and other artists. The drawing is delicately colored and presents the ancient artifacts in mint condition, and in a sensitively arranged ensemble. This idealizing view of antiquity is indicative of Pâris' role as an early proponent of Neoclassicism in architecture and the decorative arts.

PROVENANCE: Probably Paignon Dijonval collection, Paris; probably P. P. Steven, Douvre; sale, Christie's, London, December 12, 1986, lot 322; [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Abbé de Saint-Non, *Voyage pittoresque; ou Description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1783), p. 44; M. Bénard, *Cabinet de M. Paignon Dijonval* (Paris, 1810), probably part of no. 4064; M. L. Cornillot, *Collection Pierre-Adrien Pâris, Besançon, Inventaire général des dessins des musées de province*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1957), p. 2 of introduction.

50. THEODORE GERICAULT

French, 1791–1824

Horses and Riders (recto); *Horses*

(verso), 1813–1814

Graphite, 21 x 28 cm (8¹/₄ x 11 in.).Inscribed (recto): *30* in brown ink in the upper right corner and (verso): *31* in brown ink in the upper left corner.
88.GD.46

50 (recto)



50 (verso)

This double-sided drawing showing cavalrymen and horses is closest stylistically to various examples in the second part of the so-called Chicago Album, which once formed part of a sketchbook drawn by Géricault between 1812 and 1814 (Eitner, 1960, fols. 35v, 39r and v, 47r, 57r and v). Eitner has noted that during this period, which followed in the wake of the tremendous effort invested in *The Charging Chasseur* (Musée du Louvre, Paris), Géricault concentrated on small-scale projects which allowed him to develop his technical mastery to a level he was never to surpass (Eitner, 1983, pp. 43–48). This can be seen in the present drawing, which combines an effortless grasp of the horse in motion with highly refined form and execution. The horse and rider in the upper right corner of the recto is a study for *An Officer of the Polish Lancers* in the National Gallery, Warsaw (Wiercinska, 1967, pp. 90–91).

PROVENANCE: A. Scheffer, Paris; Hulot, Paris; Baron Vitta, Paris; Hans E. Bühler, Winterthur (sale, Christie's, London, November 15, 1985, lot 41); [H. Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: P. Dubaut and P. Nathan, *Géricault 1791–1824: Sammlung Hans E. Bühler* (Winterthur, 1956), nos. 36–37; L. Eitner, *Géricault: An Album of Drawings in the Art Institute of Chicago* (1960), p. 47, n. 17; J. Wiercinska, "Théodore Géricault et le "Lancier Polonais" du Musée National de Varsovie," *Bulletin du Musée National de Varsovie* 3, no. 3 (1967), pp. 83, fig. 2, 90–9; J. Thuillier and P. Grunec, *Tout l'oeuvre peint de Géricault* (Paris, 1978), under no. 67, fig. 67.1 (Ital. ed. Milan, 1978, same p. and fig.); P. Grunec, *Géricault Dessins et Aquarelles de Chevaux* (Lausanne, 1982), p. 39 (Eng. ed. New York and Paris, 1984, same p.); L. Eitner, *Géricault: His Life and Work* (London, 1983), pp. 43–44, fig. 31, pp. 327, n. 6, 328, n. 13.

ITALIAN



51 (recto)



51 (verso)

51. DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO OR WORKSHOP
 Italian, 1428/30–1464
Studies of the Virgin and Child (recto);
Virgin and Child Enthroned (verso),
 circa 1455–1460
 Pen and brown ink over stylus
 underdrawing (recto); pen and brown
 ink and black chalk (verso), 19.3 x
 27.8 cm (7³/₈ x 10¹⁵/₁₆ in.)
 88.GG.107

Preparatory drawings by mid-fifteenth century sculptors are extremely rare. This sheet, which bears clear similarities to his sculpted works, is likely to be the sole surviving drawing by Desiderio da Settignano. Of the several studies of the Virgin and Child on the recto, the one sketched at the lower right is closely akin to the Panciatichi Madonna in the Bargello, Florence (I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano* [Milan, 1962], pl. 136), while the third sketch on the top shares features with the Foulc Madonna in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano* [Milan, 1962], pl. 292). The unusual ornamental details of the throne on the verso are found on

Desiderio's tomb of Carlo Marsuppini (Florence, Santa Croce) and his San Lorenzo tabernacle (Florence, San Lorenzo).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; London art market.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Goldner, "A Drawing by Desiderio da Settignano," *Burlington Magazine* (July 1989), pp. 469–473.



52

52. UNIDENTIFIED ARTIST
Bacchus Playing Pipes
 Italian (Padua), circa 1480–1490
 Pen and brown ink, 20.1 x 10.4 cm
 (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 4¹/₁₆ in.).
 Inscribed (recto): g.53 in pen and
 brown ink at the lower right.
 Inscribed (verso): JJ.53 and C.1 N-105.
*Andrea Mantegna 1431–1505. A
 Bacchante; pen + bistre. Fine. From
 Sir Anthony Westcombe's Collection
 W. Bateman.* in pen and brown
 ink on the mount.
 88.GA.91

This previously unpublished sheet is closely related to a pen and ink drawing of *Venus and Cupid* in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (P. Ward-Jackson, *Italian Drawings: Fourteenth–Sixteenth Century*, vol. 1 [London, 1979], no. 14, pp. 19–20) which also came from the Resta and Somers collections. Both drawings are the work of an artist with a preference for elongated figures, somewhat exaggerated gestures, close parallel hatching, classical subjects, and an overall

Mantegnesque approach. The artist's identity has not yet been securely determined. The most convincing opinion advanced thus far is that of J. Byam Shaw, who attributed the Victoria and Albert drawing, along with several others of similar style, to the Paduan painter and follower of Mantegna called Bernardo Parentino ("A Lost Portrait of Mantegna, and a Group of Paduan Drawings," *Old Master Drawings* 9 [June 1934], pp. 1–7).

PROVENANCE: Padre Sebastiano Resta, Milan; Giovanni Matteo Marchetti, bishop of Arezzo; by descent to his nephew, the Cavalier (Orazio?) Marchetti of Pistoia; Lord John Somers, Worcester; Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Sir Anthony Westcombe, London; William Bateman, Yowgrave, Derbyshire (sale, Christie's, London, December 9, 1986, lot 3); [Ars Libri, Boston].



53 (recto)



53 (verso)

53. VITTORE CARPACCIO

Italian, circa 1460–1526

Bishop Holding a Candle (recto);
Draped Legs (verso), 1493

Brush and dark gray wash with white gouache heightening and black chalk on blue paper (recto and verso), 20.2 x 11.1 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 4³/₈ in.).

Inscribed (verso): *S. V. n.º: 17 and Di mano di Gio. Bellino* in brown ink on the mount.

88.GG.89

Previously attributed to Giovanni Bellini, this drawing is in fact characteristic of Carpaccio's figure studies on blue paper. The bishop is a study for the figure on the lowest step at the right in *The Martyrdom and Funeral of Saint Ursula* (Accademia, Venice), dated 1493, which Carpaccio painted as part of a series on the legend of Saint Ursula for one of the Venetian confraternities, the Scuola di Sant'Orsola (J. Lauts, *Carpaccio: Paintings and Drawings* [London, 1962], no. 3, pl. 14). Carpaccio used the drapery study on the verso for the angel at the lower right in *The Presentation in the Temple* (Accademia, Venice) of 1510 (J. Lauts, *Carpaccio: Paintings and Drawings* [London, 1962], no. 79, pl. 151). The fact that the verso was used for a painting seventeen years later than the one for which the recto was made is not unusual for Carpaccio, who appears to have used the same forms and the drawings on which they were based throughout his career.

PROVENANCE: Sagredo collection, Venice(?); de Boissieu collection, Lyons (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 23, 1986, lot 189); [Ars Libri, Boston].



54

54. ATTRIBUTED TO RAPHAEL

Italian, 1483–1520

Female Figure with a Tibia and Ornamental Studies (recto); *Ornamental Studies* (verso), circa 1500–1503

Pen and brown ink (recto and verso), 30.5 x 18.9 cm (12 x 7⁷/₁₆ in.).

Inscribed (verso): *Lippi (fra filippo) Carmalitano da firenze 1381–1438* in pen and brown ink.

88.GA.90

This unpublished drawing was sold at auction in 1986 as from the circle of Filippo Lippi. The delicate, ornamental character of the sheet does owe something to Filippo Lippi and even more to his son Filippino, but it is closer still to the Umbrian works of Perugino's workshop, most particularly the young Raphael. The figure is as finely rendered as Raphael's early silverpoint study of music-making angels in Lille, Musée des Beaux-Arts (E. Knab, E. Mitsch, K. Oberhuber, *Raphael die Zeichnungen* [Stuttgart, 1983], no. 39), where there is a similar use of parallel hatching and an emphasis on flowing drapery. There exists what appears to be a copy after this drawing in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 199E) that is of similar scale but of a somewhat coarser nature.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, France (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19, 1986, lot 214); [Ars Libri, Boston].

55. BALDASSARE PERUZZI

Italian, 1481–1536

Design for an Altar, circa 1527

Pen and brown ink and brown wash over some stylus underdrawing, 45.4 x 37.7 cm (17⁷/₈ x 14⁷/₈ in.).

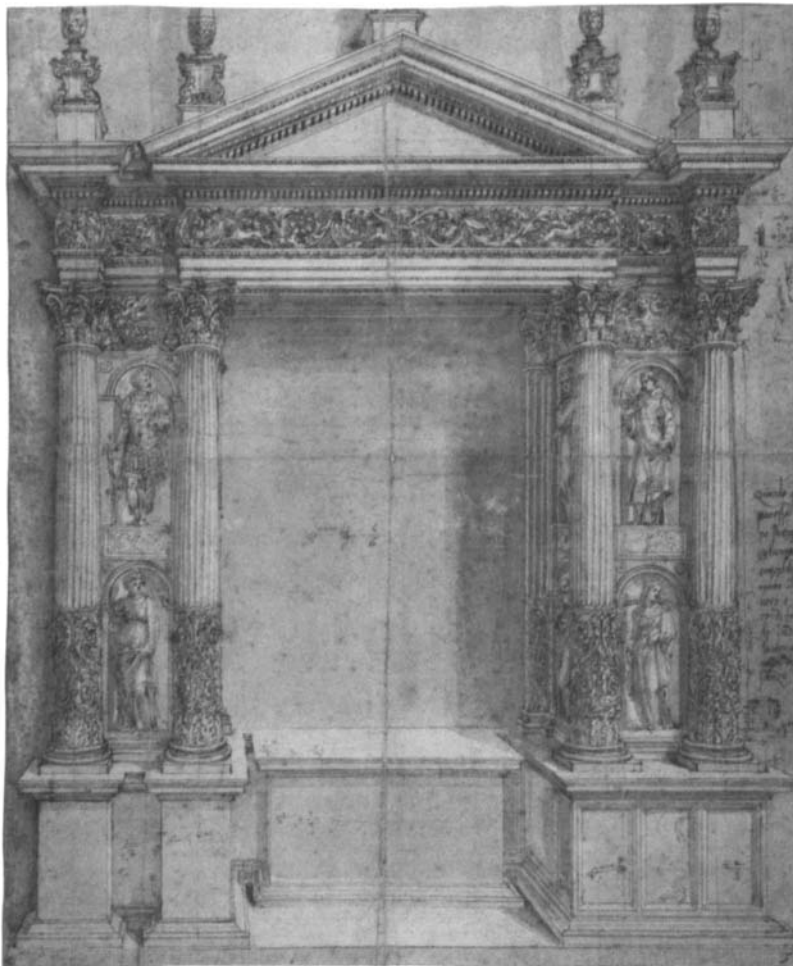
Fragmentary inscription (recto):

Quandoq/pare sta/po streng/columnj/emjechlj/tanto ch/vero e/ne dj for/le jndi/la cornjce/vada dr/schizo s/ in

pen and ink in the right margin; measurements in pen and ink at the right, center, and bottom. Collection marks of N. A. Flinck in the lower right corner and William, second duke of Devonshire, in the lower left corner.

88.GG.130

Because of the presence of Saint Ansanus, one of the patron saints of Siena, in the niche at the upper left, C. Frommel suggested that this large drawing is a study for an altar (presumably never constructed), intended for the cathedral in Siena. Accompanying Saint Ansanus in this elaborate sculptural ensemble are saints Stephen, Lucy, and Agnes, all of whom are depicted in a classical manner and set within a portico-like structure characteristic of the High Renaissance. The measurements recorded on the sheet indicate that the altar would have been of grand proportions—over twenty feet high. This drawing is comparable to a de-



55

sign by Peruzzi for an organ case (now in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle), also composed of a richly decorated pediment atop niches containing figures flanked by Corinthian columns (A. E. Popham and J. Wilde, *The Italian Drawings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* [London, 1949], no. 683, pl. 66).

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 8); [H. Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. F. Waagen, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, vol. 3 (London, 1854), p. 354; A. E. Popham, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, ex. cat. (National Gallery of Art and other institutions, Washington, D.C., 1962–1963), no. 48; C. L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Munich, 1967–1968), no. 105f, pl. 79b; A. E. Popham, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, ex. cat. (Royal Academy of Arts, London, 1969), no. 48; idem, *Old Master Drawings from Chatsworth*, ex. cat. (Israel Museum, Jerusalem, 1977), no. 16; H. Wurm, *Baldassare Peruzzi Architek-*

turzeichnungen (Tübingen, 1984), vol. 1, p. 158.



56

56. GIULIO ROMANO (Giulio Pippi)
Italian, circa 1499–1546
Hercules Resting after Killing the Hydra,

circa 1534–1537

Pen and brown ink, indented with a stylus, with black chalk on the verso, 25.4 x 20.4 cm (10 x 8 in.). Collection marks of Sir Thomas Lawrence in the lower left corner and Lord Francis Egerton, first earl of Ellesmere, in the lower right corner and in the right margin on the recto.

88.GA.128

Hartt tentatively suggested that this drawing is a preparatory study for a now-lost stucco scene for the garden of the Appartamento di Troia at the Palazzo Ducale, Mantua. Hartt also linked a closely related drawing by Giulio of *Apollo and Marsyas* at Windsor Castle (inv. 0495) to the same scheme and noted that Giulio's use of sharply cut lines set against a blank background would be suitable for the stucco technique. The presence of black chalk on the verso of the sheet, as well as the stylus markings on the recto, indicate its more probable function as a design for a print, as J. Stock noted in the 1972 Sotheby's sale catalogue. The print, however, no longer survives or was never finished.

PROVENANCE: Sir Thomas Lawrence, London; Lord Francis Egerton, first earl of Ellesmere, London; by descent to his heirs (sale, Sotheby's, London, December 5, 1972, lot 52); [H. Shickman Gallery, New York]; private collection, New York; [H. Shickman Gallery, New York].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* (New Haven, 1958), vol. 1, pp. 165, 186, 301, no. 238, vol. 2, fig. 380.

57. PERINO DEL VAGA (Piero Buonaccorsi)

Italian, 1501–1547

Studies of Figures and Architecture (recto); *Figure Studies* (verso), circa 1542–1545

Pen and brown ink, brown wash, and black chalk; stylus underdrawing (recto); pen and brown ink and brown wash (verso), 32.2 x 22.5 cm (12⁷/₈ x 8³/₄ in.). Inscribed (recto): *D* and *Tiepolo* by a later hand in pen and brown ink in the lower left corner.

Inscribed (verso): *12* in the lower right corner and a fragmentary inscription *Beato ha quello che torna al fin senza fatica/che in memoria e ppeo nella gracia/ chi troppo pensa el pensar la terra/chi l'altri impaci piglia e sua*



57 (recto)



57 (verso)

*cr . . . /chi l'altrui tribola se stesso
atterra/chi in pacida la suo morte seque/
chi biasma altri se stesso/fali dice
d'altrui che di se ste . . . /l'oro
dà.valsente/ . . . /Sot'ombra d' oro
facile . . . /La nesicità non v'a legge/e*

*sse legge ha el paziente h . . . /Megli'è
parir honestame . . . /che perdesi un
onesto sp . . . /* by the artist at the top
and along the right margin.

88.GG.132

The architectural motif on the recto appears to be related to Perino's decoration of the ceiling of the Sala Regia in the Vatican, executed between 1542 and 1545 upon the commission of the Farnese pope, Paul III (B. Davidson, "The Decoration of the Sala Regia under Pope Paul III," *Art Bulletin* 58 [September 1976], pp. 395–423). The figure studies on both recto and verso correspond in style and subject matter with comparable drawings by Perino from the 1540s in the Louvre, Paris (inv. 624 and 10.711), the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (inv. 61.180), and a private collection in Britain (Edinburgh Festival Society, *Italian Sixteenth-Century Drawings from British Private Collections* [Edinburgh, 1969], p. 28, no. 60, pl. 19), but have not been connected with any specific project. The vari-

ety of figure types, poses, and costumes, as well as the free handling of both ink and wash, make this sheet one of Perino's most beautiful and enigmatic drawings.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, United States (sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1988, lot 84); [John Morton Morris, London].



58

58. AGNOLO BRONZINO
Italian, 1503–1572

Study of Envy, circa 1545

Black chalk, 16.2 x 12 cm (6³/₈ x 4¹/₁₆ in.).

Collection marks of Jonathan Richardson, Sr. and Sir Joshua Reynolds in the lower right corner of the recto. Inscribed (verso): *Tb(?)*.57.64.g in pen and ink on the mount.

88.GB.108

This is the only known preparatory study for Bronzino's most famous painting, *The Allegory of Venus and Cupid*, in the National Gallery (C. Gould, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Sixteenth-Century Italian Schools* [London, 1975], no. 651). The painting's complicated iconography has been much discussed. This figure is usually described as representing Envy or Jealousy (C. Hope, "Bronzino's Allegory in the National Gallery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 45 [1982], pp. 239–243). In the study, Bronzino has concentrated upon the model's right arm and hand, and especially upon the placement of the fingers. The light parallel hatching countered by slightly darker contour lines is characteristic of Bronzino's draughtsmanship.



59

PROVENANCE: Jonathan Richardson, Sr., London; Sir Joshua Reynolds, London; Michel Gaud, St. Tropez (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 20, 1987, lot 33); [John Morton Morris, London].

59. FRANCESCO PRIMATICCIO

Italian, 1504–1570

Studies of a Man and of Arms, circa 1555–1560

Red chalk with white tempera highlights on pink prepared paper, 17.1 x 22.5 cm (6³/₄ x 8⁷/₈ in.).

Inscribed (recto): 122 and PRIMATICCIO in pen and ink in the lower right corner. Collection marks of P. J. Mariette, Defer-Dumesnil, and L. Deglatigny in the lower left corner. 88.GB.5

Soon after the completion of its construction in 1555, Nicolò dell'Abate decorated the chapel of the Hôtel de Guise (later the Hôtel de Soubise) in Paris with frescoes based upon designs created by Primaticcio. The chapel was destroyed in the early nineteenth century, but much of its decoration is known through Primaticcio's drawings, copies made after the frescoes, and written descriptions (L. Dimier, *Le Primatice: Peintre, sculpteur et architecte des rois de France* [Paris, 1900], pp. 424, 428, 446, 450, 475–476, 500, 504). This sheet is one of Primaticcio's preparatory studies for the ceiling fresco

of the chapel, which showed God surrounded by angels. The bearded figure in the center of the drawing can be identified as the blessing God. A *modello* for the entire scene is in the Louvre (inv. 8510), as is a study for the ceiling section above the altar (inv. 8539); further studies are in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (inv. 135) and the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 12143).

PROVENANCE: Pierre Crozat, Paris(?); P. J. Mariette, Paris (sale, Paris, 1775, part of lot 632); Pierre Defer, Paris; Henri Dumesnil, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 11, 1900, lot 241); Louis Deglatigny, Rouen (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 15, 1937, lot 197); private collection (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, March 10, 1986, lot 17); [John Morton Morris, London].

60. GIOVANNI BATTISTA NALDINI

Italian, circa 1537–1591

The Raising of the Son of the Widow of Naim (recto); *Madonna and Child with Saints* (verso), circa 1570–1580

Pen and brown ink and brown wash, with white tempera highlights over black chalk, on paper washed blue (recto); black chalk on paper washed blue (verso), 21.6 x 31.8 cm (8¹/₂ x 12¹/₂ in.). Collection mark of A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil at the bottom center on the recto. Inscribed (verso): *di Jacopo Pa(?)* in brown ink at the lower left. 88.GA.53

It has been proposed that the recto of this



60 (recto)



60 (verso)

sheet illustrates the story of Christ resuscitating the dead son of a widow of Naim near the city gates and before its many residents (Luke 7:11–15). It may be an early idea for an altarpiece of the same subject, which was destroyed by fire in 1771, for the church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (Gruitrooy, 1989). A late sixteenth-century description of the altarpiece (F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Fiorenza* [Florence, 1591], p. 80) indicates that the painting's composition was closer to a study in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 747S), which this drawing would then precede. The verso is similar to another drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 705F) that is thought to be preparatory to Naldini's painting of the *Nativity*, dated 1573, for Santa Maria Novella, Florence (M. Hall, *Renovation and Counter-Reformation: Vasari and Duke Cosimo in Santa Maria Novella and Santa Croce 1565–1577* [Oxford, 1979], pp. 97–99, pl. 57).

PROVENANCE: A. P. F. Robert-Dumesnil, Paris (sale, Paris, Phillips, London, May 18, 1838, lot 754); private collection, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 29, 1986, lot 77); [John Morton Morris, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. Gruitrooy, "A New Drawing by Giovanni Battista Naldini," *GettyMusJ* 17 (Malibu, 1989), pp. 15–20.



61

61. BARTOLOMEO PASSAROTTI
Italian, 1529–1592
Nude Studies, circa 1570–1580
Pen and brown ink, 29.5 x 23.4 cm
(11³/₈ x 9¹/₄ in.). Inscribed: *Salamanca*
in pen and ink at the lower left;
unidentified collection mark in the
lower right corner.
88.GA.109

As D. DeGrazia and others have noted, the early biographers of Passarotti (Borghini and Malvasia) commented upon his strong interest in anatomical studies (D. DeGrazia, *Correggio and His Legacy: Sixteenth-Century Emilian Drawings* [Washington, D.C., 1984], p. 328, n. 2). These figure studies, which occur frequently in Passarotti's graphic oeuvre, are sometimes connected with a painting—such as the drawing at Christ Church, Oxford (inv. 1393)—and at other times appear to have been made as independent works. This study of a muscular figure seen from several vantage points was probably executed for its own sake rather than in preparation for a further work. Passarotti's choice of subject, as well as the distinctive cross-hatching he employs, point to the influence of Michelangelo and Baccio Bandinelli, whose graphic works are sometimes confused with Passarotti's own drawings.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; London art market.

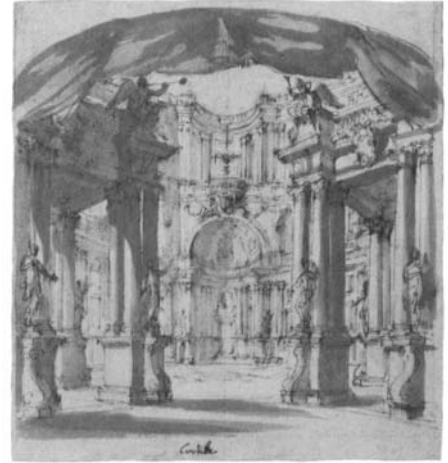


62

62. IL VOLTERRANO (Baldassare Franceschini)
Italian, 1611–1689
The Assumption of the Virgin, circa 1664–1670
Red chalk and reddish wash
heightened with white tempera,
48.4 x 30.1 cm (19 x 11³/₁₆ in.)
88.GG.110

This richly worked red chalk drawing is a full compositional study for Volterrano's painting of *The Assumption of the Virgin*, commissioned by Prince Mattias de' Medici for the nave ceiling of SS. Annunziata, Florence. The study corresponds in most ways with the painting, which is still in situ but is much darkened and difficult to see. Volterrano's admiration for Pietro da Cortona is apparent in his dynamic handling of the multi-figured composition and his *dal di sotto in su* approach. Volterrano was a prolific draughtsman, and several additional studies for the painting exist. Among these are a study for the lower half of the composition, now in the Uffizi, Florence (inv. 20917F), and a study in the Roberto Longhi Foundation, Florence (inv. 30.D) for the apostle in the left foreground (M. C. Fabbri in *Il Seicento Fiorentino* [Florence, 1986], under no. 2.309, p. 340 and no. 2.311, pp. 343–344).

PROVENANCE: Sale, Sotheby's, New York, January 13, 1988, lot 96; [John Morton Morris, London].



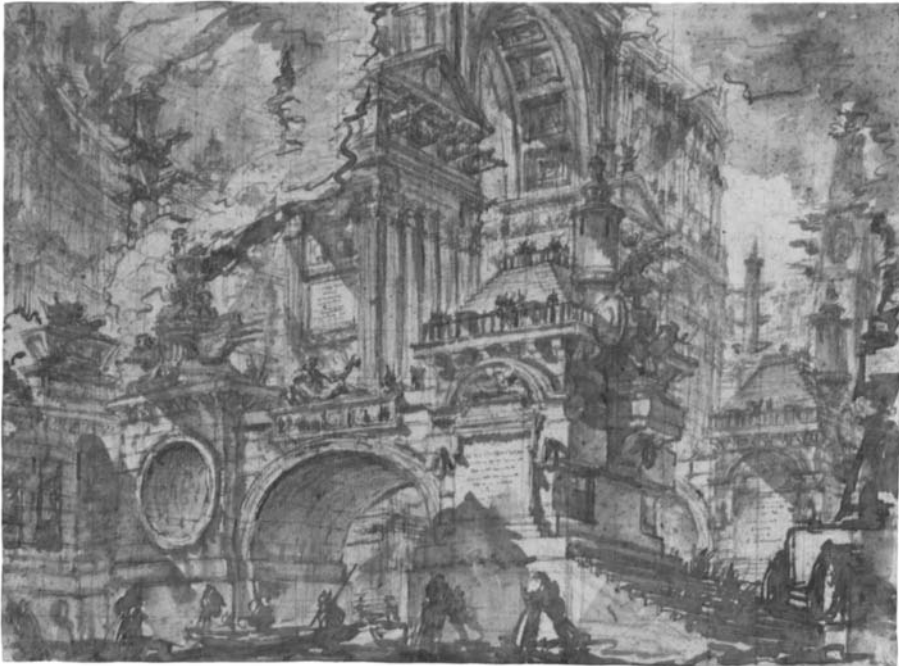
63

63. FILIPPO JUVARRA
Italian, 1678–1736
The Courtyard of a Palace: Project for a Stage, 1713
Pen and brown ink and gray and brown wash over black chalk, 20.2 x 19.1 cm (8 x 7¹/₂ in.). Inscribed: *Cortile*
in brown ink at the lower edge, center.
88.GA.1

Known primarily for his architectural projects in Turin, Juvarra also designed stage scenes for the theater and for various ceremonial occasions in Rome, where he lived for ten years. This drawing is part of a series of at least eleven designs which Juvarra probably made for the opera *Tito e Berenice*, performed at the Teatro Capranica, Rome, in January 1714. Eight of the drawings, including the present one, were formerly in the Cibrario collection (sales, Christie's, London, December 14, 1984, lots 203–206 and December 11, 1985, lots 102–105), while three others are in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin. Depicting the courtyard of a sumptuously decorated Baroque palace, the drawing has been specifically linked to scene nine of the opera (M. Viale Ferrero, 1970, p. 373).

PROVENANCE: Count A. Cibrario, Turin; by descent to Count L. Cibrario, Turin (sale, Christie's, London, December 14, 1984, lot 204); [Ars Libri, Boston].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Rovere, V. Viale, and A. E. Brinckmann, *Filippo Juvarra* (Turin, 1937), p. 159; V. Viale, *Mostra di Filippo Juvarra, architetto e scenografo*, ex. cat. (Palazzo dell' Università, Messina, 1966), p. 111; M. Viale Ferrero, "Disegni di Filippo Juvarra per il Teatro Capranica a Roma," *Antichità Viva* 7 (1968), p. 18, fig. 8; idem, *Filippo Juvarra scenografo e*



64

architetto teatrale (Turin, 1970), pp. 58, 60, 61, n. 27, p. 373, no. 7.

64. GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI
 Italian, 1720–1778
Study for the Parte di ampio magnifico Porto, 1749–1750
 Red chalk, brown and reddish wash,
 squared in black chalk, 38.5 x 52.8 cm
 (15¹/₈ x 20¹³/₁₆ in.). Inscribed: G. B.
Piranesi by another hand in brown
 ink at the lower left of the mount.
 88.GB.18

The draughtsman and printmaker Piranesi was fascinated and inspired by Roman antiquity. This previously unpublished drawing is the final preparatory study for one of Piranesi's greatest prints, *Parte di ampio magnifico Porto*, which was published in 1750 as part of Piranesi's *Opere Varie* (A. Robison, *Piranesi: Early Architectural Fantasies* [Washington, D.C., Chicago, and London, 1986], no. 26, pp. 129–131). The drawing has been squared for transfer and corresponds closely with the print. Both drawing and print depict a highly imaginative port "in the fashion of the ancient Romans," as is stated in the print's caption. Other preliminary drawings for this dramatic scene are in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden (inv. 1920–59) and the Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen (inv. 1969.147), and are rather less developed than the

present example (A. Robison, *Piranesi: Early Architectural Fantasies* [Washington, D.C., Chicago, and London, 1986], figs. 40–41).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Geneva; Paris art market.

DECORATIVE ARTS

FRENCH



65

65. LIDDED JUG
French (Nivernois), circa 1680–1690
Earthenware, tin-glazed and painted,
19.1 x 10.2 x 18.1 cm (7½ x 4 x 7⅛ in.)
88.DE.126

This lidded jug is of a very rare form.

PROVENANCE: De Jouvenal collection, France;
[Georges Lefebvre, Paris].

66. LONG-CASE CLOCK (*Régulateur*)
French (Paris), circa 1690
Oak veneered with tortoiseshell,
pewter, brass, and ebony, with
moldings of ebonized wood,
enamelled metal, and glass; gilt
bronze mounts, 195 x 48 x 19 cm
(6 ft. 4½ in. x 1 ft. 6½ in. x 7½ in.)
88.DA.16

This is an early example of the long-case clock. The case is attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732); the face and the movement is signed *Gaudron A Paris* for Antoine Gaudron (master 1675, died circa 1707). The face is inscribed *Solem Audet Dicere Falsum* (“It dares the sun to tell a lie”).

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Burgundy, France; [Alain Moatti, Paris].



66



67

67. CHANDELIER
French (Paris), circa 1700
Gilt bronze, glass, and rock crystal,
H: 107 cm (3 ft. 6⅛ in.);
Diam: 74 cm (2 ft. 5⅛ in.)
88.DH.17

PROVENANCE: [Kraemer et Cie, Paris]



68 (one of a pair)

68. PAIR OF PEDESTALS
French (Paris), circa 1700
Pine and oak veneered with ebony,

brass, and tortoiseshell, set with gilt bronze mounts, 121.2 x 55.5 x 55.5 cm (3 ft. 11¹/₁₆ in. x 1 ft. 9⁷/₈ in. x 1 ft. 9⁷/₈ in.)

88.DA.75.1–2, *en suite* with 88.SB.73 and 88.SB.74

These pedestals are attributed to André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732) on the basis of their design. They were acquired by the Museum as existing supports for a pair of bronze sculptures, *Pluto Abducting Proserpine* by François Girardon (1628–1715) and *Boreas Abducting Orithyia* by Gaspard Marsy (1624–1681), both cast circa 1693–1710 (see entries 93–94). The earliest document found linking the pedestals with these bronzes is a catalogue entry in the sale catalogue of M. Dubois in Paris, 1788. Another pair of pedestals veneered with the same pattern, but in *première partie*, formerly in the collection of the duke of Hamilton, was recently sold at auction.

PROVENANCE: Antoine-Alexandre Dubois, Paris (sale, Paillet, Paris, December 18, 1788, lot 168); (?) (anonymous sale, Paillet et Delaroche, Paris, July 11, 1803, lot 41); Baron James de Rothschild, Paris, before 1860; Baron Gustave Salomon de Rothschild and descendant, Paris; Alain de Rothschild, Paris; Eric de Rothschild, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 4, 1987, lot 112); [Alain Moatti, Paris].

69. PIPE BOX

French (Lorraine), circa 1710–1715
Bois de Sainte-Lucie (cerasus mahaleb),
6.5 x 59.5 x 21 cm (2⁹/₁₆ x 1 ft. 10⁵/₈ in.
x 8¹/₄ in.)

88.DA.61

The carving of small objects from this hard, dense wood—a variety of cherry

wood found in the forest of Sampigny-en-Barrois and named after a convent located there—was a speciality of Lorraine from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries. This industry thrived after the sumptuary edicts of 1689 dictated that small personal objects such as toilette accessories could no longer be made of silver. *Tabletters* made these items from *bois de Sainte-Lucie* using the repertoire of designs and motifs formerly found in silver.

PROVENANCE: [Didier Aaron, Paris].



70

70. LIDDED EWER AND BASIN

Porcelain: French (Saint Cloud), early eighteenth century

Mounts: French (Paris), 1717–1722

Soft-paste porcelain set with silver mounts, ewer, 17 x 12.8 x 10.2 cm (6⁵/₈ x 5 x 4 in.); basin, H: 8.1 cm (3³/₁₆ in.); Diam: 20.8 cm (8¹/₄ in.)

88.DI.112.1–2

Each silver mount has the *décharge* mark



for the city of Paris—a fleur-de-lys—for 1717–1722, and an indistinct mark.

PROVENANCE: Mrs. H. Dupuy, New York (sale, Parke Bernet, New York, April 3, 1948, lot 358); Mrs. Charles E. Dunlap, New York (sale, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, December 3, 1975, lot 231); British Rail Pension Fund (sold by Lexbourne, Ltd., London).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. L. Avery, *Masterpieces of European Porcelain*, ex. cat. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1949), no. 144.



71 (one of a pair)

71. PAIR OF TRUMEAUX

French (Paris), 1725–1726

Oak and walnut painted and gilded, *trumeau* .1: 347.5 x 166.5 cm (11 ft. 4³/₄ in. x 5 ft. 5⁵/₈ in.); *trumeau* .2: 376 x 174 cm (12 ft. 3¹/₈ in. x 5 ft. 8¹/₂ in.)

88.DH.59.1–2

These frames for mirrors originally formed part of a set of *boiseries* installed in 1725–1726 in the *chambre à coucher* of the

Hôtel Cressart on the Place Vendôme, Paris. They were carved by Jacques Gaultier (dates unknown, active first half of the eighteenth century) after the designs of Armand-Claude Mollet (1650–1742). The major elements of this room were acquired by the Museum in 1971 (71.DH.118).

PROVENANCE: Guillaume Cressart, Paris, 1725/1726–1733; Louis-Auguste Duché, Paris, 1733–1743; Jean-Baptiste Duché, Paris, 1743; Elisabeth-Louise Duché (wife of Jacques Bertrand, marquis de Scépeaux), Paris, after 1743; Elisabeth-Louise-Adélaïde de Scépeaux (wife of the comte de La Tour d'Auvergne), Paris, 1769–1774; Jean-Louis Milon d'Inval and descendants, Paris, 1774–1836; Sophie Dawes, baronne de Feuchères and descendants, Paris, 1836–1841; La marquise de Las Marismas del Gaudalquivir (Madame Alexandre Aquado), Paris, 1842; Union Artistique, Paris, 1865; [André Carlhian, Paris; *boiseries* removed from the Hôtel Cressart in 1936]; [Duveen Brothers, 1939; stored in Paris until 1959 when removed to New York]; [Therien and Company, Inc., San Francisco].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: R. Colas, *Paris qui reste* (Paris, 1914), vol. 1, p. 105; B. Pons, "Les Boiseries de l'Hôtel Cressart au J. Paul Getty Museum," *GettyMusJ* 11 (Malibu, 1983), pp. 67–88.



72 (one of a pair)

72. PAIR OF DECORATIVE BRONZES
French (Paris), bronzes: 1745–1749;
mounts: 1738–1750
Painted bronze set with silver
elements, 22.8 x 11.5 x 15.2 cm (9 x
4½ x 6 in.)
88.DH.1271–2

The base of each figure bears the stamp of a crowned C for the period 1745–1749. Each major silver element is stamped



73

with a Y, the Warden's mark of Paris for 1738–1739; a fox's head, the Paris *décharge* mark for 1738–1744; a helmet with visor opened, the Paris *décharge* mark for 1744–1750; and an obliterated mark. The lacquered decoration of the Chinese figures and their bases is attributed to the Martin brothers, Etienne-Simon (died 1770) and Guillaume (died 1749). The *bronzier* and silversmith are not known.

The figures originally belonged to Madame de Pompadour, mistress to Louis XV; they are described in the *livre-journal* of the marchand Lazare Duvaux under the date of September 1752.

PROVENANCE: The marquise de Pompadour, circa 1752; private collection, Paris, 1980s; [Jean-Luc Chalmin, London].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: L. Courajod, ed., *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux, Marchand-Bijoutier ordinaire du Roy 1748–1758*, repr. by La Société des Bibliophiles Français (Paris, 1873), vol. 2, p. 135, no. 1213.

73. CONSOLE TABLE
French (Paris), circa 1765–1770
Silvered and gilded bronze; gray
marble top, 78 x 123 x 49 cm (2 ft.
10½ in. x 4 ft. ½ in. x 1 ft. 7¼ in.)
88.DE118

The French architect Victor Louis (1731–1807) was commissioned by Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski, king of Poland, to design the furniture and interiors for the renovations of the royal palace in Warsaw. The design for this console table was part of this undertak-

ing. Several other examples of this model exist, some of which are made of polished steel rather than silvered bronze. It has been suggested that the original console for Warsaw was made by the Parisian locksmith Pierre Deumier, who would have been capable of working in both steel and bronze.

PROVENANCE: Arturo Lopez Willshaw (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 23, 1976, lot 108); British Rail Pension Fund (sold by Lexbourne Ltd., London).

74. ARMCHAIR (*Bergère*)
French (Paris), circa 1765–1770
Carved and painted oak with original
silk upholstery, 99 x 94 x 76 cm
(3 ft. 3 in. x 3 ft. 1 in. x 2 ft. 6 in.)
88.DA.123

The stamp of the maker, Georges Jacob (1739–1814), and brands and stencil marks of the Château de Chanteloup appear on the frame and upholstery of this armchair. This country estate was owned by the duc de Choiseul, who commissioned the architect Le Camus de Mézière to carry out extensive renovations on the main building in the 1760s. It is, therefore, possible that the armchair was designed by this architect. The 1794 inventory of the *galerie* describes it as one of three *chaises meublants* painted white and upholstered with pink and green silk fabric.

PROVENANCE: Etienne-François de Stainville, duc de Choiseul, Château de Chanteloup; Louis de Bourbon, duc de Penthièvre, Château



74

de Chanteloup, 1785; "Poitevin Joubert et femme Fleury" sometime after 1794; [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: J. D'Orlián, *La Vie Merveilleuse d'un Beau Domaine Français-Chanteloup du XVIIIe Siècle au XXe Siècle* (Paris, 1929), p. 231, where it is described in the inventory of 29 pluviôse, l'an II (February 17, 1794).

75. FRAME

French (Paris), circa 1775–1780
Carved and gilded oak, 208.3 x 152.4
cm (6 ft. 10 in. x 5 ft. 1/4 in.)
88.DA.49

The frame is stamped *P. GEORGES*, which may be for Paul Georges (died by 1774), a Parisian *menuisier* about whom little is known. Because of the elaborate carving and the royal emblems and insignia, this frame was very possibly intended for a three-quarter-length portrait of Louis XVI or a member of his family.

PROVENANCE: The earls of Haddington, Tynningham House, East Lothian (sale, Sotheby's, London, September 28–29, 1987, lot 551); [Christopher Gibbs, Ltd., London].



75



76 (one of a pair)

76. PAIR OF VASES (*Vases Bolvry*)

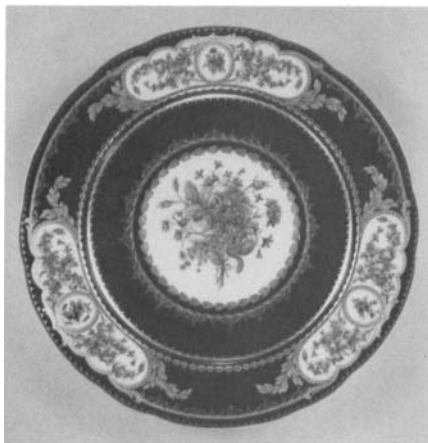
French (Sèvres), 1781–1782
Hard-paste porcelain, enameled and
gilded, 43 x 25 x 16.5 cm (1 ft. 5 in. x
9 3/4 in. x 6 1/2 in.)
88.DE.137.1–2

Both of these vases are painted with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory beneath a crown, enclosing the date letters EE for the year 1781, and a fleur-de-lys for the painter Vincent Taillandier (active 1753–1790); one vase is incised beneath the base with the letters GU.

The model for these vases is named after Charles-François Bolvry, one of the best *repareurs* at the manufactory, who was made foreman of the hard-paste workshop in 1774. Documents in the Sèvres archives show that Philippe Castel was responsible for the painting of the landscapes and the birds in 1782, while Vincent Taillandier painted the flowers in the same year. His wife Geneviève, a *fond pointillé* specialist, painted the pink grounds.

A second pair of similar form and decoration (although lacking the birds) was given to the Grand Duke Paul I and the Grand Duchess Maria Feodorovna of Russia by Louis XVI in 1782. They remain today in the Palace of Pavlovsk, outside Leningrad.

PROVENANCE: Jacques Seligmann, Paris (anonymous sale, Nouveau Drouot, June 16, 1987, lot 104); [Jean Lupu, Paris].



77

77. PLATE (*Assiette*)
Paris (Sèvres), 1782
Soft-paste porcelain, enameled and gilded, Diam: 23 cm (9¼ in.)
88.DE.2

The underside of the plate is painted with the crossed L's of the Sèvres Manufactory, enclosing the date letters EE for 1782, a triangular mark for the ground painter Cappelle, the mark for the painter de la Roche, and HP in gold for the gilder

Henri Prevost.

The brown ground color, sprinkled with gold, is extremely rare.

PROVENANCE: William J. Goode (sale, Christie's, London, July 17–18, 1895, lot 17, as "Formerly the property of the director of the Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory"); [Bernard Dragesco and Didier Cramoisin, Paris].

BIBLIOGRAPHY: E. Garnier, *La Porcelaine Tendre de Sèvres* (Paris, 1889), pl. 27.

78 (one of a pair, *La Philosophie*)

78. PAIR OF DECORATIVE BRONZES
French (Paris), circa 1780–1785
Gilt and patinated bronze, female (.1): 33 x 35.7 x 11.2 cm (1 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 1⅞ in. x 4⅝ in.); male (.2): 33 x 35.7 x 11.2 cm (1 ft. 1 in. x 1 ft. 2 in. x 4⅝ in.)
88.SB.113.1–2

These figures represent *La Philosophie* and *L'Etude*. They are known to have been designed by Louis-Simon Boizot (1743–1809), who sold the models to the royal porcelain factory at Sèvres, which produced many examples in biscuit until 1786. A drawing in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, showing the bronze of the reading woman on a chimney along with other objects known to be by the *bronzier* Pierre-Philippe Thomire (1751–1823) has led to an attribution of these two works to this artist.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Château de la Chesnaie, Eaubonne (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, February 5, 1978, lot 20); British Rail Pension Fund (sold by Lexbourne Ltd., London).



79 (one of a pair)

79. PAIR OF VASES
French (Paris), circa 1785
Brèche violette with gilt bronze mounts and brass liners, H: 21 cm (8¼ in.); Diam (at top): 18.5 cm (7¼ in.)
88.DJ.121.1–2

This is an extremely rare form of mounted hardstone vase that would have held small growing plants such as tangerine or kumquat trees.

PROVENANCE: [Malletts Bourdon House, London].



80

80. FIRE SCREEN (*Ecran*)
French (Paris), circa 1785–1790
Carved walnut, 127 x 80 x 43 cm (4 ft. 2 in. x 2 ft. 7½ in. x 1 ft. 5 in.)
88.DA.124

The design of this screen is stylistically related to one delivered in 1787 by Georges Jacob (1739–1814) for Marie-Antoinette's bedroom (the *Chambre à coucher du treillage*) at the Petit Trianon, where it was supplied *en suite* with several chairs, footstools, a bed, and a folding screen (*paravent*). For this reason, it is possible to tentatively attribute the Museum's screen to Jacob. The carving may have been executed by the artists Triquet and Rode, who were employed in this capacity in the making of the Queen's furniture. Two sets of initials on the uprights of the screen may someday assist in identifying its original owners.

The extreme fineness of the carving would make it very unlikely that the screen was ever gessoed or painted.

PROVENANCE: [Bernard Baruch Steinitz, Paris].



82

GERMAN



81

81. CASKET

German (southern), circa 1680–1690
Wood veneered with brass, mother-of-pearl, pewter, copper, and stained and painted horn; with gilt bronze mounts, 12.9 x 32.1 x 26.5 cm (5¹/₈ in. x 1 ft. ⁵/₈ in. x 10¹/₈ in.)

88.DA.111

The casket would have contained various articles for use during the toilette, the subject of the panel of marquetry "The Toilette of Venus" reflecting its use.

PROVENANCE: (?) William, twelfth duke of Hamilton (sale, Christie's, at Hamilton Palace, June 19, 1882, lot 2185; [William King]; (?) Christopher Beckett Denison (sale, Christie's, London, June 6, 1885, lot 685); Arturo Lopez Willshaw, Paris; Baron Alexis de Redé, Paris (sale, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 23–24, 1976, lot 21); British Rail Pension Fund (sold by Lexbourne Ltd., London).

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Stephanie Faniel, *Le Dix-septième Siècle français* (Paris, 1958), p. 206.

82. CONSOLE TABLE

German (Munich), circa 1730–1735
Limewood with a slab of Tegernsee marble, 86.5 x 64 cm (2 ft. 9³/₄ in. x 5 ft 1¹/₂ in. x 2 ft. 1¹/₄ in.)

88.DA.88

The design of this large and elaborately carved console table is attributed to the Munich court architect Joseph Effner (1687–1745); Johan Adam Pichler (active mid-eighteenth century) has been suggested as the carver. The table is one of a set of four, reputedly made for Charles VII (1697–1745, Elector of Bavaria and Holy Roman Emperor) for the Kaisersaal at Kloster Ettal. Two of the set are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the fourth is in the Museum für Kunsthandwerk, Frankfurt.

The table was once gilded, as are the other three.

PROVENANCE: (?) Charles VII of Bavaria; German private collection (sale, Nouveau Drouot, Paris, December 5, 1980, lot 99); [Conrad Berheimer, London].

83. PAIR OF ARMCHAIRS

German, circa 1750–1755
Wood, gessoed and gilded; wool and silk tapestry upholstery, 120.5 x 84 x 63.5 cm (3 ft. 11¹/₂ in. x 2 ft. 9 in. x 2 ft. 1 in.)

88.DA.11.1–2

The tapestry upholstery of these chairs represents scenes from the fables of Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695).



83 (one of a pair)

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Switzerland (sale, Parke Bernet Galleries, New York, October 25–26, 1963, lot 352); [Partridge (Fine Arts) Ltd., London].

SCULPTURE AND WORKS OF ART

CERAMICS: FRENCH



84

84. ATTRIBUTED TO BERNARD PALISSY
PALISSY
French, 1510(?)–1590
Oval Basin, circa 1550
Lead-glazed earthenware, 48.2 x
36.8 cm (19 x 14½ in.)
88.DE.63

Bernard Palissy—scientist, religious reformer, garden designer, geologist, and philosopher—was most famous as a ceramist who developed a characteristic style of ceramic ware representing marsh environments. Palissy produced his so-called “rustic ware” with life-casts of crustaceans, reptiles, fish, and plants that he attached to traditional ceramic forms and then glazed in naturalistic colors. Palissy ware with a light-colored ground, like the yellow ground of this basin, is quite rare.

Palissy’s distinctive style was not a completely isolated phenomenon. It reflects both the late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century interest in the direct observation and representation of nature, as well as the Mannerist concern with bizarre, often astonishing naturalistic effects. The artist’s rustic works were so popular that they were imitated during his own lifetime and copied in the nineteenth century by such notable ceramic factories as Sèvres in France and Wedgwood in England.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; British art market.

CERAMICS: ITALIAN



85 (vase .1)



85 (vase .2)

85. FACTORY OF GEMINIANO COZZI
Italian (Venice), active 1764–1812
Pair of Vases, 1769
Hybrid soft-paste porcelain; vase .1,
H (without lid): 29.7 cm (11¹¹/₁₆ in.);
H (with lid): 41.6 cm (16³/₈ in.);
maximum diam: 26.1 cm (10¹/₄ in.);
vase .2, H (without lid): 29.9 cm (11³/₄
in.); H (with lid): 40.6 cm
(16 in.); maximum diam: 26.7 cm
(10¹/₂ in.). Inscribed (vase .2):
*Primo Esperimento in Grande fatto li
15 Maggio 1769 Nella Privil[egiata]*

fabbrica di Geminiano Cozzi in Cannaregio (“First experiment on a large scale executed May 15, 1769 in the privileged factory of Geminiano Cozzi in Cannaregio”) on one side and bears the Cozzi factory mark—an anchor—on the other.
88.DE.91–2

Cozzi porcelain was sought-after in eighteenth-century Italy because of the innovative forms and decoration developed at the factory and the high-quality white clay used; quarried in the nearby Vicenza hills, this clay was similar to the Saxony kaolin used at Meissen. Vase .1 shows Neptune attended by two nereids on one side, and on the other, a Venetian *capriccio* landscape that conflates two prints by Marco Ricci. On one side, vase .2 displays the female personification of Venice below an inscribed shield. The opposite side is embellished with a large anchor above a shipping scene in front of the Piazzetta San Marco, based on a print by Francesco Zucchi. Because of their elaborate inscription and unusually large size, these works may have been produced as factory showpieces.

PROVENANCE: Centanini collection, Venice, by 1889; the vases may have passed through the Florentine dealer Salvadori into either the Baron von Born or Baron Herzog collection, Budapest, sometime before 1939; private collection, Hungary; Edmond de Unger, Surrey.

FURNITURE: FLEMISH

86. DISPLAY CABINET (*Troonkast*)
Flemish (probably Antwerp),
circa 1630
Oak, walnut, and boxwood veneered
with fruitwood, amaranth, king
ebony, and tortoiseshell, 210 x 158 x
74.5 cm (82³/₄ x 62¹/₄ x 29³/₈ in.)
88.DA.10

This cabinet inventively combines architectural forms—inspired perhaps by the published ornamental and architectural studies of Paul Vredeman de Vries (1567–after 1630)—with finely sculpted figures. The two frontal doors are deco-



86

rated with statues representing Faith and Hope holding their respective attributes of a cross and anchor. Charity completes the triad of theological virtues and apparently provides a theme for the other figures on this piece including the four fully-sculpted caryatid figures supporting the top cornice. Behind the caryatids, a receding cupboard opens to reveal a central octagonal mirror surrounded by intricately inlaid geometric patterns. Curiosity cabinets such as this one served for the display of the owner's precious objects. This worldly function is reinforced by five female busts resting on quadrangular pillars that decorate the receding cupboard. These figures—shown in the acts of drinking, playing music, and other forms of sensual enjoyment—may depict the five senses. The presence of the theological virtues, however, possibly functioned as a reminder that hedonism must not overcome Christian principles.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the Prince d'Arenberg, Egmont Palace, Brussels(?); [Axel Vervoordt, 's Gravenwezel, the Netherlands].

FURNITURE: ITALIAN

87. ATTRIBUTED TO ANTONIO MAFFEI

Italian (Umbria), born circa 1530
Pair of Cassoni, 1559(?)

Carved walnut, originally partially gilded; *cassone* .1 (at top): 75 x 181.5 x 59 cm (29½ x 71½ x 23¼ in.); (at feet): 75 x 181.5 x 76.2 cm (29½ x 71½ x 30 in.); *cassone* .2 (at top): 73.5 x 178.75 x 59 cm (29 x 71¾ x 23¼ in.); (at feet): 73.5 x 181.5 x 73.75 cm (29 x 71¾ x 29 in.). Inscribed: *L'arme che si vede nel mezzo della parte d'avanti di questo cassone è della famiglia dei Conti di Coccorone e di Antignano detti [poi?] dei Conti ò dei Comitibus abitanti in Foligno, esi[stenti?] questi [in?] casa di Contessa Pressilla moglie del Conte Cesare Bentivogli seniore, il di cui matrimonio seguì circa l'[anno] 15[59?] onde è verisimile che tanto questo quanto l'altro simil cassone fossero fatti in congiuntura dei loro sponsali et erano nella maggior parte dorati come può ancor vedersi da diverse reliquie scoperte nel ripulirli e son fattuta del celebre scultore*



87 (one of a pair)

Maffei. ("The central coat-of-arms belongs to the family of the counts of Coccorone and of Antignano, called dei Conti or dei Comitibus residing in Foligno; these [are found?] in the house of Countess Pressilla, wife of Count Cesare Bentivogli senior, whose wedding occurred around 15[59?] where it is likely that both cassoni were made for this occasion and were, for the most part, gilded as one can still see on various uncovered parts in cleaning the objects and they were made by the celebrated sculptor Maffei.") in a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century hand on a paper label.
88.DA.7.1-2

The maker of this pair of chests, referred to on the paper label found inside *cassone* .1, is probably Antonio Maffei (born circa 1530), the most lauded member of a famous Umbrian family of wood sculptors and carvers. Both chests display the deeply carved, scrolled foliage, architectural motifs, and sarcophagus-like monumental shapes typical of the High Renaissance, whereas their bizarre grinning masks and grotesque figures betray an early Mannerist interest in strange and elegantly contorted forms. Most Renaissance *cassoni* were given to newly betrothed couples to celebrate their marriages and furnish their homes. The handwritten label indicates that these works were executed for the marriage of Pressilla de' Conti of Foligno to her second husband Cesare Bentivoglio of Gubbio in the mid-sixteenth century.
PROVENANCE: Private collection, England; [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

METALWORK:
DUTCH

88. CHANDELIER
Dutch, circa 1645-1675
Brass and oil-gilt wrought iron, 153 x 153 cm (approximately 5 x 5 ft.)
88.DH.62

The Baroque form of this chandelier is composed of a central sphere surrounded by two-tiered arms embellished with scrolls and small dolphin-like elements that appear to swallow the chandelier stems. From contemporary paintings of



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Dutch interiors we know that chandeliers of this type were often hung very low in the room and occasionally without candles to function simply as brilliant interior decoration. With lit candles, however, their shiny brass reflected the light, an effect achieved by later chandeliers with hanging rock crystal.

PROVENANCE: Count Moretus-Plantin, Stabroek, Belgium (until at least 1930); Count G. della Faille de Leverghem, Schoten, Belgium (by 1961); [Axel Vervoordt, 's Gravenwezel, the Netherlands].

METALWORK:
FRENCH

89. JEAN II PENICAUD
French, active 1531-1549
Twelve plaques, circa 1530: 1) *The Entry into Jerusalem*; 2) *The Agony in the Garden*; 3) *The Arrest of Christ*; 4) *Christ before Caiaphas*; 5) *Christ before Herod*; 6) *The Crowning with Thorns*; 7) *Ecce Homo*; 8) *The Bearing of the Cross*; 9) *The Entombment*; 10) *The Resurrection*; 11) *The Risen Christ and the Magdalene*; 12) *Christ in Limbo*
Polychrome enamel on copper with gold highlights, 94 x 7.3 cm (3⁷/₁₀ x 2⁷/₈ in.). Inscribed: SANCTE PETER on Saint Peter's robe in plaque .1 and IOSEP . DABAR on Joseph's robe in plaque .9. Stamped: P surmounted by a crown (the Pénicaud stamp) on reverse under translucent counter-enamel.
88.SE.4.1-12

The Pénicaud workshop was founded in Limoges by Nardon Pénicaud (also called Leonard; circa 1470-1542/1543) during the second renaissance of enamel produc-



89 (*The Entry into Jerusalem*)



89 (*The Agony in the Garden*)



89 (*The Arrest of Christ*)



89 (*Christ before Caiaphas*)



89 (*Christ before Herod*)



89 (*The Crowning with Thorns*)



89 (*Ecce Homo*)



89 (*The Bearing of the Cross*)



89 (*The Entombment*)



89 (*The Resurrection*)



89 (*The Risen Christ and the Magdalene*)



89 (*Christ in Limbo*)

tion in that city, when the development of a new technique of painting in enamel replaced older methods such as *cloisonné* and *champlevé*, which had used metal divisions to determine patterns and separate colors. Nardon and his younger brother Jean I (1485–?) produced painted enamels depicting religious subjects in a French Late Gothic style, drawing upon Northern European prints for their compositions. By Jean I's later years the style of the enamels manufactured in the workshop incorporated the more current Italianate vocabulary imported to France by François I, although the use of Northern prints remained prominent. Pénicaut enamel production peaked in quality and style under Nardon's son, Jean II. Nine of the twelve enamels shown here take their imagery almost exactly from Lucas Cranach the Elder's series of engravings of the Passion of Christ (1509). The remaining three enamels are loosely based on prints by Albrecht Dürer and Martin Schongauer.

The absence of certain essential images (such as the Crucifixion) in this set of twelve enamels representing scenes from the Passion of Christ suggests that one or more plaques are missing from the original series. Similar sets of enamels were usually mounted in a frame, sometimes surrounding a larger plaque depicting the Crucifixion or the Resurrection, and intended as a devotional polyptych.

PROVENANCE: Alessandro Castellani, Paris, until 1884 (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, May 12–16, 1884, lot 472); Mante collection, Paris, 1884; by descent to Robert Mante, Paris, until 1986; [Alain Moatti, Paris].

SCULPTURE: BRITISH

90. FRANCIS HARWOOD
English, active 1768–1783

Bust of a Black Man, 1758

Black stone (*pietra da paragone*) on a yellow sienna marble socle, with socle: 69.9 x 50.2 x 26.7 cm (27½ x 19¾ x 10½ in.); socle: 12 x 22.2 cm (4¾ x 8¾ in.). Signed: *F Harwood Fecit 1758* on the lower proper left side and back. 88.SA.114

In contrast to the stereotyped blackamoor busts commonly produced in the eighteenth century, this work portrays a spe-



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cific individual, and thus ranks as one of the earliest sculpted portraits of a black man.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned by the duke of Northumberland(?); (sale, Christie's, London, April 9, 1987); [Cyril Humphris, London].

SCULPTURE: FRENCH



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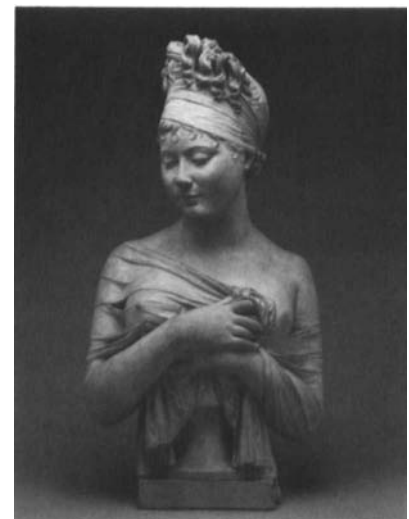
91. JEAN-BAPTISTE CARPEAUX
French, 1827–1875
Bust of Jean Léon Gérôme, 1872–1873
Marble, H: 60 cm (23⅝ in.). Signed: *JBte Carpeaux* on proper left side below the truncation. 88.SA.8

A key figure in the history of nineteenth-century sculpture, Carpeaux was the fa-

vored portrait sculptor of Napoleon III and his court. In 1871 Carpeaux first modeled a bust in clay of his friend Jean Léon Gérôme (1824–1904)—also an important nineteenth-century artist—when the two were exiles in London during the Paris Commune. Although the clay version as well as the bronze sent to the Salon the following year are lost, numerous bronze and plaster replicas survive. The Museum's bust, however, is the only known example in marble.

Romantic nineteenth-century painters frequently represented artists and poets by their disembodied heads, symbolizing the struggling creative spirit. In his *Bust of Gérôme*, Carpeaux innovatively applied this practice to sculpture. The resulting work, because of its jagged truncation at the neck, was highly unusual within the artist's oeuvre and unprecedented in contemporary sculpture. Gérôme's accentuated, sunken eyes and cheeks, as well as his unruly hair, add to the romantic image of an alienated spirit in turmoil. A political exile from France, Gérôme is accurately depicted as a man set apart. At the same time, Carpeaux has made clear references to ancient art in the portrait bust, creating an image that appears to be the fragment of a larger sculpture placed upon a classical cartouche.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the descendants of Aimé-Morot (Gérôme's son-in-law), Paris; [Galérie Elstir, Paris].



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92. JOSEPH CHINARD
French, 1756–1813

Bust of Madame Récamier, circa
1801–1802
Terracotta, 63 x 32.4 x 23.5 cm
(24⁷/₈ x 12³/₄ x 9¹/₂ in.)
88.SC.42

Juliette Récamier née Bernard (1777–1849), renowned for her beauty and notorious for her loves, was sculpted, drawn, and painted by some of the most accomplished portraitists of the period, among them Canova, David D'Angers, and Jacques-Louis David. Chinard first made her acquaintance during a visit to Paris in 1795/96. When the artist returned to Paris in 1801, he lodged with Mme Récamier and maintained his friendship with her until his death in 1813.

Chinard was the leading French Empire sculptor and, after Canova, the favored sculptor of Napoleon and the Bonaparte family. As a portraitist, Chinard was particularly innovative in dealing with the formal problems of truncation in portrait busts by employing contemporary high-fashion accessories to unify the bust and its socle. In the case of *Madame Récamier*, the inclusion of the sitter's arms and hands, holding diaphanous drapery, enhance her provocative beauty by their ambiguous action of covering up while at the same time revealing her breast. The drapery ensures the success of this daring truncation by flowing into the socle and uniting it with the bust. This and other details, such as the half-hidden bracelet and the intricately folded head wrap, lend the bust a freshness that makes Chinard's brand of classicized portraiture unique.

PROVENANCE: Private collection, Paris; [Patrice Bellanger, Paris].



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93. FRANÇOIS GIRARDON
French, 1628–1715
Pluto Abducting Proserpine, cast circa
1693–1710
Bronze, 105 cm (41¹/₃ in.). Signed:
F. Girardon Inv. et F.
88.SB.73

94. GASPARD MARSY
French, 1624–1681
Boreas Abducting Orithyia, cast circa
1693–1710
Bronze, 105 cm (41¹/₃ in.)
88.SB.74

These large bronzes are based on models



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for two of the four monumental marble groups commissioned by Louis XIV to decorate the corners of the Parterre d'Eau at Versailles. According to the Parterre plan envisioned by Charles Le Brun, the premier painter and the designer of most of the king's major artistic projects, four abduction groups containing three figures each were to stand at the corners of the Parterre. The mythological rape subjects, taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, were to symbolize the four elements in addition to their narrative function. Thus *Pluto Abducting Proserpine* by Girardon was to represent Fire; Marsy's *Boreas Abducting Orithyia*, the element of Air; *Saturn and Cybele* by Thomas Regnaudin, Earth; and Jean-Baptiste Tuby's *Neptune and Coronis*, which was never executed, was to symbolize Water. Because of the decline of Le Brun's power in the 1680s and the subsequent demolition and redesigning of the

Parterre d'Eau, the original scheme was never realized and upon completion the marbles were placed elsewhere in the Versailles gardens.

According to contemporary references, bronze reductions of the famous Parterre groups were already in demand by the end of the seventeenth century. Louis XIV commissioned bronze versions of the Marsy and Girardon compositions to decorate the Salon Ovale at Versailles in 1693. Girardon himself made two bronze reductions of *Pluto Abducting Proserpine* for his own collection, one of which he illustrated in his *Galerie*, a series of engravings of objects in his possession that was published in 1709. The Museum's *Boreas Abducting Orithyia* and *Pluto Abducting Proserpine* are two of the finest and most beautifully patinated of the surviving large casts.

PROVENANCE: Antoine-Alexandre Dubois, Paris (sale, Paillet, Paris, December 18, 1788, acquired by "Berotaire" for 5599 livres); possibly sold at auction (Paillet et Delaroche, Paris, July 11, 1803, lot 41); Baron James de Rothschild, before 1860; by descent to Baron Gustave de Rothschild, Paris; Robert de Rothschild, Paris; Alain de Rothschild, Paris; Eric de Rothschild, Paris (sale, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 4, 1987, lot 112); [Same Art, Ltd., Zurich].

SCULPTURE:
ITALIAN



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95. ATTRIBUTED TO TIZIANO ASPETTI
Italian, circa 1559–1606
Male Nude, circa 1600
Bronze, 75 cm (29½ in.)
88.SB.115

Influenced by Campagna and Tintoretto as well as by Giambologna and Tuscan Mannerist painting, Aspetti developed his own lively, declamatory *maniera* style characterized by a very particular combination of force, elegance, and expressive energy.

Although undocumented, the Museum's male figure can be attributed to Aspetti on stylistic grounds. With the male figures in Aspetti's scenes of the

Martyrdom of Saint Daniel (made in 1592–1593 for the Duomo, Padua) and his Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence (made in 1594–1606, for S. Trinità, Florence) it shares the following characteristics: a mannered physique with a proportionally small head on a long, very muscular body; very thick thighs and a large trapezius tapering from the neck to the shoulders; a firm, deft over-modeling of individual muscles that produces a shimmering, rippling effect of light and shadow across the surface; a series of sharply defined undulating profiles; a complicated, twisting pose that is nearly unbalanced and would be difficult to hold; and hand gestures that call to mind the exhortations of an orchestra conductor.

PROVENANCE: Under its base, the bronze bears a prewar French customs sticker, indicating that it was once in a French collection; for approximately twenty years in the collection of Jack and Belle Linsky, New York and Palm Springs; sold by the Estate of Belle Linsky (Sotheby's, New York, May 20, 1988, lot 68A); [Cyril Humphris, London].

PHOTOGRAPHS

Note: In 1988 the Department of Photographs concentrated its acquisitions on groups of photographs by seven makers central to the history of the medium. They are: the pioneering team of Scottish portrait photographers David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson; the most celebrated American landscape photographer, Carleton Emmons Watkins; his contemporary Eadweard Muybridge, also active in California; the American Precisionist painter and photographer Charles Sheeler; the distinguished American portraitist Imogen Cunningham; and the American experimentalist Harry Callahan, known for his graphic approach to a variety of subjects. The content of each of these groups is discussed in the essays that follow.

Outside these groups, among the important individual photographs acquired by the Museum in 1988 were Gustave Le Gray's *Officers Seated at a Tent* (88.XM.21) of 1857; Paul Strand's *Still-Life with Pear and Bowls* (88.XM.15) of 1916 and *Black Mountain, Cerro, New Mexico* (88.XM.19) of 1932; Eugène Atget's *Marne à La Varenne* (88.XM.20.2) of 1926/27; and Edward Weston's *Two Shells* (88.XM.56) of 1927 and *Pepper Number 29* (88.XM.68.1) of 1930.

HILL AND ADAMSON

A group of fifty calotypes by David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) and Robert Adamson (1821–1848), two of the first practitioners of photography in Scotland, were acquired by the Museum in 1988. Since their creation during the years of 1843 through 1847—the period of Hill and Adamson's partnership—these calotypes have been recognized as among the highest achievements in portrait photography. To the partnership Hill brought the skills of an accomplished painter, experience in printmaking, and what must have been a unique gift for putting sitters at ease; Adamson contributed the knowledge of an experienced manipulator of the calotype process.

The group of calotypes, whose dimensions vary from $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{13}{16}$ inches to $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{13}{16}$ inches, originally belonged to the



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Royal Scottish Academy. They were donated by Hill, a founding member of the academy and its longtime secretary, sometime prior to 1852.

96. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON
Kenneth Macleay, circa 1843–1847
Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 15.4 x 11.1 cm ($6\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{3}{8}$ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *Kenneth Macleay R.S.A. and 5360 R/1/51 JC5* in a later unknown hand in pencil on the mount.
88.XM.57.15

The sitter, Kenneth Macleay (1802–1878), was a painter of miniatures and a founding member of what later became the

Royal Scottish Academy. He has been posed outdoors in full Highland dress in a manner reminiscent of eighteenth-century portraiture. The choice of this clothing reflects Macleay's commission from Queen Victoria to execute a series of miniature full-length figures illustrating the costumes of the Highland clans. Because of its identification with the Stuart rebellions, the wearing of kilts had been, until recently, illegal. Hill and Adamson also made two seated portraits of Macleay, one in Highland dress and one in ordinary clothes.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].



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97. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON

James Aytoun, circa 1843–1847

Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 20.5 x 14.7 cm (8¹/₁₆ x 5¹³/₁₆ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *James Aytoun (probably radical candidate for Edinburgh about 1839–41) and 5327 B/2/56* in a later unknown hand in pencil on the mount.

88.XM.57.17

Aytoun of Kirkcaldy, a radical candidate for election in Edinburgh in 1839–1841, was a manufacturer who worked for and wrote about the amelioration of the social and industrial conditions of the working classes. Hence Hill, who took primary responsibility for arranging postures and props, has posed Aytoun pen in hand to indicate his interest in writing, a convention borrowed from the traditional canons of painting. Aytoun was one of Hill and Adamson's numerous distinguished sitters who, taken together, form a virtual who's who of the prominent men and women of mid-nineteenth-century Edinburgh.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].

98. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON

Reverend Thomas Guthrie, circa 1843–1847

Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 20.1 x 14.1 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 5⁹/₁₆ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *Thomas*



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Guthrie D. D. and 5243 8/4/61 in a later unknown hand in pencil on the mount.

88.XM.57.24

What appears to be an elegant man-about-town, top hat in hand, was in fact the Reverend Guthrie (1802–1873), an eloquent and charismatic preacher, a philanthropist, a founder of libraries and a savings bank for the poor, and an acquaintance of Ruskin and Thackeray. Hill and Adamson made two other single portraits of Guthrie, probably on the same day, and he also figures in several photographs of small groups of clergymen. The latter were used by Hill as studies for his enormous painting *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*, which included more than two hundred portraits. It was Hill's need to photograph these individuals for the painting commemorating the creation of this new church that first brought Hill and Adamson together.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].

99. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON

Mrs. Isabella Burns Begg, circa 1843–1847

Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 20.1 x 15.1 cm (7¹⁵/₁₆ x 5¹⁵/₁₆ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *5344 12/1/58, Mrs. Ainslie 2., and Mrs. Burns Begg* in later unknown hands in pencil on the mount.

88.XM.57.26

Strong-featured and seventy-three years old at the time of this portrait, Isabella Burns Begg was the youngest sister of Scotland's most famous poet, Robert Burns. Because of the uneven texture of the paper of which both the calotype negative and salt print were made and because the lenses of the period refracted less light at their edges, the completed



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images lacked precision in detail. The resultant broad masses of light and shade suited the taste of the time in portraiture and caused Hill and Adamson's work to be compared by their contemporaries to that of Rembrandt.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].



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100. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON
Reverend John Craig Duncan, circa 1843–1847
Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 20 x 14.4 cm (7⁷/₈ x 5¹¹/₁₆ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *Brown* and 5385 R/2/90 in later unknown hands in pencil on the mount. 88.XM.57.30

Because the sitter, George John Craig Duncan (1807–1869), was not only a minister himself but the son and brother of clergymen, he has been depicted as if quietly expounding upon a point of scripture. (A portrait of the three preachers together also exists.) Hill and Adamson invented an extraordinary variety of poses for their portraits, frequently employing books as props in conjunction with the sitter's hands. The heads of their sitters were turned at any number of angles to the camera but were rarely photographed head-on. The choice of these poses by Hill and Adamson was influenced by those used by Sir Henry Raeburn and Sir John Watson-Gordon, fashionable Scottish portrait painters of the period. The figured drapery is a recurrent backdrop, belying the fact that this picture—like all the other Hill and Adamson photographs—was made outdoors.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].



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101. DAVID OCTAVIUS HILL and ROBERT ADAMSON
William Gillespie, circa 1843–1847
Salt print from a paper negative (calotype), 16.2 x 12.2 cm (6³/₈ x 4¹³/₁₆ in.). Monogrammed: RA in ink on the mount. Inscribed: *Wm. Gillespie Leith, 5261 R/32/10*, and JC9 in later unknown hands in pencil on the mount. 88.XM.57.48

This portrait's simple dignity derives

from the sitter's upright and formal posture, reminiscent of a sculpture, although its austerity is mitigated by its rich brown tone and the gargoyle head at the lower left margin (part of an adjacent table). The exposure time for a calotype portrait of this kind ranged between one and three minutes.

PROVENANCE: Royal Scottish Academy; [Thackrey and Robertson, San Francisco].

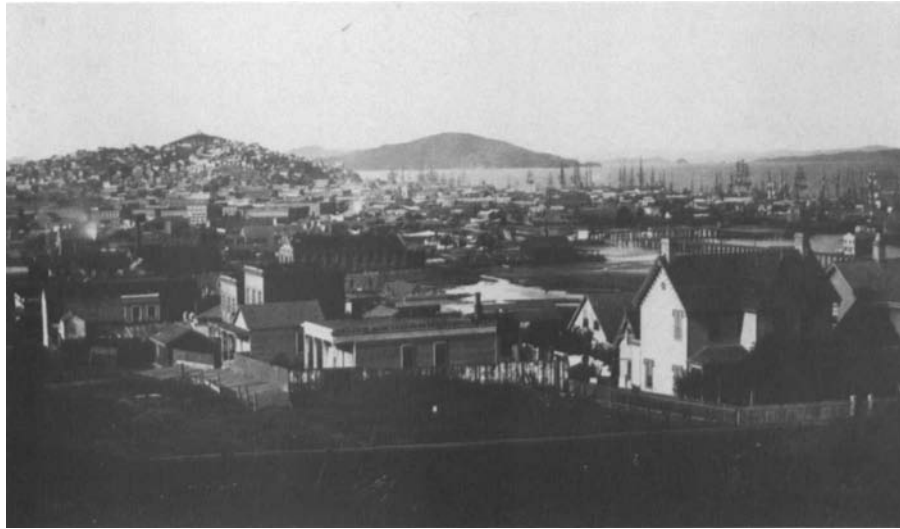
CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS

Carleton Emmons Watkins (1829–1916), active between 1855 and 1890 on the Pacific coast, principally in San Francisco but also in and around Los Angeles in 1877, 1880, and 1889, is considered to be the most important American photographer contemporary with and the artistic equal of the European masters of photography's Golden Age: Le Gray, Le Secq, Fenton, and Cameron.

The Museum acquired a significant collection of photographs by Watkins in 1988 including eighty-seven loose albumen prints, among them a mammoth plate, a cabinet card, a presentation copy of an extra-illustrated book containing thirty-one albumen prints, and a unique album containing forty-eight albumen prints. These photographs, collected by Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, were made between 1860 and 1890 and vary in size from 3³/₄ x 6¹/₄ inches to 15¹/₄ x 20¹/₄ inches. The Fielder collection also includes work by Eadweard Muybridge (see entries 110–111) and by Isaiah West Taber. The Museum obtained a single mammoth plate view by Watkins made in San Francisco as a separate acquisition.

102. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
City Front from Rincon Hill, circa 1858
Albumen print, 38.7 x 51.4 cm (15¹/₄ x 20¹/₄ in.). Inscribed: *From 1st bet. Folsom and Harrison Ralston House (Gothic) just after building gas works in 1858*, possibly in the hand of George Turrell, in pencil on the print (verso). 88.XM.96

This view from the now-leveled Rincon Hill looks northeast over San Francisco

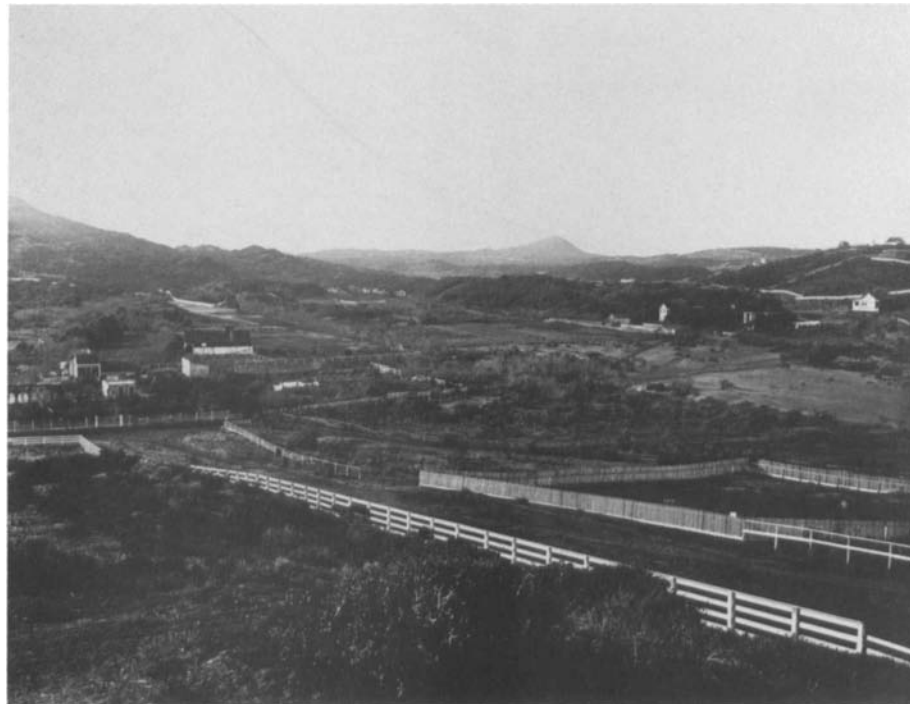


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Bay, with Telegraph Hill in the left background and beyond it, in the center, Angel Island. The hill was first cut through for the extension of a street in the nineteenth century, destroying it as a fashionable neighborhood, and then nearly obliterated by the construction of the approaches to the Bay Bridge in the twentieth. The house with Carpenter's Gothic detail in the right foreground was oc-

cupied at the time this photograph was made by William Tecumseh Sherman, then a banker in San Francisco. The photograph was made within four years of the time Watkins first took up photography (initially as a daguerreotypist) in a career that was to last nearly fifty years.

PROVENANCE: Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.



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103. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Lone Mountain, from the Orphan Asylum, circa 1868

Albumen print, 40 x 52.1 cm (15³/₄ x 20¹/₂ in.). Titled in the hand of Fulgencio Seraqui in ink on the mount.

88.XM.85

This view of what were then the westernmost outskirts of San Francisco demonstrates Watkins' mastery of his art at an early stage of his career. It looks almost directly northwest from near the site of the modern San Francisco Mint across the foot of what is now the panhandle of Golden Gate Park. Although Lone Mountain was not the highest or most picturesque of San Francisco's hills, Watkins succeeded in skillfully building a composition around it by taking what would seem to be a forgettable incidental detail—the interlocking network of white fences—and using it to lead the viewer into the composition. Lone Mountain itself has been largely reduced since the time of the photograph, and the rural nature of this section of the Western Addition has completely vanished.

PROVENANCE: Mercantile Library, San Francisco; private collection; University Club, New York (sale, Swann Galleries, New York, May 10, 1979); [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco]; private collection, San Francisco; [Fraenkel Gallery, San Francisco].



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104. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
George Davidson, circa 1888

Albumen print, 20.3 x 16.5 cm (8 x 6¹/₂ in.). Inscribed: C. E. Watkins

photo/George Davidson in a later unknown hand in pencil on the print (verso).

88.XM.92.85

As head of the Pacific coast work for the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the distinguished geodesist, geographer, and astronomer George Davidson (1825–1911) was a friend and an important patron of Watkins, employing him on at least five surveying expeditions. This portrait was made in an improvised studio, the woodwork of which is visible behind the backdrop. The photograph was designed to be mounted on stiff stock as a cabinet card. The print would be cropped to eliminate the background and to bring the vertical edges close to the head, thus producing an image like a Roman bust, suitable to Davidson's handsome profile. Cabinet cards of celebrities were often offered for sale in the 1880s, and as arguably the most eminent scientist in nineteenth-century California, Davidson was a logical choice as subject.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; George Davidson, San Francisco; Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.



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105. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Mountain Top with Men, Equipment, and Hut, July/August 1879
Albumen print, 9.5 x 16.5 cm
(3¾ x 6½ in.), oval.
88.XM.92.2

The photograph was made very close to the summit of the rugged, ironically named Round Top, some 10,600 feet above sea level, during the course of a survey by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey. It was headed by George Davidson, who commissioned the photographic documentation of the expedition. Watkins' cumbersome equipment had to be carried to this precarious vantage point,



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where rock walls were buttressed against the wooden buildings to prevent them from blowing away. In such terrain, merely finding a place where a tripod could be set up was difficult, and performing the necessary chemical manipulations even more so.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; George Davidson, San Francisco; Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

106. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Solar Eclipse, Mount Santa Lucia, January 1880
Albumen print, 16.5 x 21.6 cm
(6½ x 8½ in.). Inscribed: C. E. Watkins photo/Eclipse/Lick Observatory 1889? in a later unknown hand in pencil on the print (verso).
88.XM.92.83

The geologist George Davidson, who commissioned this group of photographs, was even better known as an astronomer; thus the genesis of this photograph. Working at the six-thousand-foot level of Mount Santa Lucia in the Coast Range near Big Sur, California, Watkins shot over the low-lying clouds moving in from the coast, but included the foreground fringe of trees to indicate that this was not a photograph of the eclipse alone. The photograph is evidence of Watkins' compositional versatility.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; George Davidson, San Francisco; Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.



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107. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Tents, Flag, Tree, and Four Figures, January 1889
Albumen print, 17.8 x 24.1 cm
(7 x 9½ in.). Inscribed: C. E. Watkins photo/L.A. plains/Coast Survey Camp/1889 in a later unknown hand in pencil on the print (verso).
88.XM.92.35

One of the five expeditions between 1879 and 1890 led by Davidson and participated in by Watkins was the Los Angeles plains survey of 1889, whose goal was to map the area by establishing a base line from which triangulations could be extended. The results of the expeditions



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were the first accurate, overall maps of California. The tent encampment in the nearly empty Los Angeles basin, the largest continuous plain open to the sea in all the Americas, was permanent enough to warrant setting up a flagpole. The flag is blurred because of the length of Watkins' exposure.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; George Davidson, San Francisco; Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

108. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Portrait—Davidson, Gilbert, Finley, Winston, Morse, and Edmonds, July–September 1890
 Albumen print, 19.7 x 24.8 cm (7¾ x 9¾ in.). Inscribed: *George Davidson / earned \$387/month / J. J. Gilbert Finley Isaac Winston Morse Frank W. Edmonds / sub office employee—earn \$75.00/month / C. E. Watkins photo / Coast Survey party in the field Summer 1890 (September) / Mt. Conness / George Davidson Collection in a later unknown hand in pencil on the mount.*
 88.XM.92.54

Made during a surveying expedition to Mount Conness in the Sierra Nevada, this group portrait includes an older Davidson (see entry 104) on the extreme left, and



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next to him, Grove Karl Gilbert (1843–1918), the chief geologist of the U.S. Geological Survey. The attire of these two, particularly the neckties they wear in the wilderness, like that of the seated man on the right, indicates their professional status. Two others pose with mountaineering equipment. Davidson looks out into the landscape; the others regard the camera.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; George Davidson, San Francisco; Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

109. CARLETON EMMONS WATKINS
Main and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California, circa 1890
 Albumen print, 10.2 x 15.2 cm (4 x 6 in.). Inscribed: *Main and*



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Spring Sts. Los Angeles Cal. in pencil on the mount.
 88.XA.98.42

A parking lot is now on the site of the central building, which then housed a bank and stores, but the rooftop on which Watkins stood to make this photograph may still stand, next to the then-recently completed Sepulveda house (the rooftop pavilions of which can be seen on the extreme left). Beyond them and out of sight in the photograph is Olvera Street. This neighborhood, then the center of the town, was cut off from the rest of downtown Los Angeles when the Santa Ana freeway was built, parallel to the picture plane and three blocks in the distance. Watkins also made a stereo view of the same subject, taken closer to the building and from a lower angle. The photograph is part of a small, unique



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album of California views that seems to have been assembled by Watkins himself.

PROVENANCE: Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE

In conjunction with the purchase in 1988 of a large collection of the work of Carleton Emmons Watkins, the Museum acquired two panoramas of San Francisco made from the top of Nob Hill by Eadweard Muybridge (1830–1904). Both are composed of albumen prints. The smaller, of five parts, was made in 1876 and the larger, of eleven parts, in the following year. Muybridge, born in England, emigrated to the United States in about 1850 and, after apprenticeships with several San Francisco photographers, in 1872 embarked on the work for which he is famous—serial photography that made possible the analysis of motion. The panoramas of San Francisco and the landscapes of Yosemite were made with considerable skill, although the Yosemite work owes much to Watkins, who had preceded him there.

110. EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE
Five-Part Panorama of San Francisco,

1876
Albumen prints, 14 x 114.3 cm
(5½ x 45 in.)
88.XM.100.1–5

Muybridge's 1876 panorama of San Francisco encompasses about a 270-degree arc. It was probably made from an upper story of a house that the railroad tycoon, Mark Hopkins, was then having constructed on Nob Hill. The five prints of which it is composed were mounted onto individual sheets by Muybridge, indicating that he did not intend them to be framed as a continuous image (indeed, their edges do not exactly match).

Daguerrean panoramas of San Francisco had been made as early as the Gold Rush era, and Muybridge himself had made some in the late 1860s and early 1870s, but this was a more ambitious effort. This and the panorama Muybridge made the following year (described in the next entry) can be regarded as the culmination of his landscape work in California. Copies of this panorama are rare because the negatives were destroyed by fire in 1878.

PROVENANCE: Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

111. EADWEARD MUYBRIDGE
Panorama of San Francisco from California Street Hill, 1877

Eleven albumen prints, 18.4 x 213.4 cm (7¼ x 84 in.). Stamped: *Panorama of San Francisco / from / California St. Hill / by / Muybridge* in gold on the mount and bound in a brown leather folder.
88.XM.991

Muybridge's impressive 360-degree panorama of San Francisco was made in January 1877 from the uppermost turret of the imposing new Mark Hopkins house on the top of what Muybridge called the California Street Hill (now known as Nob Hill). The restaurant of a present-day hotel on the same site commands the modern equivalent of this view.

The eleven prints are seamlessly matched. The photographs show the extraordinary extent of a city that had come into existence a mere thirty years before and which would be largely destroyed by earthquake and subsequent fires thirty years later. The panorama (still contained in its original case with folding leaves on which the photographs were mounted) was accompanied by a miniaturized photographic key with numbers assigned to the principal structures for ease of identification. The higher vantage point of this later panorama made it possible for Muybridge to show far more of the bay that bounds the city. In November 1877



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he made another, larger-scale panorama of the city, and yet another the following year after a fire destroyed the negatives for the earlier photographs.

PROVENANCE: Dr. and Mrs. William Fielder, Atherton, California.

IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM

While a college sophomore studying chemistry at the University of Washington, Imogen Cunningham (1883–1976) saw the work of Gertrude Käsebier in reproduction. She was especially drawn to a photogravure of Käsebier's *Blessed Art Thou among Women* (1899) in a 1903 issue of *Camera Work*, the journal edited by Alfred Stieglitz. Cunningham acquired her first camera and proceeded, after graduation, to employment in the studio of Edward S. Curtis. She was awarded a postgraduate fellowship to study in Dresden, and in addition to photographic chemistry she studied art history and life drawing. On her return from Europe in 1910 Cunningham became a professional photographer and established her own portrait studio. Her career was to span nearly seventy-five years. She is best known for her association with Group f.64 in San Francisco in the 1930s and for her later portraits of friends in the art world. The work from Cunningham's earliest, Pictorial style is rarely seen; yet it was an important contribution to American photography, particularly that of the West Coast in the first decades of the twentieth century. The Museum's most recent acquisitions of her work date from this Seattle, or pre-1917, period.

In 1988 the Museum acquired twenty-five photographs by Cunningham. Twenty-four of these works came to the Museum through Mr. Krstiu Stoilov, a longtime friend of Mrs. Clare (Shepard) Irwin. Clare Shepard (1884–1986) served as model for the majority of these images and received the prints from the artist. She retained them over nearly seventy-five years, leaving them to Mr. Stoilov upon her death in 1986. These images date from about 1910 and range in size from 6½ x 4½ inches to 9½ x 7½ inches. Except for five gelatin silver prints made by the artist in the 1970s, they are printed in the warm brown tones of Cunningham's sophisticated platinum process.

The twenty-fifth photograph among the 1988 acquisitions is a gelatin silver print of a much later date (1934). Its provenance can be traced from the artist through dealers and private collections in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles.



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112. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
The Dream (Nei-san-Koburi),
circa 1910
Platinum print, 22.8 x 16.1 cm
(8¹⁵/₁₆ x 6³/₈ in.). Signed in pencil on
the mount. Titled in pencil on the
mat (verso).
88.XM.44.5

Around 1910–1915 Cunningham produced a series of photographs of her friend the artist Clare Shepard, often accompanied by another artist friend, John Butler, or his brother, Ben. The major role in which Cunningham cast Shepard was that of Goddess or Adored One. This is best seen in *The Dream*, alternately titled *Nei-san-Koburi*. An admirer of Pre-Raphaelite art, Cunningham may have been influenced by Dante Gabriel Rossetti's portrayals of his wife, the artist Elizabeth Siddal, specifically his posthumous portrait of her as *Beata Beatrix* (circa 1864–1870; Tate Gallery, London). The Japanese title inscribed on the reverse means literally “sister rain,” evoking a sense of exoticism and hinting at the relationship of Woman to the basic elements of nature. Shepard's trancelike countenance seems to personify Cunningham's dream of the feminine imagination and of her own artistic development.

PROVENANCE: Clare Shepard Irwin, Healdsburg, California; Krstiu Stoilov, Healdsburg, California; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



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113. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
Wood beyond the World, Number I,
circa 1910
Platinum print, 23.9 x 17.3 cm
(9⁷/₁₆ x 6¹³/₁₆ in.). Signed in pencil on
the mount. Titled in pencil on the
mat (verso).
88.XM.44.9

The literature and paintings of the British Pre-Raphaelites were a favorite source of inspiration for Cunningham and her circle in Seattle. In 1894 William Morris published *Wood beyond the World*, an epic tale of a young adventurer named Golden Walter in a medieval forest inhabited by maids, mistresses, dwarves, and a lion. This image of Walter and a veiled lady traversing the forest floor with dancelike movements conveys the story's sense of a distant, enchanted past.

PROVENANCE: Clare Shepard Irwin, Healdsburg, California; Krstiu Stoilov, Healdsburg, California; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

114. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM
Evening on the Duwamish River,
circa 1910
Platinum print, 14.8 x 24.2 cm
(5⁷/₈ x 9¹/₂ in.). Signed in pencil on
the mount. Titled in pencil on the
mat (verso).
88.XM.44.1

Characterized by a tendency to suggest rather than to describe form, Japanese ink



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paintings were widely admired and emulated by Western artists at the turn of the century. By reducing the landscape to its simplest components and emphasizing the qualities of light and atmosphere, Cunningham transforms a riverbank near her native Seattle into an evocative nocturne after the manner of James McNeill Whistler. Whistler's interest in Oriental exoticism, his belief in art for art's sake, and his passion for technique were all important influences on the American Pictorial movement, of which Cunningham was a part.

PROVENANCE: Clare Shepard Irwin, Healdsburg, California; Krstiu Stoilov, Healdsburg, California; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

115. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM

The Wind, circa 1910

Platinum print, 23.9 x 17.8 cm

(9³/₈ x 7 in.). Signed in pencil on the mount.

88.XM.44.7

Cunningham may have intended in this composition to portray the adored Margaret of William Morris' poem "The Wind" (1858), a meditation on death and evanescent love that is set on a windswept hill. The model's pose also recalls James McNeill Whistler's oil studies based on the ancient Tanagra sculptures of attenuated women clad in swirling draperies. Isadora Duncan's revolutionary style of dance, based on Classical Greek art, should not be overlooked as another possible source for the costume as well as the subject of this image.

PROVENANCE: Clare Shepard Irwin, Healdsburg, California; Krstiu Stoilov, Healdsburg, California; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



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116. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM

Remembrance, circa 1910

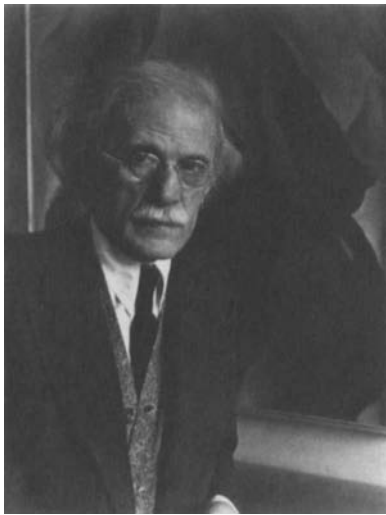
Platinum print, 24.2 x 15.9 cm

(9¹/₂ x 6¹/₄ in.). Signed in pencil on the mount. Titled in pencil on the mount (verso).

88.XM.44.16

The cruciform image of a heroic woman dressed in a tunic recalls the ecstatic saints and martyrs of Christian art, or the grieving Magdalene. Cunningham explored various personae with Shepard as her model. Her friend's strong features and stately presence perhaps conveyed the artist's idea of the ideal woman. As part of the Shepard estate material the Museum has also acquired a conventional commercial studio (Wills and Vreeland) portrait of Shepard, from approximately the same date, that presents her in Neoclassical garb and coiffure in a very static pose. The sculptural clarity of this traditional portrait provides a dramatic contrast to Cunningham's work, which was created by manipulating focus, action, and printing.

PROVENANCE: Clare Shepard Irwin, Healdsburg, California; Krstiu Stoilov, Healdsburg, California; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].



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117. IMOGEN CUNNINGHAM

Alfred Stieglitz at An American Place,
1934

Gelatin silver print, 24.2 x 18.3 cm
(9½ x 7¾ in.). Signed and dated in
pencil on the mount.

88.XM.44.25

Cunningham married the artist Roi Partridge in 1915; they moved to San Francisco and she concentrated on raising their three children. In 1920 the family moved to Oakland, where Partridge assumed a teaching position at Mills College. Cunningham undertook photographic commissions, including the portraiture of Mills College students; she also managed to set aside time at home for experiments with plant forms and compositions in which she enlisted her children as models.

In 1932 she was hired to work on assignment for *Vanity Fair* magazine. The conflicts involved in balancing home, work, and professional responsibilities reached a critical point in 1934 when the magazine invited her to New York. Although her husband required that she defer her trip, she went ahead, alone. On her agenda was a visit with Alfred Stieglitz at his gallery. She persuaded him to sit for a series of portraits, posed before Georgia O'Keeffe's *Black Iris* (1926), for which she employed Stieglitz' own 8 x 10 view camera. She and Partridge were divorced in June 1934.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Witkin Gallery, New York]; private collection, Chicago; [Edwynn Houk Gallery, Chicago]; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles]; [Daniel Wolf, Inc., New York].

CHARLES SHEELER

In 1988 the Museum purchased ten individual photographs and one book, *African Negro Wood Sculpture*, illustrated with twenty mounted, original photographs by the American Precisionist painter and photographer Charles Sheeler (1883–1965). These gelatin silver prints date from 1917 to 1954 and range in dimension from 4 x 3 inches to 9½ x 7⅞ inches. Through Sheeler's life and afterward the numerous exhibitions of his work have customarily included both his paintings and his photographs, to which he accorded equal value. His work was characterized by an economy of means and a sharp-focused realism that produced elegant and classical images.



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118. CHARLES SHEELER

Doylestown House—The Stove, 1917

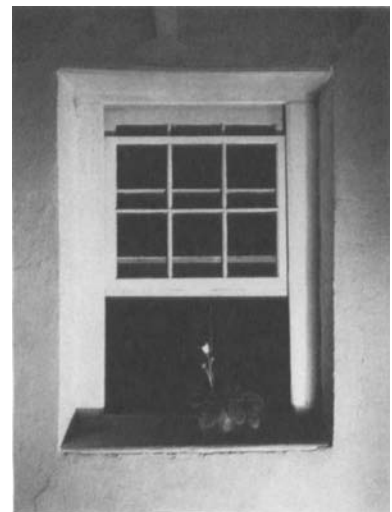
Gelatin silver print, 22.9 x 16.2 cm
(9 x 6⅜ in.)

88.XM.22.1

This 1917 photograph forms part of an informal suite of twelve images called the Doylestown House series. The series shows Sheeler's affinity with European modernism (four of his paintings had been shown in the Armory Show four years earlier) and with his friends Alfred Stieglitz and Paul Strand, who were the earliest Americans to experiment with Precisionist photography. Here Sheeler carefully lit the photograph with a lamp concealed from the viewer by the stove itself, the door of which he has opened to

produce a more varied outline. Its flatness contrasts with the clearly delineated space in which it sits. Sheeler also made a closer-in horizontal variant of the same subject; it was used again as the basis for a conté crayon drawing of 1932 and a painting of 1943. The image was exhibited in his first solo exhibition of photographs late in 1917 at Marius de Zaya's Modern Gallery.

PROVENANCE: [Zabriskie Gallery, New York]; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York].



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119. CHARLES SHEELER

Doylestown House—Open Window,
1917

Gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 18.2 cm
(9½ x 7⅞ in.)

88.XM.22.2

This composition of astonishing simplicity is from Sheeler's celebrated Doylestown set, made at the house that he shared with fellow painter and photographer Morton Schamberg from 1910 to 1918. The print was given to the poet William Carlos Williams and hung in his house for many years. Williams quoted Sheeler as having said that a photograph of his and a poem by Williams were of equal value. In his introduction to Sheeler's retrospective at the Museum of Modern Art in 1939, Williams wrote of Sheeler's work that "its quality is singularly uniform, lucid, and geometric from the first." Here the stark geometry of rough plaster and simple but elegant woodwork is slightly softened by the



very flat, precisely planned composition devoid of incidental detail. Sheeler specifically acknowledged including the barnyard chickens in the foreground in order to contrast their mobility with the static permanence of the barn. The whites of this photograph are as varied as the complex blacks of his contemporaneous *The Buggy*. Both prints were at one time in the collection of the noted connoisseur and dealer Julien Levy.

PROVENANCE: Julien Levy; [Julien Levy Gallery, New York]; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York].



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122. CHARLES SHEELER
The Lily—Mount Kisco, 1918–1919
Gelatin silver print, 24.5 x 19.5 cm
(9⁵/₈ x 7¹¹/₁₆ in.). Signed in ink on the mount.
88.XM.22.5

This photograph was made as part of a commission from the American collector of modern and Oriental art, Agnes Meyer (1887–1970), a close friend and correspondent of Stieglitz, Steichen, De Zayas, and Brancusi. Mrs. Meyer had asked Sheeler to make a book of photographs of her estate at Mount Kisco, New York, and this was one of twenty-nine photographs included. The balance were more what might be expected from such a commission—overall views of the grounds and house and a series of interiors. *The Lily's* combination of a kind of heightened realism and abstraction seems to have made it one of Sheeler's favorite images; he paid close attention to grada-

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carefully arranged pot of glloxinias.
PROVENANCE: William Carlos Williams; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York.]

120. CHARLES SHEELER
The Buggy, 1917
Gelatin silver print, 19.5 x 24.5 cm
(7³/₄ x 9⁵/₈ in.). Photographer's wet stamp: *Charles Sheeler / 310 East 44th Street / New York* on the mount (verso).
88.XM.22.3

This photograph was made in Bucks County in 1917, a place and time of particular productivity in Sheeler's life. To what appears to be natural light falling on farm equipment in the left foreground, Sheeler has added another source of light behind the Amish buggy in the background, thus producing a strong, dark silhouette within an ambiguously defined volume. The dusty buggy is a somewhat nostalgic choice as subject; its slightly skewed verticals and horizontals bespeak the effects of time but also add tension to a composition tending to the abstract. Sheeler's habitual close attention to detail is evident in this rich, complex study in blacks.

PROVENANCE: Julien Levy; [Julien Levy Gal-

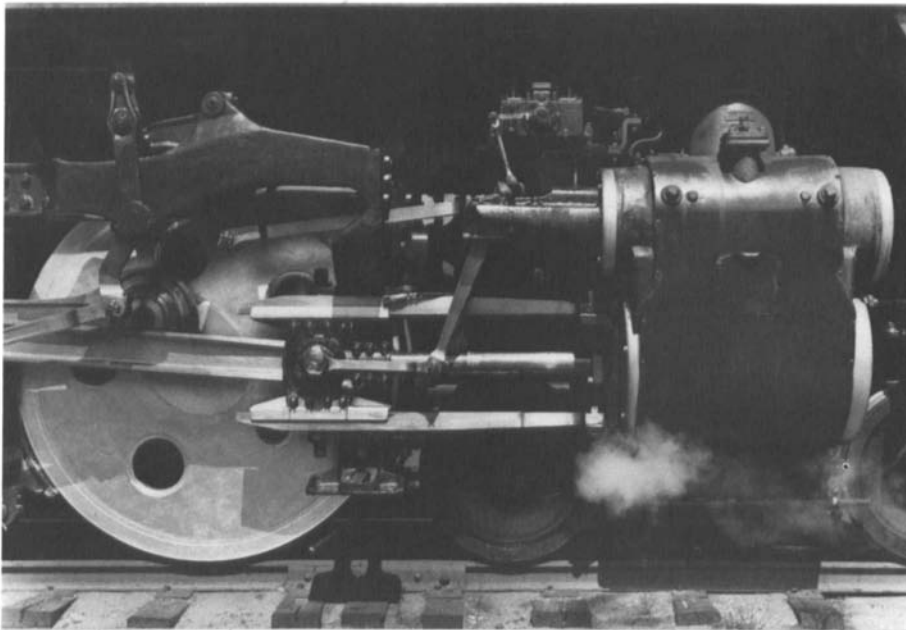
lery, New York]; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York.]



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121. CHARLES SHEELER
Side of White Barn, 1917
Gelatin silver print, 19.4 x 24.4 cm
(7⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₈ in.). Photographer's wet stamp: *Charles Sheeler / 310 East 44th Street / New York* on the mount (verso).
88.XM.22.4

One of Sheeler's best-known photographs, this study of a Bucks County barn is one of a series of interrelated drawings and photographs in which he sought increasing simplicity and abstraction. It renders texture admirably in a



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tions of tone in its printing and experimented with varying sizes of mats in his quest to perfect it.

PROVENANCE: Amy Spingarn, New York; [Terry Dintenfass Gallery, New York]; [Helios Gallery, New York]; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York.]

123. CHARLES SHEELER

Wheels, 1939

Gelatin silver print, 16.8 x 24.4 cm (6⁵/₈ x 9⁵/₈ in.). Inscribed: *From one Ray to another, Charles Sheeler in pencil on the mount.*

88.XM.22.7

Originally made as part of Sheeler's preparation for one of six paintings on the subject of power commissioned by *Fortune* magazine, this photograph has become as famous as the painting directly taken from it. The photograph has the clarity of a mechanical drawing and is one of a number of Sheeler's works that deal with the functional beauty of machinery and industry. As has been observed, Sheeler has treated a locomotive as if it were a watch, concentrating close-in on its working parts rather than the streamlined casing of its upper body, which has been completely excluded. The wisp of smoke adds animation and delicacy. What is in fact heavy machinery appears here as a study in tonalities and abstract geometry—a geometry derived from cubism but without its displacements.

PROVENANCE: [Downtown Gallery, New York]; Edith Gregor Halpert; by descent to Nathaly Baum, Washington, D.C.; Frank Kolodny, Princeton; [James Maroney, New York.]



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124. CHARLES SHEELER

Copper Beech, circa 1951

Gelatin silver print, 19.5 x 12 cm (7¹¹/₁₆ x 4¹¹/₁₆ in.). Signed in pencil on the mount. Typed label: *Charles Sheeler 'Copper Beech' \$25 on the mount (verso); with wet stamp: IMPORTANT / Not for Reproduction without the / Written Permission of the Photographer.* Inscribed: #002037 in a later unknown hand in pencil on the

mount (verso).

88.XM.116

Although nature was an uncommon subject for Sheeler, toward the end of his life he made a series of about fifteen photographic studies of a copper beech tree that grew behind "Bird's Nest," his stone house in Irvington-on-Hudson, New York. Some are of the whole tree, others of its parts. Here the interest is in the sheaflike form of gently converging diagonals of branches and shadows and in the tree's longevity, its wrinkled skin like that of a superannuated elephant.

PROVENANCE: Private collection; [Simon Lowinsky Gallery, New York]; private collection, Los Angeles; [G. Ray Hawkins Gallery, Los Angeles].

HARRY CALLAHAN

In 1988 the Museum purchased a group of twenty-seven photographs by Harry Callahan (born 1912). These gelatin silver prints, ranging in size from 2³/₁₆ x 1¹/₁₆ inches to 8 x 9⁷/₈ inches, are all signed or initialed and in excellent condition. This group, ranging in date from 1941 to 1965, was carefully selected from the collection of the artist for print quality and the representative subject matter. Callahan is a self-taught Detroit photographer who first picked up a camera in 1938 and rapidly became recognized as an intuitive master of the medium. Only eight years later, he was invited by Moholy-Nagy to join the faculty at the Institute of Design in Chicago; his teaching career was to span three decades. He practiced photography with a quiet, studied formalism unique to his work, and returned again and again to a few familiar subjects: his wife, Eleanor; the city; and the landscape.

125. HARRY CALLAHAN

Detroit, 1941

Gelatin silver print, 8 x 11.5 cm (3³/₁₆ x 4¹/₂ in.)

88.XM.65.10

This landscape, the earliest photograph in the acquired group, was made only three years after Callahan began taking photographs. Despite the early date, characteristics of his mature style are already apparent: a highly organized, symmetrical composition and a linear quality. The



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lines of the telephone poles become as delicate and interconnected with the landscape as the graceful lines of the dying wildflowers in the foreground.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].



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126. HARRY CALLAHAN
Detroit, circa 1942
 Gelatin silver print, 7.2 x 11 cm
 (2³/₁₆ x 4⁵/₁₆ in.). Figures outlined
 with incised mark on the print.
 Initialed in ink on the mount
 (verso).
 88.XM.65.18

Callahan reveals here his masterful ability to transform an everyday scene into something extraordinary—a fascinating and intricate composition that plays with the ambiguous overlays of forms and their reflections. Looming as if it were an apparition, the large shadow of a woman was placed by Callahan at the center of the photograph; within this shadow is the reflection of another woman who seems to walk through her. One is reminded of a verse from the epic *Paterson* by William Carlos Williams—an admirer of Callahan's work—that speaks of people “walking indifferent through / each other's privacy.”

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].



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127. HARRY CALLAHAN
New York, circa 1945
 Gelatin silver print, 7.3 x 11.2 cm
 (2⁷/₈ x 4³/₈ in.). Signed in ink on the
 mount (verso).
 88.XM.65.19

“I found that when they were walking by themselves, they were lost in thought and they weren't ‘with it’ any more, and so this is really, I guess, what I wanted.”—Harry Callahan

Callahan refers to a series of his photographs of people in downtown Detroit

taken in the early 1940s. The rhythm created by the spaces between the people and the linear effects of their shadows fascinated Callahan. The dark, anonymous forms seem to represent the loneliness and alienation of city life. This was one of his first experiments both with a thirty-five millimeter camera and with street photography: he would put the camera on a tripod, set the telephoto lens at four feet, and wait for the right moment to snap the shutter.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].

128. HARRY CALLAHAN
New York, 1945
 Gelatin silver print, 21.1 x 16.8 cm
 (8³/₈ x 6⁵/₈ in.). Signed in pencil on
 the print.
 88.XM.65.2

This photograph is from the longest and most impressive series that Callahan produced in his forty-year career—that



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of his wife, Eleanor (born 1916). He photographed her intensively, in various styles and techniques, from the mid-forties until the early sixties. Here Callahan focuses on his wife with straightforward bluntness. Her form is framed symmetrically against a stark brick wall, and both are rendered with characteristic precision and clarity. By chance or intention, the photographer posed his wife directly below a dark spot in the mortar that is aligned with the part in her hair.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].



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129. HARRY CALLAHAN
Eleanor, Chicago, 1948
 Gelatin silver print, 8.3 x 11.2 cm
 (3¼ x 4⅜ in.). Signed in blue ink on
 the print (verso).
 88.XM.654

Eleanor is said to think of her husband's photographs of her not as pictures of her own body, but rather as works of art; indeed, they are some of his most expressive works. Whether the photographs are seen as a series or viewed as individual prints, his feelings of love and devotion to her are always present. This masterful print, with its exquisite use of light, transforms the subject of a nude in an interior into a lyrical study of Woman as spiritual being.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].



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130. HARRY CALLAHAN
Chicago, circa 1949
 Gelatin silver print, 5.7 x 5.5 cm
 (2¼ x 2⅜ in.). Signed in pencil on
 the mount. Inscribed: *HC-9182-2(6)*
 in pencil on the mount (verso).
 88.XM.6513

In 1949 Callahan created a series of very minimal compositions based on his vision of a winding city pavement. The resulting abstractions precede the minimalist movement by many years and represent a purity seldom found in photographic seeing. This print is one of three images from this series acquired in 1988. The whiteness and lack of modulation of the playfully curved painted line set against the contoured surface of the road transform it into a two-dimensional painting hovering over the darkness below.

PROVENANCE: Collection of the artist; [Pace/MacGill Gallery, New York].

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